The "Hindustan Review" is representative of the higher intellectual life of India and enables us to learn the thoughts that are saitiling her cultivated circles. Its articles are of especial value from a political and philosophical point of view and it occupies among Indian periodicals a position analogous to that of the "Nineteenth Century" or the "Fortnightly Review"—"United Empire" (Monthly Organ of the Royal Empire Society, London).

The "Hindustan Review" deserves attention from British readers as showing the trend of thought—philosophical, literary and political—among the educated classes of India.—"Truth" London.

The "Hindustan Review" is of especial value as lifting the brain cup of India and letting us see the thoughts that are moving in her educated mind.—The late Mr. W. T. Stead in the "Review of Reviews," London.

The Indian Ideal of Duty

By Dr. Annie Besant

Among all the religions of the world, there is none which has so bound up in itself the private life of the individual with the public life of the nations and the State, as the religion of the Sanatana Dharma, which has laid down at once a polity and a social organisation, of which the foundations are eternally true and which only needs to-day new applications to meet the new needs of life. I want to show how an Institution, based on the fundamental ideas of the Sanatana Dharma, trying to apply itself to modern needs, is one which is really based on truth, not only here, but everywhere else; and just in proportion as those of this ancient faith can realise its value and live its truth, so the whole world will look to India for guidance, so the whole world will become grateful to India as the preserver of the life of religion.

First of all you will notice—when you compare the fundamental idea of the Sanatana Dharma with that of modern Western life—that two ideals are held up by the one and by the other, of which the Eastern is the idea of duty, and the Western of rights. On the difference between these two fundamental conceptions of human organisation, of national life, the whole of the future will turn.

The fundamental thought of the people of the East has been the thought embodied in that one word "Dharma". Every man has his Dharma. But what does this Dharma mean? It means the obligations into which every man is born, the obligations which surround him from the moment of his birth. The obligations to the family, the obligations to the community, the obligations to the nation—these are the Dharma into which every human being comes by the gateway of birth. It is not an arbitrary thing but a natural one. It is not a thing which is created, but is a thing which comes out of the long course of evolution. And out of that funda-
mental idea of Dharma comes the thought that the first thing in human life which makes it possible is the fact that obligation is recognised and righteously discharged.

**SOCIETY AND THE INDIVIDUAL.**

When the baby is born into the family, helpless, unable to feed itself, lying there without strength, without ability, naked, feeble, what is it that preserves the life of the babe? It is the duty of the mother and of the father, the duty of the elder to the younger, the sense of obligation which surrounds, helps, guards and preserves the babe throughout the years of childhood and of youth; out of that discharge of duty to the child, grows the obligation of the child to the family and to the community. The elders guard the child in infancy. The child in its manhood must repay the obligations in its turn.

Thus we come to the idea of Manu of the debts which every man is bound to pay; the debt to the Devas for giving him the whole of the natural advantages, the whole of the gifts of nature by which alone life is possible: the debt to the ancestors whose labours he has inherited, and by the fruits of whose progress his life is rendered possible to-day; his debt to the human beings around him: to the animals below him; his debt to the Sages of the past, all these he comes into; they make the obligations into which he is born, which he must pay back by the useful life of the man, the father and the citizen. Out of that idea of human duty, out of that recognition of human obligation, out of the realisation that we are beings on whom duty has a claim—out of that grows the stability and the orderly progress of human society.

In the West, another idea grew up, which is really less than two centuries old—it is the idea that the human being is not part of an organization but is an isolated individual, that he stands alone and apart, and that the fact of birth clothes him with certain rights. The "declaration of the rights of man," the famous historical phrase, sums up in a single statement that modern idea of human national life. According to that, society is not based on a common obligation; it is based on the inherent rights of the individual which he may enforce by any means in his power. Law is only binding because people have accepted it and consented to it, and not because it is based on nature and expresses the Divine Will. Kings rule not by the Grace of God, but only by the acceptance of the people. Everything is based on the idea of the right of the individual, which he only yields partially in order that he may enjoy the remainder more fully. His interests are antagonistic to the interests of others, instead of being common and universally binding upon all. This idea has grown and spread during the last 150 years. The result has been continual struggle, disturbance and difficulty. The assembly of the nation is no longer the representative of the nation as a whole, but merely of a body of interests, one conflicting with the other. The members of the modern Houses of Legislature do not represent the common interests of the whole nation, and so you have the modern struggle, the modern turmoil, the modern quarrels, and the danger of the dissolution of the modern civilisation.

But strangely enough, there has come in the West a reinforcement of the Eastern ideal. Science has grown up and science has studied nature. Instead of manufacturing paper-constitutions and imaginary rights of man, science has declared that human beings, like all other beings, are the result of evolution, and that individuality is subordinate to the common good, and the benefit of a part is subordinate to the good of the whole. Science is again declaring that society is an organism, and not a body of people based on an imaginary contact. Science is declaring, again, one life, as religion has always been declaring it; and just as Hinduism has proclaimed the One Life, the universal Spirit, and therefore the solidarity of man, so is modern science declaring one life and one
consciousness in all, and therefore that society is a growing organism, in which everyone has duties growing out of his life in the social unity. Thus, from the West is coming the reinforcement of the ancient theory of Dharma of the East, and it is for the East to proclaim now the predominance, the superiority of an organisation that demands from every man discharge of duty, and realises that on that discharge alone the whole well-being of society depends. But that is not the only vitalising influence which the Sanatana Dharma exercises on the world. It proclaims also the necessity of Order.

There again, Western science is beginning to strengthen Eastern religion. Science also proclaims Law and Order as the essential conditions of progress. Science has discovered that only by order is it possible for humanity to evolve. Of all the codes of human life that have ever been given to the world, that code which is known by the name of Manu—the great Law-giver—is the most orderly and the most perfect in its arrangement. Here is another gift that you have in your hands to give to the Western world.

EFFORT AND ENJOYMENT

After the idea of Dharma comes the idea that all mankind is divided into two enormous groups; one walking on the path of pursuit, the path of going forth; and the other those that turn their faces homeward. How does this apply to human life? It shows us that the ordinary life of man, the common life of every day, is but part of the divinely ordained evolution by which the progress of humanity is governed; and on the path of going forth are laid down the rightful objects of all human effort. First comes the Dharma, the duty that guides and limits; and then Artha—possessions in the widest sense, all that the world has to give and all that man is able to possess.

Man, according to Hindu Dharma, is not to be an ascetic while he is treading the forth going path. He is told, on the contrary, that the enjoyment of possessions, the gathering of wealth, progress in worldly matters, all belong rightfully and usefully to the path of pursuit. Those who know the Hindu Dharma will realise that this is so, and that in modern India much confusion has arisen, with the result that this teaching is for the most part forgotten. Modern India has talked too much of the path of return, quite forgetting that that is the path for the few, while the path of forth going is the path for the many. They forget that Manu laid down for his children the pursuit of possessions and the enjoyment of pleasure. Artha and Kama are the objects of the path of pursuit, limited and guided by Dharma.

How much more wise was the ancient Law-giver than are many of our modern teachers, those who would have every man an ascetic, those who declare that renunciation is the only rightful path of human life? Manu the Law-giver is the wisest of the Divine rulers of man, and Manu realised that for national prosperity, effort and enjoyment were needed; that it was right that those who were evolving should evolve their faculties by effort and by enjoyment, and so possessions and pleasure were made part of the path of forth going. And the great masses of the people were pointed to that, as the path by which progress was to be made. Only when a man has trodden that path, only when he has developed high intelligence, only when he has developed unselfishness and the pure love of God, then is he ready to turn his face homeward and tread the path of renunciation. Then it is that Bhakti, the Love of God, takes the place of Kama—the love of the objects of desire. Then it is that the Siddhis and the powers that they give, take the place of the worldly possessions, which are used only for the benefit of man and not for the gain of the possessor. Then it is that, instead of the outward law of Dharma imposing duty from without, there comes the
freedom of the Self made manifest, who needs no law from without, because he realises his divinity, and forsaking all Dharma, he becomes one with the Supreme Being and Divine Will is his. Such is the course of human life according to Manu, balanced, rational and useful for all. No asceticism, premature and therefore useless, but the full development of faculties; only when these have been developed may come the turning home, the treading of the path to liberation. Step by step, in orderly and progressive fashion, Manu bids man tread the path of human life.

CASTES

The last of the great principles given by Manu for the evolution of man is what is called the Varna-ashrama: Varna, the stage of the human soul, the ego, the division of men into classes according to their characteristics; and ashrama, the stages of the individual life through which each should repeatedly pass.

Now, much is said for and against caste—something in its favour by those who know the turmoil of classes in the West, something against it by those in India who feel its barriers rather than its value, and resent the privileges claimed by some because duty has been forgotten by these while only privileges are claimed. And yet, rightly looked at, that four-fold division brings a detailed answer to the problems of human life afore-mentioned. What is the first problem that is pressing on every nation? That of the education of the young.

There is not an assembly in the world, from the Parliament of Great Britain, the Legislative Council of the Viceroy, down to the smallest Municipality, that has to guide the welfare of a part of the community—there is not one that is not standing puzzled and bewildered before the great problem of the education of the people. How should that be solved? There is one way—though no public leader has yet suggested it—that has within it the power of solution, and that is by the recognition of real castes, and among them the caste of teachers.

Your Dharma as Brahmanas—those of you who are Brahmanas—is not the gathering of wealth and the holding of places of power, but the gathering of knowledge and the imparting of that knowledge to the people. If the Brahmanas would only do their duty as Brahmanas, then there would be no educational problem in India to-day. But the Brahmanas, instead of doing their duty by imparting instruction, are busy in administering justice—which is properly the function of the Kshatriya; they are busy gathering wealth—which is properly the duty of the Vaishya. Worldly men rebel against the Brahmanas because he has forgotten his duty and no longer fills his proper position in the State. If we had true Brahmanas in India, all educational problems would be solved; for there would be Brahmanas in every village, and every village would have its teachers, and then education would be given as a matter of duty, as in the olden time, and not for money as at present.

You may say that this is a very fine idea, but how are you going to persuade your Brahmana caste to give up all power and make itself available to promote the welfare of the people? I don’t expect to get it from the grown-up men, those who are middle-aged and mature, those who are old and hardened by the life of the world, no words would move them to have recourse to the path of renunciation which is the path of the Brahmana. I have hope in the younger men of India, who are growing up to-day in schools and colleges. I have hope in those sons of India who are vowing themselves to the public weal, and are ready to labour for the public good. I believe that we shall see growing up a new Brahmana caste, a caste which will be known by quality more than by birth, and by characteristics more than outward marks, a class that will see the glory of sacrifice. A class that will realise
the happiness of renunciation; these young men, full of enthusiasm, full of passionate devotion, who have in them the passion of self-devotion, which ought to be the mark of a Brahma, in these is my hope; and I believe that we shall find actually growing up in India an order of young men who, between the time when college life ends and the house-holder life begins, will give themselves up to some years of service for the welfare of the nation, and give that service to the masses of the people in order to elevate, guide and inspire them. It is on the young men of India I place my hope for the redemption of the masses of India from ignorance and degradation.

And so, when it is realised that the problems of government, the problems of legislation, the problems of the administration of justice, the problems of the army, and of the navy, and of the police, are all problems that belong to the old ideal of Manu of the Kshattraya caste, when it is realised that the Kshattrayas are the defenders and guardians of the nation, that it is on them that the burden of guiding the nation should fall as a matter of duty, then we shall have growing up a caste of Kshattrayas educated for their work, and capable of performing it most efficiently. Then we shall see disappearing all discontent arising from the oppression of the people by any of those who carry on the nation's working to-day.

For instance, let me mention the police. These are fundamentally a part of the great Kshatrya caste by their office. We know how many complaints are made in India against men taken from the lower grades of society, who are invested with authority they are constantly tempted to misuse. If we realise that for public service training in youth is necessary; if it were understood that when a man joins the police, he should have been trained for his responsibilities previously; if it is only realised that he should have been trained in India as the police are trained in England; if it were only realised that for purposes of public service he should be the friend of the common people; how different would be the feelings of people in India towards the police, and how willing would be the help given by the ordinary citizen whenever he was asked for it in the name of the Law! It is when you realise the functions necessary for the well-being of a community, that you realise the wisdom of the ancient Law-giver—how he made the functions separate in order that each class might discharge the same well. The teacher was one class; the warrior, the protector, another; the merchant a third class, the makers of wealth, in order that thereby the nation as a whole might prosper.

RESTORATION OF ANCIENT RULES

Looking for a moment at modern India, such a sketch as I am giving now seems an impossible Utopia. But nothing is impossible; for thought creates action, and that which a man thinks, inevitably comes to pass. We want to hold up the old ideal; not to force any man to follow it, if he does not see it to be admirable. We hold it up, that all men may see it. It will gradually dominate the public mind and bring about its realisation. When we are able to reform a caste of teachers, a caste of legislators and administrators of justice, a caste of those who organise industry and accumulate wealth, a class of manual labourers who follow a particular craft or a particular art which is needed for the welfare, and when the old idea of duty returns and each man knows his duty and does it, then shall we again make the golden age, and a happier day shall break upon our earth.

This is what the West is looking for to-day. It realises its own turmoil; its own dislocation. It realises that constant struggle cannot be the natural and the fitting state of man. It is gradually despairing of the feasibility of its methods, and is looking elsewhere for light. Where should the light come from? From
the East, where the Sun is ever shining, where the laws of the great Law-giver were given to all his Aryan children, not only to those who settled in India, but to those who wandered Westward, and lost their way back to their father's home.

Here in India, this ideal can again be restored, adapted to modern ways, flexible as it was in the olden time. If, as in the past, men's qualities were regarded as well as their family, then family would take its rightful place as one of the factors in human evolution, which is largely dependent on physical heredity; but to-day the ego that comes into any particular body is often unsuitable; because Dharma has been neglected, there is confusion of castes to-day. Because the higher castes have not done their duty, physical heredity is no longer a guide to caste as it was in the olden days, and yet physical heredity is a law of nature and cannot wisely be ignored in national life.

Sometimes men wonder how all the subcastes have sprung up. They have often sprung up by natural differentiation in the quality of the physical body, which follows a special occupation of brain or hand. There is no "caste" in England, but you know that in Lancashire, the spinners and weavers of cotton cloths have grown up so much in families that employers of labour give larger wages to a boy or girl coming from a weaving family than they will give to a similar boy or girl coming from some part of the country where weaving is not a hereditary occupation. That is the way in which nature works. That is the justification of family trades. Only it has grown far too rigid in India, and inter-marriage and inter-dining are also forbidden between sub-castes. This is of course one of the things that will have to disappear; for though physical heredity gives variety to the community as a whole, yet it is not necessary constantly to inter-marry too closely, and thus weaken that strength which you desire to maintain.

Complicated are the questions of national life, and complicated are the problems to be dealt with. But remember, according to Mann himself, when circumstances change, the old principles are to be adapted to those changed conditions; for which reason customs should be kept flexible, instead of being inflexible as they are in the India of to-day. Much lies in the hands of the educators of the young. All those who follow the ancient rules should bring up the young to work for the reform of India, to make her what she should be, flexible, elastic, adapting herself to the needs of modern life; but in all they should hold firm to the fundamental principles, for these are the conditions of national prosperity. They hold, as I said, the solution of national problems.

It is the duty of Hindus, as citizens, to help every effort in their midst which is based on the old principles, and which tries to adapt them to the changed conditions of human life. Stretch out a hand in help to all efforts for human improvement; strengthen those of their fellow-citizens whom they find able to guide the young and help the old along the path that combines modern progress with the ancient wisdom.
The Nadir Of Religion

By
Nagendranath Gupta

At Nasik, the famous place of pilgrimage on the Godavari river, and certain other places the lower castes or classes of Hindus have resorted to Satyagraha for obtaining admission into temples from which they have been always excluded. The castes and classes above them practised Satyagraha to get full Dominion Status and the door open for complete independence. A few years ago the caste politicians did not talk of Dominion Status; neither did the casteless outcasts want to enter Hindu temples. Now the politicians claim equality with the other nations and the pariahs claim equality with the politicians. The situation is distinctly piquant.

Theoretically, of course, we have abolished untouchability. Our august, if rather hollow, Legislative Councils have had a few members outside the magic circle of caste. But these exceptions stress the rule. Go to the temples and watch the incoming and outgoing of the pilgrims. God made men but the Brahmin divided them, and the God of the Brahmin, even if made of metal or stone, must not be desecrated by the sight of the low-born and the outcast. When a Brahmin sits down at a meal a cat may look at him unrebuked and a dog may watch him from outside the door but if the shadow of a man, a pancham, were to fall across the threshold the meal must be thrown away as polluted and unfit for consumption. The water that a casteman drinks from a well is taboo to the untouchable. This could not have been so when the Aryans were at the zenith of their power. The indigenous and original tribes of India were the Aryans, but large bodies of them were absorbed in the caste system. There was no steel frame to begin with. Rama, a king and an avatar, had a chandala chief for a friend; boys of uncertain parentage were accepted as disciples by Rishis.

With the centuries and the downfall of the Aryans caste tightened its stranglehold upon the hapless Hindu society, establishing a tyranny of which there is scarcely any parallel. The Helots of Greece were slaves, the plebians of Rome were treated with contempt, the Medes and Persians treated their slaves with ferocious cruelty, but in India alone was instituted a system of degradation which made man lower than an animal and crushed his soul. The law of retributions, never at fault and never at rest, has meted out justice in pressed down and full measure to those who degraded their fellow-beings in India, and, as always happens, this has been going on for seventy times seven generations. The twice-born in India have been for many centuries the dust under the heels of the Yavana and the Mlechha.

Out in the open, in the wide open spaces of the earth, the temple of God with its dome of the blue sky stands open for all. In the temples and tabernacles that men build they put their own hand-made or mind-conceived tribal or caste gods and make them inaccessible to all but the faithful and the favoured. The fire temple of the Zoroastrian is forbidden to all outsiders. The face of the dead cannot be seen by the followers of other faiths. When the priests come the surviving relatives can no longer touch the dead. The exclusiveness of Zoroastrianism is its strongest title to distinction.

There is scarcely and religion so democratic, so comprehensively human as Islam. It is a
most impressive sight to see thousands of the faithful praying together, rising and kneeling and bowing their heads to the ground with drill-like discipline. The Syed has no special privileges and all Mussalmans eat together just as they pray together. But the mosque is not open to others and there is no salvation for the Kaffir. The propaganda for conversion was carried on with fierce zeal in India and a determined attempt was made to pull Hinduism out by the roots from Benares itself, the centre and pivot of Hinduism. No thought was ever given to the weighty fact that Hinduism is much older than Islam and idolatry is not the only phase of the widely inclusive faith loosely known as Hinduism.

What is the authority for the aggressive methods that have been pursued for the spread of the Christian faith in the world? From the apostles of Christ to the missionaries who denounce all other religions with supreme contempt it is a far cry indeed. The memory goes back to the tribulations of the early Christians, their cruel and terrible persecution by the Romans; then follows the rise of Christianity as a temporal power, the complete disregard of the spirit underlying the teachings of Christ, the inhuman baiting of innocent Jews, the holocausts called pogroms in Russia, the driving of the Jews like pigs into ghettos in Germany, the deprivation of all civil rights. Finally, we find the missionary abroad zealously condemning heathen, pagan and Mussalman alike, and followed by the arms and flags of conquest. The physical might is fully matched by the arrogance of the spirit. Either become a Christian or be damned for ever. There is no via media between salvation and damnation.

To such ancient religions as Hinduism, Zoroastrianism and Judaism the only door for entrance is birth. One is a Hindu, a Parsee, or a Jew by birth; there is no right of election or conversion. Any one can go out, but no one can come in. These religions have stone walls which can be neither scaled nor breached from outside. Hinduism recognises the doctrine of previous births so that it may be claimed for it that a man may become a Hindu only by virtue of his karma. Zoroastrianism and Judaism cannot advance this claim, for there is no dogma of reincarnation in these religions. People professing certain religions are filled with the pride of the elect; notably was this the case with the tribe of Israel. They were the chosen people to whom God manifested himself and whose welfare was his chief concern. The Old Testament is steeped in this doctrine. God established a covenant with Noah, Abraham and Moses. God is spoken of as the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac and the God of Joseph. Yet the fact of Israel being a chosen nation did not save it from the vicissitudes of fortune that befall every nation. Israel was subjugated successively by nations of idol-worshippers and pagan races, thus shattering the belief that the Jews were a chosen people and had found special favour in the eyes of God. Those who constantly speak of the direct intervention of God in the affairs of men forget that the Law is immutable and the relation between cause and effect is inviolable. There is neither favour nor disfavour anywhere and those who claim that they are favoured by Providence belittle God.

The belief in revealed religion rests upon the pride of exclusiveness. The revelation is claimed to be for the special and exclusive benefit of the people professing that religion and every revealed religion claims to be the only one of its kind. Those who believe in the Vedas insist that these were the only scriptures revealed by God to man and the same exclusive sanctity is claimed for the Old and New Testaments. The possibility that God may reveal himself to one people as well as to another is neither recognised nor admitted. God’s sun may shine for all but God himself becomes manifest only to His chosen people. For others there is no revealed faith, no hope of salvation. It seems to be the very essence of religion that it should deny equality to all men and the equal privileges of a common humanity.
This narrowness of faith and dogma, the intense pride in revelling in the odour of sanctity accounts for the extensive evil that has been wrought in the name of religion. Those who profess religions that admit no converts look upon themselves as the only religious people in the world. In their eyes the rest of mankind is impure, born outside the pale of salvation. God may have created them, but He has no further use for them, and they must be content to stay out in the cold while the gates of heaven are shut in their face. In the case of religions that carry on propaganda and make converts the preacher and the missionary often forget the teachings of their own scriptures and scoff at other religions and call their followers by names full of contempt.

Only one religion is free from these defects and it has the largest number of followers. Buddhism does not claim to be a revealed religion, nor does it profess any contempt for other religions. Buddhist missionaries preach the teachings of the Buddha without offending the feelings of the followers of other religions. Throughout the world men of every race and every denomination, men of the highest intellectual type have been strongly attracted by the doctrines of Buddhism. Its theism or agnosticism may be left out of consideration. It makes of its followers better men, men more tolerant towards their fellow-men, men free from the pride of exclusiveness and a feeling of superiority. However, it is the rule and not the exception that concerns us at the present moment.

A belief in God or a number of gods is not the only, or even the chief object of religion. God’s existence is nowise affected by the belief or disbelief of man. A man is neither better nor worse by virtue of what he believes or does not believe, but by what he does, his attitude towards other men, his personal conduct. A man may call himself a Hindu and a follower of the oldest religion in the world, but if he prides himself upon his caste, abhors other people belonging to a lower caste and detests the followers of other faiths he has missed the real meaning of religion. He may be devout, he may be regular in his hours of worship, but still he is not religious. A Christian who is full of zeal and earnestly preaches the teachings of Christ, but who thinks and speaks scornfully of the pagan and the heathen is not a real Christian at all. Similarly, a Mussalman who denounces a Kafir and mentions other religions with contempt does not realise the great truths underlying Islam and the profound teaching of the Koran.

Whatever else God may be He is certainly not what He is represented to be in some scriptures. What conception of the deity can be narrower than the God of the Old Testament? There is really nothing great about Him. He is merely a tribal God, jealous, wrathful, suspicious, pitiless, vengeful, apparently having nothing else to do but to attend to the affairs of Israel and the tribes in the neighbourhood. The Jews were in reality a very ignorant people. They did not produce great thinkers, philosophers, poets or artists. They had no conception of the universe and a very hazy notion of the earth itself. All the occurrences of the Old Testament are confined to a fragment of Asia and Egypt. There is no evidence of any knowledge of any other country or any people besides the twelve tribes. Only in the Book of Daniel mention is made of Babylon and the Medes and Persians. The New Testament is a much later book and forms no part of the Jewish scriptures. The Talmud, the fundamental code of the Jewish civil and canonical law, is a much later compilation.

The ancient Aryans in India had a much higher and nobler conception of God. This is to be found not in the Vedas but in the Upanishads, which are unrivalled for profundity of thought and brevity of expression. In the Upanishads God is designated as the Purusha, the male principle of creation. For solemnity and dignity of language, for intensity and concentration of thought the Upanishads have no parallel in any sacred
literature. The God of the Upanishads is the 
Supreme Being, possessed of attributes that 
cannot be compassed by language, realisable 
only by prolonged and profound meditation. 
But the study of the Upanishads has necessarily 
been confined to a limited number of men, 
because writings so abstruse and requiring 
so much thought for their comprehension 
cannot appeal to the average reader. The 
result has been that these books have always 
represented the highest pinnacle of religious 
thought and speculation in Hinduism, and 
have been studied and pondered over by the 
most advanced and earnest thinkers.

Apart from the higher phases of thought and 
the deeper depths of conviction, religion should 
have the effect of making men gentle and con-
siderate towards other men, even to those 
belonging to other faiths. How shall it profit 
a man if he exalts God but despises his fellow-
man? The spiritual progress of man can only 
be measured by the growth of tolerance. Of 
all created things man alone possesses the 
instinct of religion. It is crude and primitive, 
but develops with the growth of his intelligence 
and the cultivation of his faculties. The first 
and foremost truth to be realised is that there 
can be no such thing as a monopoly in 
religion. If one religion can be revealed 
another can also be revealed. God is manifest 
to one people as well as to another and the 
truth is available for all. No religion can 
arrogate to itself the claim that it is the only 
true religion in the world.

All this seems to be perfectly feasible and 
fair in the abstract, but while the zenith of 
religion remains lost in the clouds nations 
and races scramble about at the nadir, making 
religion an ugly thing and an outlet of much 
of the evil in man. There is no arrogance so 
sufferable as the arrogance of religion, no 
tolerance so uncompromising as the intolerance 
of religion. Yet both arrogance and 
tolerance are the characteristics of the 
followers of the principal religions of the 
world. The association of religion with 
temporal power is always to be deprecated 
and yet it appears to be inevitable. It has 
been calmly maintained that Christianity is 
the best medium for ruling other nations and 
for the maintenance of an empire, disregarding 
the historical fact that religion has nothing to 
do with territorial possessions and almost all 
religions have had their turn in this respect. 
Christian countries have been conquered and 
rulled by a race professing Islam, pagans 
have ruled over theists, idol-worshippers have 
held sway over nations recognising one God.

The real object of religion is the promotion 
of a spirit of humility, tolerance, and upholding 
the brotherhood of man. Individuals with 
these qualities are to be found in every 
religion, but in the case of the majority the 
teaching of religion is perverted and abused, 
and is used for the justification of intolerance, 
arrogance and tyranny. Throughout the ages 
the failings of human nature have asserted 
themselves in spite of the noble teachings of 
the great founders of religions and in thought 
and in deed man still remains the enemy of 
man.
Impressions of Soviet Russia
Of Mr. and Mrs. Deep Narain Singh*

Probably no one in India has got the passion for "wanderlust" so strong as Mr. and Mrs. Deep Narain Singh. For years now, they have been spending the best part of the summer and monsoon seasons somewhere in Europe, Asia, or America. This year it may be Mexico, the next year Japan, in the third, Czecho-Slovakia, and so on. No country had been left unexplored by these intrepid tourists so long, except Russia. What with one thing and another, they had been prevented from getting into that mysterious country all this time, and naturally, it became the Land of their Heart's Desire, the Ultima Thule of all their peregrinations. This was nothing singular, in view of the extreme piquancy of interest which the Soviet has come to excite the world over since its inception. This, again, has been heightened to boiling-point since the great G.B.S. visited the country, and on his return, told America that "they were all boobs," and that "the Russians had the laugh on us."

When, therefore, it was learnt that the Singhs had spent more than six weeks in Russia, the people of this country looked forward with the greatest keenness to learn from two of their own people whatever the truth was about Russia, and I lost no time in arranging "on the spot" as soon as they had returned home. The following is a gist of their impressions as I gathered from several interviews which they were kind enough to give me. The whole article has been thoroughly scrutinised by them. It must be distinctly understood, however, as they cautioned me, that the following report is merely that of the spectator bent upon seeing things for himself, and is not to be interpreted as a "Case" either for or against the present Soviet régime. No sort of opinion or criticism is contemplated, and if any conclusions are to be drawn, it is left to the intelligent discretion of the reader to do so.

But in doing so, one thing must be remembered throughout. Whether you appreciate or condemn Russia, you will never understand her in the current shibboleths of your political education. If, therefore, you take the Russian scheme piecemeal, and scrutinise a part here and a part there, many such items may appear to be the most ugly and revolting that you could ever imagine. What you have got to do is to get hold of the nub of the Plan, the Central Idea at the back of it all, and then test each detail in the light of this knowledge. Most of the misunderstanding of things Russian is due to this lack of proper appreciation of the Russian Ideal.

RECENT RUSSIAN HISTORY
And for this, a brief resume of recent Russian history is necessary. One has to recall that when after three years of terrible war, the fighting strength of all the contending countries had been well nigh exhausted, Russia's loss in population was the worst. Trade had come almost to a standstill, being 13 per cent. of what it was before. The condition of the peasants had arrived at a stage unimaginable in the history of the world.

*The travelling impressions of Mr. and Mrs. Deep Narain Singh of Bhagalpur, as collected from several interviews by Mr. Asude.
The discontent of the people, simmering for ages under the Romanoff regime, at last broke out in a revolution under the leadership of Kerensky. This was in 1917. It must be clearly understood that this revolution had no communist significance in the slightest degree, and it established a republic like any other republic in the world. This Republican Government had no particular ambitions to establish peace or any other "revolutionary" plans in their programme. In fact, it proceeded to carry on the war as before.

But this revolution offered Lenin the opening he was seeking to realise his Dream. In the devastations which had been wrought by the external and internal upheavals, the peasants had been hit harder than the rest; and so, when Lenin came forth with a scheme which sought abolition of all private property, it captured their sympathy more than anything else could have done. The fight between Lenin and Kerensky was a short and decisive one, and on the 7th of November 1917, Lenin established his New Government at Leningrad. And at once, he declared peace with the Central Powers.

And then started a four years' Civil War between the "Whites" who stood for the old regime, and the "Reds" who were Lenin's followers. No quarters were shown by either party to the other, but Lenin won in the end, and in 1922, started upon his work of reconstruction. The task was of a much greater magnitude than one can imagine. For the Civil War had been immediately followed by a famine in 1921, which almost ruined Russia beyond all hopes of redemption. In four months, millions of people died of starvation, and there were cases of parents eating their own children. Thousands upon thousands were left roaming all over Russia stealing things just like wild animals and thieves, uneducated, untrained, uncared for. It was out of this universal chaos that Lenin strived to bring order and prosperity. For full five years, the "planning" went on. A number of schemes were tried, tested, accepted, and rejected; till out of all these experimentations emerged in 1928, what has now become famous as the Five-Year Plan.

Lenin meanwhile had died in 1924, and was followed by Stalin as the Secretary of the Soviet Republic. A tussle now took place between him and Trotsky, the Commander-in-Chief of the Russian army, on a question of procedure. What had happened was this. When Lenin started upon his scheme of socialising all lands, he had met with protests from some of the more flourishing peasant-proprietors, and little rebellions took place here and there. Like a wise diplomat that he was, Lenin temporised, and formulated his "New Economic Policy," popularly known as the NEP, according to which, the peasants who had thus grown affluent were allowed to pay money in lieu of grain, as they would be compelled to do strictly under the Socialist regime. This led to the coming into existence of a band of small but rich proprietors, known as "Kulaks," who continued to own lands privately in contravention of the Soviet plan of State ownership. The "Kulak" cultivated his lands not with his own hands as in the Government farms, but by hired labour and appropriated the produce like any Indian Zemindar.

Trotsky, as an orthodox and uncompromising Communist considered the "Kulak" to be a menace to the Soviet, and wanted to bring them within the State ownership by a ruthless application of force. Stalin, on the other hand, believed in Lenin's midway path of converting the "Kulak" by persuasion and propaganda rather than by extreme measures. The result of this sharp cleavage of opinion was that the majority of members in the Soviet Government decided that Trotsky was a dangerous man, and deported him. Trotsky is now living in Turkey.

It was not that there was any quarrel in the principle of the thing. On the contrary, Stalin recognised the importance of suppressing the "Kulaks" as much as Trotsky did,—and only differed from him in the modus
impressions of soviet russia

But immediately after Trotsky's deportation he had to take stern measures in collectivising the recalcitrant private proprietors, and the latter were, and are still being, subjected to great hardships and inconveniences in maintaining their existence side by side with the Government farms. At the same time, lectures, writings, and actual demonstrations in the improvements of large-scale production are doing a great deal in converting the rebels to the Soviet creed. 60 per cent. of farms have so far been collectivised. The rest continue to eke out a precarious existence amidst great inconveniences, but the process of conversion is going on as strongly as ever. One of the objects of the Five-Year Plan is to absorb by the end of the year 1934 all private farms into the State till not one single private proprietor will be left out. The two other important objectives of the Five-Year Plan are to achieve within these five years, 1928-33, (i) Complete industrial independence of Russia from foreign importations, and (ii) a total elimination of illiteracy from the country. Two figures speak rather significantly as to the success of the Plan under these two heads. Within three years of the start of the Five-Year Scheme, the number of factories in Russia has increased by 540: the total number being 2,400 now and the number of schools and colleges is about the same. The whole of Russia is to be electrified within these five years.

All stages of this progress have been fraught with features of the most dramatic moment. For instance, in the development of Industry which had collapsed after the Civil War and the Famine, Lenin arrived at a cul-de-sac in his deal with the foreign manufacturers. What had happened was that many European countries had been helping the anti-Soviet parties with men and money in their fight against Lenin. Long before that, the same countries had lent Russia millions of roubles as National Loans. When Lenin became the Head of the Soviet Republic, those countries presented their bills of dues to him. Lenin, in his turn, without repudiating the debt, countered their claims with a bill of his own against them for the damage they had done the Republic by helping the "Whites." Lenin's bill was larger than that of the other countries. In effect, the latter were deprived of their dues, and became sworn foes of Lenin and the Soviet.

The first result of this enmity was apparent in the Industrial Reconstruction Scheme. For the equipment of the new factories, Lenin wanted machineries, and those machineries were only available in other countries. The other countries, however, were not agreeable to give anything in the terms of the rouble. The rouble was not even recognised or quoted in the world's Exchange. The foreigners wanted to be paid in the currency of their own countries. Lenin accepted the challenge, and entered upon a course which was as daring as it was unique.

DRASTIC DUMPING

The scheme was brutally simple in its conception. The flat came forth from Soviet G.H.Q. that no normal adult Russian was to have any wheat, and butter, and a few other important commodities: and that almost the entire output of the country was to be exported into the foreign countries, and sold there at a cheaper than the prevailing rate. In plain words, "Dumping." "Dumping" was not a new dodge in international commerce. What made the Russian "dumping" revolutionary in character was that whereas, in the cases of other countries, it was only the surplus stock, or the indigenous produce which were dumped into foreign countries, in the case of Russia, the Soviet proposed to do so with almost all that they had. The wonder of it is this that it was effected; with the result that almost the whole of Russia has been doing without butter and wheat; and to-day, neither of these articles are available in the Government shops except for rare cases, such as infants and invalids, and the needs of the Army. It is true that
these things are sold in the few private shops which still remain but the prices there are fixed by the State, and these prices are several times higher than at the Government firms. Thus, whilst butter is sold at 2 roubles a pound (for the aforesaid exceptional cases) at the Government shops, it is sold at 10 roubles a pound at the private shops. The embargo has also been relaxed in the case of foreigners. There are special shops called "Torgsim" for foreigners only," where the "banned" articles are sold at the same rates as at the Government firms. The Russians sell their output in the foreign countries, realise the price in the currency of the purchasers, and buy machineries with the same. Many of the new 540 factories are bigger than the Tata concern at Jamshedpur.

At the same time, no foreign products except machinery and a few medicines are permitted to be imported into Russia, and she has to go absolutely without such commodities as she cannot produce herself. Coffee, champagne, fine cloth, and various other luxuries are not to be had at any price within the Soviet Republic except for foreigners. It is the grimmest instance known of a National Self-denying Ordinance.

It is to be understood, however, that the ban on the Russian products is not meant to be a permanent one. The idea is that as the country's productive power and general prosperity would increase, the embargos would be gradually lifted. It is expected, for instance, that butter would be permitted next year, and so on with the other articles. There are two ways of equalising the status of the rich and the poor. One is to bring the rich down to the level of the poor, and the other is to raise the poor to the level of the rich. Russia has done the first to start with. It is the ambition of the Soviet now to so elevate the condition of the masses as to make the luxuries available to all. What could be afforded only by the fortunate few is to be within the means of everyone.

"MILITANT" OUTLOOK.

One striking feature of this "get-rich-quick" rush for progress is the outlook of the nation to the work going on. It can be described in one word as "militant". The way the Russians look at it is just as if a war was going on against Poverty. Their language, tactics, and general manner of bearing are that of "war". For instance, the departments of industries are described as so many "Fronts": Education Front, Coal Front, Tractor Front, Cultural Front, and so on; the feverishness of the worker in each such centre is exactly that of the fighting soldier. A foreigner, on stepping into a Russian city would be dazzled by huge posters with flaring headlines, such as "Retirement on the Tractor Front": meaning that the output of the tractors had probably gone down by, say, 5 per cent. At once, there would be a great movement towards the tractor factories; "shock-brigades" would be formed, and they would march up to the factories, go on working at feverish speed till the status quo in productivity had been restored. And this would be followed by the "shock-brigades" returning to G. H. Q. with great pomp and military music. They would be feted as if coming from a victorious battle, and would be given a general holiday from their regular work. The resultant enthusiasm can be more easily imagined than described. Recently 3,000 "Udarniks", i.e., expert workers of the various "shock-brigades" were given a long holiday tour outside Russia, on board the steamer "Ukraina". They were shown the sights of the important places, and were generally given a good time.

Lately, the Soviet has entered into a contract with Henry Ford, whereby the latter has undertaken to build and establish such plant in Russia as would produce motor-cars at an enormous rate for three years, as well as to construct all over Russia roads over which the automobiles would run with ease. The plant and machineries would all remain
in Russia after the contract is fulfilled, so that the work of production might continue after Ford has left. At the same time, Russian mechanics would master the craft of motor-making.

EVERYONE MUST WORK.

Every Russian has to be a worker, in some form or other. This is an inviolable rule. The remnants of the old aristocracy who, for some reason or other could not fly the country when the new order of things came in, kick most violently and curse lustily at this mandate, but have to obey it just like the rest, and it is this which has made of them better critics of the present system. The largest part of the population is just now engaged in manual labour, and if there is any “aristocracy” left in Russia, it is gauged by the superiority of work which a labourer can put forth over his fellow-workers. For instance, a man, who has invented a better way of turning out a thing, is honoured by his confreres. This does not mean, of course, that he gets any exclusive privileges on that account, but the distinction and respect are there. As soon as the worker registers himself in a factory, he is shown a list of the available rooms, and a seat in a dormitory is allotted to him. The man earning 500 roubles has no preference in this matter over the man getting only 50 roubles. In the case of married couples, usually the two are allowed a room to themselves, but it may also happen that the man has to share a room with other workers, whilst the wife does so with other women. It is the same with ration tickets. Each worker, irrespective of his income, is given a “Trade Union Card”. This T. U. Card acts as a sort of passport to him to all sorts of concessions. It entitles him to cheaper rates for buying his daily food and his clothing at the Co-operative Stores attached to his factory, to an Insurance of which the premium is paid by the State, to free medical aid, free legal advice, cheaper theatre and cinema tickets, and various other privileges. The main items of the Russian’s food are black bread (what we call “bajra” bread) and cabbage soup with meat in it, and cheese. If the worker wants other things not shown in his ticket, it is not that he cannot get them. He can do so from the private firms—but only at the fixed, prohibitive prices. And so with the other amenities of life. Everywhere there is the same equality of treatment, in every sphere. “Exclusiveness” is a thing unknown in Russia.

SOVIET PROSPERITY

The extent to which Russia has succeeded in realising her dream continue to provide food for academic discussion. Meanwhile, facts and figures tell an extraordinary story. It is remarkable that whilst England shows a budget deficit of nearly a thousand million dollars, and America half that amount, Russia has declared a budget surplus of 750,000,000 dollars. It is also noteworthy that when both these countries are saddled with “unemployed” numbering 3,000,000, Russia has utilised each and every citizen, and still suffers from a shortage of labour supply. As the cloud of trade depression grows blacker and blacker over the rest of the world, Russia sports in the sunlight of greater productivity and consequent prosperity. It is difficult to reconcile the story of Russian misery which we are accustomed to hear to these tell-tale facts and figures.

One question which is often asked by the student is this: “How can you prevent the growth of a New Aristocracy of wealth, if the worker, by saving from his earnings, accumulates little hoards of his own”? The answer is simple. You cannot prevent the accumulation of wealth, it is true, but you can prevent the growth of an “aristocracy”. For the one thing does not follow the other as in the olden times. The conditions make it impossible. For one thing, “aristocracy” pre-supposes the artificial and prurient growth of one class, the capitalist class, by the
exploitation of the others. There can be no such thing so long as there is no class division, and the State regulates all the conditions of labour. The two main planks of the Capitalistic aristocracy are speculation and "profit-seeking". There is no speculation. There is, for instance, no Stock Exchange. And there is little impetus to hoard, for almost every future contingency is provided for by the State. You have not to worry about your children's future. The State sees to that. One can be rich, but there is no harm in that, the Russian says, so long as you do not exploit others in the process. In fact, it is Affluence they are striving at, Affluence for All.

There is no such thing as a Sunday for all in Russia. Every worker has his individual holiday, after every four days of work. Families, however, are allowed to consolidate all the holidays of each member into one single holiday, for enjoying it together. This individual-holiday-plan means that whilst everyone can enjoy his or her holiday according to his or her turn, there is never a day throughout the year when all the nation's work closes down at the same time. The increase in productivity and output can be imagined.

Foreigners are welcome in Russia. The most important reason for this is that foreigners bring foreign money with them, which is very precious to the Russians for paying the foreign countries for the latter's machineries. As soon as the tourist enters upon Soviet territory, he has to declare his belongings, including the amount of money he brings with him. This amount should never be less than 500 pounds. He can get his money changed into Russian roubles if he likes, or he can pay in his own currency. One thing is certain. No foreign tourist is allowed to remain in Russia without spending at least £1 a day during his stay, unless he pays all his expenses in advance at the In-tourist Agency, which is a State concern.

No money, on the other hand, can be sent outside Russia in the usual course of things. Exceptions, however, are made in the case of foreigners living and working in Russia, who can forward money to their families in their own countries only to the extent of the means of subsistence of those families. And what is still more significant is that no Russian is allowed to go out of Russia except on State business, and in extremely rare cases. The idea is to make Russia a complete, self-contained, self-sufficient country without depending on any other country for her needs.

(To be continued.)
It will be generally agreed that the League of Nations is the best and greatest security that the world now possesses for peace. It may have its own defects and deficiencies; it may not have been able always to enjoy that measure of loyalty and support from the European nations that it was entitled to; it may have been a fact that up till now it has been dominated by a few powers which have utilized its machinery for the purpose of achieving their own particular ends; and it may be that the very country whose Governmental head was instrumental in bringing the League into existence has not yet reconciled itself to its work and has not participated in its working; but in spite of all this, the fact cannot be gainsaid that what the League has achieved so far is considerable and that to-day it is the one force that has kept under control the bellicose propensities of the European nations, and has made them to accept, at least in theory, the principle of peaceful arbitration in the settlement of international disputes.

It has achieved many notable triumphs, prominent amongst which may be mentioned the General Act for Pacific Settlement, the acceptance of the amendment to the League Covenant which is generally known as the optional clause and the preparatory steps which had been taken to bring about general disarmament resulting in the convening of the World Disarmament Conference; it has paved the way for the establishment of permanent peace in the world.

EUROPEAN IDEALS

After saying so much in regard to the work accomplished by the League of Nations, it has further to be stated that that body has more or less confined itself so far with only European countries and that it has not interested itself to the extent that is necessary in the affairs of the Asiatic and other non-European countries. This can be explained by two circumstances, first, that European countries have from the beginning dominated the League, as it represented to them a reaction against the orgy of bloody warfare in which they were engaged and of which they primarily bore the brunt, and secondly that Asiatic countries, like China, have been too much occupied and torn by internal disorganization and dissensions to devote any great attention to the League, while countries like India which are considered and treated as only the subordinate parts of a vast world political organism like the British Empire have not found themselves in a position materially to influence the decisions of the League.

Finally as regards America, she has kept herself aloof from the League partly on account of her reluctance to entangle herself in European complications, and partly because she is at variance with the European nations in her conception of settling international disputes, which she desires to achieve by the judicialization of those disputes and their adjudication by the Permanent Court of International Justice, whereas the latter desire the addition of an appeal to arms to the methods of peaceful adjustment by negotiation.

The non-inclusion of Russia in the League membership is another matter which serves to detract from the value of the decisions of the League in the sphere of their practical application; for Russia is a single big factor in the world to-day, standing all by itself for a principle of political and economic organi-
zation unheard of in the history of the world before. To try to segregate and isolate Russia, which is what the European nations intend to do and have done so far, is a foolish and short-sighted procedure which will render all the efforts of the League futile. The economic and political doctrines of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of Russia constitute a standing challenge to the other nations of the world and they cannot be ignored if permanent peace, which is the ideal aimed at, is to be realized.

INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES

The viewpoint represented by America is that the disputes of an international character should be settled not by resort to arms, but by being referred to an impartial judicial tribunal of the character of the Permanent Court of International Justice. This reform, however, presupposes that there is a complete change of heart on the part of the European nations, such as that which has not been evident so far, and a determination to abjure war as the normal method of settling international disputes, to develop an international outlook as opposed to the purely nationalistic methods and lastly to make the League of Nations a real force in practice, which in theory it now is, as an institution for promoting international and world peace.

This change of heart is the only effective guarantee against the all too consistent demand on the part of European nations for security, before disarmament can be considered a practical and practicable proposition. The resorting to pacific methods for the settlement of international disputes is an ideal which has not yet taken firm root in the minds of the nations of Europe, notwithstanding the fanfare of trumpets which accompanied the conclusion of the Kellogg Peace Pact.

The nationalistic spirit that was so hotly denounced as a cause of war is finding new expression in the attempts to constitute an exclusively European conclave known as the United States of Europe. This conclave it is clear is aimed to counter on the one hand the work of the League of Nations and on the other against the Asiatic countries and America. That the scheme has been put through the League is only a device to deceive the world about the true character of the policy acting its authors and cannot satisfy anyone, though for the present the procedure has served to disarm criticism on that score.

Though the League has not been able to accomplish everything that it had set before itself, it has achieved results which cannot be dubbed unsubstantial, especially in what may be called its humanitarian aspect. Its work for the promotion of intellectual co-operation between the various countries in the world; its work in the direction of bettering and ameliorating the conditions of Labour in the various member States through the International Labour office; its efforts to bring about an economic rapprochement among the nations with a view to toning down the fiscal barriers that separate one nation from another and lastly, its fight against the continuance of the Slave Traffic in countries like Liberia—all these and many more of the League’s activities make it more and more an organ for the general amelioration of world conditions, the unification of cultures, and the elimination of racial barriers. In all these spheres, the contribution of European nations is considerable, but the co-operation of Eastern nations is essential if these activities are to be really world-wide in their scope.

INDIA’S ANOMALOUS POSITION

The position of India, which she is at present occupying in the international sphere, is an anomalous one in a certain sense, in so far as she holds an original membership of the League of Nations, has an independent existence so far as voting on the questions before the League is concerned, and has almost complete freedom either to accept or reject the resolutions of the League; but with all this, in her position, vis-a-vis the other self-governing dominions of the British Empire,
she is forced to submit herself to a position and status of subordination. She has all the attributes of a self-governing nation without however possessing the substance of self-government; and the Government of India is, in spite of the international status that she is made to feel she possesses, still more or less the same "subordinate branch" of the British Government that it used to be before the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms were introduced. The Secretary of State still retains, in theory as well as in practice, perhaps more in the latter than in the former, the final and ultimate control in all important matters. But, all the same, it has got to be remembered that the original membership of the League of Nations was conferred upon her more as an earnest of the desire of Great Britain and the other European nations, immediately following the war, to secure to India a fully self-governing status than as the result of the actual position which she then held, i.e., that of a subordinate dependency.

The constitution of the League of Nations stipulates self-government within a country as a preliminary condition to the admission of that country to its original membership and it was the hope held out in the Parliamentary Declaration of August, 1917, that India would ultimately be raised to the status of a self-governing Dominion within the British Commonwealth that helped her to secure a place in the League. Since that Declaration was made, the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms have been instituted and new conventions have come into vogue, and the tendency has become more and more pronounced in the direction of devolving more and more authority on the Government of India, and of giving it scope for greater initiative.

INDIA AND THE LEAGUE.

There is a body of opinion in India which holds the view that the question of Indian Self-Government, and the right of India to order her own affairs is an appropriate matter for being referred to the League of Nations for adjudication and settlement, in so far as India, being an original member of the League of Nations is entitled to requisition the help of that body in order to secure for herself political justice at the hands of Great Britain. But the League of Nations is pledged to non-interference in the internal affairs of its constituent member States, and therefore a constitutional difficulty may arise as to whether the League of Nations can really intervene in the matter referred to above, as the question of Indian self-government is a domestic question, which has to be settled as between India and England alone. The English people may claim that, as India is only a part of the British Empire and that too only a subordinate part, the question of giving her self-government or withholding it is entirely a matter for the British Parliament, and that the League's interference will constitute an encroachment into and an infringement of the sovereign position of the former body, i.e., the British Parliament, so far as India is concerned. There is, as has already been observed, some truth in the contention as so stated; but it has to be reiterated at the same time that Britain, having tacitly agreed to advance India to the status of a full-blown Dominion, and having by that agreement secured to her a position in international affairs second to none of the other members of the League, it rests upon her to enable India fully to possess that Dominion attribute of complete internal independence and external equality with Great Britain and the other members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, such as that contemplated by the Balfour Committee on Inter-Imperial relations. The British Dominions of Canada, South Africa and Australia have, as a result of the resolutions of the Imperial Conferences of 1926 and 1930, attained to the position of being "de-facto" independent States, subject only to the authority of the Crown; and there has been going on a process of devolution of authority from the British Parliament to the Parliaments of the Dominions, a process which bids fair to
become complete shortly and which will serve
to make them independent "de jure." A
similar transfer of authority should take place
in the case of India in order to reconcile
her internal and external constitutional posi-
tions; and unto this end, the establishment of
a constitution on the basis of full Responsible
Government, which would reduce to the
lowest possible minimum the powers of the
British Parliament and the Secretary of State
for India becomes an indispensable necessity.

THE COMING REFORMS

It is therefore to be hoped that the consti-
tutional changes which are to be introduced
hereafter will be such as to achieve the result
visualized above. And when India attains to
that position of equality with the other Dom-
inations included in the British Commonwealth,
she can claim and she will have to be con-
ceded those powers, like that of appointing her
own plenipotentiaries to international
gatherings, of appointing her own representa-
tives in foreign countries, of concluding com-
mercial and trade conventions which are to
her best advantage and of enjoying in other
ways all those privileges now enjoyed by
Canada, Australia and the others. A change
in this direction is absolutely essential, if
India is to be enabled to make her own dis-
tinctive contribution to the solution of world
problems which she is in a fit position to
make, considering her cultural heritage, her
intense desire for a permanent and lasting
peace in the world, and her unique position
in the Asiatic continent and the leadership in
cultural and intellectual matters which she
is destined to take in Asia. Her intra-imperial
status will have to be brought into accord
with her international status and the stigma
of inferiority which attaches to her in the
internal counsels of the British Empire
removed by the raising of her political condi-
tion to that of equality.

It is from this point of view that the
League of Nations ought to interest itself in
the amelioration of India's status, and the
League, which is in essence the concentrated
mass of world public opinion, should for this
purpose bring the pressure to bear upon the
British Government to settle the Indian ques-
tion in a satisfactory manner and strengthen
India's hands. For the League of Nations
exists not only to promote international peace
in a negative manner, but it has also to under-
take positive constructive methods, for secur-
ing favourable conditions for the pro-
motion of that ideal. It has therefore to
remodel its constitution so as to provide the
fullest collateral security for the effective
carrying out of its political, judicial and
mediating functions, which can only be done
by something like an organized consensus of
mankind adhering on substantial and un-
mistakable bases of common interests to the
cause of a willing peace. It has next to make
an effort to enlarge those functions and
making them all-embracing by constituting
itself a really world organization, which un-
fortunately it is not now, by enabling America
on the one hand and Russia on the other to
join it and by securing the willing co-opera-
tion of the Asiatic countries on a basis of per-
fected equality. If war is to break out in the
future, it is realized by all-thinking political
prophets that the contending parties in it
will be Asia versus Europe, the Asiatic versus
the European, the black and the brown versus
the white. It is going to be a war of races
rather than of nations, and is it not the func-
tion of the League of Nations to postpone as
far as possible, if not to avoid permanently
the outbreak of that armageddon which can
only be done by bringing together into the
closest political and economic co-operation
and world-partnership the Asiatic and the
European races?

And in achieving this result, the juridical
aspect of the League's operations ought not
to be ignored or lost sight of, nor can the
economic, the first of which is as potent a
force in the sphere of extending the scope of
assured peace as the latter is in promoting an
armed conflict, if not carefully handled. To
avoid the last mentioned consequence and to increase the scope of the first mentioned method of accelerating world peace, should be the one continued and constant endeavour of the League, while, to ignore them or to fail to devote special attention to them, will be to make that body little more than a precautionary system based upon transitory and ineffective safeguards, and its methods little more than negative and limited in scope and delaying and deprecatory in character.

Last of all, but not by any means the least, the League should develop the humanitarian side of its work, the most important item of which is the promotion of labour interests and the organization of an international labour code. The Politico-juridical apparatus of the League, viz., the League Council and the League Assembly and the Permanent Court of International Justice, have no doubt done much to dissipate and repress the old tendencies of the war habit; but the peace habit that is slowly gaining ground can be thoroughly organized and established only by the capacity of the League to devise means for making the peace worth having, by the establishment of a better order of society in the world, means which will serve to make the League an organic instead of a purely mechanical force.

CONCLUSION.

It is in this last phase of the League of Nations' activities that India, as has been shown in the course of this article, is most interested. She is of course interested also in peace and in economic reorganization, in the harmonizing and adjusting of the trade and the peace policies; but she is more concerned both from her position and her national traditions in the development of international co-operation for cultural and intellectual advancement, for human progress along right lines. It is to the problems connected with this development, problems which are not merely European but world-wide in character that India wants to contribute her solutions, as she is convinced that it is through this means alone that a true and lasting peace can be guaranteed in the world. And it is unto this end that Indian Self-Government is an undeniable and indispensable necessity and it is for that that India demands Self-Government.
In the eyes of an Oriental, Western civilization stands distinguished from all Eastern cultures by the love of change, of war, and of individuality which colours its character. Love of change, in particular, glorified as the desire for progress, appears to obsess the Western mind. All changes wrought in political and social institutions, all remouldings of literary and artistic ideals, once they are established and can accordingly be regarded in retrospect, are generally assumed—without question—to be steps forward. Progress and change being thus considered identical, it is difficult for the Westerner to detect steps which may be regarded as retrogression.

The destruction of feudalism, to take an obvious instance, is taken without more ado to have been one move towards the ideal society. Now an Oriental naturally regards this change with less enthusiasm, since he has not, so to speak, participated in the escape and taken sides. He will argue that feudalism rested upon an elaborate system of duties and ranks, such as he himself is used to, while the industrial society which has gradually emerged from the wreckage of feudalism, stresses in their place, rights and equalities. He will refuse to admit that the change of outlook is necessarily for the better, and will maintain that it is by a general emphasis on duties and not by stressing rights that society is worked into harmony.

This ideal, which makes progress synonymous with change, has been definitely adopted among Western peoples—and not unnaturally. They are essentially materialistic. It is not a matter of dispute that at a certain stage of their history nations develop continuously from a materialistic point of view. Material charge that is, becomes quite inevitably material progress. But morality and spirituality do not develop at an equal pace with material advances. Modern West can truthfully claim to have done away with certain notorious evils of antiquity; for example, religious persecution, torture, and slavery. In their place, however, other evils have arisen. Religious wars have given place to economic wars; domestic slavery has been superseded by factory slavery, which is only a slight improvement over the old; and moral and spiritual maladjustments relatively unknown in the past are prominent in modern society. Rather than call the process of change a general progress, the Oriental, unprejudiced in favour of change itself, would prefer to describe it as the transfiguration of certain vices.

ART

In the realm of art, Western love of change is shown with great clearness. The Westerner is amazingly restless in his search for beauty. In nature he has found a relatively permanent charm. The sun, moon, stars, hills, flowers, and animals have at all times attracted him, no less than they have attracted other races. But beside these objects of permanent natural beauty he has been unable to place equally permanent canons of created beauty.

Eastern peoples—and the idea is difficult for Westerners to appreciate—have found such permanent canons of beauty. Conventions, like those of costume, have been quite deliberately maintained in the East because of their inherent and recognized beauty.
Hindu women discovered the sari some three thousand years ago, and have remained faithful to it ever since. Similarly, in painting and architecture, there have been comparatively few changes in Far Eastern styles for over a thousand years. The canons of Indian architecture have remained untouched, save in detail, for many centuries.

In literature the same contrast between East and West is to be observed. In the West, one has only to compare any three plays of the moment—a society play, a crook play, and an "expressionistic" production—with a Greek tragedy or an Elizabethan drama, in order to see how greatly the essentials of dramaturgy have changed without any noticeable benefit. In China and India, on the other hand, respect and reverence for the great national writers of the past still reigns; imitation of their styles has continued unbroken through the centuries.

Although one may criticise the Westerner for a certain fickleness and restlessness in these matters, it must be admitted, nevertheless, that the ideal of progress, however inconvenient and question-begging, has one practical advantage: the Westerner is naturally optimistic and free from despair. Hoping for better things to come, and, indeed, assuming them, he does his best to realise his expectations through his own efforts.

WAR

Love of war—the second distinguishing feature of the Western mind—is a more serious matter, since it manifests itself in continual external and internal conflicts. It is true that Asiatic peoples have had their external wars, but usually they have sprung from the ambition of kings or military adventurers rather than from the bellicose nature of the populace. The people have been roused only by the presence of invaders. In Europe, on the other hand, the masses have been, and are still, extremely bellicose. This explains why they have made so much of their military men, from pre-Christian times to the present day. The exploits of Alexander the Great, of Caesar, and of Napoleon have been extolled in a manner which we can see to be disproportionate when the same spirit of exaltation is brought down to the war-time semi-deification of Marshal von Hindenburg. The ancient Indians, however, did not consider the invasion of Alexander the Great worth recording in a single book. The Chinese, subject as they have been to military races, have expressed in their long literature nothing but contempt for military men. And even so warlike a people as the Japanese have not, so far as I know, one poem in praise of war.

Oriental society has had the ideal of stability before it: consequently, Oriental communities have usually avoided those conditions and movements which give rise to internal or class warfare. Taking for granted that certain values are eternal and unquestionable, Eastern peoples have refused to undertake the reform of society on any other basis. Thus it is that in Hindu and Chinese society the saints and men of learning have always been placed at the top of the ladder and the manual workers have been confined to the bottom. The law-givers and leaders of these communities upheld this arrangement, not through unreasonable prejudice or lack of humanity, but because they felt that if civilization is to remain more or less synonymous with culture, it should have physical labour as its base, and imagination, learning and wisdom as its apex. Money-making, it may be noted, came in a position between the two.

Since Western society does not hold any series of values to be permanent—such would be incompatible with the ideal of progress—class warfare is inevitable every time there is a shift in the balance of values. The class which cherishes and most strongly represents a new set of values is placed in conflict with those who defend an older set and are most threatened by its dissolution. Thus, from antiquity, class warfare reddens and disgraces
the pages of Western history. In Greece, the slaves, in Rome all the depressed classes—slaves, plebeians, and the landless—were pitted against the privileged classes. In the Middle Ages, kings, barons, and people fought series of triangular duels throughout Europe. By the time of the French Revolution, the bourgeoisie and proletariat had joined hands against monarchy and aristocracy. At present it is the proletariat against all-comers; Labour attempts to crush the power of capital, with ruthless disregard for the classes which lie between the two combatants.

A state of class warfare such as permanently exists in the West, cannot possibly be for the good of society as a whole. It brings out a group selfishness in which one body tries to triumph over another. Each asserts, perhaps justifiably, so long as it has not got the power in its hands, that it is inspired by none but the highest ideals. But immediately it comes into power, it becomes as greedy and group selfish as any of its predecessors.

WOMEN

The Western ideal of progress, being essentially war-creating, has brought about the additional form of human conflict known as sex warfare. Western women, as we have been told for many years, are resolved to attain freedom: what that freedom is when it is attained always seems difficult to say. In a community, absolute freedom becomes impossible or else meaningless. The limited individual freedom we find practicable has its area defined more by the other members of society whom we have to regard than by ourselves. Where, however, it is definitely self-limited, freedom becomes morally admirable. We respect the man or woman, who seems to be aiming at a freedom which thinks less of its own enhancement than that of others. Now the Oriental woman has actually attained this kind of freedom, while the Western woman is moving away from it in her sex warfare campaign. The Oriental woman is popularly supposed in the West to be a negligible kind of creature in her society and in private life the slave of her husband. But that this is not correct every Oriental knows. She rules her husband in domestic matters and her children in everything. Yet in spite of the power she possesses she has remained singularly selfless.

The Eastern woman has the ideal of self-realisation before her as much as her Western sister. Only she believes that she can realise herself better by subordinating her ego to that of her family than by pitting it against theirs. For the modern Western woman self-expression is necessarily opposed to self-abnegation: she is therefore pitting her ego against that of her family.

RELIGION

Restlessness and the violent clashes of groups, classes, and sexes are only two of the many facets of Western individualism. Another, and one which an Oriental notices particularly, is the effect of individualism on Western religion. In the deepest sense, religion has not, and never has had, a strong hold on the life of Western races. They are essentially a fighting people; the means of gaining a livelihood are of far more consequence to them than the aims and ends of life itself. Nevertheless, there is a tendency in the West towards personal monotheism—not because the Westerner has a strong intellectual prepossession in favour of a God who is a personal Being; sitting apart from His Creation, but because personal monotheism gives him assurance that his own individuality exists apart from that of his Maker. The Christian doctrine of immortality is especially appreciated in the West because it satisfies the believer that his own little individuality will continue after death. The Westerner is instinctively horrified at Buddhism and such other religions which teach that at death a man's individuality is either extinguished or absorbed into that of his Maker. He terms
such anti-individualistic religions negative. But they are negative only if one starts with a preconception that everything positive in human vitality is individualistic.

THE FAMILY

Individualism exemplifies itself further in attempts to emancipate man from the bonds of family life. The Oriental, admittedly, has no reason to look with complete pride and complacence upon his subordination to the influence of his parents and other elder members of his family. Indeed this subordination stands at times in the way of criticism and reform and perhaps prevents him from realising other ideals. At the same time, the Westerner has no reason to look upon emancipation from family life as an unmixed good. It has destroyed or narrowed his scope for self-sacrifice and co-operation. Whereas in the East, under the system of joint families which prevails, many men and women would willingly sacrifice their all for the sake of their parents, in the West the emancipation of the individual from family bonds tends to develop an egoism which more or less disregards all possibilities of sacrifice for the family in that wider sense of the word which includes more than wife and children.

The break up of the family system in the West has moreover blunted the individual's sense of public disgrace. The Oriental with his strong family sense thinks, before indulging in any vice or misdemeanour of the inevitable disgrace to his family which would be involved in his exposure. The Westerner in the same circumstances thinks only of his own position. Presupposing the private conscience to have only the same force of censorship in both cases, the Westerner appears to have less check upon his evil propensities. An experimental state of society in which family counts for little or nothing seems to be exercising considerable attraction in America, Russia and other parts. If, however, institutions be judged not for their chronological merits or novelty but for their ethical and practical values, the family system which is the negation of individualism deserves better spokesmanship and stronger support in the West than it now obtains.

DEMOCRACY

The political compromise at which warring individualists inevitably arrive is democracy. In fact, democratic forms of government have been put into practice mainly with the idea that they afford the individual his greatest freedom. This a priori belief has turned out to be a delusion. Some of the democratic governments of the West are no less tyrannous and capricious than Roman Caesarism, or the much-abused despotisms of the East. The liberty of the individual is attacked and harassed in ways from the all-important to the absurd. A compulsion, permanent in some countries and periodic in others, forces the citizen to join the army. Minor prohibitions extend to what he may eat or drink, between what hours he may buy and sell, and where he must register the births, marriages, and deaths which take place in his family.

Western governments are not satisfied with merely imposing external constraints on their people; they interfere with their thoughts and beliefs as well. The democratic government of Athens condemned Socrates to death for teaching his doctrines to the youth of the city, and persecuted Anaxagoras, Aristotle, and other philosophers on similar grounds. In the Middle Ages—and up to the present day in some countries—the Jews of Europe had to suffer a general religious persecution. The Spanish Moors were expelled or exterminated by their compatriots as a genial tribute to their religious independence. The present situation in the United States scarcely needs emphasis. The law seeks to prevent men and women from drinking or even, in some cases, from smoking; the teachings of the theory of evolution and the reading of Boccacio are made misdemeanours in several parts of the country. In the development of democracy the next logical step is socialism. That the real liberty of the individual is not precisely increased
under this regime, the greatest socialistic experiment—in Russia—fairly demonstrates.

Now the famous despotic governments of the East have not, on the whole, interfered with the liberty of the subject so severely as the present democratic governments of the West. The individual has not been forced to fight, any more than to register his births, marriages and deaths. The Hindus and the Chinese, as we have already seen, were not imbued with any militaristic spirit; nor were they forced to absorb it in wartime, for peaceful work in agriculture, the arts, and the industries proceeded uninterrupted. With the possible exception of a few Mohammedan rulers in India, the despotic governments of India and China were not prone to persecute people for their thoughts and beliefs. No philosopher in these countries has had to choose between banishment and execution for teaching his views of life. Smoking, drinking and the like were not made criminal offences under Indian and Chinese despotisms. That these governments had their defects is not disputed; but it is worth questioning whether these defects were more serious to the individual than those of Western governments, which are based theoretically on the principles of individualism.

It may be remarked that democracy has a less deep hold upon the minds of Western peoples than upon the outward forms of government. Class snobbery and the aping of manners fashioned by royalty or aristocratic circles are amusing evidence to the shallowness of democratic feelings. Should the King of Spain handle his fork or knife in a particular way, Spanish society adopts the mode. Should the Queen of Spain adorn herself with a yellow frock, yellow frocks become all the rage. And when in England the Prince of Wales began wearing a black tie and white waistcoat, the fashion percolated at a relatively high speed down to the lower strata of the British middle classes. If Western peoples were really democratic, they would, instead of imitating their kings and queens, have induced their monarchs to follow popular fashions, levelling from below. In India, where there is no pretence of democracy in the Western sense, the decencies of manners are preserved by a complete independence. Neither in dress nor in any minor point of convention do the people of Indian States take lessons from their rulers.

Art and literature in the West are moving directly away from democratic foundations and are producing a new type of class consciousness. The poetry of Homer and the plays of Aeschylus were definitely written and sung for the people at large. The troubadours and trouvères of the Middle Ages sang their songs for kings and peasants alike. The paintings of Giotto and Cimabue and the great Gothic cathedrals were created for all classes of mankind. But individualism has now developed, and art and literature are definitely fenced off. Can any one maintain that, say, Walter de la Mare, or Epstein works for the joy of the masses, or that the majority of modern Western painters produce their pictures for any but a tiny section of the public? The poets and artists are, on the whole, in definite revolt against the wishy-washy ideals of democracy put forward as a seemly cloak for government; and the aristocratic aloofness which they help to inspire in their appreciators may go far to explain why they are so generally ignored or regarded as virtual enemies to society by most Western governments.

Perhaps Western conditions are more than casually connected with the pronounced note of morbidity in the art of to-day, even including popular art-forms such as the films and the commercial theatre. Other civilizations have produced artists and writers of a morbid spirit, but none, I think, has yielded so many with such noticeably morbid tendencies. Sex and crime form the background of literary and even plastic art—in relatively crude forms in England and America, and in more perverse manifestations
on the Continent. Certainly a partial explanation is to be found in the nervous strain induced by industrialism and in the enormous extent of forced celibacy.

BROTHERHOOD

One of the most pitiful tendencies of modern Western life is the verbal stress laid on the brotherhood of man and the ideal of social welfare, accompanied, curiously enough, by an external exclusiveness and insistence on such prejudices as colour bars. The ideal of the brotherhood of man is excellent in itself, but it is only a kind of compensatory expression for a profound discontent with a Western civilization in which it has little force. The lack of ideals of fellowship below the surface and in the reality of working life provokes their outward, verbal, and intellectual expression. Industrialism, working great material progress in the West, has helped to foster an initial spirit of individualism, but this very individualism is thwarted in its most satisfactory expression by industrialism's disregard of the individual apart from his work. Emphasis falls not upon the artisan's pleasure in work well done, but upon the marketable quality and quantity of the product. Leisure and love of knowledge have departed, and with them has gone the capacity for silence and meditation which are so closely connected with the spiritual growth and true individualism of man. Deprived of this spiritual sustenance, the Westerner pities himself and his neighbours, and turns to vaguely philanthropic feelings.

At the same time he indulges in an intense hatred of other races, such as has probably never been known in the past. The Arabs in their great days (as may be seen in the Arabian Nights) seem seldom to have despised the Negro or the Spaniard merely because they were beings of different races. What prejudices they had, sprang mostly from a religious source. The Chinese, it is true, have had a certain dislike for other races; but they have not flaunted a crop of literary assertions concerning their racial superiority, nor engaged, except in self-defence, in racial wars of extermination or conquest. Actual colour prejudice was more or less unknown outside the civilization of the West. While the individual has generally preferred men of his own colour, a mixture of all races took place under the Roman Empire. The last few centuries of Western domination have created permanent colour problems which have yet to be solved.

Like individuals and like nations, civilizations are apt to consider themselves above decay. The colour bar may actually precipitate the downfall of Western civilization, and a conqueror from Asia or Africa may give it an unexpected coup de grace. Yet it is not the "Yellow Peril" or any outside competitor that Western civilization should chiefly fear. Far more dangerous, because less tangible and less obvious, are the possibilities of internal disruption. It is customary to assume that Western civilization will progress internally and that it possesses permanent elements which insure its lasting for ever. But a civilization based on competition instead of co-operation, in which class warfare is chronic, and in which the practical element is prized far more than moral and spiritual values in which commercialism is beginning to invade art, literature and even religion—that civilization has little vitality or strength to overcome decay.

SYNTHESIS

The individual can attain in life a limited perfection only by proper selection and elimination—not by an all-embracing hunger for change. Create a circle for your life and eliminate from it all that is unsuited to your constitution in the widest sense; eliminate from it everything clashing with the highest ideals you wish to realise—then you have some possibility of a harmony. The Greeks of the Classical period seem to have grasped this conception very clearly; and so, to a
degree, have the modern French, thereby producing the most harmonious culture now existing in the Western world. These two apart, Western peoples have not seen how the lesson applies to the group life; they have been as eclectic as children, striving to mix all kinds of contradictory ideals—intellectual, moral, and spiritual—as a possible step to the progress in perfection. Instead of a synthesis, therefore, the nations of the West are achieving a conglomeration of mutually antagonistic fragments.

Modern civilization in the West remains chaotic and inharmonious largely because of its mixture of Greco-Roman and Christian ideals. The patriotism, pride, and material joys of a pagan life, which have come down in the classical tradition, are continually jostling and pushing very different ideals—love of mankind, humility, reverence for saintly men, and “the desire for something afar from the sphere of our sorrow”. Christianity, as is not always remembered, is, by origin, an Eastern religion adapted with remarkable success to Western minds—and changed in the process. Is it too far-fetched to see in the present struggles within the Anglican community symptoms of a real incompatibility, a real incapacity for further adaptation and compromise which will apply to the temporal as well as the spiritual life of Western nations? If the interpretation is correct, Western civilization may have to reverse much of its so-called “progress” before it can attain again to even a temporary unity. In the process of reaction, I believe a more searching inquiry is likely to be made into the ways in which the so-called stagnant civilizations of the East have maintained their equilibrium for so many centuries.
The agitation in Kashmir would have attracted the attention of politicians in England and India to a degree commensurate with its importance if there had been no Round Table Conference sittings. The extent and intensity of this agitation cannot, however, be ignored. It is sure to produce consequences of tremendous importance for Kashmir, for other Indian States and for the contiguous British territories. It is not local and it may soon be beyond the control of shouting crowds and the range of slogans devised by the so-called wire-pullers. The feeling is gaining ground that those who think they can raise the storm for certain purposes and quell it when they wish will find to their surprise they are nothing more than flies in a storm. Great though the achievements of intellect are, it is very easy for intellect to overreach itself—so easy in fact, that this everyday truth is forgotten in the glamour of dreams. Frankenstein had no mercy for the man who raised him.

It is for the State authorities to take what preventive measures and palliatives they consider necessary. But as an Indian—who has no axe to grind in Kashmir—I cannot help asking the question: What is this agitation due to and what is its object?

Such widespread movements are generally due to religious persecution and tyranny by the ruler, or they are the results of economic forces, or secret wire-pullings of the so-called political schemers. That there is—so far as I could see through—no religious persecution in the Kashmir State, cannot be gainsaid. The only prohibition in this connection is against cow-killing, which the Muslims in Kashmir are said to have agreed to unreservedly in order to avoid wounding the susceptibilities of their Hindu neighbours. The right of worship is absolutely unrestricted, the right of inheritance according to the religion at birth is unquestioned and professing any religion is no disability in any direction whatsoever. The challenge, so often thrown, to point out a single instance to the contrary, has never been taken up even by those who are not above suggestio falsi or suppressio veri.

THE RULER’S ACTS

Now, what has the ruler done, or for the matter of that, not done to give rise to this agitation? The fact that he has ceded his paternal “jagir,” of Rs. 24 lakhs a year, to the State, establishes his being above ideas of personal gain. His modernistic tendencies are evinced by his surrendering the old prerogative of judicial functions to a duly constituted High Court, by making primary education free and compulsory and by literally multiplying the number of dispensaries and doctors. For bacteriological and chemical tests to help clinical methods and for anti-rabic treatment the people have not to go outside the State. He has legislated, in advance of British Indian Law, against juvenile smoking and marriage of minors. The law regarding trafficking in women is very much more stringent in the State than it is in British India. He has translated his desire of general improvement into practical acts of administration. There is a network of co-operative credit societies all over the land. If the State Bank and Life Insurance schemes are deferred and public works have to be restricted owing to financial stringency, the agitators have only to thank themselves. Trade is virtually at a standstill.
and the no-rent campaign is also in the air. A lot of heavy, and quite avoidable, expense has been, and is still being, incurred by the State treasury on their account. It was the present ruler who showed his patriotism by recognising the rights of hereditary State subjects, even at the cost of incurring the displeasure of neighbouring territories. The perennial problem of agriculturists, poverty, he has tried to solve, as much as it can be solved, with a novel act of legislation—the Agriculturists' Relief Regulation—a daring experiment in the teeth of intense opposition from money-lenders. He has openly declared in his pronouncements that his religion is justice—and has made good his claim by removing all disabilities from untouchables, and by withdrawing from Rajput and Brahman their exemption from being hung in punishment for murder. Surely, these acts and laws cannot by any attempt at misinterpretation be called tyrannies.

PAVISED MUSLIMS

Then again, it is generally talked about that His Highness' favourite friends, courtiers and confidants have mostly been Mahomedans. His endowments for, and restorations of, mosques exceed by far those in favour of other religious institutions or organizations. He has ordered provision to be made for Arabic teachers specially in the education department. Mahomedans are free to compete for scholarships for foreign training, and in addition, a large part of that fund is reserved for them without competition and irrespective of qualifications. These are by no means discouraging facts—and a section of people and press even go to the length of labelling him as a pro-Mahomedan.

If, on the other hand, the cause of disturbance is to be traced to universal economic forces and political tendencies, have the brains, or the want of brains, behind this agitation informed the world what their demands are, or what their constructive programme is? It may be guessed that the main demand is a higher percentage in State service. Granted, it is just and right: How is it to be effected practically? Forget also that it is childish to suggest the wholesale dismissal of present incumbents. Where are the qualified substitutes in Kashmir? To import from outside may be suggested as a solution. Does it require any argument to prove that such a step at the cost of efficiency, and in opposition to the principle of territoriality, would be simply absurd and wholly untenable. Hyderabad, Bhopal, Barmur and Bhawalpur have never recognised such claims, if they have ever been made. Rightly or wrongly, let our readers say. Afghanistan, Persia, Arabia, Egypt and Morocco can never accept such a demand from the Christians of Europe. Jews could never make Turkey accept that claim on their behalf in Palestine. Pan-Saxonism, Pan-Slavism, Pan-Germanism have all been nothing more than a flash in the pan. But to the agitator history is obviously nothing, human nature nothing and common sense, as it were, less than nothing.
Music In India: Yesterday, To-day And To-morrow

By
Revd. Mr. H. A. Popley

There is a Bengali legend to the effect that the God Siva finding men undisciplined and unruly gave them art in order to quieten and discipline their passions. When this failed to produce the needed result he taught them music and so they learnt discipline and order. This reminds one of the saying of Ruskin in *Athena of the Heavens*:

"Music in her health is the teacher of perfect order and is the voice of the obedience of angels and the companion of the spheres of heaven; and in her depravity the teacher of perfect disorder and disobedience."

The history of music in India goes back into the dim past and in the earliest books we have references to the musical art, which presuppose a long period of development. The number and variety of musical instruments found all over India and pictured for us in fresco and stone also bear testimony to the long process of development in the art of music in this land.

The mere enumeration of the musical instruments mentioned in the *Rig Veda* is sufficient to give an idea of the extent of musical culture in the early days of the Aryan people. Various kinds of drums, cymbals, lutes (vina), flutes, and trumpets are mentioned. The rules for the chanting of the *Sama Veda* also presuppose a highly developed art. These rules seem to suggest that the scale was considered to consist of two tetrachords and the whole of the seven notes are given. So music early came to occupy a central place in Hindu worship and it has retained that place throughout all the centuries until to-day it has become one of the most difficult practical problems in Hindu-Moslem co-operation. There is also plenty of evidence in the early literature for the high place which music had reached in the general life of the people of India. This is true not only of the Aryans, if such a distinct people ever existed, but also of the Dravidians as well. Both Ravana and Sugriva were accomplished musicians and the literature of the Tamilis reveals the existence of a musical art and culture independent of the Sanskrit art. The drum was the battle-flag of the Tamils and the office of drum-beater was an honoured office in the army. The *Ramayana* mentions the ancient system of Jatis, which were evidently the ragas of ancient days, and this indicates that there was in those days a science as well as an art of music.

Bharata's *Natya Sastra* is the first Sanskrit treatise containing an account of the Science and Art of Music, which is considered as a section of dancing. This work belongs probably to the sixth century of our present era and the chapter on music in it shows a science highly technical, presupposing a long period of development. By that time the Vina had come to its present position as the premier musical instrument of India. The elaborate instructions given in the *Natya Sastra* for tuning the Vina to the Madhyama Grama show that the instrument had seven strings and that the art of playing upon it was a high accomplishment. It is a pity that the author of this work has not given us any measurements and so we are not able to-day to understand the pitch of the strings or the exact relationship of the grama to one another. According to the *Natya Sastra* the scale is divided into 32 shrutis or intervals, thus indicating that the Indians, like the Greeks, had a discriminating ear and could recognize these microtonal intervals. The *Sitappadi*
movement which spread all over India. In South India the Saivite singers and the Vaishnava Aivars from the seventh to the tenth centuries, in Bengal Jayadeva, Vidyanarayana, Umapati, Umapati and Chandali Das in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Janeswara and Namdev in Maharashtra in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and Namdev and Ramananda in Upper India at the same time—all these poured out their ideals of bhakti in beautiful devotional songs which have become the precious heritage of the people of those provinces and are still sung by millions to express their noblest thoughts. Thus music became the treasured possession of the ordinary people—the men of the fields, as we may call them. There is an interesting story told of Appar, the great Saivite singer of South India, who is said to have sung one of his hymns in order to open the door of the ancient temple at Vedaranyam which had been closed for centuries. This is regarded as an allegory of the fact that the songs of these bhakti did open the door of the Vedic temple to the common people and enabled them to enter into the inner shrine of Hindu worship and devotion. From the point of view of music, however, the value of this movement was the great impetus given to the study and practice of the art. From the thirteenth century onwards we have a succession of musical treatises by scholars and musicians describing the principles and practices of the music of their day. The first of these scholars was Pandit Sarangadeva whose treatise, Sangita Ratnakara, has come down to us intact. He lived in the first half of the thirteenth century. Sarangadeva evidently takes his scuti arrangement from Bharata, but unfortunately he also does not describe it in such a way that we can be sure of having the same notes as the author used. It is quite evident that the music of both the North and the South had an intimate connection with Bharati’s Natya Sastra, though at present we are not able to trace that connection in detail.

There has been a good deal of controversy about the relationship of Indian and Grecian music. Both recognised 32 intervals and both used similar forms of scales, but there is nothing to show that there was any borrowing of one from the other. Vincent Smith, in the latest edition of his history, says: “Greek and Hellenistic influence upon India was slight and superficial, much less in amount than I believed it to be when the subject first attracted me thirty years ago.” While it is not impossible that the music of the Greeks and Hindus had some influence upon each other in the early centuries, the history of Indian musical theory during the Christian era suggests a course of development on its own lines and largely uninfluenced by extraneous elements. Further we have so little knowledge of Indian music prior to the Christian era that it is hardly possible to come to any definite conclusions on this subject.

It seems more likely that Assyrian and Egyptian music had some influence in India. The pictures of lutes found among the sculptures at Amravati and Sanchi and also in the frescoes at Ajanta show a great similarity to the instruments found in Assyrian and Egyptian sculptures. It is a significant fact that many of the pictures and sculptures show that the use of instruments in those days was very little different from those in use to-day. Drums, trumpets, tambour, are all seen in these representations substantially the same as we have them now.

Between the seventh and fourteenth centuries we see music and religion going hand in hand to inspire the great Bhakti
SRUTIS AND RAGAS

The theory of 22 srutis in the Indian scale is a thread which runs right back to Bharata. These 22 srutis appear in some form or other in music all over India. The Gandharva Mahavidyalaya in Bombay definitely used them in its teaching and though to-day in South Indian theory the arrangement of Venkatamakhi, which concentrates attention upon the 12 semitones, is the common basis, musical tradition in the South recognises the existence of all the srutis in different ragas. For instance, it is said that the Bhshabha of Kalyani is one sruti lower than the Rishabha of Malayagama, though they are usually represented by the same semitone. Again it is agreed that the Dhaivata of Khamboji is one sruti flatter than the Dhaivata of Kalyani though here again they are usually represented by the same note. There are many such interesting variants which show how the tradition of the 22 srutis has persisted even in South India where Venkatamakhi's authority has resolved them all into the 12 semitones. This shows on the one hand how impossible it is to represent all the notes of the Indian scale on any such instrument as the harmonium and on the other hand that, even when strong influences are at work to westernise the Indian musical scale, the strength of tradition still persists "like the scent of asafoetida in a pot."

The Raga system, upon which all Indian melody is based, has its roots deep in the past. We see the beginnings of it in Bharata though we cannot now be certain of the exact notes used in his ragas. Bharata introduced the system of starting all the notes on one tonic. It appears that the ragas began as scales starting from the seven svaras of the octave in the two gramas—the Sargama and the Magrama. Later they were all reduced to one tonic—Shadhja itself as we see in the Natw Sastri. Gradually they were arranged in different groups in accordance with the order of the intervals used. Bharata classifies them into Murchanas and Jatis, the Murchanas probably being the Janaka or primary ragas and the Jatis the derivative ragas. Lochinakavi in the Ragataraangini, about the fifteenth century, groups them under 12 thats or basic ragas. The Raganibodha of Pandit Somnath, written in 1600, definitely classifies them into Janaka (primary) and Janya (derivative) ragas in the same fashion as Pandit Venkatamakhi worked out shortly after in his Chaturdani Prakasika. The latter elaborated this much more thoroughly and precisely and his system is still used to-day as the basis for the raga system of Karnatic music.

The Southern system definitely adopted this rigid mathematical basis, whereas the Northern music went on finding new ways of grouping the ragas until it hit upon the Raga-ragini basis, which is unfortunately very defective in many ways. The medieval northern pandits, however, in most cases followed the plan of Lochinakavi, and selected twelve to twenty thats as being primary and grouped all the others under them. This is essentially the same plan that Pandit Bhaktahade has adopted within recent years so as to bring order into the confusion of Hindustani Ragas. Pandit Bhaktahade has selected 10 main thats or primary ragas from which all the others are derived or with which they are associated.

In the Southern system the derivation is an actual fact, upon the basis of which the classification is built; whereas in the Northern system the classification itself suggests the probable derivation. In the former we have a number of families with their children who got a little mixed in the medieval period and have had to be re-sorted, so to speak, in accordance with their actual birth, whereas in the Hindustani system we have a great crowd of children who have forgotten all about their parents and have to be provided with suitable ones through a careful process of classification by the scrutiny of their distinctive features. Take Bihag as an illustration. It is placed in the Bilaval that by
Pandit Bhakthbande because in the main it contains the same semitones as the Bilaval Rag. But actually it uses Tivra Madhyana in certain combinations which would bring it within the Yaman group. Again Lalita is placed in the Bhairava that, although Bhairava itself never uses Tivra Madhyana and Lalita does so constantly.

The frequent use of this Tivra Madhyana, the Tritone or the sharpened fourth, is one of the striking characteristics of Indian music which again goes back to very ancient tradition. It is supposed to be the main distinction of the Magrana, which has thus survived in the form of special thals and many ragas. The Greeks, too, seem to have used the tritone though it has almost disappeared from western music, but Debussy makes use of it in his compositions which thus have an Indian flavour. It lends a distinction to Indian music that is clear and unmistakable. To begin with it grates on western ears but as one becomes accustomed to it, it grows on one and gives an exotic charm to the music. Hindustani music makes much more use of it than Karnatic music, which does not allow it to stray as an accidental into ragas that are not supposed to be derived from scales that make use of it. Many Northern ragas use both the Madhyanas in the same melody thus adding a further charm by these frequent changes.

**ORIGIN OF RAGAS**

We must now try to get away from this technical side and see how the ragas actually arose among the people before they were dissected and classified by the scholars.

To begin with there is the major pentatonic Bhupali or Mohanam as it is named in the two systems, a raga which Sir Walford Davies has called “the world’s universal scale”. It brings in the salient notes of the major scale and is found in every country. "Old Man River," one of the most popular songs sung by Paul Robesyn, the negro singer of America, is in this raga. So also is the popular Scotch song, "Coming Thro’ the Rye." The major pentatonic scale is found in almost every country and the reason for this lies in the fundamental facts of musical sound. This scale contains the five great notes of the octave upon which the voice naturally rests and which the ear has no difficulty in recognising. It is natural then that we should find this scale or raga all over India as one of the most popular ragas. It is most likely that music among the common folk in India, as elsewhere, began in the form of simple songs in transillent scales which were varied according to the mood of the singer. So we find to-day such scales occupying a prominent place among Indian melodies. The introduction of minor intervals into this pentatonic transforms it into a different scale suited to moods of sadness and so the process went on.

There must also have been a parallel process associated with the ritual of sacrifice. Music and religion have always been mutual help-meets. We see this process in the gradual development of the Saman chant and with it the seven-note scale. The Saman scale seems to have begun with a tetrachord pivoting around a note called the udatta. Later the musicians found their way to the lower tetrachord pivoting around a note a fourth lower called the anudatta. Later on the various notes were named from the highest downwards which was called Prathama and so on to the Dvitiya, Tritya, Chaturtha, Mandra and Atisvarya. Later a seventh was added which was higher than the Prathama and so the seven notes of the scale are recognised. It was the musical pandits associated with the priestly ritual who worked out the scientific basis of the scale to begin with. Songs preceded scales and the songs of the common people did not trouble about musical scales then any more than they do to-day. They sang as the mood touched them and new melodies and scales sprang into being and passed from mouth to mouth and there was no one to question and none to classify. Not so with ritual singing. That was a fine art which was regulated with
precision and so it was in this connection first that musical science came into existence. Gradually it would come to include also the music and songs of the people and would bring under examination all the music that was known. So musical science developed. People sang in pentatonic ragas long before they knew anything about pentatonics or the theory of tunes and intervals. As musical science became more widely known, the various melodies and ragas would be classified and examined and certain common principles would be deduced.

In this way the theory of the three gramas starting on different tones and the various jatis and murchanas gradually came to expression in order to explain the musical facts that scholars had noted. We can see the process going on throughout the centuries and beginning from Bharata's Natya Sastra, the first Sanskrit treatise on music, the writers are trying to explain the existing musical facts and not to create a new science on a priori principles. That is why we find it so extraordinarily difficult to-day to understand all their explanations. They were explaining musical facts as they existed then but as they exist no longer to-day. Some of their explanations will elude us for ever because we can never reproduce the facts upon which they were based. We do not know how their instruments were tuned and there is nothing to tell us what pitch they used.

It is not till we come to Somnaththa in the seventeenth century that we get an explanation of notes and ragas that we can thoroughly understand because we are given the necessary wire lengths that enable us to reproduce those very notes to-day. Though we cannot know accurately all the details of this process through the centuries we can understand the general lines of it and see it as it goes on from stage to stage.

We see the beginnings of the modern ragas in the fourteen jatis and murchanas of Bharata, by shifting the Shadja to each successive note of the scale in the two Gramas or modes, the Sa-grama and the Ma-grama. Sarvagama in the Ratnakara further develops these into 264 ragas which he names and classifies. Pandarika Vittul, Somnaththa, Pandit Venkatamakh, and Pandit Abhala carry on the process and give us the basis of the musical systems of North and South India as they are found to-day.

All this time the singers were singing and musicians were playing and were working out in a practical way the implications of the musical scholars. The great Tan Sen had founded a school of music in the court of the Emperor Akbar and had gathered round himself a band of disciples who carried on the tradition. The Maratha court in Tanjore became the centre for a group of musicians which had its finest exponent in Tyagaraja during the last century, a Sanskrit scholar, poet and great singer.

NOTATION

A system of notation, based on the initial sounds of the Sanskrit names for the Svaras, became universal throughout India. The old Tamil names for these notes and the peculiar Tamilian system of ragas gradually gave way and was lost in tradition and in obscure references in mediaeval literature. This all-India system of Sargam notation as it is called from the first four svara initials, Sa, Ri, Ga, Ma—may well form the basis of an universal system in Nagari characters. At present each vernacular uses its own script. The universal diffusion of Sanskrit culture throughout India has made it possible for scholars to understand one another and to communicate with one another, just as Latin was the common medium of communication for scholars throughout Europe in mediaeval times. Thus amid all the diversities of musical form and expression there is an underlying unity in Indian music.

The temple and the theatre have been two of the most important factors in the develop-
ment of Indian music. From the seventeenth to the thirteenth centuries the Saivite and Vaishnavite bhakti-singers enrich the musical expression of the South and from the thirteenth century to the seventeenth the devotees of Rama and Krishna opened the doors of the temple of music to the common people throughout Upper India and Bengal. The Gita Gopinda of Jayadeva in the twelfth century is the earliest of these lyrical compositions of which we have any knowledge today in Bengal. It is written in Sanskrit and is, therefore, known all over India. Though we have lost today the key to interpret the way in which it was sung by the author himself and by his disciples, there is no doubt that it had a far-reaching influence in the development of music throughout Bengal.

Away back from the earliest times the theatre has been a centre of attraction in the villages and towns of India. Strolling players have gone round the country-side as they do today and have sung and acted to the people the old Indian legends of the Ramayana and Mahabharata. Nearly all Indian vernacular drama is still operatic and has been so from the earliest times. The Ram Lila throughout the whole of North India is one of the great festivals when the story of Rama and Sita is sung for days to thousands of people. Some of the tunes to which the songs are set are simple folk melodies, but many of them are classical melodies. In this way musical knowledge and appreciation spread among the people. Further because such bands of players wander from one part of India to another they pick up tunes and compositions from other provinces and places and so help towards the unification of Indian musical culture. The Poona dramatist Kirloskar imported many South Indian ragas into his pieces and Southern dramatists like Raghavachary use many Hindustani ragas and tunes.

(To be continued.)
Plea for Improved Handicrafts

By Dr. B. Rama Chandra Rau

The case for handicrafts has often been discussed in this country. Noted economists like Profs. Dr. Radhakamal Mukherjee and Dr. Pranathanath Banerjee have discussed threadbare the diverse arguments for their revival in this country. The final argument that these advocates staunchly tack on is the suitability of the handicraft productive processes to the slow-moving and the little progressive people of the country. It is important, we are reminded, not to forget the sordid results of factory life, slum squalor and industrial fatigue that will result out of undue encouragement of factory conditions of industrial organisation. Nothing solid can be done to evaluate these psychological benefits resulting out of the handicraft system of production in concrete economic terms. The sole purpose of this article is not only to place a few suggestions recommending the case of improved handicrafts for a stronger recognition than is the case at present, but to discuss the feasibility of making the unemployed and under-employed urban industrial workers undertake suitable handicrafts.

INDUSTRIAL UNEMPLOYMENT

The economic plea rests on the net increase of employment arising out of the temporary substitution of simple and suitable handicrafts to provide work for the unemployed whose definite and primary employment lies elsewhere in the factory, but who have been dispossessed as a result of the representative firm's activity in the direction of securing internal as well as external economics. The actuating motive of the wide-awake employer is always in the direction of making an intelligent and good use of the principle of substitution. Experimenting with new processes of production or using machines for routine manual processes the alert employer wishes to steal a march over his fellow-brethren in the field. This play of useful activity is no less predominant in the field of the monopolist industrial producer or giant industrial combination managing the industrial field. The monopolist will add to the net gains, or may be favourably disposed towards benefiting the consumer by lowering the level of prices. Where the product is subject to the law of elastic demand, the attempt of the monopolistic 'entrepreneur' would be in the direction of lowering the prices and increasing the total output. Granted that there is a competitive field in the matter of industrial production the quasi-rent which the producer would hope to reap cannot rest undisturbed in his hands for quite a long time. Knowledge of improved processes becomes widely spread in these days of enlightenment, improved means of communication and trade publicity.

This rationalisation which is often briefly understood in the sense of systematisation, the standardisation and the application of scientific methods to production and industrial business is often the cause of industrial unemployment. As the rationalisation movement is extending everywhere, the number of the unemployed is fast increasing in every society. Even the U. S. A., which is often referred to as "the El

(1) Modern glass houses mean unemployment in the building trade.

(2) The rationalising of sugar-cutting methods means unemployment of several agricultural workers or cane-cutters. It is estimated that the newly patented sugar-cane harvesting machinery can harvest 4,000,000 dollars worth of sugar-cane from 20,000 acres. Each cane harvester now being used in Florida can do the work of about 200 cane-cutters in the traditional machete. See the "Literary Digest"—March 1931.
Dorado” has approximately 3,500,000, on the unemployment list. *En passant* the failure of the British Labour Party to solve the unemployment problem by means of the Unemployment Insurance Fund need not be referred to.

**EFFECTS OF UNEMPLOYMENT**

Industrial unemployment or under-employment, being an accepted feature of the present-day industrial organisation, many and several have been the alleviations experimented with as desirable remedies for mitigating the economic rigours arising out of continued unemployment or lack of subsidiary or secondary employment. Physical deterioration, loss of skill and aptitude and demoralisation set in during the days of unemployment, industrial unrest itself can be properly considered as mere psychological nervousness on the part of industrial workers who are always haunted with the fear of becoming intermittently unemployed.

Thanks to the Whitley Commission some valuable and authoritative information has been made available to the economists. Industrial unemployment exists in Bombay where the cotton mills have thrown out of work several people as a result of the employment of more efficient methods. The same has been the case with Jumshedpur. In railway workshops and Jute factories there is clear evidence of unemployed labour. Lacking figures of regularly employed labourers, it is almost impossible to make a clear analysis of the latter-day situation. But the almost plaintive cry of unemployment is heard in all industrial centres. The tendency to migrate to the village clouds the specific issue. Without knowing the full complement of the regular and steady labour force it cannot be stated that there is widespread industrial unemployment. Even amongst the seamen and dock-workers there is only a reserve of labour force kept ready for employment and the number of idle workers at any particular time in the industries cannot be considered as exceeding the required number and hence belonging to the list of unemployed people.

The severe contraction of trade since 1929 has increased the severity of the unemployment problem here as well as in the other industries.

The following table gives the reader a rough idea of the unemployed:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of cotton factory workers</th>
<th>No. of iron workers</th>
<th>No. of railway workers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>144,547</td>
<td>29,106</td>
<td>138,678</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>146,244</td>
<td>32,078</td>
<td>141,322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>148,354</td>
<td>32,531</td>
<td>152,277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>144,961</td>
<td>31,484</td>
<td>146,422</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>149,637</td>
<td>38,832</td>
<td>157,464</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>148,389</td>
<td>38,600</td>
<td>152,982</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Without an Unemployment Bureau or Labour Exchange or widely active Trade Union organisation, the requisite data concerning the volume of regularly employed, casually employed, and the volume of regularly and definitely unemployed people is not to be had. Everything in this direction is delightful guess work. There is a “complete absence of statistics” as the recent report of the Labour Commission admits.

While chronic unemployment or under-employment is the chief result in the cotton mill industry, iron and steel making, railway workshops and the dock labour, there is a general shortage of labour in the plantation industries. This itself clearly shows that a scheme of properly arranged internal migration from one province to another province would go a long way towards solving the unemployment problem. But the peculiarity of the present-day situation is that the cities act as the pools of the unemployed industrial labourers.

**WESTERN NOSTRUMS**

It is indeed true that there are other causes for widespread unemployment amongst the industrial workers. An industrial depression arising out of slackened trade, such as the present one, may cause or inaugurate ruthless retrenchment throwing workers out of employment. The creation of “unemployment reserves” is the new plan which has been recommended by the theoretical economists.
The new Rochester plan of meeting unemployment problems of the future need not be referred to in detail. The retransformation of British Industry by reorganisation, reclassification and federation within a period of five years is being contemplated by eminent practical industrialists, publicists and thinkers like Sir Donald A. D. Cooper, J. B. S. Haldane, Sir Oswald Mosley and Prof. Harold Laski.

Spurring the horse of consumption by higher salaries and the inauguration of the purchases by the instalment system and fantastic advertising are some of the modern remedies employed in the U. S. A. to meet the bogey of unemployment arising out of and as an inevitable accompaniment of a thorough rationalisation of production, be it in agriculture or industries. The present world crisis is, of course, attributed by some economic thinkers to these rationalisation schemes.

Unemployment Insurance has been recommended by the Fawcett Committee of 1925-29 to the Bombay Millowners; but as the Whitley Commission rightly emphasises, any national system of unemployment insurance cannot be devised in India under the existing set of circumstances.

The only well-known unemployment relief method in our country is "the providing of work for the workless in useful works." Bare subsistence wages and relief for the dependents of the able-bodied workers are the well-known methods of remedying rural unemployment. Road construction and drainage work and cooperation with schemes such as those of the Improvement Trusts would alleviate the situation easily.

While these have been the past remedies for assisting the comparatively unemployed rural workers, the main one of finding suitable handicrafts for the urban skilled industrial workers has not been recognised. The possibilities underlying this suggestion have to be explored.

**CONDITIONS FOR SUCCESS**

The undertaking of suitable handicrafts as an alleviating measure can be suggested. But even this presupposes certain favourable set of circumstances, viz., the suitability of the selected handicrafts and the possibility of the remunerative sale of the finished products. Literate and skilled labour alone can hope to make the necessary practical adjustments. But this mobility between manual industries and non-manual industries would tend to be defeated if the industrial outfit needed for working at the particular handicraft is costly and requires a lot of practical training to handle it efficiently. Even though mobility might be frequent and the capital needed is obtained, the sale of the finished product can be advantageously arranged by the Co-operative Sale Societies alone organised on sound business lines. Without these helpful set of circumstances it would be foolish to think of recommending suitable handicrafts to find work for the dispossessed jobless workers of the modern industrial organisation.

Another conditional circumstance qualifying the success of this venture is the sentiment of the people. The sentimental liking of the consumers would prepare them to undergo the necessary sacrifices involved in maintaining the handicraft production in a flourishing stage. Mass production and machine production alone can satisfy the craze of cheapness on the part of the general run of consumers. Mass consumption alone can make mass production a successful ideal. Like the proverbial Siamese Twins they exist together. It is only when mass consumption lags behind that we witness industrial depression and consequent enforced unemployment.

The idea of a large number of far-seeing economists is to advocate territorial division of labour, secure free exchange of commodities

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(1) The Calcutta Corporation has been encouraging the building of motor car bodies with domestic material. The success of this industry depends purely on the rich domestic consumers willing to pay higher prices than what this branch of the American General Motor Company situated at Bombay can afford to do. Similarly a domestic needle machine assembled by an Indian inventor has been exhibited at the Swadeshi Mela—November, 1911, Calcutta. But the wholesale distribution of it can take place only when it is a little cheaper than the Singer Sewing Machine.
and bring about free economic intercourse between the different countries or between the different groups of people in the same country. The labelling of certain countries of the world into distinct classes, viz., agrarian states and the industrial states is no doubt a well-known academic issue. The co-operating purchasing groups of one country should bargain with the Co-operative Sale Societies of the other. However beneficial this system of economic intercourse might be, the present-day mistaken notions of economic nationalism, the self-sufficiency of nations and the dogged tenacity to maintain intact one’s own cultural outfit stand in the way of the successful realisation of these highly useful conceptions.

INDIA NO EXCEPTION

Starting with this basic idea, each nation has been trying to create, develop and protect the new and the old industries so that it does not wish to be predominantly an agricultural or industrial nation. Diversified occupations being the economic goal, each nation, by stimulating the financial organisation and industrial equipment and by initiating other forms of State-aid, has been striving to maintain industries behind highly protective tariff walls. Under the cloak of national patriotism and employment for local workers, several key industries are started by the predominantly agricultural countries and when there is feverish overproduction in the artificially created industries, industrial unemployment is fast becoming a serious evil undermining the morale of the people.

The railway development and road construction aided by certain political forces tended to outst the hand-made article in this country. The luxury handicrafts catering to the needs of the feudal aristocracy have suffered. Driven out of employment, some of the workers have fallen back on the land leading to overcrowding and rack-renting. With the development of indigenous capital secured through the channels of commercial profits or professional earnings, some people have come forward to own and manage some of the factory-type industries which were originally started by the British people. But it is almost an accepted fact that India can never develop into an Industrial Prodigy. Lack of cheap power resources, capital, the requisite managerial talent and the basic equipment necessary for stable industrial organisation would delimit the scope of her industrial transformation. There is a remarkable absence of talented financiers and the integration of industry is impossible without them. Here and there like oases in the desert, there have been a few flourishing industrial centres; but it is here that the industrial unemployment problem has arisen already.

INTERNATIONALISATION

In spite of the benumbing effects of high tariff walls and highly protective duties of destructive character, factory or modern large-scale industry is becoming international in character. Certain industries have become international in scope. The international migration of the Belgian Chemical and Glass industry, the French Perfume industry, the Swedish Match industry and the Dutch margarine industry cannot be checked any longer. The tendency of any big industry is not to stay at home, but to travel abroad. Like the proverbial snowball increasing in size, a successful modern industry tends to expand its units of production.

Certain American industries have opened in the aggregate about 79 branches in Germany, France, Spain, Italy and Great Britain. The internationalisation of capital is the chief cause for this migration and no handicraft can hope to outlive the tremendous competitive onslaughts of modern mill or machine production. The law of industrial evolution or the

*The almost penalising increase in one country's tariff generally makes the producing country open its factory to the buying or purchasing country levying the high tariff wall—U. S. A., France, Germany, Czecho-Slovakia, Italy and others have applied for factory sites, about 1,000 in number, in the industrial areas so as to avoid paying the increased tariffs which the National Government of Great Britain is bent on introducing.
evolution of industrial organisation has been in this direction. Can India hope to survive a similar situation brought about by an invasion of international industrial forces? Can India hope to fly against this providential set of circumstances and hope to achieve success by reorganising her almost decaying handicrafts?

WORDS OF CAUTION

Although the revival of handicrafts, as a befitting occupation for the unemployed industrial workers of our cities, can be logically recommended as a safety-valve, certain conditions facilitating their progress have to be initiated. It ought to be the endeavour on the part of the social leaders backed by adequate Government support to protect the decaying handicrafts and set up new and suitable types of handicraft production. Presence of skill, restricted local markets, the necessity to find work in leisureed hours, the possibility of employing women, children, etc., the possession of small capital and the feasibility of securing raw materials give the highest possible facilities for developing or initiating the new handicrafts. Toy making, oil-pressing, hosiery making, ornament and pottery making, and paper and match manufacture can be considered as suitable to urban localities. It is not the inevitable charkhana alone which can bring salvation to these unemployed masses.

So long as sentiment on the part of the consumers is powerful and the sweating system does not tend to prevail, the existence of the flourishing handicrafts can be quickly brought about in the favoured areas under some scheme of intelligent social control or other.

The first duty of this social control organisation should be to remove the several well-known defects of our domestic stage of industrial production so patent to all discerning observers. The inauguration of favourable industrial atmosphere is no less important. Suitable financial facilities, cheap and continuous supply of raw materials by joint co-operative purchase societies, the provision of improved mechanical appliances and the existence of sanitary conditions of living are some of the important necessities. Freedom from indebtedness can be secured only by checking the exploitative usuries of middlemen. The drink and the drug evils are also detrimental to the existence of handicraft industries in a flourishing stage. Unnecessary expenses for social or ceremonial purposes also check their ability to succeed in their business, in spite of the existence of any other set of favourable circumstances. Orderly marketing, the avoidance of shoddy work and honesty and the loyalty of the workers to the joint co-operative sale societies are no less essential. These are some of the important helps designed by the Devadhar Malabar Reconstruction Trust to resurrect the cottage industries of Malabar. Self-same measures of encouragement have been undertaken in the State of Hyderabad under the intelligent direction of Mr. A. Collins—the Director-General of Commerce. The endeavour on the part of the social organisation authorities in other cities should be based on similar lines.

The coconut fibre industry or the coir-making industry, the handloom weaving, the palmira-mat industry, the bell-metal and the bronze industry, cabinet-making, soap-making and fish-oil manufacture, are some of the cottage industries encouraged by the above Trust, as well as the Industries Department of the Government. Goat-rearing, poultry-farming and bee-keeping are some of the secondary industries encouraged for alleviating the lot of the rural agriculturists. Besides undertaking propaganda work to arouse the necessary sentimental liking for finished products of the handicrafts, the Trust is endeavouring to secure the sale of the finished products.

FUTURE

The lesson is clear. An economic survey of the existing handicrafts in each of these big centres should be made. When and where such handicrafts as the bell-metal industry, the silver-utensil making industry, ivory carving, coconut fibre industry and the printing trade
or the dyeing industry can be organised successfully on improved lines, an endeavour should be made to organise them on cooperative lines. The successful revival of handloom weaving industry in several centres such as Tirupur in South India is due to the activity of the co-operative endeavour in the industry. Similarly the engineering workshops can be made to work as flourishing concerns. The shirt-making and the tailoring industry can also be successfully organised. These manufacturing activities can be successfully organised by local Chambers of Commerce. If the growing population of our cities is at all to live under improved conditions of living, there is no other alternative but this.

Economic prophecies are indeed mischievous and futile. Capital won by commerce might easily seek an outlet in the encouragement of factories equipped with modern machinery. The aggregation of capital, the widening of the markets and the anxiety to annex large profits may give scope to the expansion of industrial production. It is only in the distant future that these cities might become the centres of factory life, distributing its goods in the vast hinterland behind them.
Minorities Problem: The League Method

By

Mr. K. R. R. Sastry

The First Plenary session of the Round Table Conference ended with a feeling that a provision should be made in the constitution of "adequate safeguards for the Musalmans, the Sikhs, the Depressed classes, and all other important minorities". A perusal of the Report of the Third Sub-Committee as also of the speeches made therein leaves on one's mind doubts, difficulties, and apprehensions. The situation has since become so increasingly bargaining in spirit and letter.

The delegate that Gandhiji was with a special power of attorney, he had to stick to the recognition of Muslims and Sikhs as the only minorities. While the Congress is opposed to communal electorates it is bordering on casuistry for Mr. Jinnah to state that the "real problem was not so much of joint or separate electorates as a question of Muslim majority in the Punjab and Bengal." The Depressed classes, Europeans, Anglo-Indians, Muslims and Indian Christians (pace Mr. Dutta) seem to require separate electorates.

The demand for communal representation and fixed proportion of seats could be secured by nomination, joint-electorates with reservation of seats, and separate electorates. Nomination is despicable, and the two latter have the evils of separate electorates in a greater or less degree. Mr. Gandhi's provisional agreement to the principle of separate electorate and a Muslim majority in the Punjab and Bengal, and the taking of a referendum on the question of joint-electorate immediately on the coming into operation of the new constitution, was the only sliver lining in the cloud. The situation has since for the none ended in admitted failure to reach an agreement.

THE LEAGUE'S SOLUTION.

With this problem, there has been some loose talk that the experience of the League of Nations with the Minorities Problem may be of value. The Great Powers, before the War, intervened in the internal affairs of certain states on the plausible plea of supervising the application of guarantees for groups of a population of different races, languages, or religions. This was occasionally used "for purely political ends". In the new era after the War, the League of Nations was entrusted with this task. The special treaties signed at Paris during the Peace Conference, the special chapters inserted in the general treaties of peace, the Declarations made before the Council of the League of Nations, and the conventions comprise these new international instruments.

The idea underlying these instruments is not establishing "a general jurisprudence applicable wherever racial, linguistic or religious minorities existed." Problems which might present particular difficulties owing to special circumstances were alone attempted to be solved through the League mechanism. Thus it was that an attempt was made to generalise the system of protection of minorities at the third Assembly (1922) by the Latvian Representative. Again in 1925, the Lithuanian Delegation proposed that a Special Committee should be set up "to prepare a draft convention to include all the States-members of the League of Nations and setting forth their common rights and duties
in regard to minorities. The Lithuanian view not proving acceptable, the personal view of M. de Mello Franco (Brazil) more correctly represented the prevailing view. As he tersely put it "in order that a minority according to the meaning of the present treaties, should exist, it must be the product of struggles, going back for centuries or perhaps for shorter periods, between certain nationalities and of the transference of certain territories from one sovereignty to another through successive historic phases". In this view, it would not be possible for all States to adhere to a general convention.

These minority treaties deal with general and special rights. Under the general rights are comprised the right to nationality, right to life, personal liberty freedom of worship, right to equal treatment, right with regard to the use of the minority language and the right to obtain a share of public funds devoted to educational, religious or charitable purposes. The special rights are guaranteed to minorities situated in more or less exceptional circumstances. The provision with regard to Jewish minorities in Greece, Lithuania, and Poland, the treaties with reference to Muslims in Albania, Greece, and the Serbo-Croatian Kingdom, are examples of the latter class of rights.

MINORITIES TO CO-OPERATE.

The Resolution of the third Assembly on the duties of minorities is of special interest to India. For, runs a resolution of the third Assembly: "While the Assembly recognizes the primary right of the minorities to be protected by the League from oppression, it also emphasizes the duty incumbent on persons belonging to racial, religious or linguistic minorities to co-operate as loyal fellow-citizens with the nations to which they now belong."

So far as the League's intervention in practice is concerned, the League Council has always felt that it "should act more as an organ of conciliation in these matters " than as a court adjudi\nging as between two parties. In the questions of settlers of German race in Poland and the acquisition of Polish nationality, the League Council asked the Permanent Court of International Justice for an advisory opinion on certain points of law.

The elaborate procedure with regard to the Petitions is advisedly more informative than judicial. The League Council's Resolutions of October 22, 1920 and June 29, 1921, have given the essentials of these petitions if they are not to be rejected by the Secretary-General in the first instance. These petitions must have—{(a) the protection of minorities in view in accordance with the treaties; (b) in particular they must not be submitted in the form of a request for the severance of political relations between the minority in question and the State of which it forms a part; (c) they must not emanate from any anonymous or unauthenticated source; and (d) they must abstain from violent language. When these conditions are fulfilled, the petition is communicated to the State concerned. If the State raises any objection as to its admissibility, the Secretary-General submits the question to the President of the League Council who may invite two other members to assist him.

Once the petition is admitted, the State must declare its wish to present any observations within three weeks. In the case of un-preparedness to present observations, a period of two months including the three weeks is allowed for their submission. The Minority Committee consisting of the President of the Council and two other members invited by him then go through the petition.

In the event of any difference of opinion on a question of law or fact between the Government concerned and any State-member of the Council, this difference is held to be a dispute under Act XIV of the covenant and the question may be referred to the International Court whose decision is final. The States have the right of appointing in pursuance of Art. 31 of the Statutes of the court "one of their nationals to act as a judge ad \hoc
whenever they have no national judge amongst the ordinary members of the court”.

Thus, whether it be in the scope of protection of the guarantees, the elaborately guarded and flexible procedure which is more non-judicial than judicial, the definition of League’s methods as “benevolent and informal communications” with the Governments concerned, or in the right of the Government to be represented by a national in the International Court in all cases of a dispute referred to it under Art. XIV of the Covenant, the League’s method has been conciliatory, smooth and benevolent.

INDIA AND THE LEAGUE’S METHOD

So far as India is concerned, the League method can have an application only when there are special statutory treaties or conventions. Judged by M. de Mello Franco’s test of a minority, the Muslims may just qualify for it. One of the proposals before the III Sub-

Committee of the first Round Table Conference session was the inclusion in the constitution of a “declaration of fundamental rights safeguarding the cultural and religious life of the various communities.” To court the parallel of the League method with reference to the peculiar minority problems of India—with the demand of special electorates and weightage in certain provinces—is not found to be of much value at the present stage of discussions. In the view of the failure of Indian Statesmanship to solve the minority problems unaided by outside agency, an agreed reference to the League for arbitration may be another way of resorting to the good offices of the League. That the difficult and delicate minority problems referred to the League are being solved in a spirit of conciliation and pacification is indeed full of lessons to those inclined to over-stress their particularist views.
Bhai Bir Singh: A Disciple of Guru Gobind Singh

By
The Late Surdhar Puran Singh

Prince amongst men, in the signal of whose eyebrow, there was both war and peace at the bidding of his Master.

II.

The rabid soldiers pursued the flying Sikh Prince and tracked him to the fort of Bhai Bir Singh who was universally respected as the leading Sikh mystic and God-man. But the drunken state of the mind of the Sikh soldiers then, had lost all respect for authority, there was no fear of God or the Guru left. The passion for self-aggrandisement and animal appetites for pelf and power completely possessed the incensed soldiers and they knew contentment only in the wanton spilling of blood. The Lahore Sikh soldiers besieged the Fort and demanded the person of the Prince; but Bhai Bir Singh replied: "I am the Guru's soldier posted on His Door, This is His Fort. It is His Shrine. I am a mere servant whose one duty is to die at his post. The Prince has taken shelter with the Guru; he is now in His Refuge".

But the irate soldiers did not listen to the sage, and demanded again the person of the Prince. Bhai Bir Singh again replied in the same way.

The mad soldiers opened fire on the Narnaghad fort. The disciple-sentinel gunners on duty ran to Bhai Bir Singh for orders. All was ready, the advantage lay with the followers of Bhai Bir Singh if he would bid them open fire. Bhai Bir Singh said: "No!"

After a while, entreaties were made again, pressing for orders to open fire and yet Bhai Bir Singh said: "No!"

Great was the disappointment of the garrisoned Sikhs, for the Lahore Sikhs were pour-
ing death into their ranks with every cannon ball and their comrades lay dying in pools of blood.

They again asked Bhai Bir Singh, "Sire! They have commenced war in right earnest, why should we keep silent? Order that we may fire. Our comrades are dying."

"Die!" said Bhai Bir Singh; "for what is the remedy when brothers decide to kill brothers?"

"How can they be brothers?" said the followers.

"Yes, they are brothers! what matters it if they know it not, enough that we know them for our brothers?" said Bhai Bir Singh.

The guns of the Bhai Bir Singh's fort suffered bombardment silently, and the Lahore people in their fury went on firing on their brothers.

III.

"Where are the Master's Minstrels now? Come, let us raise the song of His praise. This is the hour for us to sing!" said Bhai Bir Singh.

The choir of Bhai Bir Singh assembled around him, and they began singing the Guru's hymns. The last cannon ball from outside fell amongst the singing choir, and Bhai Bir Singh was killed as he sat with his eyes closed in deep rapture. The mad Sikh soldiers exulted in their victory and felt proud of their prowess that could reduce such an invulnerable fort in which Bhai Bir Singh lived unconquered even by the late Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

The men knew not that they had killed themselves, and shot dead the Sikh spirit.
The problems connected with land are those that matter most to an Indian population, which is four-fifths occupied with the tillage of the soil and the pasturage of cattle. For the great masses of the population the most important factors of existence are the vicissitudes of the weather, the timely arrival and distribution of the monsoon rains, the ravages of river floods, the incidents of their land tenures, their relations with the landlords to whom they pay their rents, and with the money-lenders who make them advances for their cultivation but reap in return a harvest of interest which is often a perpetual millstone round their necks.

In a previous paper, I have discussed the physical problems resulting from the configuration of the country and other natural conditions such as the amount and distribution of the annual rainfall. Besides these, there are fiscal problems associated with the history and administration of the land revenue demand; there are agrarian problems arising out of relations between landlords and tenants throughout the province; and lastly there are economic problems caused by the growing pressure of population on the resources of the soil. It is proposed to discuss these in the present paper.

CHARACTER OF THE POPULATION

It will be convenient to begin with a short account of the distribution of population in the three constituent areas of the province. The first most notable point is the extent to which it is rural and agricultural. In North Bihar only 27 persons out of every 1,000 live in towns, and of the remaining 973 living in villages 881 are wholly dependent on agriculture. In South Bihar the corresponding figures are 72; 928 and 726. With these proportions may be compared the English agricultural figure of 4 per cent. and the Scottish of 11 per cent. In other words, while agriculture supports less than one-tenth of our population, it provides subsistence in Bihar for four-fifths of the people. Except for a portion of the mica belt and some limestone and slate quarries in the south, there are no minerals to speak of in Bihar, and no large-scale industries save the railway workshops at Jamalpur, a large tobacco factory at Monghyr, and a few sugar-cane mills north of the river. Of the total population the great bulk are Hindus, who account for 83 per cent. north of the Ganges and 91 per cent. south of the river. The remainder is almost entirely Muhammadan, for other classes, Christians, aboriginals, etc., are negligible. Muhammadans are to be found in all districts, but they form a distinctly larger element in the towns than they do in rural areas.

Of the Hindus, the five highest castes, who are the purest representatives of the Indo-Aryan invader, account for about 12 per cent. of the total population. The depressed classes, who are of aboriginal origin but have a slight veneer of Hinduism, account for about 6 per cent. of whom perhaps one-fourth are treated as "untouchable". Other Hindu castes represent 80 per cent. of the
total. The great landed proprietors of Bihar belong mainly to the highest Hindu castes, but they include also a sprinkling of Muhammadans, descendants of the Afghan and Moghul conquerors. The main body of Muhammadans were converts of the conquest, derived largely from the aboriginal and lower castes. The Aryan element varies greatly from district to district. It is strongest north of the river, because there the original invaders founded their largest colonies. To this day a Brahman will prefer to bathe from the north bank of the Ganges.

In Chota Nagpur the most important characteristic of the population is the extent to which it is aboriginal or non-Aryan.

A fair index to the smallness of the Aryan element is to be found in a comparison of the proportion of the five highest Hindu castes, which for the province as a whole is 12 per cent, with that of the pure aborigines in each district, remembering that the balance is largely made up from the lower Hindu castes, which are mostly of aboriginal extraction. The figures are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Five highest Hindu Castes</th>
<th>Aboriginal</th>
<th>Others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Santal Parganas</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angul</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sambalpur</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chota Nagpur Division - Ranchi</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palaman</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>42</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hazaribagh</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>41</td>
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<tr>
<td>Singhisham</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manbhum</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Oriya population of the three coast districts is almost exclusively Hindu: the Muhammadan element does not exceed 3 per cent, and the aboriginal animist about 24 per cent. I have already referred to the Aryan infusion, which may be taken at 10 per cent. The depressed classes form one-eighth of the whole, and are more markedly depressed here than in Bihar, just as they are in Madras. The Oriya language, which stands closer to Sanskrit than either Bengali or Hindi and has its own peculiar script, is spoken by 96 per cent of the population.

**FISCAL PROBLEMS**

The provinces of India enjoy in varying degrees the benefits of a land system which may differ in theory from land nationalisation but has the same practical results. The right of the State to a proportion of the produce of the soil is a title that has been acknowledged and enforced from time immemorial. In ancient Hindu days and under Mughal rule the proportion taken was one-fourth, but this was often swollen by special imposts to one-half or more—to as much indeed as could be wrung from the wretched cultivator. Under the Mughals annual or frequent adjustments of the land revenue demand were the order of the day. The collecting agency took a multitude of varying forms according to local history and conditions; in some cases a landed aristocracy of chiefs and rajas with great estates of historic renown and importance, in others pure officials in charge of areas of various extent, single villages, groups of villages, and larger units. Interspersed with the revenue-paying lands were many areas held free of revenue or on quit-rents, because granted as rewards for services or included in religious endowments.

When the British became masters of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa they took over the land revenue system of the Mughals as it stood, and it was one of the most difficult tasks of early British administrators to reduce the system to order. Ultimately, after numerous temporary adjustments and prolonged discussion, it was decided that it would be in the best interests of the country to place the land revenue demand of Bengal and Bihar on a fixed basis, and the permanent settlement was accordingly made by Lord Cornwallis in 1793. As a result of this measure the land revenue demand was fixed in perpetuity, and all collecting agents of whatever degree or origin were recognised as landed proprietors; the
State was cut off from any participation in future increases of land values, whether arising from extension of cultivation or the gradual enhancement of rents. During the past 150 years, rental assets have increased at least tenfold, and the State, which in 1793 took 90 per cent. of the assets and left only 10 per cent. to the proprietor, now receives about one-tenth only of existing assets and leaves 90 per cent. to the landowner. It is estimated that had the permanently settled area of Bihar been left on the same temporary basis as is established in other parts of India, it would now be producing a revenue of £2½ million instead of the existing £800,000. The difference would have gone far to place the province on its feet financially. In Chota Nagpur the example of Bihar was followed, but the results were even worse, because being utterly undeveloped its revenue was fixed at merely nominal amounts which were taken as a sort of tribute from its chiefs. The Maharaja of Chota Nagpur, for instance, pays about £1,000 only for the whole district of Ranchi, which has an area of over 7,000 square miles; the rental assets and land values of the district amount to about 20 lakhs of rupees or £150,000.

Hence arises the great financial difficulty which faces the two provinces of Bengal and Bihar. Whereas land revenue is a growing source of provincial income elsewhere in India, it is almost stagnant in these two provinces, and a remedy is hard to find, for on the one hand it would be a breach of solemn pledges to tamper with the permanent settlement, and on the other it is unfair to milk the general Indian taxpayer for the benefit of particular provinces. Some remedy must, however, be found if the administration of these two provinces is to be maintained anywhere near the general Indian standard. In spite of its great natural fertility and its rich mineral resources, Bihar and Orissa is easily the poorest of the Indian provinces. Its Government has stated the strongest case for an alteration of the existing basis of apportionment of taxation and revenue between the provincial and Central Governments, and that has been taken into account in the financial recommendations of the Statutory Commission.

TEMPORARY SETTLEMENT OF ORISSA

Elsewhere in India there are two main varieties of land revenue settlement. These are, first, temporary settlements made with landed proprietors, which are revised at intervals of twenty, thirty, or forty years, when rental assets are divided in varying proportions between the State and the proprietor. The tendency is for the revision interval to lengthen to forty years and for the State's share to be limited to 40 per cent. The second form is the raiyatwari settlement made direct with the cultivators, who are usually represented by the village headman in their dealings with the State.

Although permanent settlement is the rule in Bihar and Chota Nagpur, Orissa fortunately escaped this development. It was taken back from the Marathas forty years after we had assumed charge of Bengal and Bihar, and although it was at first intended to extend the principle of permanent settlement to Orissa and the first temporary settlements were test settlements made with that object in view, doubts regarding the wisdom of fixing the land revenue demand in perpetuity began to prevail in the minds of the authorities, and it was eventually decided to follow in the case of Orissa the temporary model adopted in so many other parts of India. Its first great settlement was accordingly concluded in 1837 for a period of thirty years on a basis of 70 per cent. of estate assets. The settlement was due for revision in 1867, but there had just occurred the terrible calamity of the great Orissa famine, and the authorities decided that the sub-province was too exhausted to stand the ordeal of a revision settlement and should continue to enjoy for another thirty years the assessment of 1837, which was growing lighter as the years passed. It thus came about that the first revision was undertaken around the year 1897. It fell to my lot to share the work
in the Puri District. We found that in most estates a great extension of cultivation had occurred during the previous sixty years, and a large growth in rental assets. The new demand was fixed for another thirty years on a basis that varied from 45 per cent. to 60 per cent. of the assets instead of the former 70 per cent. and yet yielded a substantial increase of revenue to the State. The second revision is now in process of completion. Certain interests in Orissa clamour for a permanent settlement, but this demand is not likely to be satisfied. It would certainly increase the financial obstacles to the Oriya demand for a separate administration for greater Orissa.

**GOVERNMENT ESTATES**

Nor is Bihar and Orissa without illustrations of the principle of direct settlement with the cultivators (raiyatwari settlement). There are several important areas in which for varying reasons Government took over direct charge at different times. My old sub-division of Khurda, for example, became forfeit on the rebellion of its ancient Raja in 1804, the year after the Orissa conquest. It has an area of 1,000 square miles in which the village headmen (sarbarakars) collect and pay into the Treasury the rents of their fellow-riayats, receiving a commission of 20 per cent. as reward. There are similarly the district of Angul, another forfeit area in the heart of the Orissa States, and the Damin-i-koh estate of some 1,400 square miles, amongst the Rajmahal Hills of the Santal Parganas, which was excluded from the estates of adjoining proprietors as being a sort of no-man's-land, infested by savage freebooters, the Rajmahal Paharias. The valleys of this hilly tract were later reclaimed by the industrious Santals. The village headman system is an essential part of Santal tribal organisation, and the estate which I resettled thirty years ago is now a valuable asset to Government, yielding a revenue of about £25,000.

But although such individual estates are important in themselves, they form a small portion of the total area of the province, and their revenues, though expanding, do not account for more than one-eighth of the total land revenue demand. The temporarily settled proportion amounts to about one-fifth, and the proportion of the permanently settled is roughly two-thirds of the whole.
Holi and Diwali

By Mr. Kundan Lall

The snow had melted away, the soil was odorous with a new virginity, the sap was stirring in the trees that were blossomed with gay leaf-buds. The shell pink of the earlier spring had turned into deeper colours.

It was just after dawn when the sun had picked out high lights on the mountain peaks, that the orchestra of birds was disturbed by an uncommonly early bustle of life in the valleys.

Bonfires had been lighted, while it was yet dark, and young and old, man and maid, were festive round them. Some were roasting the early corn to pack in the food-carriers. Women were making tidy parcels of food that they had cooked for weeks past for their men-folk to take with them on their long hunting expedition. Only such things had been cooked, with much love and care, as could be kept wholesome for the long weeks that the men would be away. Much love and skill of the family—mother, wife, sister and daughter—had been spent in the selection of food and its cooking.

Perhaps it will be many long and anxious weeks before the men return. The oldest lady in the family who keeps its records and the calendar of the anniversaries, of births, deaths and marriages, and feast and fast days, takes the measurement of her men-folk with cotton yarn to see how time and journey would develop them.

They were essentially a community of hunters, even though a little cultivation was done by them as a side occupation. The long winter had confined them to their homes. They had lived on credit; they wanted clothes, the household was in need of many necessities. This was indeed a day of rejoicing, they will go out into the forests and bring skins and hides and ivory. They will sell them and settle their accounts on their return, they will deck their women-folk in gay things, they will replenish the house.

Beacon fires had been lighted long before the dawn and from valley to valley the contingents are getting ready to march out in large bands to hunt in the forests, for forests were more populous then and it was not safe to enter them in small companies.

The next day before sunrise was the time for departure but to-day they must celebrate it, every one according to his taste, with romping and ragging, singing and dancing, with carousing and passion, or devotion and worship. What matters it if the clothes are old? They have been patched with love and laundered with care. Besprinkled with colours they will be festive enough for to-day, and to-morrow the jungle will need no fashion.

LEGENDS

Hindu festivals, like those of other people, can be classified into two groups—Religious celebrations and anniversaries of communal or national events. Holi comes under the latter group, but as is the case with all Hindu institutions a religious tinge has been given to it and myths and legends woven round it. A Vaishnava must have it that Holi commemorates the gay frolics of Krishna—the Flute-player—in Brindaban’s green groves by the Jumna river. In some parts of India they have a tableau on this day of the Babe Krishna in his cradle.
The derivation of the word Holli is from the Sanskrit Solika meaning "Coldness." It has been corrupted into Holika and the legends say that she was an ogress, the commemoration of whose death is celebrated on Holli day. There are three versions of the legend.

Holika, the she-demon, took toll of children for devouring, in rotation, from the families of the people who lived in her region. One version says that Sri Krishna killed her and promised her, in deference to her dying wish, that there will always be celebrations on the day of her death.

Another version says that a sage, who passed through that region was implored by the people to rescue them from this ogress. He told them that she was so fastidious and sensitive to language that if they abused her and indulged in obscene words and phrases it would kill her. Thus they killed her and on the day of Holli they re-enact the drama.

A third legend says that this fiend, Holika, was the sister of Hiranya Kashyapa, father of Prahlad. Prahlad was a devotee of Krishna but his father who was a non-believer asked him to renounce his faith. On Prahlad's refusal to do so Hiranya Kashyapa tried to destroy him. But Prahlad seemed to bear a charmed life. In the end Holika offered to hold him on her lap till they were burnt to ashes upon a pyre. She was burnt to death but Prahlad remained unscathed. This event, says the legend, is celebrated with rejoicing and burning of bonfires on the day of Holli.

But I think it is the goddess of snow who is burnt on this day with rout and revel. Holli is a saturnalia of a hunting community held in Phalgun (March) when spring is well established and the time when, in days past, menfolk left their women to go on hunting expeditions.

II

Now the days are becoming shorter, winter is fast approaching and the hunting season will soon be over. Houses on the hill-sides are being cleaned and decked to welcome home the men-folk. They have, thus, late autumn-cleaning here instead of spring-cleaning. Stock of household goods is taken to see what more is required. The merchants are busy making up their accounts and bills for the articles supplied on credit. Shops are replenished and gaily decked with suitable presents for young and old, they also display articles for household use. The confectioners make toys of sweets and other delicacies. The preparations made are much the same as those for the Christmas week among the Europeans.

Then comes the day when the men-folk return. Their first concern, after the reunion, is to replenish the family wardrobe and domestic necessities. The day now fixed for this is the thirteenth day of the dark fortnight of "Kartik" (October-November). It is known as Dhan Teras, because it is incumbent on the orthodox to buy at least one piece of metal utensils for household use, by which the plenitude of utensils is assured during the ensuing year.

The next day, Narak Chaturdashi, is devoted to bathing and washing after the long stay in the jungles. All the members of the family have their bodies rubbed with perfumed oil and they put on new clothes bought on the previous day. This is followed by a sumptuous repast.

A Vaishnavic legend has superimposed another significance to this day. In the Bhagavata and the Kalika Purana it is narrated that this day celebrates the destruction of Narak, a fearful asura—Titan—dwelling in the country called Pragjyotisha, which some authorities identify with the western portion of modern Assam.

Narak was a notorious kidnapper of damsels. He had made for himself a prodigious harem of 16,000 mistresses. Nothing daunted this voluptuary—maidsens, princesses, nymphs—he would seize and carry away anyone that caught his fancy. He even began to cast profiligate eyes on the daughters of the Gods. He carried away the ear-rings of Aditi, the mother of the Gods and raped the daughter of
Viswakarma, their architect. The women of the upper and lower worlds thereupon joined together in supplicating Krishna to destroy Naruk. When about to be killed he craved from Sri Krishna the boon that the day of his death be commemorated with feasts and rejoicings.

In the evening a few lights—now fourteen are enjoined—are placed on the doorsteps, to light the stragglers home.

**DIWALI DAY**

The next day is Diwali, the crest of this festive season. During the day accounts are cleared up and books for the year are closed. For the next day begins the new year. In the evening there are great festivities. This is the darkest night of the month and elaborate illuminations are made. No strayed hunter within a radius of many miles would miss his way home. There is not a house or a hamlet in the hill villages that does not put a few lumps on the roof. Shops are lighted up and merchandise exposed. It is a great day of reunion and rejoicing.

Lakshmi is the deity of the day. She is the goddess of wealth and prosperity. She is generally represented in the ritual of worship—puja—by a coin, preferably a gold one. When the purchases in the market have been made, the family assembles together for the puja, after which they go out to see the illuminations or stay at home and gamble. Gambling is now enjoined as a part of the ritual, though formerly it was the natural outcome of full pockets after the sale of the spoils of the hunt.

The day following, the first of the new year according to the Samvat era, is devoted almost entirely to gambling. Even legal enactments against gambling are relaxed for three days during Diwali as a special concession to the Hindus.

The day after that, the second day of the new year, is called the second of brothers—Bhdrati Dwitija or Bhaitya Duli. This beautiful institution is sacred to brothers and sisters. The brothers receive affectionate invitations which are gladly accepted. This provides a sobering check after the revelry of the previous days. Brother and sister both fast till the ceremony of the day is over. They have a bath in the river, preferably the Jamna if practicable—for Jamna, the sister of Yama, gave him immortality, according to the legend, by streaking his forehead with the holy paste—by tilak. Then they greet each other and the elder gives blessings. The sister gives the tilak and fills his hands with sweets and some money which last is invariably returned with suitable additions.

The sister is supposed to have nectar on this day, on the tip of the little finger of her left hand. It is with this finger that she gives the tilak, bending on the left knee, and repeats the formula which in English means: "Thus do I streak my brother's forehead, and thereby do I plant a thorn bush at the door of Yama (to bar the egress of this God of death from his abode). As Jamna streaked the forehead of her brother Yama so do I streak the forehead of my own brother. As Yama is immortal so may my brother be immortal likewise."
Books of the Quarter.

India In 1931*

By Mr. Reginald A. Reynolds.

Of all provocative literature recently produced on the subject of India, Mr. James's book must take its place as the most aggressively aggravating.

Few British colonists will read it (if colonists do read books) without a dangerous rise in their blood-pressure. Most missionaries will be shocked. On the other hand, Indians will find it little cause for self-satisfaction, and there will be indignation among many ardent nationalists. It is indeed a feat to have written a book so irritating, and, at the same time, so extremely readable.

Edward Holton James is best known to his countrymen as an American Radical and the tireless defender of Sacco and Vanzetti. One need not be highly imaginative to understand his interest in India. But though his strong views are unveiled in his writings, his neutrality is more than a pretence. If he has a serious fault it is a typically American one; for he spinks us impartially with quiet and unconscious superiority, his book has certainly a better right to be printed in the World's capital than the Simon Report has to its blue official cover.

They got it from the police. The police had it in their books. The police knew everything about me—had me photographed with my shoes off in Gandhi’s prayer-meeting."

The steps leading up to the Provincial Settlement at Delhi are closely followed, and the author’s conclusion may be summed up in his own estimate of the late Viceroy: “Lord Irwin acted with consummate skill. He won a complete victory for British interests by modesty, logic, strength, firmness, and every other quality that a British ruler ought to have when charged with the administration of a foreign country. . . . Through Lord Irwin England once more got the upper hand of the situation in India.”

The present writer would join issue with Mr. James on more than one point. His estimate of Gandhi seems to vary from day to day and sometimes shows a hastiness unworthy of his subject and a lack of patience with an alien culture. What is merely naivety in Gandhi might well be “vanity” in a lesser man. The adulation of the crowds is not of his choosing—he merely puts up with it because he has to.

There is also a danger of some misapprehension being caused with regard to Gandhi’s views on religion. The Mahatma’s Hinduism is so stressed as to obscure the breadth of his religious views. In contrast to certain critical passages in the book I would recall the outcry of orthodox Hindus when Gandhi gave a course of lectures on the New Testament at the Ahmedabad National University; or the inauguration of Civil Disobedience under his orders by recitations from the Bible, the Koran and the Gita. It is also a pity that Gandhi’s much discussed comments on foreign missions should have been published in the Associated Press version without a footnote giving the important amendments made to the statement by Mr. Gandhi in Young India. Whether the first report was accurate or not, the second must stand as his considered opinion.

Mr. James’s crisp epigrams dispose quickly of most that he sees. His aim is good and he seldom misses his mark, but Gandhi has got him guessing. He is right in his estimate of the Mahatma’s sincerity and energy. I believe he is right in his estimate of the Irwin-Gandhi Pact. But Gandhi the Man has eluded him, as he eludes most people.

As for the future, he finds it a matter for a somewhat indefinite optimism. He clearly regards the victory of British diplomacy as a passing phase. On the other hand, he has seen the weak points of the nationalist front. The third international he rules out—perhaps rightly—as “pure bugaboo,” commenting that “neither the Moslem nor the Hindu brain works along that line.” He returns in the end to Gandhi who “holds the key to the situation,” and “knows that the force which he exercises comes not from him but from above him.”

Nevertheless he has done well to give us a faithful picture of the aftermath of the truce and of the “intransigent” forces which English papers have so carefully ignored recently. Jammadas Mehta’s brilliant speech at Karachi may be cited as a warning note worth heeding both in England and in India. “The fact of the matter is that Mahatmaji, as the greatest moral asset of the country, has such a powerful hold on us that in his presence all thought is benumbed and all judgment paralysed and any courage, any independance of conviction is regarded with the greatest of disapproval.” Gandhi himself would be the first to acknowledge the danger of such a situation, and urge his friends to place conviction before personal attachment.
A Conspectus of British Civilization

Mr. Esme Wingfield-Stratford's History of British Civilization appeared some years back in two large volumes. Immediately after it had seen the light this important and original survey of the whole of British history had taken rank as an "historical classic." It is in the hope of reaching a really wide public that a popular and cheap edition has been prepared. It represents unequalled value for money, 1,352 pages for 15s., an "omnibus" history. The qualities of the book are fully acknowledged by reviewers, but the one quality specially emphasised is its readability, which is, in fact, its outstanding merit. Its appeal throughout is to the cultivated reader who wishes to be informed of the development of Britain in the widest sense. There is no "writing down," and the claims of exact scholarship have in no way been neglected, but the style, method and arrangement have all been designed in such a manner as to tell one continuous, though complicated, story. It is this which differentiates it from all the other histories, and causes it to compete successfully with Green's Short History, the only book which previously made the same attempt, and which some reviewers have declared to have been superseded by this later work. A New History of Britain needs no excuse. The subject is one which can never fail to rouse interest in readers; but the work now before us is in many ways unique. Fifty-four years ago, in 1874, Green published his Short History and took the world by storm. It was new, fresh, and stimulating, an original interpretation of English History from a wider standpoint than ever before. What Green's Short History achieved in the nineteenth century, the History of British Civilization sets out to achieve in the twentieth. Since Green wrote, many things have happened, new facts and vital documents have been brought to light, much research has been exhaustively performed. More important still, our views on history to-day are not what they were when Green wrote. The time was therefore ripe for the colossal task of rewriting British history, for it is nothing less than this that has been done in this great work of historical literature. Mr. Wingfield-Stratford, then, has rewritten the history of Britain on a far wider basis than has ever been done, or thought of, before. From the time of the Pittsdown skull to that of the Great War he has welded into one narrative the whole of English, Scottish, Irish, Indian, Colonial, and Dominion history. This is not a history from a political, from an economic, or from any specific and narrow viewpoint. Politics, religion, institutions, laws, agriculture, industry, commerce, science, literature, architecture, painting, stained glass, sculpture, music, furniture, manners, language, philosophy, these and many other subjects are worked up in an original way and woven into the main narrative. The serious critic must, of course, judge this gigantic work as a whole. But each detail, each section, each chapter, embodies, it is believed, the results of the most recent research. Not orthodox but original, a new mind on an old subject, the author has designed his work first and foremost for the general reader. People who do not know Truth think her a bore. Anyone who takes up this book will find himself caught up and carried down the stream of the narrative till the end is reached. Over nine years' continuous work has been devoted by the author to its preparation. Now that it is at last completed, it presents an important and original survey of its mighty subject.

II.

Having made these general observations in regard to the scope of the book and the treatment of the subject, we may advert to
the author’s views on India, with special reference to the Statesman’s criticism as to her place in the British Commonwealth, which is marshalled in a section headed Bande Mataram—that deals with events from about the eighties of the last century—and is likely to interest our readers. Mr. Wingfield-Stratford lays down as fundamental that there could be little sympathy between the white Dominions and India, since India regards the external world as illusion, while to the white colonial it is the only reality. Also while the consciousness of nationality was growing in India, Liberalism in Britain was declining to that stage in which popular songs could say:

We don’t know if the quarrel’s right or wrong
And hang it, we don’t care.

The earlier ideal of Macaulay and others had lost its attraction. The imperialistic school saw in efficiency the supreme virtue, so that administrators in India became as aloof and unimaginative as they were upright, benevolent, and competent. With Lord Ripon’s failure, Liberalism was seen to be a spent force in the official world in India. The book quotes from a Calcutta paper of libert Bill days: “The only people who have any right to India are the British. Privileges the so-called Indians have, which we do not begrudge them, and for which they ought to be grateful instead of clamouring for more.” But there were still a few British Radicals, and Liberalism had sown seed in India. The Congress came into existence to nourish it, and was at first regarded with benevolence, until the demand that there should be no taxation without consent of the governed frightened away all Government’s amiability. Briefly, three forces combined to give Indians a motive interest in their own civilization; the peace that followed the Mutiny, the increasing use of English as a common tongue, and the liberal ideas expounded by the Congress. The first ideal, of India for the Empire, had to accommodate itself to the ideal of India for the Indians. Mr. Wingfield-Stratford admits that the opponents of all this could make out a good case, in his opinion often a just case.

Indians had first to save India from herself, from her own weaknesses and superstitions and evils. But the attackers overdid it, as they did in Ireland; the Brahmin was made the bogey here as the priest there. They forgot that Brahminism had been weakened by the reformers themselves as well as by Western science and philosophy. Nor were all Brahmins reactionary. In effect, little attempt was made to understand Indian affairs, and so aloofness and disdain on the one side were met by exaggeration and reaction on the other.

The rest of the story on the Indian side is made up of Dayananda, who is compared to Luther; Ramakrishna, who taught that all creeds lead to God; Vivekananda, “perhaps the most remarkable intellect that modern India has produced;” and Gandhi. It was Vivekananda who turned Ramakrishna’s genial tolerance into a proud and passionate assertion of the faith to conquer the world not by force but in the might of the spirit. Thus was the issue joined between the materialistic West and spiritual India. It serves no useful purpose to argue that the West is not so exclusively materialistic or the East so exclusively spiritual as the antithesis suggests. What should be remembered as the key to all this is that it was part of a struggle to keep Indian identity unsubmerged, in art, literature, religion, as in politics. In fighting against the chief products of the West, however, the boycott movement included no attempt to restore the indigenous arts and crafts of the land; it merely tried to set up the factory system on Indian soil, so that shoddy goods might be produced by Indians instead of Europeans. Mr. Gandhi’s position is considered, and his mode of action is shown to be in the full stream of Indian thought; but as the book ends with 1914, his activities are considered only in relation to South Africa, and since 1914 much has happened to South Africa and India and to Mr. Gandhi himself. There is a striking picture of Curzon, “the first of the Crown’s representatives to rival the stature of
old John Company's greatest Governors-General," but without the least belief in the magic of freedom. "The rising tide of Indian patriotism he simply ignored." This verdict is given confidently: so is the judgment that it was the policy of the Government in India to divide and rule, relying particularly upon Mohammedan loyalty against Hindu unrest. These are two of the many points about which there will be sharp disagreement. But the reflection that Mr. Wingfield-Stratford disposes of modern India in fourteen pages out of over thirteen hundred should remind us of the complexity that makes history and keep us modest about the importance of what happens in our own environment.

Naturally, in noticing so bulky a volume, we have primarily concerned ourselves with the section devoted to India, as surveyed through Anglo-Indian spectacles. There is so much disagreement at present between Indians and Anglo-Indians, that we are glad to be able to say that we agree, in the main, with the analysis of the Indian section as presented above. For the rest, the book is one which no student of British history and civilization can afford to neglect.

Modern India

Seventeen retired Anglo-Indians have contributed chapters to the survey called Modern India. There is a map in a pocket, an index, and some useful charts, which enhance the usefulness of the letter-press. Sir John Cumming has done his work, as editor, very well. Among so many excellent essays, it is invidious to single out any for special praise, but the editor himself on "Law and Order" and Sir William Marris on the "Machinery of Government" deserve mention. It is all to the good that for the small sum of three shillings and sixpence, the reader may now avail himself of a vast amount of authoritative information on modern Indian problems. The book consists of eighteen chapters, each written by a specialist, with many years' experience in India. The first chapter, for instance, is a resume of "the country, peoples, languages and creeds," written by Sir Harcourt Butler. Sir William Barton has contributed a chapter on the "Afghan Frontier;" education is dealt with by Sir Philip Hartog, while Sir James Mackenna discusses agriculture and famine relief. There is also an interesting chapter in which Miss Vera Anstey probes—according to her lights—the causes of poverty in India. It would be invidious to distinguish between the different contributions when all reach so high a standard; but we might specially refer to Sir Harcourt Butler's opening chapter, and the articles on the Army and on the India of the Princes, by Sir George Barrow and Sir William Barton. The chapter on "Drink, Opium, and Salt," by Mr. B. Foley, may also be mentioned as stating the simple facts of a subject, on which more nonsense has been written than on any other Indian topic. The book is thus an excellent symposium of articles written by distinguished administrators on various aspects of the Indian political and economic problems. It is unequal in quality, as are most symposia. But all the articles contain a great deal of useful information and the book is exceedingly useful as a reference book. Although the authors claim that the articles present—no doubt, from their own standpoint—a dispassionate survey, it is obvious that they are made from the point of view of only the Anglo-Indian administrator. Naturally, therefore, the official view predominates and while, generally speaking, the facts are accurate, the pre-
sentation is often unimaginative and wholly on-Indian in its perspective. Even distinguished administrators make mistakes and there is one astonishing inaccuracy in the first chapter where no less a person than Sir Harcourt Butler states that the depressed classes in South India are so numerous and powerful that they have been able to secure a majority in the Madras Legislative Council. He appears to have obviously confused the depressed classes with the non-Brahmin Party, and so blatant an inaccuracy, in the first chapter of the book, tends to shake one's confidence in the succeeding chapters. But they are fairly accurate.

II.

Modern India, written as it thus is by only retired Anglo-Indian officials, is a symposium on the cautious side. The most disappointing chapter is "The Army," which ignores the questions of military expenditure and more rapid Indianization. These two questions are so living, and arouse such deep passion of Indian patriotism that they cannot be put aside. No doubt it is an answer (from the official point of view) to point out that only recently King's Commissions have been conferred on Indians, and that "the period within which a unit can be completely Indianized in its establishment of officers is dependent on the time which it takes an officer normally to rise from the rank of subaltern to the command of a regiment—i.e., not less than twenty-five years." But it is to an Indian a maddening answer. Equally maddening is the complacent paragraph (p. 72) on the highly civilized character of the wars which the British have waged in India. At the other pole is Sir William Barton's chapter on "The Afghan Frontier," a chapter admirable in its knit and style, its fulness and clearness of information, and its temper. But events are moving so quickly that much in the book is already out of date. The chapter on the Army, for example, takes practically no account of the financial problem and the most recent development regarding the training of Indian officers. As a careful guide to general administration and the work of experienced servants of the Crown, the book is of value, but it will be more so to those who are willing to learn that the past has much to teach the future, and that a historical sense is the best guide to a nation's development. The book—which, as stated above, is complete with maps and diagrams—deserves to be read, both for its comprehensiveness and for the fairly nonpartisan attitude of its authors. We recommend it to the careful perusal of the students of Indian public affairs. Whether one agrees or not with the writers, in any case, Modern India is indispensable, at present, as no other book so fully yet concisely summarizes the results of Anglo-Indian experience with almost every Indian problem in its daily incidence. The contributors' names in nearly every case guarantee adequacy of treatment; and that of the editor, guarantees that the treatment, while conservative, will be fair, on the whole. It were much to be wished that a similar symposium was prepared by eminent and distinguished Indian administrators and publicists with a view to place before the British and the Indian publics the Indian view of the political and economic problems of this great country.
**Bird’s-Eye-View**

**Critical Notices**

1. **The Latest Crop of Gandhian Literature**
   1. *Mahatma Gandhi and India’s Struggle for Swaraj*. Edited by B. Sen Gupta and R. Chowdhury. (Modern Book Agency, 10, College Square, Calcutta.)
   2. *India’s Case for Swaraj*. By Mahatma Gandhi. Edited by Waman P. Kabadi. (The Mohan Printing Press, Bazargate Street, Bombay.)

II.


III.


Literature relating to Mr. Gandhi and the movements associated with him are almost daily on the increase. The first batch of books in our list—as enumerated above—is of collections of the speeches made by Mr. Gandhi at the second Round Table Conference, or records of the civil disobedience movement last year. Thus they all cover more or less the same ground, though the first (called *Mahatma Gandhi and India’s Struggle for Swaraj*) is also a very useful sketch of the “satyagraha” movement, from its inception at the Lahore Congress (of 1929) to the closing of the chapter last year, with all the documents and pronouncements connected with it. The other three books in the group are excellent compilations and (along with the first) will be found exceedingly useful, alike for reference and study. They necessarily supplement one another and as they are all fairly cheap, one may do worse than keep the whole set handy on one’s bookshelf.

The next group of four are more or less studies of Mr. Gandhi’s career as a spiritual and political leader. Of these, the first—namely *Gandhi: The Holy Man*, by Rene Fulopmiller—is a reprint of the Gandhi portion of the famous German author’s well-known book (already appreciatively reviewed by us) called *Lenin and Gandhi*. It is undoubtedly one of the best short studies of a great subject. Mr. J. G. Rowe’s *Gandhi: The Mahatma* is a capital biographical sketch of
Mr. Gandhi, and (though but a compilation) is excellently put together. Mrs. Polak's *Mr. Gandhi: The Man* is an interesting and entertaining little account of personal contacts between the author and her subject, and deserves, particularly on that account, careful study. Messrs. Natesan's *Mahatma Gandhi* is an enlarged and up-to-date edition of a previous compilation, which is equally biographical and political, and which will be of great utility by reason of its compendious character.

The third group of books is, in a sense, more important than the previous two in our list, as all the volumes attempt to deal with the political aspects of Mr. Gandhi's activities in relation to current events in India, as viewed in the light of recent political incidents in Ireland and some other countries. Of these the first—called *The Dawn of Indian Freedom*—is written by two English priests who have thrown in their lot with India, and it thus interprets something of the Indian outlook to the West. It is concerned with the great issues underlying recent political events in India. The first chapter deals with the imminent attainment of freedom by India. The second and third give us a vivid picture of Mahatma Gandhi, and an account of the most fundamental of his teachings—*Satyagraha*. And the last chapter estimates the part which the Christian Church should play in this new, free, India. While many will not probably agree with the outlook and standpoint of the authors, there is much in their book to interest the unbiased student of current public affairs in India. . . . Mr. J.S. Hoyland's *The Cross Moves East* is a study in the significance of Mr. Gandhi's *Satyagraha* movement. After considering how the same principle was applied in the experience of St. Paul, St. Augustine and other leaders of the Christian faith, the author examines the idealism of *Satyagraha*. He finds in it the principles of the Cross, and a practical application of the primary Christian values, which may in the future be of great importance to civilization. This book merits attention at the hands of all serious students of the subject . . . . Lt.-Col. Hart's *Gandhi and the Indian Problem* is a highly sympathetic biographical sketch of Mr. Gandhi's career and also a careful study of his politics and methods and the principles underlying them. . . . Lastly, Brig.-Gen. Crozier's *A Word to Gandhi* is a remarkable work as it describes with fearless frankness the disastrous policy which was pursued (according to the author) by the British Government during the last Irish troubles, and then applies the lessons, to be derived from its study, to a solution of the Indian problems. It is a suggestive and thought-provoking book.

(2) CURRENT REFERENCE WORKS

Whitaker's Almanac for the Year 1932.

By Joseph Whitaker. (J. Whitaker and Sons, Lt., 12, Warwick Lane, London, E.C.4) 1931.

That most familiar and reliable of books of reference, Whitaker's Almanac, appears now in two forms—the "complete edition" (6s. net), and also the "popular edition" (3s. net). Inaugurated in 1868, the current issue is the sixty-fourth yearly edition of this most famous annual reference work of the English-speaking world. It is justly established in popular estimation as the most useful and the most comprehensive repertory of accurate information on current public affairs. It is a highly meritorious book of reference, which not only—as its title implies—contains an account of the astronomical and other phenomena, but also gives a vast amount of sound information respecting the government, finances, population, and commerce, as also general statistics of the various nations and States, with special reference to the British Commonwealth and the United States of America. The edition under notice has been carefully and judiciously revised and brought up to date and is fully abreast of the latest important events and incidents. All matters of general interest, and particularly questions of the day, are
fully dealt with and the statistical data are, on the whole, wonderfully accurate. The index is almost exhaustive, making reference to the contents both simple and easy. The current edition will be indispensable to public men and publicists, it being the most up-to-date and complete compendium, in English, of facts and events of the world to-day.


Of the current reference annuals perhaps none is more useful to the journalist than the biographical dictionary called Who's Who. This is the eighty-fourth year of its issue and it is a well-nigh perfect example of what it professes to be—"an annual biographical dictionary." Though it does not profess to be international in its scope, it does give biographies also of a good many prominent Continental Europeans. This vast and bulky work, which comprises nearly three thousand five hundred pages of close double columns, opens with a useful obituary for the preceding year, followed by an account of the Royal family; and then come over 32,000 biographies. The biographies, though generally exceedingly condensed, are accurate and informative. They give, besides, useful and interesting information about the habits, tastes and hobbies of the large number of persons whose careers are sketched. The book is thus indispensable, especially to a journalist. Year by year Who's Who becomes a more absolute necessity to those whose work entails a study of all phases of British life, and it is, now as ever, an indispensable part of the furniture of any library or office.


The Writers' and Artists' Year-Book is now in its twenty-fifth annual edition. It offers literary aspirants and journalist free-lances much sound information, which is likely to be of considerable help to them in placing their wares to profit and advantage. Lists of paying periodicals—throughout the British Commonwealth and America—as also of art-illustrators, publishers, booksellers, literary and press agents, photographers, leading clubs and societies of authors, journalists and artists, press-cutting agencies, translators, typists, cinematographers, suppliers for printers and publishers, and much other equally useful information about addresses, scale of payment, the stage, the films, the radio, the juvenile market, copyright, agreements and serial rights, and guidance for art-illustrators and press-photographers, form the standard features of this publication. Though meant primarily for use in Britain, it will be found valuable for reference even in India, as it is indispensable to every one who aspires to contribute to periodicals dealing with literature, art, music or science in the English-speaking world.


The South American Hand-Book is now in its ninth edition and is a comprehensive, compact and thoroughly up-to-date guide to the countries, products, trade and resources of Latin America, inclusive of South and Central America, Mexico and Cuba. Covering some 750 pages of neatly-printed matter, furnished with good maps and handy in size, it is at once the business man's directory, traveller's hand-book, the investor's companion, the statesman's "vade mecum," the student's manual and the prospective settler's guide. The scope of the work is almost encyclopaedic, it being a gazetteer and guide-book in one. Each of the Republics is dealt with separately and comprehensively, in alphabetical order; while there is to be found within the covers of the book a large amount of miscellaneous information of great utility and much interest, its utility being materially enhanced by its special feature of "Books Recommended," which constitutes an excellent bibliography. It is an almost ideal work for the South American traveller.
The People’s Year-Book, 1932. (The Co-operative Wholesale Society, Ltd., Balloon Street, Manchester), 1931.

The current fifteenth edition of The People’s Year-Book deserves appreciation from seekers after information about co-operation. The volume contains an up-to-date and comprehensive survey of the co-operative movement throughout the world, besides useful information on topics of public interest: as also information on the latest developments in art, science, literature, drama, motoring, aviation, cinema and photography. There are also many tables of arrestingly interesting statistics. The People’s Year-Book thus constitutes a reference work, both in a special and general sense, while the many excellent illustrations it contains, serve as an embellishment to the volume. Its get-up deserves special acknowledgment for format and excellent execution. Primarily intended as a national and international survey of co-operative organizations and activities and for furnishing the latest statistics relating to this subject, The People’s Year-Book contains much other useful and interesting information, and is thus an acquisition to current reference literature.


Of the many political reference annuals, The Daily Mail Year-Book is unique in its being the cheapest and yet one of the most comprehensive. Its contents cover a very large ground and traverse almost the whole of the current political and economic affairs of the British Commonwealth. No other annual so fully realises that people matter even more than things, and so it gives brief but interesting biographies of over one thousand famous persons. In fact, the little red book is the essence of a library, a most marvellous compendium of general knowledge on the public affairs of the day, and a most informative work of reference. The current edition—which is the thirty-fourth—is fully abreast of the latest events, and deserves an extensive circulation in India, alike for its cheapness—it costs but a shilling—and general utility as a meritorious work, which covers within a small compass a very large range of statistical and other useful data.


The latest Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs is the thirtieth annual publication. It successfully does for Canada what the famous Annual Register does for Britain and other European countries: recording in detail the public events of each year. As such it is a very valuable contribution to current Canadian history. The volume is a mine of useful and up-to-date information regarding the political, financial, educational and industrial conditions of Canada; it covers 800 pages. The editor is ably assisted in his work by an influential editorial committee, whose personnel is a guarantee for the accuracy and impartiality of the matter chronicled in the volume. The work is illustrated and equipped with all the necessary appliances for ready reference. Judged by the criterion of usefulness, the Canadian Annual Review is indispensable to every one interested in Canada—its well-being and progress, as it is a comprehensive survey of political and economic conditions in that country, and of her international relations.


This official publication—which is now in its twenty-third annual edition—is a repository of highly useful information relating to Australia. Detailed chapters are devoted to the history, physiography, political and local government, land revenue and settlement, overseas trade, transport and communication, finance, education, public health, labour,
wages and prices, defence, etc., of the Commonwealth; in fact, all subjects of importance, enriched with statistics brought up to date, find place in the Year-Book. It is thus an authoritative book and in its pages every item connected with that country is carefully surveyed. In addition to the general chapters enumerated above—each issue of this valuable reference work contains special articles dealing with some subject or subjects of both current and permanent interest. We commend with pleasure the Official Year-Book of the Commonwealth of Australia to the attention of Indian publicists and public men, who may be desirous of studying the system of responsible government obtaining in the Australian Commonwealth.


The Guaranty Trust Company publish a useful annual reference work called Bank and Public Holidays Throughout the World, the previous issues of which were appreciatively noticed in the Hindustan Review. The latest edition of it, for the current year, is now before us. It contains a chronological list of bank and public holidays in 1932, calendars for the current year and the next, and a list of the countries and States of the world, arranged alphabetically, with lists of the principal holidays in each of them. The book will be found valuable for reference by bankers, financiers, brokers, and business men in general.

The Canada Year-Book, 1931. (Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Ottawa, Canada), 1931.

The latest edition of the Canada Year-Book is a marvellous compendium of general information and statistical data about the great North American Dominion of the British Commonwealth. The vast mass of accurate and well-digested matter brought together within its covers, containing over one thousand pages of neatly printed text, tabular statements, charts, and maps, is concerned with the physiography, history, constitution, institutions, population, production, industry, trade, commerce, transportation, finance, labour, local administration and social, economic, political and civic conditions of Canada. The statistical data is based on the latest information rendered available by census reports and other official publications and the book is useful, compact, and compendious. It would seem that India must attain Dominion Status before she can aspire to have an annual like those issued by the self-governing dominions.

The Tit-Bits Year-Book 1932. (George Newnes, Ltd., 8-11, Southampton Street, Strand, London W.C.), 1931.

The Tit-Bits Year-Book has a distinct place of its own amongst books of reference, by reason of its, so to say, breaking new ground. Facts and figures are its specialities, as also almost all the important happenings of the past year. If you wish to take out a passport or a patent or address a letter to an Archbishop, you will find all the necessary information here. Every page has its item of interest. It tells you, in short, the how, why and when of most things in life—at any rate, in British political and social life. The home—including house and garden-careers, education, sports, and a hundred other subjects of interest are dealt with, cut-and-ried with sound advice. Sold at a shilling, it is truly a marvellous shilling-worth, and should be kept handy by all seekers after sound and up-to-date general information.


The British Empire Trades Index is a unique record of the commodities and requirements of the British Commonwealth. Potential buyers and sellers can easily obtain from it authentic information about the most reliable manufacturers and exporters throughout the British Empire. Thousands of names and
addresses of merchants and manufacturers are listed thus enabling buyers and sellers to get into direct communication together. Thus this well-planned Index satisfactorily solves the problem common to all “overseas” buyers—that of the best means of getting into touch with the British manufacturers and traders: it being a comprehensive collection of classified trade lists of the principal business houses, in the British Commonwealth of Nations, with their cable and postal addresses and telephone numbers.


The New Zealand Official Year-Book for 1932—which is in its fortieth issue—is a remarkably useful work, giving detailed information relating to that country. A series of chapters is devoted to the description, history, constitution and administration, statistics, organisation, population, education, shipping, railways, public finance, banking, wealth and incomes, defence, etc., of that Commonwealth. The Year-Book is thus an excellent survey of every activity of the Dominion—social, political, economic and commercial. There is, indeed, no point of the political and economic life of New Zealand about which the latest data is not to be found in it. The information is given fully and clearly and an exhaustive index adds greatly to its value. Entirely new sections are added to it when necessary, to bring the information abreast of the latest events and incidents. These add materially to the usefulness of a highly meritorious work of reference, which is comprehensive in its scope and accurate in its facts and figures. All subjects of importance, enriched with statistics brought up to date, find place in this Year-Book, which is an authoritative volume relating to New Zealand.

Denmark 1931. (Royal Danish Legation, 29, Pont Street, London, S.W.1), 1931.

Denmark 1931 is an official publication and deals in a popular way with the facts and figures of present-day Denmark. Almost every thing of popular interest comes within the field of survey—the royal family, the land and people, the constitution and administration, education and press, agriculture and fisheries, handicrafts and industries, trade and shipping, finance, banking institutions and money market, communications and ports, museums and foundations, social conditions and various other matters of equal interest. Being an official work, the information brought together in it is unimpeachable on the score of accuracy and it is also fully abreast of the latest events and incidents. The get-up of the book is excellent—the printing being neat, the maps well drawn, the illustrations good, the binding limp, and the size convenient. Altogether it is a commendable enterprise that has prompted the Danish Government to issue this excellent annual, with a view to popularise, in the English-knowing world, a knowledge of the present condition of Denmark. The result is a handbook replete with sound and useful information about Denmark and things Danish, in general.

Delhi Directory 1932. (The Model Press, Burn Bastion Road, Delhi), 1931.

The Delhi Directory (now in its second year of issue) marks a distinct advance on the first edition. The Directory is a useful work of reference for all who have any dealings, official or commercial, with either Old or New Delhi, as it covers the whole area and gives comprehensive information on the origin, history, administration, places of interest and other matters of public interest and enquiry. The commercial and industrial section contains full description of the various business in that city. A carefully compiled alphabetical list of both the Indian and European residents (with their full addresses) is also given in the Directory which is well indexed and classified. The work, which has been judiciously edited and is well put together, reflects credit alike on the compiler and the press which has issued it.

Mr. P. L. Taneja's All-India Press Annual, for the current year, is the first edition of a reference work which is likely to prove of great utility to advertisers. It purports to be a data-book, history and directory of the Press in India. Besides containing a series of interesting articles on various aspects of advertising, it supplies much useful information about newspapers which will prove of use and interest to prospective advertisers. But there are some notable omissions in the list of the newspapers, and the data furnished is not always accurate. It is to be hoped that the next and the subsequent annual editions will be fully up to date and sound.


Mr. Mahesh Datta's General Knowledge Tests is a book which contains about one thousand questions with answers on general topics, such as administration, art, aviation, bibliography, history, important dates (foreign and Indian), law, literature, mathematics, medicine, politics, prominent people, railways, Round Table Conference, science, scientific instruments, self-government, sports, titles, abbreviations, and hints on interviews for candidates' benefit. It will help candidates appearing for Selection Board Tests as well as at competitive examinations. Altogether it is an excellent little manual of general information.

Logarithmic, Technical and Other Useful Tables. By N. S. Nagpaul, B.Sc. (The Commercial Book Company, Brandreth Road, Lahore), 1931.

Mr. Nagpaul has given in this brochure not only all the tables in general use, but those of chemical elements and physics also. All students of science, engineering and mathematics, also practical engineers and examination candidates, owe a debt of gratitude to

Mr. Nagpaul for his trouble in compiling this little book, which will be found of great utility by all students of the subject.

Proof-Correcting. By Sita Ram. (The Commercial Book Company, Brandreth Road, Lahore), 1931.

Mr. Sita Ram's little book will be found useful by all who have proofs to read and correct, as it deals with everything connected with proof-correcting, sizes of type, symbols used in corrections and their explanations. It also gives valuable hints and advice to proof-examiners and will prove of help to them.


Mr. N. E. Himes's Guide to Birth Control Literature is a select bibliography on the technique of contraception and on its social aspects. The books listed are well chosen, and the Guide should appeal to all students of the subject.

(3) NEARWEST GUIDE-BOOKS AND TOURISTS' MANUALS


There is no more comprehensive and up-to-date guide to southern and eastern Africa than the half-a-crown year-book which for thirty-eight years has been compiled by the Union-Castle Mail Steamship Company. Ltd. The book contains nearly 1,000 well-printed pages of matter and a sixty-four-paged atlas of coloured maps, and is strongly bound in cloth. It can safely be said that there is no subject connected with South and East Africa upon which one cannot find full accurate and highly useful information in this book, and
the search is made simple by a very carefully compiled index, occupying nearly fifty pages. This book gives a carefully detailed account of the journey from London to Cape-town with descriptions of all ports en route. Exhaustive information with regard to the scenery, climate, railways, coinage, languages and education of the great areas it deals with will be found in it, and it further includes a history of the various States, which will be invaluable to students. Full and accurate information with regard to its numerous industries is also given. The atlas contains a splendid range of large and small scale maps giving clear and accurate information at a glance. Thus in its pages will be found information of great utility on almost any conceivable subject concerning South and East Africa. Besides the old features which make it so handy and useful a companion to the business man, the immigrant or settler, the sportsman, the tourist or the invalid, there are new ones in the shape of bibliographies and lists of cognate articles in the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society. Altogether it is a marvellous compendium of almost encyclopaedic knowledge.


We welcome once again the post-Jubilee edition of the highly useful and excellent American guide to Europe, which has passed now through over fifty editions. The book—appropriately called A Satchel Guide to Europe—is a very reliable and readable handbook for the tourist in Europe, which has been brought to a rare standard of accuracy and thoroughness. Clear, compact and comprehensive, it gives wonderfully detailed and clear maps and town-plans, and the latest and up-to-date information on all matters relating to European travel—also a hotel directory, a calendar of events, various air and motor routes and useful, select bibliographies. It is essentially practical in scope and design, and has condensed successfully a vast mass of sound data which gives the tourist all that he need know to make his tour comfortable and interesting. The Satchel Guide is thus the one indispensable travelling companion for travellers in Europe. Its constant use will save time and money, as every important route is carefully described, the war zones fully treated, and all information essential for an easy, economical and delightful tour clearly presented in the fullest detail. In spite of its nearly six hundred pages (of small but clear print) it is handy and constitutes a veritable encyclopaedia of travel, which no traveller in Europe can do without.

Illustrated Guide to Goa. (Times of India Press, Bombay) 1931.

The "Times of India" Illustrated Guide to Goa is an accurate, up-to-date minute study of the country, its features, administration, people, their customs, education, and character, and lucidly presents the absorbing story of the rise, splendour and decline of Goa. Beautifully illustrated and got up, the book conveys all the information which travellers are likely to require. There is also a fine map of the country. Altogether, it is a highly useful guide-book to Goa—the country and the city, old and new.

Calcutta: A Handbook to the City of Palaces. (Times of India Press, Bombay) 1931.

The Calcutta Hand-book, in addition to the historical points of interest, contains a detailed map of the city, the usefulness of which to travellers cannot be over-estimated. Chapters are devoted to cathedrals and churches, to the Indian types and races indigenous to the city, to industries and to useful general information. In addition there is a fund of detailed information on those smaller items, which so often prove a vexatious stumbling-block to the newcomer. Profusely illustrated with fine half-tone reproductions, and packed with s
collection of facts and details which cover all fields, this *Handbook to Calcutta* should be in the possession of all travellers to that city.

The Traveller's Companion. Compiled by Paul and Millicent Bloomfield. (George Bell and Sons, Ltd., York House, Portugal Street, London, W.C.2), 1831.

This is not, as the title may seem to imply, a practical rude mecum for the traveller, but an anthology, grave and gay, castigic and commandatory, of a number of well-known writers on travel. Poets and philosophers; men of affairs; wits and wanderers; travellers kind and travellers unkind, have been summoned by Mr. and Mrs. Bloomfield, from the past and present, to contribute to our entertainment: an illustrious, cosmopolitan, and numerous company. Their comments on the changing scene spell delight for all who travel with them, challenge comparison with one's own experiences and observations; and to the novice exhibit the wide variety of interest which awaits him. In short this is a perfect bedside, week-end, deck-chair, armchair, book of travel, and should appeal to a wide circle of travellers.

Benares and Its Ghats. (Kashi Tirth Sudhar Trust, Benares) 1931.

This well-compiled and beautifully illustrated book is an excellent souvenir of Benares, containing as it does a well-written historical sketch of that world-famous city and of its many picturesque ghats, along with a detailed account of the scheme for their restoration. Printed on art paper, the letter-press and the illustrations jointly constitute an excellent album of the scenes and the sights of Benares. Much credit is due, for this superb production, to the enterprise of the authorities of the Kashi Tirth Sudhar Trust of that city, to whom we offer our hearty felicitation on having so well turned out *Benares and Its Ghats*, which is both interesting and instructive.


The title of Dr. Rangachar's brochures is self-explanatory. His *Pilgrimage to Manasarowar* is a profusely illustrated diary of a pilgrimage to that Lake and to Mount Kailas, in the company of the Maharaja of Mysore. The book describes in detail the various stages by which this exceedingly strenuous journey was performed, and also the people (Tibetans and others) met on the way, and the monasteries of these people. It also contains a sketch of the route taken and will be found helpful by intending pilgrims. Though neither strictly a guide-book nor a book of travel, it is at the same time a harmonious blending of both, and will be a useful companion to others undertaking the same journey.

Travel Guide to Kenya and Uganda. (General Manager, Kenya and Uganda Railways and Harbours, Nairobi, Kenya Colony) 1931.

Travel Guide to Tanganyika and Central Africa. (General Manager, Tanganyika Railways and Harbours, Dar-es-Salaam, Tanganyika) 1931.

These two travel-guides, which have been compiled by the authorities of the railway systems of the territories they deal with, are exceedingly well put together and are copiously illustrated. They are practical, compact, copious, up to date, and are replete with useful information—both historical and descriptive—for the traveller in Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika and other parts of east central Africa. They are highly creditable productions, and deserve well of the travelling public in east central African countries.

Touring in Scotland is a well-illustrated, composite collection of articles written by experts on the scenic charms of "Caledonia, stern and wild." The leading Scottish cities and the important tracts of both the lowlands and the highlands are vividly portrayed and graphically delineated, both in words and pictures, and the book will appeal to travellers in Scotland, being a useful and interesting addition to the literature of Scottish travel.

(4) RECENT LEGAL LITERATURE


The late Mr. Upendra Nath Mitra’s Tagore Law Lectures (1882) on Limitation and Prescription, have long since attained the dignity of a classic in Anglo-Indian literature. The new sixth edition is carefully revised, judiciously enlarged and thoroughly brought up to date by Mr. S. P. Sastri, ably assisted by others, while the splendid mechanical execution of these two large volumes reflects great credit on the resources of the publishing firm. The first volume contains the text of the lectures (which, as recast by the editors, reads as if delivered now and not half a century back); while the second volume contains an almost exhaustive, critical and elucidative commentary on the present Limitation Act. Furnished with a comprehensive index and copious marginal references, the work under survey will long hold its own as the standard treatise on the law of limitation, prescription and easement in British India, as it stands unrivalled amongst its competitors.


Sir Thomas Strangman joined the Bombay Bar in 1886 and in the course of a few years attained leading practice. For twenty years there was hardly a case of importance in which he did not appear on one side or the other. During some twelve years of this period he held the office of Advocate-General. One of the last cases which he conducted as such was the prosecution of Mahatma Gandhi at Ahmedabad, in 1922. In Indian Courts and Characters he gives an account of some of the cases in which he appeared and the characters of those he came across. The book is highly interesting. His account of Mahatma Gandhi’s activities in 1919 and his prosecution in 1922 are more fully dealt with in the book than in any other published work, and throw an interesting light on the Mahatma’s character.

Trial of James Stewart: Edited by David N. Mackay; Trial of "Bounty" Mutineers: Edited by Owen Rutter. (Butterworth and Co. (India), Ltd., 6, Hastings Road, Calcutta) 1931.

There is no more interesting series of books in legal literature than the one familiar as the "Notable British Trials," to which the latest additions are the two volumes enumerated above. Curiously, the incidents they deal with occurred in the second half of the eighteenth century. But the James Stewart trial of 1752, and the "Bounty" mutiny trial of 1792, yet appeal to the interest of a large circle of readers by reason of their exciting episodes. These are graphically set forth in the complete record of the proceedings of the two trials, and the reader is well assisted by the excellent Introductions and notes with which the volumes of the series are so well embellished. Altogether they are notable additions to the "Notable British Trials."
Popular Civil Law. By K. V. Sundaresan. (Butterworth and Co. (India), Ltd., 6, Hastings Street, Calcutta), 1931.

Mr. K. V. Sundaresan's *Popular Civil Law* is the result of a happy conception, happily executed. It is a successful attempt to present within a short compass the salient features of the chief branches of law administered in British India. It will be highly useful not only to the lay-public, interested in knowing the elements of law, but will also afford students an excellent introductory text-book. As such, it merits wide circulation.


Of the various current digests in this country, the *Yearly Digest 1931* is out-and-out the best, being the most comprehensive and the best classified and systematized. Its latest edition is, therefore, very welcome.

(5) ANTHOLOGIES, COLLECTIONS, REPRINTS AND TRANSLATIONS.

I.—Anthologies.


Purchas' *Magnam Opus*, the *Pilgrima* fills 25 volumes. We are thankful to Purchas for the amount of material, which has been thus rescued from oblivion. The picture of England "mewing her mighty youth" is portrayed in these quaint pages: they unfold the birth of an empire. Hakluyt is comparatively well known. This little book of selections will induce the lover of Elizabethan literature to turn his attention to Hakluyt's faithful disciple and successor, Samuel Purchas. These selections are specially welcome as they give us typical essence of Purchas' voluminous writings for one who has not the leisure to wade through the whole of them.


As the publishers say in their notice of this anthology, fifty different books, published by them, have been utilized in its compilation. Messrs. Sheed and Ward are well-known for the wide range and high standard of their publication, and the selection now published under the title of *Sheed and Ward's Anthology* bears enough witness to that fact. It comprises within its two covers an admirable guide to all important sections of Catholic literature and the authors' selections cover the various shades between two so far apart as "Beachcomber," the famous paragraph writer of the *London Evening News* and Abbie Bremond.


Messrs. Macmillan & Co. have supplied another excellent book to the growing demand for collections of stories of great writers in one volume, arranged according to subjects—*Humorous Tales from Rudyard Kipling*. The book contains a comprehensive selection and is a judicious and generous presentation of the various aspects of Kipling's humour. Its more than 500 pages are well-printed and illustrated. It should find a prominent place among the Omnibus Volumes in the leisure hour library.


*My Best Detective Story* is an anthology of detective stories considered to be their best by the authors themselves. Most of the best modern writers of detective stories in the English language are included in this volume which is well-bound and neatly printed in
bold type. It is no doubt one of the best additions to anthologies of fiction which are so popular nowadays.


*A Persian Caravan* is a collection of tales and sketches which were first published in book form in 1928. Earlier, eight of these appeared in various British magazines. It is another fine addition of modern English literary books to Messrs. Duckworth's excellent series of New Readers Library.

II—Collections


The *Report of All-Asia Educational Conference* that has been issued under the authority of the All-India Federations of Teachers’ Association, Post Box 52, Cawnpore, is a compendium of the addresses delivered at the Conference on the various subjects and problems that confront the educationalist as well as constructive ideals by authorities on these things. The modifications of points of view in different Asiatic countries and their systems are given in this volume—personal addresses by experts and official reports and documents supplied by directors of educational institutions and educationalists of countries outside India. The book provides the much needed data for the study of comparative educational methods. Mr. Khattry is to be congratulated on his able editing. He has so systematised the report as to add immensely to its usefulness. The first report of its kind, it is bound to have a wide circulation among those engaged in educational activities.


*A Tour in the Himalayas and Beyond*, by Sir Reginald Rankin, is a diary of a tour through the Himalayas and beyond. Starting from Simla in March, 1898, Mrs. Rankin and he made a walking tour through the major portion of hitherto inaccessible regions in the Himalayas and reached Kashmir. Later they continued their journey to the extreme limit of the State. The book contains a glowing account of the trip, the magnificent Himalayan scenery, the climate, flora and fauna. An expedition of three-and-a-half months may be now a very common-place affair, but it was wholly different in 1898 when roads were bad, and good maps and guide-books unavailable. Written over 30 years ago, there are many things out of date, but the scenery remains the same and so do animal and vegetable life. The book is written by an acute traveller, and travellers will find in it much that is useful and interesting.


*Representative Indians* contains life-sketches of eight Indians: Sir Syed Ahmed, the father of Muslim Nationalism, Keshub Chandra Sen, the exponent of the Brahma Samaj, J. N. Tata, the pioneer of industrial progress, Ashutosh Mookerji, the greatest educationalist of recent years, C. R. Das, a master of men, Dr. Tagore, poet, mystic and philosopher, Sir C. N. Raman, the great scientist and Mahatma Gandhi. It is a galaxy of which any nation may be justly proud. The facts of their lives set out scrupulously, with just that attention to detail which relieves a picture. To study these lives is to get an insight into the modern history of Indian renaissance, and for those who have not much time at their disposal for more
exhaustive studies, this neat little volume will provide a useful outline.


The joint editors, S. R. Naidoo and Dhanee Bramdaw, have collected together, under the title of Shastrī Speaks, the speeches and writings of the Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Shastrī during his term of office as the agent of the Government of India in South Africa. Mr. Shastrī's writings and speeches require no testimony of the excellence of their diction or oratorical value, their depth of thought and study or range and vigour. Mr. Shastrī needs no introduction. The collection in the neat volume, under review, is however of special interest as it deals exhaustively with the Indian problems in South Africa in a manner in which only Mr. Shastrī could have done with sincerity, restraint, understanding, and sympathy. It is as good as a text book on the subject.

III—Reprints.


The first edition of the Rise of the Christian Power in India appeared some years ago in five volumes when it was noticed in terms of high appreciation, in the Hindustani Review, and its many exhaustive features examined in detail. The learned author has traced the development of the British rule in India which reads like a romance as we go through the pages of this book. Despite the accuracy, precision and restraint of the narrative, some mistakes in the statement of facts and dates which had crept into the first edition have been corrected, and it has been otherwise thoroughly revised, by the author. But though Major Basu completed the revision and the additions that make the present volume complete and up to date, unfortunately he did not live to see it published. He had aimed at making the book more accessible, by bringing out a cheaper and handier volume, which the enterprise of his publisher, Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, the well-known editor of the Modern Review and himself a great scholar, has now done. The book is in one volume, its price has been reduced from Rs. 25 to Rs. 15; it is larger, profusely illustrated and embellished with maps; an elaborate index has been added; all of which increase the value, usefulness and attraction of the present volume. We are sure that the book in its present form will secure a wide circulation, as it is of interest to every scholar and student of Indian subjects. It should find a place in every study and every library.


The first edition, published in 1927, was exhausted in less than four years. It demonstrates the demand for the book by students of Indian philosophy. In the present edition some minor inaccuracies, which were inevitable in a work of such a comprehensive nature, have been corrected. The author attempts to convey as lucidly as possible the conception of the main currents of thought of the Nyaya and the Vaisesika in a language which does not easily lend itself to exact renderings of Sanskrit technical terms, and he has succeeded remarkably well. The bibliographical information appended to each chapter is a valuable feature of the book, so that the reader can judge for himself the accuracy of the presentations—the author having presented nothing on his own authority. This is an authoritative and substantial work on the subject.


The third, revised and enlarged edition of The Mysterious Kundalini, by V. G. Rele, lately
published by Messrs. Taraporevala Sons & Co., is an exposition of the physical basis of "Hatha Yoga" in terms of Western anatomy and physiology. We noticed in terms of high appreciation this learned and thoughtful contribution towards the explanation of an important branch of Hindu religious science. The present edition contains a number of illustrations showing various postures for the practice of Yoga, and an interesting diagram of the nervous system. We congratulate the author and the publishers on their bringing out a third and enlarged edition, which demonstrates the popularity of the demand for it.


The publishers of _Journalism from A to Z_, by Low Warren, have done a real service to the public, interested in journalism, as well as to the student, by issuing a new and revised edition in neat covers at seven shillings and sixpence, instead of the original publication at the prohibitive price of one guinea. As to the value of the book, there is no doubt. Written by a managing editor, and enthusiastically acclaimed by the well-known journals on its first appearance, it still holds its high position among the standard works on this subject.


In bringing out the fourth edition of his well-known text-book, _History of the British Empire_, Mr. Higginson has added two more chapters to the last edition—the first dealing with the establishment of the Irish Free State and the second with the emergence of "Dominion Status" within the Commonwealth. It includes the Simon Commission and the Round Table Conference recommendations, and is quite abreast with the time, and should be of much help to the younger generation in their politico-historical studies.


Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch's _Shakespeare's Workmanship_ was first published in 1918. It has now been issued as volume 8 of the publishers' pocket edition of Q's literary essays. With mature judgment, the author has amended some parts, but his main argument remains the same. Containing as it does some of his best criticism, this volume was a necessary addition to the "Q" volumes, which should appeal to a large circle of cultured readers.


_The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate_ was first published in 1905. The present edition is a reprint of it. The book has received world-wide notice, as was inevitable for a book by an author of such established learning on these subjects as Mr. G. Le Strange. His knowledge of the near and middle-eastern history, geography and language is at once deep and remarkable and his researches have been wide. Students of the subject will welcome this reprint of a book which is in great demand in scholastic circles.


Mary Agnes Hamilton's _The Man of To-morrow_ which appeared in 1923 and _James Ramsay Macdonald_, published in 1929—were both vivid and intimate studies. They have since proved prophetic too in that they foretold the rise to premiership of the subject of the book. These books have now been brought within one set of covers and published by Messrs. Jonathan Cape under the title of J. Ramsay Macdonald, with an extra chapter bringing the book up to date.

Much has been changed but much still remains true about the subject dealt with by Dr. Besant in *England, India and Afghanistan* which was published in England over half a century ago. But the issue of a new edition is not lacking in interest. It is a human document of a dominant personality and contains intimate incidents about public men and women of that epoch, and as such is worth preserving through a new edition.


The *Unveiling of Lhasa*, by Edmund Candler, was first published in 1905 and it has now been issued by the publishers in the Kingfisher Library series. Tibet still remains a large extent one of the darkest and most mysterious regions of the earth. There is very little literature on the subject. The author was an eye-witness to most of what he has described. The publishers have done well to re-issue this authentic account in a handy form.


From time to time we have had occasion to mention our high appreciation of The World’s Classics series—the handiness and attractiveness of the volumes, as well as the catholicity of the choice of books published. The latest addition to this remarkable series is Jane Austen's *Sense and Sensibility* with a critical introduction by Lord David Cecil. This classical work now available in this handy series will be welcomed by a very large public.

IV—Translations.


Probably the *Panchantra* are the oldest stories in the world. Their range and variety is remarkable, and they are of as much interest to-day as they have been throughout the centuries, from the 2nd century B.C., when they were originally compiled. They were first translated into Persian in the 6th century A.D., from which they were rendered into Syriac in 570 A.D. and Arabic about 750 A.D. Since then they have been translated into every language in the world, including Hebrew, Greek and Latin. There are many translations in English also. But as the setting of the tales is in India and the language and sentiments expressed Indian, it is difficult for a foreign culture to interpret the delicate shades of atmosphere and give the sense of the original. Messrs. Taraporevala Sons & Co. have done a distinct service to the research scholar, as well as to the reading public, by publishing the *Panchantra* and *Hitopadesa* Stories translated into English by an Indian scholar, Mr. A. S. P. Ayyar, who has already made his reputation as a writer of Indian stories. As he says in the introduction, Mr. Ayyar has taken considerable pains in consulting the various recensions that exist in India, and has chosen the texts for translation with great discretion and critical acumen. Incidentally the book under review provides a valuable document of historical research, giving as it does vivid glimpses of Indian life and thought in the 2nd century B.C. and which have been summarised by the author in his introduction. The book deserves well of the reading public and should interest a large circle of readers.

The latest publications in the Wisdom of the East Series are The Harvest of Leisure translated from the Tsure-zure-gusa, and The Persian Mystics Atur, by Margaret Smith. The first presents to us a Japanese gentleman of the 13th century, and the second an account of the life and writings of one of the greatest Persian mystics. The volumes maintain the high level of the excellence of the series aimed at by the joint editors to bring intellectual co-operation between the East and the West, by means of the best oriental literature. We congratulate the publishers on maintaining the high standard of this series which we have so often noticed in terms of high appreciation.


Freud's Civilization and its Discontents is now made available through the authorised translation, under review, by Joan Riviere. It forms No. 17 of the International Psycho-Analytical Library series of the publishers. The difficult and technical subject has been rendered into remarkably clear English and contains very few technical phrases. The volume is well up to the standard of this series and is bound to be of great service to students of Psycho-Analysis, bringing as it does the English-speaking student into direct touch with the great master of the science.

The Sacred Kural, or The Tamil Veda of Tirovallur. Selected and translated by Rev. Mr. H. A. Popley.

The name of Rev. Mr. H. A. Popley is sufficient endorsement to the standard of any book on Indian music. For popular exposition of the difficult and complicated art of Indian music, Mr. Popley perhaps stands unrivalled.

The Sacred Kural has been translated with deep understanding and in fine English. The translator's introduction and explanatory notes are valuable treatises in themselves. Mr. Popley has truly entered into the spirit of the Tamil poet—a remarkable achievement for a foreigner and a great testimony of his love for India (an article on music by the author of this book appears on page 31 of this issue).


No Englishman in modern times has interpreted for us classical Greek so well as Gilbert Murray. From time to time, for years now, we keep on getting these neat little green volumes published by Messrs. George Allen & Unwin. Indeed we look forward to them. The latest, Prometheus Unbound of Aeschylus, is well up to the standard set up by the learned author.

60: HINDUSTANI LITERATURE OF TO-DAY,
I.—In Devanagri Script.

1. Padya Prabha. Compiled by Hari Shanker Sharma. (Ram Prasad and Brothers, Agra).


Padya Prabha is an anthology of Hindi poems, taken from the works of both old and modern Hindi poets. The subjects vary from the modern descriptions of natural scenery to stories from the Ramayan and the Mahabharat.
The selection will give an ordinary reader a fairly good bird's-eye view of the Hindi poetical literature. The selections from each poet are prefaced with a brief biographical sketch, and at the end of the book are given short notes explaining the mythological and classical references. This book can very well be used as a text-book for imparting instruction in Hindi language and literature. The compiler of this book, Pandit Hari Shanker Sharma, has also brought out the Tulsī High School Course which, as the title indicates, is a selection of such pieces from Tulsī Das as are generally included in the Hindi textbooks meant for high school students. The text is supplemented by notes and commentaries and an introduction gives a short biographical sketch of Tulsī Das and discusses his art and characterization. The book is neatly printed and should prove of great help to students of Hindi....

Hindi Sahitya ka Sanchhript Itihas and Hindi Sahitya will appeal to a large number of readers interested in Hindi. The first book is a short history of Hindi literature, the second is a reprint in book-form of a paper read by the author—Pandit Avadh Upadhyaya—at one of the meetings of Hindi Pracharini Sabha, as its President. The writer is himself a well-known poet and his ideas about Hindi literature deserve attention....

Malika is a collection of fifteen short stories by Janardan Prasad Jha (Dwiji). They are written in simple and elegant Hindi. The stories well depict the ordinary everyday life with which they mostly deal. It is a very readable book.

Poetesses' Literature in Hindi—Sri Kavi-Kannudul is a compilation which serves a very useful purpose; it is full and comprehensive, and includes the writings of a large number of poetesses about whom very little has been written. The selections of poetical pieces from the 14th century to the present day are carefully made. Many portraits embellish the book. In India women have played an important part in every sphere of life—in politics, in war, in statecraft, in literature and in religion. There have been Sanskrit and Persian poetesses in the past and now we have in Hindi before us a galaxy that shines as brightly as the best in any land. The book under review gives a succinct history of the part played by poetesses in Hindi literature from the very inception of its development. The editor has rendered a distinct service to literature by bringing out this volume.

II—In Arabic Script.


7. Schoopenhaur, by Magnus; Zahir-i-Ishaq of Mirza Shaqu; India's Brave Women (Aivan-Ishayat, Gorakhpore), 1931.

Yadgir-i-Nasim contains the famous masnavi narrative poem—Guzir-i-Nasim—and selections from the poems of Pandit Dvaṇya Shanker Nasim. It is a matter of reproach to the publishing enterprise in this country that they have shamefully neglected the Urdu classics. We congratulate the Indian Press on their bringing out such an elegant and well-printed volume as the masterpiece under review. We hope we shall have the occasion to welcome other similar volumes of Urdu classics.

Another publication which deserves the highest commendation is Diwan-i-Asar, not only for rescuing from oblivion an illustrious poet of early days of the history of the Urdu, but for issuing it in a most attractive form, and in excellent type.
Hindu Shiwa (Hindu Poets of Urdu), edited by Khwaja Ishrat Lakhnawi, is an attempt to give in brief compass biographical notes and selections from the works of the numerous Hindu poets in the Urdu language. We think it was hardly necessary to stress the obvious fact that languages are not divided according to religions and that Urdu is no more the language of the Muslims than it is of the Hindus.... Jamahriyat-I-Naw, compiled by Syed Muhammad Mahmood Rizvi, is a collection of examples of representative Urdu prose from the time of Mir Amman up to the present day. It is a good selection and is well printed.

We have received two interesting books from the Indian Press, Lucknow. One is devoted to mental problems and the other to scientific and moral tales—Imti Pahetgan, by Mr. Syed Ahmed Hussain, and Imti Kahaniyan by Hakim Murzafer Hussain. They should prove of great interest and edification to Urdu-knowing children.

Alvan-Ishqat of Gorakhpore have sent us three of their publications which witness sufficiently to their laudable enterprise in fostering and promoting Urdu literature. We have often before deplored the lack of vernacular publishers and we, therefore, applaud every new addition to their meagre ranks, and much more the publishers, with taste and neatness, of these three books—Schoepenhuier by Magnum, Zahr-I-Ishq of Mirza Shauq (edited by Magnum) and India's Brave Women (Vol. I of their political series). We wish the publishers success and popularity.


Among the high class Hindi monthly magazines, Sudha stands unique. Within the comparatively short period of its career, it has made great progress and has established a reputation all its own. It is devoted to the discussion of all topics of interest. We have the last number before us. It begins with a beautiful frontispiece. It is replete with interesting and thought-provoking articles. Besides, it contains a large number of short stories and poems which will repay a perusal. Photos and illustrations on a profuse scale form a distinctive feature of this magazine. We wish Sudha every success.


Chand has almost become a household word in the Hindi-knowing world. It has done much to spread literacy among our women-folk; it has created a taste for reading among them. While primarily designed for the fair sex, there is much of interest for men-folk also. Almost every number of this magazine is profusely illustrated. Much can be said to the credit of its enterprising editor who is conducting it against great odds. It is rendering good service to the cause of Hindi. Chand should prove a profitable asset and therefore the Hindi-reading public should extend their kind patronage to this valuable magazine.


Madhuri can compare very favourably with any high-class Hindi magazine. The fact that Mr. Premchand, the famous novelist, is associated with it in the capacity of Joint Editor is indication enough of its excellence and popularity. Almost all the articles are from the pen of distinguished writers and every page of this excellent magazine is full of interest. It is attractively got up. We have no hesitation in commending it to the Hindi-reading public.

(7) TAKAPOREVALA'S INDIAN PUBLICATIONS.
(Taraporevala Sons and Co., "Kitab Mahal," Hornby Road, Bombay).

Indian Princes under British Protection: By P. L. Chudgar.
Co-operation in Bombay: By H. L. Kaji.
Landlordism in India: By Dwijadas Datta.
The Vedic Gods: By V. G. Rela.
Regulation of Banks in India: By M. L. Tannan.

II.

Women in Modern India: Edited by Evelyn C. Gedge.

The Scientific Basis of Woman's Education: By C. M. Chipulkar.

III.

History of Indian Currency and Exchange: By B. E. Dadachanji.

A Peep into the Early History of India: By Dr. B. G. Bhandarkar.

With the suspension of the business of Messrs. Thacker, Spink and Co. (of Calcutta) some months back, Messrs. Taraporewala of Bombay are left as the most famous publishing firm in the country, whose publications in various branches of Indian literature not only cover an extensive ground, but justly redound to the credit of Indian enterprise, in a field which is rather (comparatively) new to Indians. The books grouped above are but a few of the latest publications of the Bombay firm, and show their extensive range in various branches of Indian studies.

Mr. P. L. Chudgar's book is one of the best contributions to the study of the problem of "Indian Princes under British Protection"—which is appropriately its title. It offers revelations of the realities in the Indian States which are truly startling. No student of the problem of Indian Federation can afford to do without a careful and attentive perusal of Mr. Chudgar's book. Similarly, Mr. H. L. Kaji's Co-operation in Bombay is a well-edited and highly meritorious, composite compendium written by a number of experts. The authors are masters of the subject they deal with and their exposition is thus sound and authoritative.

Mr. Dvijadas Datta's Landlordism in India is an instructive counterpart to his earlier excellent treatise, called Peasant-Proprietorship in India. In this book he makes a passionate plea for the reconsideration of the Permanent Settlement—in Bengal, Bihar and other parts—the abolition of Zamindars, and Government estates in the peasants' lands, and for the reinstatement of the peasant—as owner of the land subject to a tax for the revenue (not rent, in fact)—into the position he was in 1793, so that agriculture in India may be saved, and the poor peasant protected from chronic famine and victimisation by usurers. Now that the subject of landlords and landlordism is to the front, in connection with the forthcoming reforms, Mr. Datta's book, by reason of its soundness and accuracy, merits wide circulation. A book of a different class and type is Mr. V. G. Rele's The Vedic Gods in which the talented author suggests biological interpretations, and elucidations on that basis, of many unintelligible passages in the Vedas. Whatever the value of his contributions, his treatment is highly original and deserves appreciation.

In his Regulation of Banks in India, Principal M. L. Tannan discusses the present state of banking affairs in the country, and offers sound and sensible suggestion, which deserve serious consideration at the hands of all well-wishers of the commercial prosperity of India.

The next group of their publications are devoted to "woman's cause." Women in Modern India is an instructive collection of fifteen excellent papers, by talented Indian ladies on various aspects of the women's movement. The book may justly be treated as, so to say, a well-written manifesto of Indian women's assertion of their claim for equal rights with men. The late Mr. G. M. Chipulkar's Scientific Basis of Woman's Education is a work which is equally erudite and practical. It is by far the most comprehensive work on the subject it deals with, and will specially appeal to the Indian educational and social reformer.

The third and last group comprises new editions of their works which have already gained high reputation—like Professor Dada-
tain the scientific import and practicability of the various methods recommended by the Yogis. This has been due probably to an under-estimation of its practical and scientific aspect. The physical exercises enjoined by Yoga were thus discredited or treated as useless. Shri Yogendra, the Founder of Yoga Institutes, has thrown a flood of light on the practical aspects of the Yogic Culture. From his personal experience and also from those of his patients and students, aided by clinical and laboratory tests, extending over a period of fifteen years, the author now offers us a most valuable work Yoga Personal Hygiene (Messrs. The Yoga Institute, Post Box 481, Bombay) on the care of the body through the many simple yogic exercises. According to the author in India the practical secret of healthful living was known to the ancient yogins five thousand years ago. In treating of the various practices, the author has done well to give weight to his statements by reference to the original texts in Sanskrit, modern medical and hygiene works which makes this excellent manual a very interesting and instructive introduction to the study of the ancient Yogic practices as well as personal hygiene. All the processes are fully illustrated and every practice is elaborated, simplified and explained in the most modern terms of science.

Captain Pillay, the author and compiler of the Welfare Problems in Rural India (D. B. Taraporevala Sons and Co., "Kitab Mahal," Hornby Road, Bombay), says in the very first sentence of the book that there can be no two opinions about the vastness and variety of India. That being so the problem of welfare in rural India is vast and complicated by reason of local customs, traditional usages and also, to a great measure, ignorance and want of adequate resources for combating it. Captain Pillay has gathered together in this volume much valuable information about welfare work in the various countries of the world which should be of immense help to the student as well as the worker in this field. The author
has also given very pertinent suggestions on social, maternity and rural problems. The proper organisation and working of social schemes—above all the knowledge of population problems, the care of the mother, effect of environment on heredity and sanitation, are the crying needs of rural India. On all these matters, Captain Pillay's book should be a real help to all those who are working for the well-being of the nation, as it is a valuable contribution to the literature of the subject it deals with.

A School History of India, by M. S. Ramaswami Iyengar. (Messrs. Srinivasa Varadachari and Co., 190, Mount Road, Madras) is written for the use of students preparing for School Final and Matriculation examinations, but while keeping to the prescribed syllabus, he has devoted some space to the cultural development of India. Students and teachers should, alike, find this book more interesting and pleasant reading than a dry narration of mere events. The author is a lecturer in History and understands the requirements of the students.

Lord Dunsany is a writer of repute. His stories are much in demand. The Travel Tales of Mr. Joseph Jorkes (G. P. Putnam's Sons, Ltd., 24, Bedford Street, London W.C.2) are 13 fairy stories covering a large field of adventures and romance, from an attempt to evade the Prohibition Laws of the United States of America, to an interview with a dead princess of Ancient Egypt. It is a most pleasant book for light reading.

One of the latest annuals to make its appearance is the Crime Annual for 1931. (Messrs. F. V. White and Co., Ltd., 4-8 Greville Street, Holborn, London.) This first number under review gives a record of more than fifty important cases of crime during the year—their range is well varied. It promises to be a very useful periodical publication for the student of crimes, including lawyers and medical men.
PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA:
AS I HAVE KNOWN HIM
(By Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha)

I feel highly honoured by the invitation, extended to me, by the Madan Mohan Malaviya Commemoration Volume Committee, to contribute a paper on some of my personal reminiscences of the great patriot, eminent orator and distinguished educationist, whose innumerable services to the country the book is intended to record and popularize. I readily respond to this invitation with great pleasure, not only because of the happy and cordial relations, which have subsisted between Pandit Malaviya and myself for now a period of over forty years, but also because it has been my great privilege to have been associated with him, in many public activities, both in the Central Legislature of the country, public activities, and also outside it. There is also this fact to keep in mind that, unfortunately for our country, a large number of the public workers and leaders of public opinion, with whom Pandit Malaviya has been associated in his long public career, have passed away, and I doubt if there are now many left, who can claim, as I may do, to have known and worked with Pandit Malaviya for now over four decades. This is, therefore, an additional reason for my acceding to the wishes of those who have made themselves responsible for the Commemoration Volume.

It is now forty-three years since I—then a youth of seventeen—first heard the name of Pandit Malaviya, as a young and enthusiastic worker in the cause of our country. Members of my family had long been connected with various branches of the public services, both in Calcutta (then the seat of the Government of Bengal and Bihar), and also Agra and Allahabad, from a time anterior to the creation of the then North-Western Provinces, in 1855, as a separate administration from that of the “Bengal Presidency.” And so it happened that in 1885, some of those members of my family, who were then occupying high positions in the judicial services, in what is now the “province of Agra,” were at our ancestral village (in the Shahabad district of Behar) with their sons, who were prosecuting their studies in the Muir Central College, Allahabad. I was at that time studying in the first year class of the Patna College, and happened to go to my ancestral village, during the summer vacation. It was there that I first heard glowing eulogiums from my relations, on the public career of the youthful Pandit Malaviya. I shall never forget, if I live to be a hundred, the deep impression which the panegyrics, which my young relations bestowed upon the public activities and the eloquence of Pandit Malaviya, made upon me. Not only (as I soon came to find out for myself) did they very justly extol his patriotism, and hold up to my emulation his earnestness and enthusiasm in the cause of the country, but they also expressed the highest admiration for his powers of public speaking, as an accomplished debater and a powerful orator alike in Hindi and English. The result was that I developed a strong inclination to make his personal acquaintance, and I made up my mind to go to Allahabad to meet him there, at the earliest opportunity. Fortunately, for me, the fourth session of the Indian National Congress was to be held that very year, at Allahabad, during the Christmas week, and accordingly I not only made up my mind to meet Pandit Malaviya at the Congress and hear him, but communicated my resolution...
to my relations, who cordially welcomed the idea, and encouraged me to come to Allahabad. And so, as soon as the Patna College closed for the Christmas vacation, I found myself in a third class compartment on my way to Allahabad.

II

The session of the Congress which was held at Allahabad in 1888, was, in more senses than one, a unique demonstration of the rising upheaval of the national consciousness of India, which had been accelerated by the strenuous opposition to the nationalist movement by the late Sir Auckland Colvin—the head of the administration, at that time, of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh—and also by the late Sir Syed Ahmad. The result was that Congressmen had been naturally put upon their mettle and they left no stone unturned to make the session not only successful but memorable. They accordingly secured for their president a well-known and liberal-minded Scotsman, an ex-President of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, and a man of very great influence in the British commercial community in India, namely, the late Mr. George Yule. For the chairmanship of the Reception Committee, they had the worthiest Indian then available, in the person of the late Pandit Ajodhynath, the leader of the Vakil Bar in the Allahabad High Court. Till then the province of Behar had not taken an active part in Congress politics and affairs, and had been wholly unrepresented at the first session of the Congress (held in Bombay in 1885), and but poorly so at the second and third sessions held in Calcutta and Madras respectively; but there was a strong contingent from Behar at the Allahabad Congress which was a unique and an unprecedented gathering. It was amidst such surroundings that I found myself in the visitors’ gallery, when the Congress opened on the first day of the session, with a wonderfully impressive speech delivered by Pandit Ajodhynath and a highly thoughtful and strikingly suggestive presidential address by Mr. George Yule. I was so much interested in the proceedings of the Congress that I sat, so to say, glued to my seat all the days and all the time that its session lasted. I heard—for the first time—dozens and scores of eminent Indian leaders addressing that vast concourse. Some of the powerful speeches delivered by the greatest Indian speakers of the time made a deep impression on my young mind—for instance, those by Surendranath Banerjee and Kail Charan Banerjee of Calcutta, Badrayer Norton of Madras, and Phirozshah Mehta and Kashinath Trimbak Telang of Bombay. All of them seemed to me wonderful and extraordinary performances, and so no doubt they were, especially as then judged, according to the standard of a young student, by me. But while I admired them all, none of the speakers made such an ineffaceable and indelible impression on my mind as did the truly eloquent speeches of Pandit Malaviya. I fully remember, even now, how intensely absorbed I sat all the time Pandit Malaviya addressed that vast gathering. Unlike the great orators named above, Pandit Malaviya’s speeches seemed to me to combine rare eloquence with remarkable sweetness and gravity. This first impression of mine of the characteristic of Pandit Malaviya, as a public speaker, has since then grown with my growth and strengthened with my strength, and during the many years in which he and I worked together in the Imperial Legislative Council and outside it, the conviction has steadily grown upon me that though India has produced several unrivalled orators and debaters, Pandit Malaviya is unique in the sense of being the only public speaker who tries to persuade the audience, not by reason of the power and vehemence of his language, but by great tact, wonderful gentleness and extraordinary charm, coupled with the most easy-flowing fluency which, all combined, produce upon the hearer’s mind and attention a soothing sense, and at once carry conviction to it. I need scarcely add that I managed to get myself introduced to Pandit Malaviya by my relations, who knew him well, and I shall never forget the kindness with which he
treated me; and so I returned from Allahabad on the 1st January, 1889, as the happiest young student in India at that time.

III

In less than six months, I had another opportunity, given to me providentially, not only to meet Pandit Malaviya, but to have the privilege of playing the host to him and entertaining him, as a highly honored guest, in my small students' residence, at Patna. This is how it occurred. I had gone back from Patna (during the course of the long vacation of the College in 1889) to my native town, Arrah, where I heard from some persons, who were Congressmen, that Pandit Malaviya was expected there on the errand of the Congress. I knew that Pandit Malaviya was at that time editing a Hindi paper, called the Hindustan, of which a great Congress leader of that time, Baja Bami Pal Singh (of Kalakankar, in Oudh) was the proprietor. Overtly, therefore, Pandit Malaviya was coming to Behar to advance the interests of the journal he edited, but his primary object undoubtedly was to popularise the Congress movement. He stayed for a couple of days at Arrah, and all the time, I was only too glad to get there an opportunity of attending upon him. He was so pleased with me that when planning his visit to Patna, he asked me if I could arrange to put him up. I said at once that though I was living in a small rented house, near the Patna College, I would deem it as a very great privilege, indeed, if he would honour me by accepting my hospitality. He most readily accepted my offer, and accordingly at the end of his visit to Arrah, both he and I went together to Patna, where he stayed for three days in my rooms. As he was not accompanied by any servant, he had to cook his meals, both in the day and at night. I had become so much attached to his personality that I gladly sat, not very far from him, and talked to him all the time, even when he was cooking and taking his meals. Of course, he saw the leading Congressmen of Patna at that time, the most prominent amongst whom was the late Mr. Syed Sharifuddin (afterwards Mr. Justice Sharifuddin of the Calcutta and the Patna High Courts), and a public meeting was also held, which he addressed most eloquently, both in English and Hindi. When leaving Patna, he very kindly promised to take a personal interest in my career which, I am glad to testify, he has always done since.

Soon after Pandit Malaviya's departure, circumstances forced me to think of going to England to be called to the Bar, and as I had nothing to fall back upon at that time, except such wits as Providence had endowed me with, I naturally thought of writing to Pandit Malaviya to secure for me some pecuniary aid from Baja Bami Pal Singh. I remember distinctly that I wrote many similar letters to a number of distinguished Indian public men, some of whom I had come to know at the Allahabad session of the Congress. I have long since realised, what I did not do then, that it was foolish of me to have expected a response from any of them. But I recall with great gratification that of all those whom I addressed, the only one reply I received to my communication was from Pandit Malaviya. Of course, he was unable to assist me, as the Baja Saheb had many far more deserving claimants on his purse than myself, but Pandit Malaviya wrote to me a highly sympathetic and genuine friendly letter (which is still a cherished possession of mine), in which he declared his conviction that though I might fail in my efforts to proceed to London to qualify myself for the Bar, he felt sure, from what he knew of me, that I would "go far and fare well". His Brahminical prediction has certainly come off true in my case, for (from my point of view) I have had little to complain of in the course of a fairly long life. But it is for Pandit Malaviya to say whether his expectations of my career have been at all realized.

IV

I returned from London, to Allahabad, in February 1893, after my call to the Bar on
the 26th of January of that year. There were at that time, at Allahabad, a number of my friends, especially from Behar, the most prominent amongst whom was the now senior puisne Judge of the Patna High Court, Mr. Justice Dwarka Prasad. More than forty years back, few Hindus from Upper India had crossed the sea, and, in my case, I happened to be the first Hindu from Behar, who had returned after qualifying in London. Naturally, therefore, there was a strong feeling that I should be accorded, on my return to Allahabad, a public welcome, and accordingly a large meeting was arranged in the hall of the old Kayastha Pathshala buildings, which was presided over by an eminent advocate of the High Court. It was at this meeting that I had again the privilege of coming in contact with Pandit Malaviya. He made a fairly long speech, relating all that he knew about me and the impression that he had formed of me, and wished me all the good things in the world, on my joining the Patna Bar.

From this time onwards, Pandit Malaviya and I used to correspond with one another on important public affairs, and used to meet either at Allahabad, or generally at the places where the annual sessions of the National Congress were held, from time to time. In 1896, however, owing to a complete breakdown in my health, at Patna, where I had been practising till then, I transferred myself permanently to Allahabad, and have lived there since, in my own house. From that time onwards till January 1910, when I was elected to represent the Legislative Council of Behar and of Western Bengal (popularly known as the "Bengal Council") in the Imperial Legislative Council, Pandit Malaviya and I worked together in many public affairs at Allahabad. In July, 1899, when I founded the Hindustan Review, I received from him most valuable assistance, and also when I started—in January, 1903—the Indian People, as a weekly journal.

But the thing which I recall, at present, with a very great appreciation of Pandit Malaviya's perseverance and courage, was the compilation by him of a portentous book on the Hindi-Urdu controversy, which was presented with an address, by a very influential delegation, to Sir Antony MacDonnell, and as a result of which he directed the optional use of the Nagari character in the courts of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh. It was an immensely difficult task to have obtained such an order from the local government, thirty years back, and none but Pandit Malaviya could have successfully achieved his purpose. For the sake of putting together this highly instructive and convincing work, he had to give up practically his practice for a period of from two to three years, and I distinctly remember him sitting in (what was called in those days) the Yatris' Association rooms, of the Allahabad High Court, surrounded by piles of books of reference and standard works on philology—in place of being immersed in legal literature in that surrounding. In 1910, as mentioned above, Pandit Malaviya and I were returned to the Imperial Legislative Council to represent the two neighbouring provinces of Behar and West Bengal, and Agra and Oudh. The three years that we spent together at Calcutta and Simla impressed me very highly with the value of the great work that he did, in his capacity as a councillor, for the country, even through the medium of that hopelessly defective legislature, in which there was a standing majority of an official phalanx. Although the personality of the late Mr. Gokhale overshadowed that of his other non-official colleagues, in the leadership of the progressive or the Congress party in the Council, yet Pandit Malaviya managed to retain his position as one of the foremost leaders and public men in the country, and his contributions to the debate, on the many momentous problems debated upon, were always listened to, even by the official benches, with respect and admiration. Again and again, it had been my privilege to have co-operated with Pandit Malaviya in doing some little service to our country through the medium of the Central Legislature, during our two terms in the
retained his high position as a great parliamentary leader.

Of Pandit Malaviya and his varied public activities, I could write "much and long," but I hope, what I have been able to say so far, based upon my personal knowledge of his work and intimate association with him for over now forty years, will satisfy every reader of this volume, of what a great asset he is to the cause of our country's freedom and progress. It is not necessary for me to refer to his great and splendid work in founding and organising the Benares Hindu University, of which he has now been for some years, most deservedly, the Vice-Chancellor. But above all his other services, the greatest to my mind, is his having been able to make up his mind, in his seventy-first year, to go to London to attend the second session of the Round Table Conference. Only those who, like myself, have personal knowledge of his habits and genuine orthodoxy in matters social, can realise what a difficult task it must have been for him to have persuaded himself to go over to London. But unlike some other friends of his, I am not in the least surprised at his having "done it," at last. Patriotism, in the best sense of the term, a burning love for the country of his birth, and a very keen desire to ameliorate the condition of his fellow-countrymen, have been the striking keynotes of Pandit Malaviya's character as a public man, and there is nothing surprising, therefore, in his having been able to bring himself round to proceed to London, when he felt that he was bound to do so at the call of his country. I associate myself with the prayer of the very large number of his friends and admirers that Providence may vouchsafe to him for a long time yet to come, health and strength to carry on his highly useful and most beneficial public activities, and I earnestly hope it will fall to his lot to see, before long, our great, ancient and historic country attain the full status of a Dominion in the British Commonwealth of Nations.
II.  PROFESSIONAL, REVOLUTIONARY & PRESIDENT.

Mr. Eamon De Valera

Eamon De Valera; the fiery petrel of Ireland, was born in New York in October, 1882, of a Spanish father and an Irish mother. Returning to Ireland as a child, he was educated in Dublin. In 1901 he won an exhibition and entered the Royal University, where he secured a mathematical scholarship. After graduating, he taught mathematics and other subjects at various colleges in Dublin. He also acted as examiner to the Board of Education for some time. In 1914 he took his B.Sc. degree. Later, he tried to get an inspectorship of schools, but failed to do so.

He had an excellent knowledge of Gaelic which was a great asset to him in his political activities. In 1913 he joined the Irish Volunteers. He was already a Sinn Feiner, but he took no leading part in the movement till the Easter rebellion of 1916, when he led the insurgents, and held Boland's bakery, Dublin, which supplied them with food and offered a commanding position for rifle work. Ultimately De Valera surrendered on April 30. He was sentenced to death, but the penalty was commuted to life imprisonment. On June 15, 1917, he was released unconditionally, in the amnesty that followed.

He was the only prominent surviving leader of the revolt, and was, therefore, greeted by a cheering crowd on his return to Dublin. The Irish Catholics regarded him as the hope of their cause. He was elected for E. Clare, defeating the Nationalist, and his victory did much to further Sinn Fein. Until he was rearrested in the Spring of 1918, he carried on a whirlwind campaign in which he was assisted by his ready pen and his eloquence in Gaelic and English alike. He was elected "President of the Irish Republic" by the Sinn Fein Convention of October, 1917. In the Spring of 1918 he took an active part in the agitation against conscription. His rearrest in May was due to the discovery of a plot for a rising which was to be assisted by a German invasion. Escaping from the prison in February, 1919, he made his way to the United States, where he managed to evoke much sympathy for the Sinn Fein cause. He was received as "President" by the civic authorities of New York and was given the freedom of other cities, where the Irish were numerous. De Valera raised a loan of one million sterling for the "Republic."

He returned to Ireland in the Spring of 1921, the year when the Anglo-Irish Treaty was signed. In 1920 he had been elected for Co. Down to the Northern Parliament and in 1921 he was made Chancellor of the National University. As he could not secure a majority for his Republican views, he resigned the "Presidentcy of the Republic" and led the Republican forces. He told his followers there could be no sovereign State so long as Ireland was divided into North and South. In August, 1923, he was again captured, but was released in July, 1924. In the same year he was elected President of Sinn Fein. For contravention of an expulsion order he was arrested by the Ulster Government in 1924.

De Valera had lost much ground by the end of 1925 when the financial and boundary agreements regarding Ireland had been concluded, and in March, 1926, he resigned the Presidency of Sinn Fein, following the defeat by the Sinn Feiners of his motion that Republican deputies should enter the Free State and Northern Parliaments, if the oath of allegiance was waived. By November 1926, he seemed to have come round to the side of the electoral methods in lieu of force. In connection with the dispute over £500,000, the unspent balance of the loan he raised for the Irish Republic, which was claimed by the Free State Government, he contended that the settlement with Great Britain did not represent the true will of the Irish people, that he would tomahawk the Free State regime whenever a chance arrived, and, therefore, he refused to hand over the money raised for an independent Ireland. And now he is President of the Irish Free State, and has taken the oath of allegiance.
Necrology of the Quarter

SIR MOHAMMAD SHAFI

In the death of Sir Mohammed Shafi, India has lost a tried public worker at a moment when his services were most required. He was born on March 10, 1869, and was snatched away from our midst at the comparatively early age of 62 years. He was educated at the Government College and the Framah Christian College, Lahore, and ultimately chose for his career the honourable profession of law. He was called to the Bar by the Hon'ble Society of the Middle Temple, in June, 1892. He was a D.Litt. of the Aligarh University and L.L.D. of that of the Delhi. With his brilliant educational record, his attainments as a public man were equally marked. He was president of the All-India and the Punjab National Liberal Leagues, President, All-India Urdu Conference 1911, President, All-India Muslim League 1913, President, All-India Mohammadan Education Conference 1916. He held the office of the Education Member of the Government of India and also of Law Member and during the same period he was the Vice-President of the Viceroy's Executive Council. Prior to that he was a member of the Punjab Legislative Council and Imperial Council during the period of the Morley-Minto Reforms. He was a member of the Round Table Conference and his contributions there are well known. He was a trusted leader of the Muslim community and his effort was to bridge the gulf that separated the two important communities of India. His last speech in the Plenary Session of the Round Table Conference made it abundantly clear that the interest of India was foremost in his thoughts. India keenly feels the absence of her devoted son from her Councils at a moment when her destiny is in the melting pot. He had endeared himself to a host of friends and admirers by his courtesy, catholic philanthropy and public services who mourn his loss.

MUNSHI ISHWARI DAYAL

The province of Agra and Oudh in general and the Kayastha community in particular is poorer for the loss of an eminent citizen and veteran reformer in the person of Munshi Ishwari Dayal, a well-known Advocate of Lucknow. He was a social reformer, a philanthropist and a lawyer of much distinction. He was a member of the executive body of the Hindu Widow Remarriage League, Lucknow, and was keenly interested in intermarriages and the remarriages of widows. He set an example by remarrying one of his own daughters. He was born in the year 1862, and was of the almost first batch of advocates in Lucknow. In the profession he soon rose into prominence under the patronage of the late Munshi Kali Prasad Kulbhaskar of the Kayastha Pathshala fame. He had a very lucrative practice and retired in 1918. Two other brothers of his were also ardent reformers. The elder, Babu Sarju Dayal, was a prominent member of the Arya Samaj for which he worked with great devotion and enthusiasm to the end of his life. Another brother, Babu Hargobind Dayal, who was also an advocate, was a great follower of the Radha Swami faith, to the cause of which he gave away all his possession and retired from public activities early in life. He was one of the founders of the All-India Kayastha Conference. Munshi Ishwari Dayal led a simple life but donated handsomely to several charitable institutions. Quite lately he had created the Hargobind Dayal Trust in memory of his elder brother for the promotion of education among Kayasthas and endowed property worth over Rs. 2,00,000. It was not long before Munshi Ishwari Dayal's death that the foundation stone of the Hargobind Dayal hostel was laid by Rui Rajeswar Ball. He leaves behind a widow and two daughters to whom we offer deep sympathy and sincere condolences on our behalf and that of a host of his friends and admirers.
The "Hindustan Review" is representative of the higher intellectual life of India and enables us to learn the thoughts that are agitating her cultivated classes. Its articles are of especial value from a political and philosophical point of view and it occupies among Indian periodicals a position analogous to that of the "Nineteenth Century" or the "Fortnightly Review."—"United Empire." (Monthly Organ of the Royal Empire Society, London).

The "Hindustan Review" deserves attention from British readers as showing the trend of thought—philosophical, literary and political—among the educated classes of India.—"Teuth." London.

The "Hindustan Review" is of especial value as lifting the brain cap of India and letting us see the thoughts that are moving in her educated mind.—The late Mr. W. T. Stead in the "Review of Reviews," London.

The Latest Indo-South African Agreement

By The Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri.

Indians everywhere will be happy to learn that the Cape Town Agreement of 1927 has been renewed, ensuring the continuance of friendly relations between the Government of the Union of South Africa and our own Government and the maintenance of an Indian Agent to watch over the interests of our countrymen in that part of the world. The significance of this event is enhanced because it was unexpected. To enable the reader to judge how far this feeling of gratification is justified I shall attempt below to set forth the circumstances and outline the essentials of the understanding between the two Governments.

The background of the South African picture is darkened by the rooted colour prejudice of the dominant community. Whether British or Boer, the white citizen, with honourable exceptions, regards the Indian as an alien whose presence is an economic and political menace and who must be sternly kept down as an inferior to be taxed and ruled but never encouraged to feel that he ever can be an equal citizen. Large sections of the ruling oligarchy continue to believe, in spite of evidence to the contrary, that the Indian is increasing in numbers at an alarming rate; while his Jewish and other trade rivals are able every now and then to work up public feeling against him and compel Government to introduce some anti-Indian measure or other. No measure of relief or help to our community has any chance, so long as those who have the municipal and parliamentary vote are hostile and even bear hatred in their hearts.

In the Transvaal ever since the discovery of gold all coloured persons have been put under disabilities of one kind or another. They cannot acquire fixed property on proclaimed land and their right to occupy stands and carry on trade is subject to serious limitation. The areas within which these restrictive laws do not apply are exceedingly small and are known as bazars, locations, mining compounds and other places which the Mining Commissioner may from time to time set.
apart for the purpose. In spite of this harsh legislation, perhaps on account of it to some extent, the policy of the authorities towards the Indian community has never been without some sympathy and consideration. In consequence our people have enjoyed facilities for trade, occupied buildings and shops for that purpose and even acquired fixed property of great value. The vested rights that have grown up these many years are in many cases strictly lawful. But in many other cases they would appear to rest on nothing more than the connivance or passive acquiescence of Government officials. Whenever ill-will towards Indians becomes active, the old prohibitions of law are invoked, and the community is threatened with loss of property and, what is even worse, with deprivation of facilities for trade, which is the only occupation open to the great majority of them.

About three years ago this threat became quite serious and certain municipal bodies, chiefly that of Johannesburg, began to withhold or suspend the grant of certificates of leave to trade in cases where it appeared that the Indian who applied for it had no legal title to occupy the premises in question. The trouble gathered force until a Select Committee of the Union Parliament was appointed to consider the subject. This committee heard a good deal of evidence, our case being presented ably and skilfully by Mr. Millin, K. C. and by Mr. J. D. Tyson, who during the period of Sir Kurma Reddi's illness acted as Agent of the Government of India. The upshot was a drastic Bill which proposed among other things to segregate Indians in locations and compel those who now live elsewhere to remove to them with all their business and belongings within a period of five years. The Government of India made vigorous representations on behalf of our nationals and were able to secure the consent of the Union Government to the inclusion of the Transvaal Asiatic Tenure Bill among the subjects for consideration at the Round Table Conference which it was proposed to hold in the beginning of this year to consider the renewal of the Cape Town Agreement of 1927. The Indian Delegation under the leadership of Sir Faiz-i-Husain had thus a double task before it.

II.

Omitting many details, however important, which the ordinary reader would find it difficult to follow, three main points of first-rate importance were pressed upon the delegation by the leaders of the Indian community, who were present in Cape Town in full strength and were taken into frequent consultation. First, existing rights must be protected from further menace; second, provision must be made for future expansion so that coming generations of Indians should not find themselves barred from the profession of trading; and third, both these objects should be attained without the humiliation of any treatment savouring of segregation.

Let me mention in passing a few significant points to enable the reader to understand something of the atmosphere in which the question is involved. How vital trade, facilities are for our people may be realised by the fact that, although the right of ownership and the right of occupation are both valued, the latter is valued far more than the former, and if, owing to pressure of conditions, one of these had to be surrendered, most Indians would surrender the right to acquire and own fixed property. The Bill as now drafted does not in terms provide for the exclusion of whites or natives from locations intended for Indians. Nevertheless in actual practice the segregation of our community will be brought about. The instinct was sound which led them to detect the presence of segregation even where the wording did not expressly mention it. In the province of the Transvaal the Dutch element preponderates and will not hear any arguments based upon the character of the British Empire or allow any rights supposed to flow from citizenship of that Empire. Our appeal must be grounded upon general considerations of humanity and natural justice.

Our delegation urged that the vested interests which had grown up by the tacit acquir-
essence of Government officials should receive henceforth the positive consent of the Mining Commissioner, who should be instructed by the Government to exercise the power granted to him under the law to permit coloured persons to reside and trade in particular localities. We were not quite sure that some little legislation would not be necessary to secure our objects fully through this means, but if it was, we hoped the Union Government could secure it with the sanction and support of the Select Committee. If the Mining Commissioner acted in a liberal spirit, he could not only protect existing interests, but provide in fair measure for the needs of the coming Indian generation. It is understood that this suggestion has met with the approval of the Select Committee; only, in the place of the Mining Commissioner they have been advised by their law officers to substitute the Minister of the Interior. Also they have allowed the deletion of the clause which would have segregated the Indian community. The white people of the Transvaal are very sensitive as to their right to govern their territory according to their own wishes and resent the representations of the Indian Government as amounting to unwarranted interference in their internal administration. To meet this sentimental difficulty it was agreed that the provisions of the Transvaal Asiatic Tenure Bill should not become the subject of formal discussion or resolution at the Round Table Conference. Dr. Malan undertook to place our views fully before the Select Committee, and we stipulated firmly that the renewal of the Cape Town Agreement would depend for its ratification by the Government of India upon the extent to which our representations on the Transvaal trouble received the favourable consideration of the Select Committee.

The agreement itself had always been looked upon with suspicion and disfavour by a powerful section of white opinion. The Government of General Hertzog was denounced by this section as having shown undue weakness and compromised the freedom of action of the citizens of South Africa, who were obliged to submit to the delay and inconvenience of having to hear the views of the Government of India and satisfy this outside power that they were dealing justly and equitably with people who were their own subjects. One circumstance had reconciled them to this undesirable position. This was the assisted emigration scheme, which with the co-operation of the Government of India brought about a certain diminution in the numbers of the Indian community. This advantage, however, had now ceased. Opinion in India was hostile, while in South Africa itself the local Indian Congress had become restive and begun to denounce the arrangement by which numbers of their innocent countrymen were lured to poverty, ill-health and social persecution in the homeland. Was there any means, we were asked, of improving the assisted emigration scheme and reviving the movement of Indians from South Africa to India? Our answer was an emphatic and final negative. Knowing, however, that, if the matter were left there, there was no prospect of the Agreement being renewed, we drew attention to the fact that under the terms of the original agreement the assisted emigration of Indians might be to India or other countries where the climatic and economic conditions were similar to those of South Africa. After a good deal of negotiation, the Conference decided that the two Governments should be advised to co-operate in investigating the conditions of likely countries with a view to promoting plans of colonization by Indians both from India and from South Africa. It was no easy matter to get the leaders of the Indian community to agree to this idea. They asked whether we of the Indian Delegation agreed that they were undesirables and must be got rid of to the extent possible. Some went further, asserting that their strength lay in their number and they would never consent to its being reduced. We pointed out that the immediate step was only an investigation, and that they need never emigrate if the plan was not good enough for
the people of the homeland as well as for them. Also we had secured that in the investi-
gation they themselves should participate through a representative. These considera-
tions finally won their consent.

III.

We came next upon another difficulty. The Union delegation were dead against the famous upliftment clause. To help the memory of our readers, it may be stated that this clause committed the Union Government to the duty of looking after the Indians under them in the same way in which civilized administrations look after their subjects, and to provide for them the same educational and other facilities which they provided for the other elements of their population. It would appear these propositions raised hopes which could never be fulfilled and the leaders of the Indian Congress tried to discredit the Union Government by constantly flinging the terms of the upliftment clause in their faces. Our South African colleagues would not therefore hear of its being repeated in the new agreement. Our answer was that the upliftment clause was the part of the agreement which made it acceptable to us, and that if it were dropped we should have no use for the agreement. The impasse thus brought about lasted several days during which we discussed an alternative proposal or two, but with no favourable result. The end, however, as we believe and as our readers will perhaps agree, is happy. Our brethren in the Transvaal have been relieved of the worst features of their recent trouble. No Indians will return to India unless they choose to do so. If any pressure is exercised by the officials or Agents of the Union Gov-
erment in this direction the leaders of the local Indian Congress will be free to make counter propaganda. The upliftment clause continues. An Agent of the Government of India will, as during the last five years, watch over the interests of our countrymen and be their guide, philosopher and friend, besides serving as the medium of communication be-
tween the two Governments. A South African Indian chosen by the Congress will be a mem-
ber of the committee which explores on behalf of the two Governments the possibilities of colonization for Indians from both countries in such places as Brazil, British Guiana and Tanganyika. No period of years is prescribed for the life of the renewed agreement.

How was this happy ending brought about? The dominant cause without a doubt was the advantage to both sides of mutual friendship and good understanding, which made it expediient as well as right to have an instrument embodying them, such as is recognised in the international sphere. Also the commanding personality of General Hertzog had its own influence, while Dr. Malan, silent, strong and straight, pulled his full weight in the cause of peace because it was the cause of justice as well. And though we as members of the Conference never travelled outside our agenda, it is not improbable that the necessity of cultivating trade relations between the two countries was present to the minds of our Union colleagues and made its own contribution to the result. Our friend Dinabandhu Andrews interposed his good offices wherever and whenever they were required, thus making a great addition to the already immeasurable debt under which Indians overseas lie to him. Sir Fazl-ul-Husain in spite of serious illness surpassed all expectation by his patience, tact and skill as well as by the firmness with which he repressed all communal tendencies among our countrymen there. It is impossible to say enough of the services rendered to the cause by Mrs. Naidu, whose personal charm and great reputation made a singular appeal to all with whom she came into contact, whatever their sex, colour, race or predilection in politics.

IV.

In the last few days disquieting news has come from South Africa. Our countrymen have expressed themselves wholly dissatisfied with the concessions made by Dr. Malan. Who can blame them? It is galling to the children of an ancient civilisation to be con-
signed to a permanently inferior status and
subjected to bad laws, which they must circumvent if they are to live at all. It is still more galling to discover that their only refuge in distress is a government whose power to help is by no means equal to its will. We must implore our brethren to submit to the iron law of necessity and accept such alleviation as the Indian delegation has been able to obtain. Perhaps when this country is a Dominion like other Dominions in the British Commonwealth, her voice will go farther than it now does and her nationals abroad will not be denied the elementary rights of citizenship. In fact the humiliation of our nationals is one of the considerations that weigh most with me in pressing for our Dominion status. Already, following on such progress as we have made in this direction, the India Office, there is reason to believe, has learned on occasions to stand up to the Colonial Office. Before long a Secretary of State for India, speaking in the name of a free people, may perform the miracle of asserting that they can no longer be expected to submit quietly to unequal and inequitable conditions. Meanwhile our advice to the Indian Congress in South Africa is clear, though it sounds tame—Patience!

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Modern Tendencies In Education

By Dr. G.S. Krishnayya, M.A., Ph. D.

Much could be said today about the changed angle from which we look at childhood, but it was not until comparatively recent times that childhood was conceived as having real significance. It has been looked upon as a period of life that had to be tolerated for the sake of what would come out of it. It was something to be outgrown as soon as possible. Children were candidates for adulthood. So adult ideals, standards, manners and methods of procedure were to be imposed on the life of the child and fixed there as rapidly as possible. Children were to live as little men and women. Those who did so were good, others bad.

The modern child study movement, which grew out of the work of Rousseau, Pestalozzi and Froebel, has focused attention sharply on the child, his nature and needs. But the old idea of the superior and dominating interests of the adult are so thoroughly entrenched in society that the newer regard for childhood still has to struggle for recognition. This is essentially an adult world, ordered and arranged by adults for their own ends and purposes. Fortunately, however, we are partially awakening from our neglect and lethargy and there is a growing tendency to make more liberal provision for the rights of children. The child is coming to be regarded as having positive worth, and the period of childhood is to be conserved both for its own sake and for the sake of the larger social significance of a prolonged period of infancy.
In the old education the curriculum was the centre of the educative process. Everything else revolved around it even the child. The subject-matter of education was determined wholly from the adult point of view. The only concession that was made was to its inferior powers of learning! Subject-matter had to be simplified and administered in small doses. If the child did not like what he studied so much the worse for him. The very fact that the subject-matter was disagreeable was a guarantee of its superior disciplinary value. The adult authority and the adult subject-matter were supreme. That is the atmosphere in which most of our educational work in India is still going on.

With the new ideas of child nature, the centre of educational thought and practice gradually shifted from the curriculum to the child. Everything revolved around the pupil. There can be no doubt that this represented a very wholesome reaction from the older point of view. (Would that we in India recognised more generally the rights and needs of the child!) But the reaction often went too far. Man in order to become man has had to rise above instinct.

The educative process cannot be defined in terms of a circle. Neither the child nor the curriculum can be made the centre. The original nature of man and the social values inherent in civilisation are both involved at every point and throughout every stage of the educative process. The child is not a fixed thing—his original nature is to be reconstructed and developed until it harmonises with civilised human nature. The curriculum is not a fixed thing to be imposed upon the pupil—the subject-matter has to be selected continually with reference to meeting the needs of the pupil, while at the same time reflecting the higher aims, purposes and interests of civilised humanity. The two foci, child and curriculum, must not represent two distinct and unrelated points but rather at the same time centres of mutual tension, and also the pivots about which everything else swings.

This conception will enable us to avoid many of the fallacies common to undue concentration of attention upon either the child or the subject-matter.

**FAILURE OF SCHOOLS.**

We are altogether too prone to think of the subject-matter of education wholly in terms of certain bodies of knowledge to be taught to children. But subject-matter originates within the experience of the group, meeting needs that are real to that group. And the values of life that every age and every nation have sought to perpetuate and to pass on to the rising generation, include much more than specific bodies of fact. They include certain skills, habits, virtues and ideals. These are as important for individual and social welfare as geography, arithmetic, grammar and other subjects which we stress so strongly. There are habits of personal bearing, of promptness, of neatness, etc., that have definite social value. The virtues of courage, of patience, of perseverance, of regard for the rights of others of self-reliance, are all things to be inculcated.

So it is with such great ideal as religious toleration and freedom of thought. It would be a crime against posterity to let them die out. They represent fundamental social values of greater importance than the knowledge of a vocation. Closely related to ideals are attitudes, and sentiments such as sympathy for the needy, the suffering, and the wronged, etc.

There is decided advantage in thinking of these also as belonging in the curriculum of the school, for they are then much more likely to get the attention they deserve. We tend to think of the curriculum too much in terms of examinable results that can be determined by written tests. We need a much more comprehensive conception still—one that will include all classes of values the attainment of which makes better men and women. The ideal is just as truly a part of the subject-matter of education as the facts of arithmetic, and in a given life situation may meet the need just as truly as in some other situation the knowledge of some fact will be effective.
Unless the ideal is considered part of the subject-matter of education, responsibility for its inculcation will sit very lightly upon the staff of the school.

WHEN EDUCATION EDUCATES.

According to the principle of functional psychology, we prepare best for the work of life outside of school, by setting up in school those bonds of connection which we want continued when children leave school. This means that the subject-matter of school must be identical and continuous with the subject-matter of life. The curriculum ought to bring the pupil into contact with the world at many vital points. Hence the reason why we cannot waste time and energy on materials and values which no longer perform any useful function. A curriculum has to be built which has large social adult values, appeals to the interests of children, is suited to their growth wants, and at the same time is sufficiently differentiated to meet the needs of pupils of varying levels of ability. The acceptance of this point of view will mean a thorough overhauling of our present school curriculum which has come to be what it is through the prestige of tradition, scissors and paste imitation of the a priori opinions of some powerful person or persons. Then superstition and dogmatism will give place to research and reason, and first things will be first.

Music in India: Yesterday, To-day and To-morrow

By Rev. Mr. H. A. Popley.

(Continued from our last number)

The courts of the Rajahs and Nawabs have always been important centres for the development of musical culture and technique. The Moghul Emperors were as a rule great patrons of the art of music and many of the great northern singers and musicians flourished in their days. Amir Khusru was a famous singer at the court of Sultan Alla-ud-din (1295-1316). He is said to have introduced the Sitar and the qawwâl method of singing. Gopal Naik was a musician of the same period at the court of Vijayamagar in the South. Vidyapati was a poet and singer of the fifteenth century at the court of Raja Siva Singh at Tirhut. Tan Sen, one of the greatest of northern singers and musicians, was the favourite singer of the Emperor Akbar. Muhammad Wazir Khan and Muhammad Ali Khan were rival musicians during the time of the Emperor Muhammad Shah. Shah Jehan bestowed the title of Kavi-râja on the singer Jaganath and on one occasion gave him and another musician their weight in silver. In the Maratha court of Tanjore flourished Tyagaraja, one of the greatest of musical geniuses in South India, and at the courts of Travancore and Mysore there have been many famous musicians. These musicians would also go about from place to place in order to show their superiority over their rivals and so the differing musi-
cal cultures of India had an opportunity of coming together and enriching one another. While there has been a certain measure of intermingling it must be said that the Hindustani School and the Karnatic School have developed mainly along their own characteristic lines.

In all these ways musical culture developed in the life of India in response to the various needs of the people. It was almost entirely a natural development that proceeded from stage to stage as the times and circumstances demanded. From time to time great musical geniuses like Tan Sen and Tyagaraja arose and gave a new impetus and direction to this development.

**MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.**

This article has dealt generally with the development of musical theory in India throughout the ages. I should like to add something about the development of musical instruments, and especially of the distinctive musical instruments that we find in existence to-day. Though it is true that the singer always has his voice, the natural musical instrument, it may be said that to the musician the musical instrument is as a plough to the farmer. Apart from instruments music could never have reached its present stage in India or elsewhere. There is a wonderful variety of musical instruments found in India and many of them go back to a very long time in the past, thus showing that the ancient people of India were deeply interested in musical development. Apart from the references in the Vedas, which have already been noted, we find in the sculptures at Amaravati and Sanchi and in the frescoes at Ajanta representations of a number of musical instruments. All these belong to the period between 200 B.C. and A.D. 300. The lute is one of the most common Instruments shown. We find also the drum, very similar to the modern mridangam, the trumpet, the flute, both single and in pairs, the damaru (hour-glass shaped drum) and so on. Early Tamil literature of the third to the fifth century of our era tells of a lute with 1,000 strings.

The Vina undoubtedly goes back to very early times and has not changed a great deal during the past four hundred years.

The earliest Indian instruments were the instruments of percussion, the trumpets and the flutes. The drum is mentioned frequently in the ancient literature of India and in the Tamil lands was regarded with reverence as the symbol of divine protection in war and in peace. It had a special elephant upon which it was carried into battle at the head of the army. The God Brahma is supposed to be the drum-beater to Siva as he dances his cosmic dance. The drum is also found, as we have seen, in many of the representations in ancient sculptures and pictures. The Indian sense of time is so strong that it is not strange that we should find such a long history for the instruments of percussion. Various kinds of castanets are also found in these early representations. The percussion instruments were very easy to make and to handle.

The trumpet is undoubtedly the descendant of the Conch shell and the Horn-Conch shells are mentioned in the earliest literature in connection with war and temple worship and the Bhagavadgita opens to the flare of the Conches of the opposing forces. It needs however a considerable effort of the imagination to regard the sound of the Conch as musical. The horn gets a little nearer to musical sound, but soon gave place to the metal trumpet. Trumpets were found both among the Assyrians and the Jews in ancient times and there are many representations of them on old Assyrian sculptures.

The flute has been associated with Sri Krishna and is at the same time one of the simplest and one of the most delightful of Indian instruments. It is an instrument which the shepherd boy can make for himself from a bit of bamboo and on which he can easily learn to play his simple tunes and it is also an instrument on which the accomplished musician can perform the most intricate Indian melodies with all the gamaka (ornamentations) for which Indian music is noted.
Among the stringed instruments we have already noted the occurrence of the lute in many ancient representations. This highly developed instrument of four or more strings played with the finger nail is undoubtedly derived from such primitive instruments as the Ektar and the Kinnari. The Ektar, as its name implies, is a single-stringed instrument and is to-day usually associated with the beggar fraternity. It has no frets and is only played on the open string like the Tambura of which it is the direct ancestor. The Tontina and Gopichand are similar one-stringed instruments in other shapes. The Kinnari takes us a stage further and is undoubtedly the direct ancestor of the Vina. It is thus described by Mr. P. Sambamoorthy:

"The finger-board consists of a round stick of black-wood or bamboo and upon this are fixed twelve frets of bone or metal, with a resinous substance. The tail piece of the instrument is sometimes made to represent a kite. Beneath the finger-board are three guard resonators, the middle one being the longer of the two. There are two or three strings, one of which passes over the frets, the others being drone strings."  

This instrument is mentioned frequently in ancient literature and is still used to-day by poor villagers in the Ceded Districts and Mysore. One is tempted to think that there may be some etymological connection between this instrument and a stringed instrument mentioned in the Bible as the Kinnor (2 Chron. 20:1-28).

During the course of centuries these instruments were slowly developed, until we have them in the elaboration and variety of to-day. The development of the stringed instruments was probably helped by Persian influence and the Sitar and other Persian instruments were introduced by the Moghuls. The variety of stringed instruments used in North India is undoubtedly due to Moghul influence. It is also probable that the Tabla is a fairly modern modification of the regular southern drum under Mahomedan influence. The Rahab, the Sur-Sringara and the Sarode are also adaptations of Persian instruments introduced by Mahomedan musicians. The great Tan Sen is said to have played on the Rahab.

MUSICAL COMPOSITION:

The various forms of musical composition give further indications of the course of development of music in India. These compositions may be divided into two main groups: technical and melodic. Technical compositions are those especially designed either to help the learner to master the technicalities of music or the musician to express them and show them off. The simplest of these technical compositions are the Gitas for beginners. These are simple melodic songs designed to bring out the bhava (or form) of the particular raga. The words are either praise of the deity or descriptions of the essential characteristics of the raga. Purandara Vithala in the beginning of the eighteenth century composed a number of these in Kanarese which are still used to-day throughout South India. Those which describe the characteristics of the raga are known as Lakshana Gitas and are found in the various languages all over India. The Swarajati and Pallavi are more elaborate compositions of the same type. Then there are the Varna which are still more elaborate and also develop the technicalities of tala as well as raga.

The melodic group of compositions is extraordinarily rich and varied. In South India there are the Kritis and Kirtanas and in the North the Dharmapad and the Khyal. These are all elaborate musical compositions with various movements and designed principally for vocal purposes. The music and the words are both important and the two are welded to one another in these compositions. In addition there are many other forms both in the North and in the South among which may be mentioned, Padam, Javali, Tiruppugal and Pallavi in South India, Thomri, Hort, Tappa, Ghazal, Abhang in the North. The Harikatha or Kala-kshepam is a kind of musical monologue in which music and exposition both play a part and is meant to express and stimulate bhakti. These with the Bhajan and the Sankirtan are due largely to the Bhakti movement.

India is especially rich in folk songs some of which are religious, as the Baul songs of
Bengal, and others occupational or descriptive of nature. These songs are not usually susceptible to strict musical analysis; but they very often have charming melodies and reveal the essential spirituality of outlook in the Indian villager. Dr. Rabindranath Tagore in his recent book, The Religion of Man, has given translations of a number of these Baul songs. The boat-songs of Bengal and Travancore are delightful examples of this kind of music.

This account of musical compositions would be incomplete without a reference to the Gamaka or musical ornaments which play so large a part in Indian music. Unrelieved melody tends to become monotonous and the Gamaka supply the element of variety. They are really elaborate graces. Somanatha says of Gamaka, "Music without Gamaka is like a moonless night, a river without water and a creeper without flowers." Indian music is sometimes called 'curved music' because of the pervasiveness of these graces. They must be urged, however, subject to the rules and conventions of the ragas and it is not permissible to put them in just as one may wish.

While it is true that Indian songs are mainly religious yet there are also, especially in Bengali and Hindustani, many love songs and, as we have seen, among folk songs many descriptive of nature and of daily occupations. The Ashtapadis of Jayadeva are really beautiful love songs, though their association with Krishna and Radha gives them a religious character.

Thus music is interwoven into the whole texture of Indian life. In the ordinary village life, in the temples, at the time of the great religious festivals, in the urban theatres, in simple village plays, in the palace of the Nawab and Rajah—everywhere in India music has played its part in the life and culture of the people, more so than in any other nation except perhaps Italy. Indian music has a long history and brings with it to the culture of to-day a rich heritage. It has been played upon by many different influences and while retaining its characteristic form and flavour has responded to the changing environment and has taken on new aspects to meet new needs. So the music that has come down to us to-day is like one of India's great rivers as it flows towards the sea, bearing in its waters the riches of the mountains and valleys through which it has passed.

MUSIC TO-DAY.

What then can be said about the Music of To-day? The poet of Shantaniketan some years ago said to me: 'Indian music, like so many other Indian arts and cultures, has come to a dead stop and shows no signs of progress.' Since then has come a great resurgence of India's life under the stimulus of the national movement. As the Editor of the Indian Social Reformer pointed out, this period has been a time of intensive development in nearly all spheres of life, and music has shared in this development. The Journal of the Music Academy, Madras, in its first number published in January 1930, said:

"The present era is witnessing a great revival of interest in Indian Music. There is an earnest desire to know what the great sages and master-minds of India have said about it. All over the country music conferences are held not only for the exposition of the art but also for the discussion of principles and problems connected with it."

In 1911 the Indian Music Journal was published in Mysore under the Editorship of Mr. Krishna Rao, a capable musician and musical scholar. This Journal unfortunately passed away when two years old. There are now two Music Journals published in India, the Journal of Music Academy, Madras, and Sangeeta published by the Staff of the Marris College of Music, Lucknow. These two journals show the developments that are taking place in North and South India music respectively.

Since 1916 a series of All-India Musical Conferences have been held at which musicians and scholars from every part of India have gathered together to discuss problems relating to music in India. This has meant a free interchange of thought and ideas between
musicians of the North and South, and though these Conferences have not resulted in any practical steps, they have done much to clear up misunderstandings and to stimulate interest in music.

Since the beginning of the twentieth century one of the most important developments has been seen in the rise of Schools of Music all over the country. The Gandharva Mahavidyalaya was first established in Lahore by that veteran music enthusiast, the late Pandit Vishnu Digambar, and then in Bimbay in 1908. These were the first schools to attempt the systematic teaching of music to classes. In Calcutta the Sangit Sangha and later the Sangit Sammilani were established for the same purpose. Pandit Vishnu Narayan Bhatkhande of Bombay started schools in Lahore, Gwallor, and other places in North India; and the Marris College of Music in Lucknow, one of the best in the country, owes its inception and maintenance to him. Pandit Bhatkhande is a retired lawyer who has devoted himself to the study and clarification of music. He has unearthed and published many of the old Sanskrit treatises on music which had never before seen the light of day, including the Chaturdhan Prakasika of Pandit Venkata-makhi of South India. He has also worked out a new system of raga classification for North India which is a great improvement on other North Indian systems. He has introduced methods of class teaching of music which are a great advance on anything that was known before. Sri Krishna Ratanjankar, the young principal of the Marris College of Music, Lucknow, has under the inspiration and direction of Pandit Bhatkhande carried these out in the every-day life and work of the College and has made it one of the principal centres of music teaching in upper India.

In Madras in 1918 a Summer School of Music was organised by Y.M.C.A. leaders, primarily for Christian workers, which has now developed under the principalship of Prof. Sambamoorthy into one of the most important schools in South India, drawing a large number of pupils from all communities.

The Music Academy, Madras, was inaugurated in the year 1928 as a result of the work of the All-India Music Conference held in 1927 during Congress week. The Hon'ble Dr. U. Rama Rao is the inspirer of this Academy and is now proposing to start regular classes for music teaching. It has done a great deal by means of Conference to elucidate some of the problems of South Indian music and to help in the fixing of raga and in the general development of South Indian music. In the year 1929 the Annamalai College of Music was opened in connection with the Annamalai University of Chidambaram. This gives a four-year course in South Indian Music. The Principal is the veteran South Indian Musical scholar, Pandit Sabesa Aiyar.

In 1928, also the Madras University, after a great deal of agitation in which Mr. S. Satyamurti took the lead, introduced Indian music into the University curriculum. Prof. Sambamoorthy was appointed to Queen Mary's College as the lecturer in Music and already a number of the girls have taken music in their Intermediate Course. In the Girls' Schools also Music has been introduced throughout the Madras Presidency and other Presidencies were considering similar action when the financial depression fell upon India.

There is no doubt that today's renaissance of music is taking place throughout India. It is no longer considered one of the less respectable arts. Dr. Rabindranath Tagore has been largely responsible for introducing music and dancing by respectable girls and ladies to the public stage in Bengal, and in the homes of people all over the country there is a revival of interest in the Indian art. Many developments are taking place which will mean the enrichment of the musical culture of every part of India. The North and the South, East and West are borrowing from one another. Madras delights to listen to the simple Hindustani melodies as well as to its own classical pieces and the northern audiences are beginning to appreciate and understand Southern music. Orchestral
music, in the sense of a group of instruments playing a melody in unison, is being experimented with in Baroda, Jamnagar and Madras. The late Pandit Vishnu Digambar began to popularise community singing in various places in India. The National Movement during the past two years has witnessed the use of music as a vehicle of national aspiration and enthusiasm; bands of volunteers, both men and women, parading the streets singing national songs. The drama, to-day, as in the past, is assisting in the development of the musical life of India. In the midst of all this popular activity there is also an eagerness to study the facts concerning Indian music, to understand it better and to give it a worthier place in the life of the people as a whole.

The coming of the wireless and its concomitant broadcasting is going to mean a great deal to the development of music in India. In Western countries it has already done much to make large numbers of people familiar with the best music and the wireless lectures of Sir Walford Davies and others in England are now a regular part of the musical education of children in schools. There is no doubt that when receiving sets are made available to villagers in large numbers and at a cheap cost and broadcasting stations are multiplied in the different provinces, the village peoples will have an opportunity of listening to the performances of the best musicians and of studying music such as they have never enjoyed before. The number of Indian listeners is steadily increasing. There are to-day about 5,000 listeners in Bengal and Assam out of whom 4,366 are Indians. During the past year the number of Indian licenses have increased from 3,362 to 4,366, an increase of over 30 per cent. No figures have been supplied for other provinces but it is likely that the same tendency will be found in them. Mr. Brayne in the Jhelum District has worked out a plan for broadcasting to the villages by means of a moveable transmitter carried on a motor lorry and a number of specially constructed receiving sets for surrounding villages. Madras has installed re-

ceiving sets in two public places where large crowds gather,—The 'People's' Park and the Beach,—and concerts are broadcasted from the studio to thousands who listen in at these places. There is a great future for musical education through wireless in India.

FUTURE OF MUSIC.

What of the future of music in India? It is difficult to foretell the lines of progress that Indian music will take. It may be said that there will take place a unification of the different types that are found in different parts of India as a result of the freer communications and frequent meetings of musical experts from the various provinces. Broadcasting also will help to bring this about. Abdul Kareem, the singer of Poona, has made frequent trips to South India and delighted large audiences there with his performances. South Indian experts, such as Sangeeta Vidyan C. B. Srinivasa Aiyengar, have already made a careful study of many North Indian ragas. The touring dramatic companies are popularising melodies drawn from all parts of India. The Musical Conferences are bringing together experts from all over India. The schools and universities are introducing music into the curriculum. There is a growing demand for musical knowledge among the people generally and an increasing appreciation of good music. The gramophone is making it possible for everyone to hear the best music.

One of the things that is bound to come out of all this is an all-India system of musical notation. Experiments are being made along various lines but hitherto nothing that is quite satisfactory has been produced. Probably the staff notation may come more and more into use but one can safely predict that in India this will not be the system that is most widely used. That will be some form of Sargam notation, probably in Hindi characters.

In the second place, there is coming about a greater emphasis upon quality and tonality. Voice production will be studied much more thoroughly and both men and women will be trained to use their voices so as to produce a
As music comes more and more to be the concern of the people generally and not merely of a class there will naturally be developments along many lines. The one thing that music in both the North and South needs today is the emergence of creative artists who will work out new forms instead of merely imitating the old forms. In Bengal and the United Provinces this is happening to-day to some extent, but in South India we do not yet see any such artists. The work of the great singers and musicians of the past is being studied more closely than ever before and there is a much wider appreciation of their merits but no new stars have yet arisen on the horizon. Out of the present interest and growth of knowledge this may come and we wait on in hope.

But one thing we may be assured of, India will never lose her love of music and in all the varied lights and shades of India’s life music will continue to play its part.

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Unemployment Among The Educated

By Rao Bahadur Sardar M.V. Kibe, M.A.

called professional education imparted in medicine, law and even engineering or agriculture does not open a prospect of an independent career but any advertisement for a person qualified in these subjects attracts applications from thousands of men possessing the knowledge of these subjects. There is no exaggeration in this statement. It is within my knowledge that for six posts in the Judicial Department of a State no less than 2,200 applications were received not simply from raw graduates but from old persons who may be called veterans in the profession. This is to say the
least, a terrible waste of energy and loss of man-power to the country.

At the same time I am not one of those who proclaim that there has been enough of the University education in the country. Those who are loud in their protests against higher education in this country are perhaps unmindful of the fact that in countries that have advanced in the run of life, the number of persons who have received such education is far larger than in India. The cry of these people is for industrial or commercial education but they perhaps forget that even for people trained in these subjects in the Institutions existing in India the want of employment is felt equally with those who have had higher education in these subjects at an University.

The cause of unemployment must be found elsewhere than in the mere increase in the numbers of the educated people. A restriction on them would be no remedy. Compared with the population, or even as already hinted, with the percentages in other advanced countries, the spread of either literary or technical education in this country is but small. It is absurd to say that the limit has been reached and this or that form of education be restricted. The only effect appears to be that things are moving in a vicious circle. The education imparted is not wholly according to the needs of the country and the needs are also not made to accord with it. An alien government ruling from a distance, as an administration found it necessary, for the purposes of the working of the machinery to have instruments in the shape of human beings who understood their manners and methods and not the least their language, which was preliminary to their being assimilated. This dwarfing ideal has been at the root of the educational activities of the country. The Indian States had neither resources nor the imagination to strike a different line. People trained in the subordinate services of the British Indian Government were eagerly taken up in the services of States for bringing their administrations on the lines prevailing in the greater part of the country. The idea of government was lost and the foreign procedure was taken up and has been admirably continued all along.

The ancient ideal of the Government in India was that there was a class of people who equipped themselves to devote their whole lives entirely to devise means for the welfare of the country. There was another class which made itself able and responsible to execute the mature thoughts and bring them into action and use. There was yet a third class which made itself responsible for finding ways and means for the sustenance of the entire community and the last class, consisting of less intellectual people that the rest and forming the bulk of the society, was ever ready and engaged in ministering to the physical wants of the people just as the first named class looked to their moral, mental and even the material needs. The whole structure of the society was based on the idea mentioned above. It is curious that the Soviet rule in Russia seems to be trying to approach that ancient ideal of society. That was real government only actuated by the good of the fellow subjects. An administration such as is existing in this country in modern times may be good, bad or indifferent, but its guiding principles are poles asunder from those of a government.

There has been need for the class of people, which the educational ideals introduced by Lord Macaulay in India, have produced. Moreover it is not correct to say that it has been overdone. There are vast tracts where the need of such people is felt. Also it has to be remembered that in spite of the strong administrative bias pervading the atmosphere of the educational policy in this country, as was envisaged by its originator, already named, the very fact that a knowledge of the western languages and sciences opened a new avenue of thought, study and research, made some of the products of that education strike new lines for themselves. But their handicap has been great and hence the dearth of scholars, discoverers, inventors, etc., in India.
UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG THE EDUCATED

It appears that the vast area of the unemployment problem in this country will be removed if the administrative bias existing in the education policy is replaced by an atmosphere of pure education in the truest sense of the word. As in other countries, where there are separate tests for employment in public services, general education in all its stages ought not to look to the needs of the administrative departments. What a government wants are men of thought, action, commerce, and labour. When it has got them, it will govern and not merely administer. There will be no unemployment in the products of its educational institutions which will not be mere institutions of the nature of the present-day schools and colleges but these will be institutions of government which will have to carry on their duties.

The needs of any country are that it should have a body of citizens who can not only repel foreign aggression but promote the progressive welfare of the community. This would require knowledge of not one foreign language but provision for acquiring proficiency in many languages. It will require men who have knowledge not only of the existing laws but men who can adapt or alter laws applicable to the prevailing needs of a healthy community. It will require men not only who can do subordinate jobs, say in Engineering, but men who can conceive plans and execute any work required of them. It will require men possessing knowledge of a certain system of medicine and surgery and men who in their combined capacity do possess powers not only to cure but invent cures. What provisions have the administrations made to meet these wants? Unlike an administration, a government would be no hurry to exploit the wealth and resources of the country but would hasten the day until its own men are ready to take up the task.

Against what has been stated above it may be argued that where are the finances for providing all the facilities required for the full growth of a country? It will be said why the governments in India fell like a house of cards before the onslaught of a foreign invasion made by men far less advanced in the art of government than those whom they subdued? Where is the force in advocating a system of government to replace an efficient administrative system? What is the generality of people want is being left alone to eke out an existence and non-molestation from others. An administration can and has secured both these essentials required to run a well-ordered society.

But is the last proposition correct? Will the divine lamp in the heart of a human being keep him still and satisfy him if he is enabled to run a society of animals only and not human beings? Did not the disruptive forces introduced by the disproportionate doctrines of Buddhism and Jainism weaken the Indian social structure and transformed governments into mere administrations? How were these socio-religious systems allowed to arise? Was it not a fact that the manhood of the nation was "a flown away" in the Mahabharat war as was that of the Scottish nation at the Flodden Field? Is not the administrative system capable of being made far less costly than it is at present by, for instance, turning it into a government?

But there are even now not men wanting in the country who, if they consulted together could divert the attention of the products of the modern education to other channels than at present available. Perhaps there is no remedy available to them to stop such waste of energy altogether but what they can do is not quite negligible. The idea of establishing institutions for imparting education on national lines appears to have been an attempt in this direction but it failed and much of the energy that was then generated has evaporated because the system proposed by the administrations in the country proved much more attractive, being capable of yielding immediate remunerative results, which the new system without having the reins of government in their hands could not successfully be supported by the people.
II.

The structure of the Hindu society is based on individualism. The modern polity is no less democratic. It is true that the tenets of both the religions taught by Mahomet and those contained in the authoritative works of the Hindus tend to soften the rigour of the disruptive tendencies inherent in individualism. India is predominantly a country of villages. Even though owing to the introduction of outside capital the process of urbanisation has taken some root in the country, yet for the real welfare of the country rural organisation must form the main plank in the activities for the uplift of the country either by the administrations or the people. Thus there is a vast field for the energies of any set of men with both original or initiative ideas. This avenue has not up to now been as much explored as it ought to be.

Any educated young man desirous of utilising what knowledge he possesses or has equipped himself to acquire can utilise it in a village. If his habits are simple, which mean that he is actuated by the highest motives, he can make out a living without any difficulty. Besides the problem of improving agriculture and trade there is the problem of sanitation and health. The problem of transport concerns a group of villages. The present administrations by their centralisation have impoverished the country side. The roads which it constructs for providing easy communication with the interior and the transport of merchandise has the sole object of enriching the city at the cost of the villages. Before the organised mechanical and human labour village industries have disappeared. They may have resulted in making costly articles as understood by modern science of political economy, but the human power has been ignored. By the introduction of cheap and easily worked mechanisms village human labour could be easily utilised without much waste. But even if there was waste it would be nothing before the appalling waste, the mother of poverty, coming on in the country. Impoverishment of the country side can be prevented to a large extent in this way. A person, or persons, who has, or have, received education even in the present-day institutions and inspite of their strong bias for administrative needs, can teach village people better ways of meeting their wants. He can study and impart instruction in the methods of increasing the produce of the land, better exploiting it and of reserving their resources to a greater advantage. Hindu society is crumbling for want of knowledge of its binding forces. Insipe of temples endowed by the administrations no knowledge of the first civilisation of its growth or its evolution up to date, is received by the people. This want can be supplied by an educated person seeking an employment even for his maintenance. Human labour available in villages can be utilised for improving the sanitation by organised voluntary labour for a few months in the year when there is nothing to do in the village. While boys and young men idle away their time in gossip or jealousies, feuds and crimes, the ancient systems of the physical exercises and competitions can be revived to replace them. Voluntary labour can dig a well especially devoted to drinking purposes. The medical requirements of the villagers can be met on the spot to a large extent by a man who exerts a little to know the principles and practice of ancient or modern systems of medicine and simple surgery. This will stop the appalling loss of life that occurs not only when epidemics are raging almost everyday. Even modern movements like the Red Cross activities, or the Boy Scout organisation need to be carried to villages. Who else can do it but men who have received the only decent education that is available in the country. The millions of villages in India can absorb many more educated people of all grades of life than those who are now crying for employment.

As a matter of fact there is not dearth of employment but the dearth of decent and efficient people. It is an everyday experience that for several needs proper men are not available. To take even less intellectual
pursuits there are not fast typists available to the extent needed, want of shorthand writers is greatly felt. Even women do not know the household remedies they used to know, no readers are available, men fitted for secretaries' posts are difficult to find. Going a little further efficient clerks are few. How few among them do aspire to become office superintendents or how few rise to be secretaries. How few medical men aspire to emulate the qualities of men who have risen to the top from the lowest rank. Is there not dearth of good advocates? Are there not complaints of inattention to and superficial study of cases by the majority of Vakils? How many teachers are really devoted to their vocations? Is there not yet room for efficient journalists? How many have really understood and assimilated Mahatma Gandhi’s gospel of the Charkha-Khaddar and its economic significance? These are some of the wants felt in urban areas too.

What is urgently required is the necessity of giving biases to popular education at its various stages. There is the agricultural bias, the industrial bias, the commercial bias and such other biases to be given. These even an administration desirous of avoiding waste can arrange for at a little extra cost, if at all. At present the clerical or the bureaucratic bias is the predominant, if not the only bias. It has had its days of usefulness and even now it is not quite unnecessary. The only ground for complaint against it is that it is a wasteful process considering the needs of the country.

But it is for the young generation to find ways and means to supplement it. There are several ways of doing it. Some have been already indicated and these are but examples. If there is the desire to be useful to fellow countrymen one can, like the Brahmans of old maintain himself, earn the gratitude of mankind and advance the cause of the country. If there is no desire let it be created by preaching and implanting it in the mind by example. Such an ideal before one’s mind will drive away despair and make life worth living. Let there be co-operation, which is the foundation of all progress. There ought also to be cohesion in the society. It can be achieved by creating a sense of solidarity by the pursuit of an ideal such as the love of the country or devotion to the Almighty. Following the example laid by the British Indian Government, the other administrations should regulate charities and establish an ecclesiastical department. There are thus many activities that yet remain to be undertaken. The future lies with the young. May the Almighty bless this country with a plethora of energetic, zealous, broad-minded, patient and vision-endowed young men.

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**Romance of Mohenjo-Daro on the Indus**

By Mr. Kundan Lall

A tale-weary world has been listening for many years to the claim of the Aryans that their forefathers were the pioneers of all human culture. It was asked to believe in a mythical antiquity of their civilisation, Evidence was put forward and arguments marshalled in support of these contentions. The world had also to bear with the learned exponents of recorded history, direct as well as that reconstructed from relics, who disputed the Aryan claim and decided to bind the pioneer’s crown upon Egypt's ancient brow.

Popular enthusiasm was first stimulated with the disclosures of the buried cities and monu-
ments of Egypt. A background of the fairy romances of the "Arabian Nights" was not necessary to rouse one's interest in the silent "cities of the dead." Our imagination was drawn, naturally, to fill the emptiness of the place with life and incidents. But as further discoveries were made in Egypt the subject gradually lost its unique glamour, became a leisure-luxury and was shelved with the classics.

Then came a great fillip to lagging interest from the discoveries such as those of Mr. Leonard Woolley in Ur of the Chaldees, and of Professor S. Langdon in the city of Kish. Archaeology was given an impetus. And while Professor Garstang and his well-equipped band of enthusiasts—who have recently made remarkable discoveries in the King's tombs in Jericho—were engaged in Western Asia, the Indian Archaeological department, under Sir John Marshall, was making discoveries in Sindh, which, in conjunction with those in Mesopotamia, were to give a new turn to our conception of the beginnings of human civilisation.

It was a young Bengalee, Mr. R. D. Banerji, an officer of the Archaeological Survey, who, on examining a Buddhist monastery built on a grass mound by the banks of the Indus, determined to explore its foundation. His expectations were rewarded. He found extensive brick buildings, and in them several engraved seals, similar to those already discovered at Harappa—the site of another ancient city dug up in the Punjab. He considered the discovery of these seals of sufficient importance to communicate it to the Director-General of Indian Archaeology—Sir John Marshall. As such seals were also discovered at Ur and Kish and had been attributed a pre-Sargonic date, three millenia B. C., Sir John saw the importance of these finds. Thus began the work of excavations which has brought to light another city of the dead—Mohenjo-Daro.

**MARSHALL'S BOOK.**

The account of the discoveries made at Mohenjo-Daro between 1922 and 1927 had been eagerly anticipated by all interested in Indian Art and history, and their expectations have not been disappointed by the sumptuous volumes, which have been published by Mr. Arthur Probsthain (of 41, Great Russell Street, London, W.), under the title of *Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization*, edited by Sir John Marshall, C. I. E., Director-General of Archaeology in India. (Vols. I., II., text; Vol. III plates, text royal 4to with text illustrations, pp. XVII., 692, plan of Mohenjo-Daro in colour and an original map of Sind in four colours, and one Volume of 104 plates in collotype. Price, £2.12 12s.). Sir John Marshall has not merely edited the work of his collaborators but has himself written nine out of the thirty-two chapters, and has summed up the results and the probabilities with admirable clearness and sanity. The numerous plates and the maps are excellently produced in a form worthy of the letterpress. Among other illustrious scholars who have contributed to it are Dr. S. Langdon, Professor of Assyriology in the University of Oxford, who has discussed the script; Mr. H. J. Plenderleith of the British Museum Laboratory has dealt with the glazed pottery found; while Messrs. S. Smith and C. J. Gadd of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum, London, have written the section on the characters on the seals. It would thus be seen that Sir John Marshall's work is a truly monumental one and redounds not only to the credit of his scholarship, but also to that of the spirit of enterprise and enthusiasm of the publisher. We can but refer here to some of the aspects of the ancient Indian civilization as revealed in these volumes.

Till now the scientist has had the field to himself and has done his work well; but soon, we hope very soon, a gifted pen like that of the writer of "Salambô" or that of the author of "Thais" will re-peopled the deserted streets of this city and unfold for us the life and passions, the hopes and inspirations, the loves and jealousies of these children of the civic dawn; or that an Ebers
will make vivid for us their religion, their social intimacies and ceremonies, their arts and crafts. The citizens of Mohenjo-Daro have left us no Mahabharata, nor do any measured accents of a great Homer among them echo in our age to tell us the stories of their Wars and Peace.

THE BUILDINGS.

The city of Mohenjo-Daro is built on the American model, in rectangular blocks; there are two principal streets paved with burnt bricks, at right angles to each other. Down the middle of these streets runs a drain covered over with bricks or stones, with soaks and man-holes at regular intervals. The houses are built of burnt bricks, simply and solidly, on a plan which is still followed in India. There is a courtyard in the middle, and the rooms are arranged round it. They have outside staircases leading to the upper story which converts them into flats with independent entrances. Every house has bathrooms and drain-pipes of pottery which lead into the public conduit in the streets; some houses have rubbish shoots. The houses are all provided with wells.

Some of the houses give indications of their having been used as shops. A dyer's shop contains a vat still tinted with dyes.

The houses vary in size, but no building stands out as a palace. Were there no Kings? Was Mohenjo-Daro a city-republic? Perhaps the administration was in the hands of a hierarchy of priests, for there is a house whose structure and the presence in it of ringed stones—symbols of phallic worship—seem to indicate that it was the abode of some religious order. Buried in the foundations of this house are human bodies, the position of which is such as to throw doubt on their being the result of natural death. Similar burials occur in Ur. This raises another interesting topic for speculation.

It is not so very long ago that some people in India believed in the superstition that the burial of a human being in its foundations gave permanency to a building. Was this the idea prevailing in Ur as well as at Mohenjo-Daro? Or was human sacrifice a religious institution in both places or, may be, both suppositions are correct. The discovery of human bodies in the foundations, generally, would point to that; for the discovery of many cinerary urns shows that ordinarily cremation must have been the method of the disposing of dead bodies.

The exhuming of these bodies have also given us a clue to the type of the people who lived in this city. Some of these bodies are preserved well enough to give us reliable data as to age, sex and race. The majority of the remains belonged to a people who did not differ much from the men and women who are now living in that region. But there is another type also: long-headed, similar to those found in the earlier graves at Ur. There seem to have been contemporaneous and similar cultures and races in the region between the Indus and the Nile, of which the high lights were the river-built cities.

The people who inhabited this city were not of the Aryan type, which descended into India at a much later period; but that they had a widespread civilisation is evident from sites that have been identified all along the Indus, from its mouth to the foot-hills of the Himalayas. These people had reached a high level of culture, they knew town-planning, understood sanitation and must have had a capable municipality.

The most important structure discovered in Mohenjo-Daro, is a large tank, which was perhaps used as a sacred bath; it is 39 feet long, 23 feet broad and 8 feet deep with descending steps on both sides. It is an admirable piece of masonry, the bricks are laid with gypsum cement and there is even a damp course of bitumen or pitch. Round the bath is a lofty cloister, behind which there are rows of bathrooms. The tank is provided with a well-engineered drain for changing the water, in which a man can stand upright. It has a well-corbelled roof. Was bathing a social function with these people as with the Romans
thirty centuries later? Or was this a gigantic baptismal fount? A magnificent pool has just been discovered in Kish. Personal cleanliness seems to have been a passion of this age.

ARTS AND CRAFTS

The relics discovered make it possible for us to reconstruct in some measure the life that went on in these clean and regular streets five thousand years ago. Theirs was the Copper, and later Bronze, age; iron was not yet known. Flint, however, was still in use for making ploughshares, blades for hoes and knives. Gold and silver were also used.

Among the domestic utensils found are saucers, goblets, and bowls. Spinning-wheels made of pottery, faience and shell have been unearthed.

Wheat and barley were grown. Sotton was cultivated, perhaps for the first time in history, two thousand years before it was known in Egypt. A precious fragment of cotton-cloth has been found, wrapped round two silver vases. In Vedic literature, silk and wool are mentioned but no cotton.

Ornaments were worn by all classes and both sexes. They were made of gold, silver, copper, ivory, bone, shell and semi-precious stones. Gold diadems or fillets, necklaces, rings for fingers, ear and nose, girdles, hair ornaments, and beads and bangles of blue glass, shell and paste have been discovered.

A variety of pottery has been brought to light. It ranges from rude hand-rounded vessels, through pots rounded on the wheel and painted with black on a red ground, unto delicate polychrome ware, the last being perhaps its earliest known examples.

The people of Mohenjo-Daro were familiar with the balance, and weights running down to quite small counts have been found. Their children had a happy time with a large variety of toys some quite ingenious—clay models of men and women, of animals, some on wheels—there is a bull with a wagging head; models of carts (such as are used in Sindh to this day); marbles made of ivory, agate and slate; cube-shaped dice; and a kind of chessmen. The art of inlaying seems to have been in vogue among them, but the wood has perished and only the decorations, in faience and shell, are left. Their favourite designs were the swastika, the framed cross and the rosette.

Their script was a sort of ideograph or pictograph or, it may be, the signs stand for syllables. It bears a resemblance to the Sumerian cuneiform script, but is quite distinct from it. No clue has yet been discovered for deciphering it. These writings appear on seals and olong pieces of copper, which might have been used as coins, but no lengthy script has so far come to light. It is conceivable that this script was the forerunner of the modern Devanagari characters.

The one thousand seals that have been discovered at Mohenjo-Daro are made of copper, white steatite, faience and terracotta. They are engraved with figures of animals, especially the unicorn.

The statuettes that have been found are made of copper, bronze, terracotta or faience, and show a remarkable degree of skill in design and execution. The most interesting among them is a nude figure in bronze of a dancing girl. She has coarse negroid features, her hair is gathered in a mass at the back of her head near the right ear, as is the mode with some women in South India in modern times. She wears bangles from her shoulders to her wrists, again a fashion still common in some parts of the country. Of some works of the artists of this civilization, Sir John Marshall says that "both in the monumental treatment of the figures as a whole and in the perfection of their anatomical details they showed a kinship with the, much later classical Greek art." "We know definitely," he adds, "that the Indian engraver could anticipate the Greek in the delineation of animal forms."

Some statuettes of Mohenjo-Daro are in the Yogi posture, with half-shut eyes, deep in contemplation. The Great Mother was the Deity of the Indus people with which were mixed
up phallic and tree worship and animism. Symbols of Siva are also very common. These are still living religions in India.

NOMADIC ARYANS

When the Aryan raiders came to India, they were nomads, mere herdsmen unfamiliar with city life and settled agriculture. Coming under the influence of the Indus culture, these gay, gallant and songful soldiers must have sat at the feet of those, whom they had conquered, to learn the elements of human civilisation, as well as the higher speculations about the mysteries of life. And it is through them that the religion of this dead age is still kept alive.

The people of Mohenjo-Daro bred cattle, buffaloes, sheep, the goat and pigs. They had harnessed the elephant and knew the horse. Two breeds of dogs were domesticated by them.

Their village life must have been very much what it is to-day among the inheritors of their culture. The well-paved streets of Mohenjo-Daro must have rumbled with wheelless carts, drawn by bullocks, bringing farm and dairy produce from the surrounding districts, much in the same way as it is done to-day.

The temples of the gods of the dancing girl of Mohenjo-Daro lie buried or in ruins, but her dance continues unbroken and her gods are still moved by the grace of her steps and the rhythm of her song. It was hardly necessary for her to come back in bronze from the netherworld after five thousand years, with head bent sideways and pouting lips. She dances for us still. She lives on as the Devadasi, and her gods rule in a million Hindu shrines. Indus civilisation is not dead.

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Impressions of Soviet Russia of Mr. and Mrs. Deep Narain Singh

Edited By Mr. Asude.

(Continued from our last number.)

Before entering now upon the more controversial subjects, like God, or sex, or marriage, it would be just as well to remind the student of the point mentioned at the outset, viz., the Russian objective. What the Soviet wants is something entirely different from, and in many cases, diametrically opposite to, the aims and ideals of the rest of the world. In the march towards National Progress, it sweeps from its path things which it considers immaterial and inessential to the betterment of the masses, and rightly or wrongly, believes to be the sources of the miserable state of things which prevailed before. The keyword to all that the Russian strives for is prosperity. Many of these institutions which we consider to be sacred and precious, the Russian deems to be false and artificial. It is his way of looking at things. It may be the right way, or the wrong one; but one has to understand this thoroughly before dealing with the more delicate matters.

*The travelling experiences of Mr. and Mrs. Deep Narain Singh of Bhagalpur, as collected from serial interviews by Mr. Asude.*
CONCEPTION OF GOD

Let us begin with God. The Soviet does not recognise the necessity of God, and has, therefore, completely combated it out of its scheme. Which means that with other inessential things, the Church went into the melting-pot. It is not that all the churches have been demolished or commandeered, but many of them have been converted into museums, libraries, and other institutions of material welfare. All State aid towards the Church has been stopped, and the priests have to work for a living, just like the rest. With the introduction of these measures, many priests fled to other countries. Of those that stayed behind, some took up intellectual work, others being barely maintained by kindly and devout neighbours. Priests have no vote. Whatever is left of the church carries on an existence which is as precarious as it is insignificant.

And next comes the all-absorbing subject of Sex, a subject which has been the target of much greater censure than the subject of God: which is probably due to the fact that the average man is more concerned with Woman than with God.

The distinction of Sex has been abolished. Every Russian citizen, irrespective of sex, is known as "Tovarish", i.e., Comrade, and 'comrade' has common gender. The element of sex is not allowed to enter into any matter, whatever it may be. A woman is eligible to enter into any avocation of life: civil service, factory labour, legislature, judiciary, and the executive, so long as she fulfils the necessary requirements of such department. The most striking instance of this equality is seen in the Army. Russia has introduced compulsory conscription, and every man has to serve in the army between the ages 16 and 20. A woman is not so compelled, but she can, if she chooses, enter the Army, when her sex is not even enquired into as a matter of form. But what she is bound by Law to do is to get a training in the art of Self-Defence. The entire Educational System of Russia is in the control of Lenin's widow, Krupskys.

And it is equally true that the question of sexual morality is not allowed to enter into the scheme of things either. Neither man nor woman is censured for what is known as "sexual indiscretions" in other parts of the world. The special pedestal which the rest of the world have reserved for their womankind is considered by the Russian to be a false and an artificial one. This is probably a repercussion and a reaction from the exaggerated notion of chivalry in which woman was held in Russia before. It is perfectly open now for a man and woman to live together as man and wife without going through the formality of marriage. It causes no flicker in Mrs. Grundy's eyebrow, because there is no Mrs. Grundy in Russia to-day. The lady died a disgraced death with the first advent of the Soviet.

To the ordinary man living in Imperialistic countries, all this sounds like a page from the Arabian Nights, and the visions conjured up by this free and easy state of things have all the romantic glamour of a Saturnalian feast. In actual practice, however, things are nothing so delightfully wicked. On the contrary, the prevailing note in all this transformation has been one of terrible earnestness and the Russian has been so chastened by the ordeal of fire and sword through which he has had to pass, and the grimness of the fight which he is still fighting for Efficiency, that the coloured conception of a Bacchanalian regime has no room in his scheme of life. And the present system of living, amidst a ruthless equality of the sexes, the absence of all scope for sexual appeal, the disappearance of all the thousand and one feminine gew-gaws which charm the male in Paris, London, and Berlin, the mode of working together in factories, and living in the same building as co-lodgers in a boarding-house—all these act as a sort of counterweight to the Bohemian lasciviousness imagined by outsiders. It is difficult to describe it, but it is there. This does not mean
that Russian men and women are all living like saints or anchorites. Far from it. Men and women do live together without marrying, but no more than they do in France, Germany, or England. The point to be remembered is that the removal of the social ban does not act as a fillip to promiscuous living, on account of other countervailing conditions non-existent in other countries.

The key-note of the whole scheme appears to be what the Soviet considers to be a sane and common-sense view of all things, and an uncompromising attitude towards meaningless ideals. Undoubtedly, this is iconoclasm—but it is not meaningless or reckless iconoclasm.

MARRIAGE.

One mistake which is often committed by the tyro is that on account of this sexual freedom, marriage is at a discount in Russia. It is nothing of the kind. Marriages take place in Russia just as everywhere else. Only the form is more simplified than in any other civilised country. Sacramental marriages in a church may be performed, but they are not considered legal. The place where legal marriages take place is the Office of the Registrar of Births, Deaths, and Marriages. Both the parties have to appear in person before the Registrar, attest to one or two formal entries, sign their names, and the "splicing" is done. The same office is utilised for Divorce cases, but the routine is still simpler than in marriage. Both parties need not appear. Either party applying for divorce appears before the Registrar, goes through a few formalities, and the other party is divorced. Only a post card is sent to the other party giving the information. No questions are asked, no cause has to be shown. The whole transaction takes no more than ten minutes to be settled. The only occasion when it may at all be necessary to appear in a Court in divorce matters is when the two parties cannot come to a decision with regard to the custody of the children. Once this is amicably settled, no occasion arises for the State to know anything about it.

A woman lawyer sits in this Registrar’s Office, giving free advice to the parties on all matters affecting Births, Deaths, Marriages and Divorces. There are posters and notices on the walls of the office containing helpful instructions in the combating disease of all kinds, in eugenics, and other allied matters.

Far from there being a discount on marriages, married Russian women enjoy special privileges not granted to the unmarried ones. The chief centre of these privileges is the Institution for the Protection of Mother and Child. It is a vast organisation comprising a number of things within one area. There is, for instance, a Maternity Hospital in each such Institution, where any woman expecting a child may live for a month before and a month after her delivery, the entire costs being paid for by the State. The fatherhood of the child is not enquired into. Peasant women are allowed to stay for nine months after their delivery. Then there is the Deserted Women’s Home within the same boundaries, where a woman, abandoned by her husband or her own people, can be delivered of her child if she is "carrying," and in any case, trained in some productive industry, and is later employed in some useful occupation. A woman lawyer sits in this Institution, too, as in the Registrar’s Office, surrounded by flaring instructive posters, and giving free advice on all matters affecting maternity to the patrons.

There is the Abortion Hospitals, too, which have been the object of much criticism in other countries. It is supposed by many that the Soviet encourages abortion by these hospitals. This is a mistake. On the contrary, whenever any woman comes into such an hospital seeking abortion, the doctor in attendance lectures her strenuously dissuading her from taking that course, and showing her the necessity of bringing forth children to the State. But if, and only when, this fails, the doctor gives her all his help in bringing about a safe abortion.

Prostitution, contrary to popular belief, has dwindled down to an appreciable degree. The
DRESS.

The average Russian’s dress, as is apparent from the pictures we have seen, is of the simplest. No fine cloth is made in Russia, and as no foreign cloth is permitted to be imported, the Russian has to depend on what his own country produces. The manager of a factory and his foreman have to follow the same rule in this. The ordinary wear is a shirt hanging over trousers or breeches, all of rough stuff, a belt, and top-boots. This does not mean that tie or open-breasted coats are not allowed. The liberty to wear the lounge-suit is given, but rarely exercised. No dress-suit was seen by the tourists except that worn by an old waiter of the ancient regime who stuck to his “tuxedo” as an emblem of his allegiance to the old regime. He was, however, not interfered with.

Women have to abide by the same customs. There is nothing of the expensive fineries with which the women of other nationalities beguile the male eye. But in spite of all that, the women do try to look as smart as they can, contrive to fashion garments pleasing to the eye, apply the lipstick and powder moderately, and affect a fairly decent ensemble. But this does not run to the bare-back, strapless evening frocks of Paris, London, or New York, or anywhere near it.

The aforesaid description of things should not lead one to think that it is a case of “all work and no play” in Russia, or that the Russian leads only a dull and uninteresting life amidst engines and tractors without any relief in the way of sports and amusements. On the contrary, it is the ultimate ideal of the Soviet to so regulate its Plan as to leave more and more scope to the worker to develop his cultural side. With the growth of the thousand and one labour-saving devices, releasing the worker from drudgery, progress has steadily been maintained in what the Russian calls the "Cultural Front." The most important feature on this "Front" are the "Parks of Culture and Rest," which are vast enclosures, containing within their area huge libraries, cinemas,
theatres, bandstands, game-courts, and other
venues of recreation. Each such place is al-
ways packed full. The reason is to be found
in the fifth-day-holiday Plan, whereby a crowd
of holiday-makers are always released every
day in the week. Young men and old, ladies
and children are to be found playing tennis,
foot-ball, and other games; studying at the
libraries, which contain books and periodicals
in every language and from all parts of the
world; listening to music, which is real music,
and not Jazz monstrosities; and there is a
general air of freedom from restraint and
sporting spirit prevailing all round.

It is to be noted that the Cinema in Russia
is the best Cinema in the world, and the
Soviet has preserved the reputation of the
Russian Opera and the Russian Ballet in
all its original glory. Classical Russian music
continues to provide recherche food to the
connoisseur. The remarkable part of it is that
it appeals equally strongly to the commonest
worker.

GAY LOTHARIOS.

There is one point in connection with the
freedom given to the Russian in sexual mat-
ters which has raised a vast volume of dis-
cussion and controversy. I asked the tourists
whether the liberty did not lead to licentious-
ness, and whether the ease with which mar-
rriages might be dissolved did not conduce to
week-end and companionate marriages. The
reply which I got was this. There was, of
course, no social censure; but all the same
there was no encouragement to promiscuous
alliances, because if a man went about marry-
ing over and over again, the women who would
be courted later would look suspiciously at the
overtures of the Lothario, and he would be a
"marked" man amongst the girls. He would
not be considered wicked, but fickle, and one
who does not know his mind and is, therefore,
not a fit mate for a discerning woman. The
same is true of un-official alliances. There
again is no question asked, but a man who
indulges a little too freely in women is con-
sidered to be wasting his efficiency, and is,
therefore, held to be an object of pity. The
whole thing is a matter of view-point, but it
appears to work as effectively as, if not more
than, a social attrition.

LAW AND ORDER.

The Law-courts are of little importance in
Russia. The reason is, that the main plank of
the Law, the Civil Courts, have become of no-
minal significance owing to the practical ab-
sence of private proprietorship. There are the
Criminal Courts, which carry on the work of
punishing malefactors as in other countries.
Lawyers, however, are truly officers of the
State, and they have to work for the parties
without charging any fees. The maximum
penalty in Russia is Ten Years' imprisonment,
and that is only for capital offences. Capital
punishment has been abolished in Russia, ex-
cept for State offences.

The Jails are more like Houses of Detention
than Prisons. The convict lives more or less
as outside, except that he is restrained in his
movements. For instance, he works in the
Jail factory, for which he earns a salary. Out
of this salary, he can send money to his fami-
ly get special food from outside, and from
what he saves, he can send deposits to the
State Bank. Every fifth day, he gets a day off as
with outside workers; and a holiday of fifteen
days every year to meet his family. Besides
this, if he is an agricultural worker, he is
allowed to go home during the sowing and
harvesting season, provided his village Soviet
does not object to his presence in the village.
He goes and comes back on these occasions
unescorted by any guards. Besides all these
privileges, if the convict shows a record of
good behaviour, he gets a reduction of one-
third of his period of sentence. Thus, a man
sentenced to ten years' imprisonment has only
to serve something like eight years in all.
Within the jail, there are cinemas, libraries,
playing grounds, music, and operas, of which
the prisoner uses freely.

LITERATURE

With regard to Literature, it is quite true to
say that the Soviet does not encourage the
growth of old ideas and ideals, and does its best and hardest to suppress them. It recognizes that the source of mischief lies in propaganda, and therefore, leaves no pains to close up all possible channels whereby any anti-Soviet ideas might trickle in. There is no ban on studying the Classics, like Tolstoy, or Turgenev, or Pushkin. But they are just barely tolerated, and any attempt to disseminate their subject-matter is promptly suppressed, and, when the affair assumes the aspect of an offence, is severely punished. It can, therefore, be said with absolute truth that there is no freedom, either in speech or writing, in the present regime, in matters affecting the State.

A new Russian literature is being brought into existence, written by the New generation, in which a deliberate propaganda is engineered to combat past traditions, and to uphold Soviet ideals. Nobody can publish a book on his own. The first thing an author has to do after writing a book is to present it to the State, which does one of three things with it: (i) buys it from the author and publishes it, (ii) "passes" it without buying it, in which case the author may publish it on his own, and (iii) refuses its publication, in other words, proscribes it. In the first case, the author gets a lump sum as price of the book, the sale proceeds going to the State; in the second case, the author collects his own sale-proceeds. As a rule, the State buys every book which has any worth; it is in very rare instances, that an author takes the financial risk of publishing a book on his own if the State does not think it worth while to buy it.

But whether the State or the author keeps the sale-proceeds, no book can be printed or published by any but the State Publishing Depot or one of its branches spread all over Russia.

There are hundreds of newspapers in Russia, but the leading ones are, (i) Pravda and (ii) Izvestia which have millions of subscribers. Criticism of the Soviet is not tolerated in the newspapers any more than it is permitted in the books.

This is Soviet Russia in 1931. Not a word is super-imposed to actual experience, not a picture overdrawn. This caution is necessary. For whilst there is a natural reluctance to accept a roseate view of a scheme of things which goes full tilt against all our inherited conceptions, there is an equal danger of being carried away by an exaggerated administration of Russian ideals. There can be no question that so far Russia has all along shown good promise of fulfilling her Five-Year Plan, and that even before the five years are out. Every day, she shows a giant's progress towards her goal. But, when all that is said and done, it would be premature to pronounce judgment either way, yet. For, fourteen years are a mere flea-bite in the history of a nation, and the Russian scheme is even now in the experimental stage.
The Protection of Children In Western India

By "One Interested in it".

Wardlaw Milne, substantial financial assistance was secured for extending the scope of the Committee's work and for establishing a regular Society to carry on the work. A meeting of several leading citizens of Bombay was thereupon convened to consider the desirability of a Society for the purpose. At that meeting, which was held in the Municipal Corporation Hall, on January 16, 1917, presided over by His Excellency Lord Willingdon, G.C.I.E., Governor of Bombay, the Society for the Protection of Children in Western India was formally inaugurated.

The objects for which the Society is formed are:

1. to prevent the public and private wrongs of children and the corruption of their morals;
2. to take action for the enforcement of the laws for their protection, and, if necessary, to suggest new laws or amendments of the existing laws;
3. to provide and maintain an organisation for these objects; and
4. to do all other lawful things incidental or conducive to the attainment of the foregoing objects.

The Society took over the work of the Refuge and subsequently opened a home at Lady Jamsetjee Road, Matunga, for the rearing of children of all classes reclaimed from the streets. It was fortunate to raise within three years large sums for the erection of its own buildings named the Byramjee Jeejeebhoy Home for Children, on the site on which they now stand near King's Circle, Matunga.

The buildings consist of (1) A Home for boys with accommodation for 150, (2) a Home for girls with accommodation for the same number and (3) Quarters for the Superintendent and Matron between the two blocks of buildings.
CHILDREN RESCUED.

During the very first year of its existence the Society dealt with 217 cases of children. These included (a) cases of children sold, (b) cases of children exploited for begging or thieving and (c) cases of children neglected or deserted. The earlier reports of the Society give a harrowing account of such cases and indicate how in dealing with them the Executive Committee of the Society found themselves handicapped for want of legal powers. An elaborate representation was therefore submitted to Government by the Society, early in the year 1916 pointing out the disabilities under which the Society had to work and the directions in which the support of the Legislature was needed. The result was the passing of the Bombay Children Act in the year 1924.

The Children’s Aid Society, established in the year 1927 to undertake the larger work of child rescue under the provisions of the new Act, now maintains another home for children, but it would appear from the number of children still found in the streets of Bombay and the suburbs that there is need for yet another organisation to cope with the work unless the resources of the existing Societies are supplemented and the scope of their activities enlarged.

On 1st January 1931 the Society had 114 children including 33 girls in the Byramjee Jeejeebhoy Home. During the year there were 41 new admissions. The following analysis of the cases gives interesting details:

**Caste**—80 Hindus, 21 Muhammadans, 10 Christians.

**Sex**—Boys under 10 years of age—35.
Boys over 10 years of age—41.
Girls under 10 years of age—18.
Girls over 10 years of age—17.

**Parentage**—75 children are orphans.
16 children have their fathers alive.
13 children have their mothers alive.
7 children have both their parents alive.

**Cases disposed of**—
- 23 children were restored to parents or guardians.
- 6 children were helped in securing employment.
- 2 children were adopted by some charitable parties.
- 4 children got married.
- 5 children were transferred.

Some of the girls were sent to the Home by the Police for rescuing them from undesirable surroundings, while some were either reclaimed from the streets or brought to the Home by relations or private individuals. Perhaps the best testimony to the training the girls receive in the Home is offered by the fact that there is a constant demand for these girls in the matrimonial market. The report for the year 1931 states that one of the girls was married to a stockbroker, another to bullion merchant of Surat, another to a grain dealer and the fourth to a storekeeper in a cotton mill.

The children’s education is conducted in terms of self-expression. Their instinct of cooperation has free play when they cheerfully participate in the work and pleasure that the several weddings at the Home call for except for the services of one outside woman engaged as a cook, the entire cooking work, mending, making, sweeping, dusting, cleaning, and pressing are done by the boys and girls themselves. A collection of books kept in the Home provides the children with outside reading material and a newspaper is taken regularly which the older children read with great interest. The weekly instructions and moral talks are a feature of the children’s education.

Boys showing aptitude for studies are taught carpentry and cane-work. Considering the time they have devoted to this work, they have progressed well and have turned out decent articles of furniture. Employment for grown-up boys is secured by the authorities and several have gone out as carpenters, electricians or domestic servants.

Tragic and pathetic are the stories of most of these children.
They belong to all classes. One Abdul Wahab, four years old, who was sent to the Home by the Mahabouri Police Station, had his mother who was murdered by his father for which he was sentenced to death. Then there is little Juti, of the same age and of the Mahar caste. She is a bright little girl, a dancer and singer even at this age. Poor Yamma is dehilitated and deformed. She is a motherless child but is a pet of her Marathi father, who though very poor, comes to see her sometimes. There is a deaf and dumb child whose story is full of sadness. She was found sitting in a hut by the corpse of her mother and, as if to complete the tragic picture, a new-born child was found near her. She was sent to the Home by the Colaba Police. Little Lizzie's mother left her and disappeared, but her loving father makes up for it by paying calls on her from Kalyan.

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Bihar and Orissa: Its Agrarian Problems

(Ex-Member Bihar and Orissa Government.)

(Continued from our last number.)

The land revenue administration forms one of the most important tasks of Government, of Departmental Heads, and of the local officers. The District officer, appropriately called "The Collector," is the pivot of the whole system. He is responsible for all the elaborate organisation connected with the actual collection of the land revenue, the registration of all changes in proprietorship and the partition of estates, which has been carried on to an astounding extent in some areas. In the limited space at my disposal I cannot attempt to describe all this machinery in detail, but there is one side of the land administration to which I would invite special attention, the branch which is concerned with tenant right and agrarian problems.

Some time ago I read with amusement in the Report of the Scottish Liberal Land Enquiry Committee of 1927-28, called The Scottish Countryside, and more familiarly known as The Tartan Book, that the measures taken in Scotland to protect crofters and to build up small landholders—giving them security of tenure, fair rent fixed by a judicial tribunal, the right to compensation for improvements, and limited rights of bequest—are "unequalled and unknown in any other part of the world." This claim may be valid if confined to Europe or Great Britain, but it has no sort of application to India, where similar rights have been enjoyed wholesale for several generations. In Bihar and Orissa 90 to 95 per cent. of the cultivating rayats possess what is called the "occupancy" right; they enjoy security of tenure; their rents cannot be altered except by order of the Civil or Revenue courts, or to a very limited extent by voluntary agreement; they are entitled to compensation for improvements if ejected from their holdings (which is practically never, except for failure to pay rent, when they may be sold up); and their holdings pass to their heirs.
Except, however, on Government estates, where the tenantry has always been treated with the utmost consideration, this happy state of affairs was not the order of nature in Bengal and Bihar, but was the result of a prolonged and bitter struggle, in which the officers of Government were for the most part the protagonists of the cultivator, and the permanently-settled proprietors and their allies the lawyers were the champions of the landlord interest. The permanent settlement, which fixed in perpetuity the revenue payable by the landlord to the State, did not fix at all the rent to be paid by the cultivator but left him at his landlord’s mercy. Fortunately, however, it reserved a right of State interference on behalf of the tenantry, should their interests be prejudiced. In course of time Government found that ryots in many estates were being rack-rented and evicted to a degree that was causing great hardship and unrest, and it undertook agrarian legislation to combat these evils. The last and greatest of these measures, the Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885, which applies as well to Bihar as to Bengal, was passed in the face of fierce opposition from the landlord interest by the weight of the official majority which then obtained on the Legislative Council of India. The Bengal Tenancy Act enshrines within its four corners the principles of tenant right which I have already indicated. It is the Magna Carta of the Bengali and Bihar ryot, and has been the model for similar protective legislation not only in other parts of India, but beyond the limits of India, perhaps even in enlightened Scotland.

**LAND SURVEY.**

But even before the passing of the Tenancy Act in 1885, the Bengal Government recognised that justice could not be done to the Bihar peasantry unless the original land revenue settlement were supplemented by a survey of their lands and a record of their rights. The principles of the new Act might remain a dead letter unless brought home to landlord and tenant in a way from which there could be no escape. There was again much opposition from the landlords, but the force and pertinacity of Sir Anthony (afterwards Lord) MacDonald eventually triumphed, and the gigantic task of preparing field maps and records-of-right for the whole of Bihar was begun in 1892. It took a quarter of a century to complete the programme, but within this period field maps and detailed records-of-right were prepared for all districts of Bihar, an area of 36,000 square miles (cp. Scotland, 30,000 sq. miles) with 41 million plots, 7 million holdings, a cash rental of Rs. 40 million, and a produce-rented area of 3 million acres. The cost worked out to about Rs. 400 per square mile, or ten pence per acre, of which one-half was paid by the landlord, three-eighths by the ryots, and one-eighth by the State. Copies of the village maps and records were distributed to the landholders and tenants, and the originals are preserved in the District Officer’s Record-room, so that copies can be procured at any time. The whole agrarian population has thus been placed in possession of reliable and authentic title-deeds, the courts no longer labour under the handicap of uncertainty as to the identity of fields and village boundaries, rents, and other incidents of land tenure, while all branches of the administration have been facilitated by the existence of records and statistics that can be brought up to date as and when required.

A few words here may be of interest regarding the agency and methods of these survey-settlements. When the work first started in North Bihar there was a system of dual control, the Survey of India being responsible for the maps and the Revenue Officers for the records. Later the Survey Department limited its charge to the traverse survey of village boundaries, which was linked up with the great trigonometrical survey, and the revenue officers became responsible for the detailed field maps which were prepared by a locally trained staff. Still later the Revenue Department organised its own survey staff complete, enlisting recruits from the Survey of India, and the supervision of the latter is now limited to an occasional inspection of the provincial Drawing Offices to ensure that there
has been no falling-off from previously recognised standards of work.

In practice the work of survey and settlement is spread over four working seasons in each area. In the first year the traverse survey of boundaries is made by the professional surveyor; in the second year the boundary skeleton map thus obtained is filled up with the field details and simultaneously the first draft of the record-of-rights (that is, a plot-by-plot statement of holdings) is prepared, all disputes that arise being summarily settled by the revenue officer on the spot; in the third year the maps and records thus prepared are taken to convenient camp-centres where the landlords and tenants attend from a radius of two or three miles to have the entries laboriously explained to them. The more serious disputes are more elaborately investigated and decided, and the records after being completed are published for general information. In the fourth year the records are finally published, and copies are distributed to the parties when they pay their share of the costs. Field work is usually confined to the five or six months of the cold weather, but I have known it on special occasions continue throughout the year. The area undertaken by a single party varies from about 500 to 1,000 square miles; the officer in charge is usually a member of the Indian Civil Service, and he may have a dozen assistants of the provincial service, each in charge of a circle of 150 or 200 square miles. Below these superior officers there is an army of subordinates, field surveyors and record writers, with inspecting officers of various degrees. Very careful organisation and close supervision are necessary to ensure that the work will be accomplished with accuracy and without undue harassment to the cultivators, who are apt to be fleeced by unscrupulous underlings if careful watch is not kept.

There is no work in India which brings officers into closer touch with the great body of cultivating ryots (who make up 80 percent of India's millions) than this work of field survey and rent settlement. It gives them opportunities for insight into the rural economy of India which cannot be surpassed. In most cases it induces a profound sympathy with the lot of the under-dog, a sympathy which continues to affect the officer's outlook throughout his Indian career.

ORISSA.

The security which has been obtained for agrarian rights in Bihar by the legislation and field operations I have just described is not confined to that sub-province, but extends also to Orissa and Chota Nagpur. In Orissa the question was never such a burning one as in Bihar, just because it was temporarily settled, and temporary settlement implies periodic intervention by the revenue officers of Government. When the first Orissa settlement was made in 1837, written leases (kali pollaha) were distributed to the resident village raiyats which protected them from rent enhancement or arbitrary eviction, and although there was a large class of non-resident cultivators who had not this protection, the example of the resident raiyat had a powerful influence, and we did not find sixty years later that much practical distinction obtained between the two classes. When the settlement was then revised, the cultivators and the proprietors, and various tenure holders intervening between these two classes, all received their copies of the new maps and records, just as in Bihar, but in this case without any payment of cost, as the State takes upon itself all expenditure in field operations which concern the land revenue demand.

There was still less need for legislative protection in the Government estates, where no one but the village headman intervenes between the State and the cultivator. All such raiyats are assured of security, and they too are supplied with copies of the field maps and records, so that there need be no disputes with one another that cannot be settled easily by the headman, or the revenue officer, or the courts, by reference to these documents.
The case was different all over the Chota Nagpur plateau, where Government had extended the principle of the permanent settlement and made engagements with local rajas and chiefs for the payment of nominal amounts of revenue in keeping with the undeveloped condition of their inaccessible forests. As the country opened out, these local proprietors, mostly of aboriginal origin, let in immigrants from the plains as managers, priests, clerks, attendants, and the like, rewarding them with grants of land and turning them loose upon the aboriginal tenantry like wolves among sheep. The aboriginal raiyats were greatly oppressed by these new-comers, who cheated them of the lands they had reclaimed from the forest by the sweat of their brow, or reduced them to the position of serfs. There were frequent risings of the aboriginal tribes throughout the plateau, and although these had to be quelled by force, they were always followed by investigation of grievances, and special legislation to protect their interests in the future. But here again it was found that the special laws could not be made effective unless field maps and records were prepared to supplement and enforce the legislation. The Santal Parganas was the first district to receive the benefit of this protection. Similar work was started shortly after in the Chota Nagpur division, and its five districts, which have an area just falling short of Scotland, have now been completely surveyed and settled. The district of Sambalpur on the western border, which was taken over from the Central Provinces as one of the redistribution changes of 1905, follows the system of that province and has its own agrarian code with maps and records complete.

Thus the whole province, with the exception of the Orissa States (some of which have been settled on similar lines by their Chiefs), is now equipped with detailed land records of which copies are held by the humblest cultivators to protect them from the aggression of stronger elements in the population. Not only is the original record thus complete, but a programme of revision, which aims at covering the whole ground in cycles of thirty to forty years, has already come into operation in some districts. It is recognised that, to prevent them from becoming obsolete, maps and records require revision at some such interval, covering the life of one or two generations. But it is difficult to find the funds for the work in a poor province like Bihar and Orissa, and the Legislative Council has not in the past shown itself too favourable to such expenditure. The first record, however, forms a bed-rock on which the overlying changes of fifty years can ordinarily be traced without great difficulty, and I am confident that the work of the past half-century will remain of permanent value, whatever vicissitudes India may have before her.

**LANDLORD AND TENANT**

It follows that there is not at present in Bihar and Orissa any serious agrarian problem affecting the relations of landlord and tenant. I do not mean that there are no causes of friction at all, but that the resultant friction is not acute. In Bihar the principal bones of contention are the raiyats' claims to a better-regulated right of transfer of his holding, and to greater freedom in the use of his holding for example, in the matter of planting and cutting down trees. Legislation to deal with these questions has been on the anvil since 1922, but has not yet come to fruition. The attitude of Government has been that if landlords and tenants will not come to an amicable settlement on these points of dispute, it is best that the bulwark of the existing Tenancy Act should be preserved unaltered.

Nor does Orissa or Chota Nagpur seem to hold at present any very urgent cause of agrarian strife. In the latter the alienation of raiyats' holdings is generally interdicted in the interests of the aboriginal tenantry, and the question of transfer conditions does not therefore arise. The forest question, to which I have already referred, is the only potential cause of serious trouble. Although
peace at present reigns throughout this area, continued watchfulness will always be essential to ensure that fresh methods are not devised to circumvent the protection afforded to the aboriginal races by special laws.

Security of tenure and a fair standard of rent are now the universal portion of the raiyat in Bihar and Orissa, as indeed they are over the greater part of India. They have been obtained for him by the sympathy of the British administrator, and by the industry devotion of revenue officers imbued with the British spirit, which has always a kindly feeling for the under-dog. It may be asked how the interests of the cultivating peasantry will fare under the new constitutional changes that are impending. There is, on the whole, good reason to be hopeful. The work of building up the record of agrarian right that has been pursued so steadily for the past forty years, has not been accomplished without the devoted and loyal co-operation of hundreds of Indian officers, and we have inspired in them a tradition of impartial justice, of fair dealing between the powerful landlord and the weaker tenant, which will continue to inspire their successors. Moreover, the cultivating masses are beginning to awaken to the power which the franchise places in their hands. Since the first Reforms were initiated in 1912 there have appeared in the several Legislative Councils that have followed that change representatives of the raiyat interest, who have championed the cause of the cultivator against the landlord in tenancy discussions. They are few at present, but their number is likely to increase as the franchise is broadened and the power and value of the vote are more widely realised. The danger indeed is that the masses may be misled by professional politicians and agitators appealing to them with Bolshevikist propaganda which will impose on their poverty and ignorance and plunge them into greater misfortunes than they now endure. The way is being prepared to-day for such propaganda by the leaders of the non-co-operation and civil disobedience movements. No settlement of the Indian constitutional question will be satisfactory which does not avoid both dangers—on the one hand, the revived domination of a narrow upper class, and on the other the menace of communism.

IV—ITS POPULATION PROBLEM

There is lastly a problem which is perhaps the most important and most serious of all, not only for Bihar and Orissa, but for the whole of British India, the problem caused by the steady growth of population, which has been so remarkable during the past century under the pax Britannica, and the resultant increasing pressure on the resources of the soil. It is to this came mainly that we must ascribe the low standard of life which prevails amongst the cultivating masses of India as compared with the standards that obtain, for example, amongst the agricultural and working classes of our own country. There are tracts in North Bihar where a population almost purely agricultural attains a density exceeding 1,000 per square mile. The general average in North Bihar is 643 per square mile, in South Bihar 592, and in Orissa 488. It drops to 186 on the Chota Nagpur plateau, but there the proportion of cultivated land is low. With these figures may be compared the English average of 649 per square mile, almost coincident with that of North Bihar, and the Scottish average of 164, which, for a mountainous country, is comparable with that of the Chota Nagpur plateau. But in England and Scotland the great bulk of the population is engaged in industrial pursuits, and is massed in towns: in Bihar, as we have already seen, it is limited to agriculture and spread over the countryside, placing terrible pressure on the resources of the soil. That pressure is relieved to some extent by emigration, permanent or temporary. From the densely peopled district of Saran, for example, about one-tenth of the population migrate annually at harvest-time to the nearest districts of Bengal, and the migrants remit large sums by money-order for the support of their families at home. A similar seasonal efflux to the labour markets
of Calcutta occurs from the coastal districts of Orissa, and heavy postal remittances are an unfailing resource to Oriya homes suffering distress in times of flood. The surplus population of the prolific aboriginal races on the Chota Nagpur plateau emigrates freely to the tea gardens of Assam and the Jalpaiguri Duars, and also finds steady employment in the Jharia coal-fields, the iron mines of Singhbhum, and the Tata works at Jamshedpur. But in spite of these safety-valves there is a large section of the population, particularly amongst the lower castes, consisting of the smaller cultivators and the landless labourers, for whom the standards of life are miserably low, and this section tends to grow as the pressure of the population on the soil increases. Is there any remedy to be found?

Mr. Gandhi ascribes the poverty of the Indian peasant to what he calls the terrible pressure of the land revenue tax, and indeed makes this the chief count in his indictment of British rule in India. The British system, he says, "seems to be designed to crush the very life out of the raiyat." "Even the much vaunted permanent settlement of Bengal benefits a few rich zamindars and not the raiyats. The raiyat remains as helpless as ever. He is a mere tenant-at-will."

What I have already said regarding the security of tenure and rent enjoyed by the Bihar raiyat will have shown how far removed from reality is Mr. Gandhi's description of that individual as a helpless tenant-at-will. The rest of his indictment is equally devoid of foundation. Mr. Gandhi is a saint and a politician, but he is no economist, and his statements of economic fact seldom bear examination. The system of land revenue is not a British system, but an Indian system taken over from the Mughals and the Hindu kings before them. A somewhat similar challenge made in the days of Lord Curzon was taken up by that great administrator with his usual thoroughness; the accusation was minutely investigated and entirely disproved. It was shown that since the assumption of authority in India by Britain there had been a progressive lightening in the burden of the land revenue demand throughout the subcontinent. A later investigator, Mrs. Vera Anstey, of the London School of Economics, who is prompted by no motive but the pursuit of scientific truth, has come to the same conclusion in her recent work on The Economic Development of India, and has shown that neither the land revenue demand nor taxation as a whole presses heavily on the Indian population. In pre-British days the land tax absorbed from one-fourth to one-half of the produce of the soil. In Bihar cash rents payable by raiyats seldom absorb more than one-eighth of the produce, even in permanently settled estates. In temporarily settled areas and Government estates the proportion is more like one-sixteenth.

STANDARD OF LIFE

It cannot be disputed that the standard of life amongst the cultivating masses of India is in most areas very low compared with our home standards. But scientific investigation and the personal observation of competent witnesses testify to the fact that there has been a rise rather than a fall in Indian standards of comfort during the past forty years, and that the general lowness of the standard is not to be ascribed to the pressure of the land revenue demand, which has been greatly eased by the rise in prices and other causes, but must be sought in other directions—in climatic causes, social habits, and above all in the unchecked expansion of the population up to the very margin of subsistence. It is to the removal of some of these causes and to the palliatives afforded by the working of co-operative societies, the extension of irrigation and the improvement of crops on lines suggested by agricultural research, that Indian and British administrators of the future must direct attention if they desire to make any real contribution to the prosperity of the agricultural masses. The population problem is at the root of the trouble. The Royal Commission on Agriculture departed in 1928 that no lasting improvement in the standard of living of the mass of the population could possibly be
obtained, if every enhancement of the purchasing power of the cultivator were to be followed by a proportionate increase in the population. Mrs. Anstey records the same conviction. "It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that no matter how productivity is increased, economic organisation is improved, public health is promoted, or industrialisation progresses the standard of life of the masses will not and cannot be raised to a satisfactory level until changes have been introduced which will enable the size of the population to be better adjusted to economic resources." The chief social reforms which she advocates "include the removal of religious and caste hindrances, to efficient production, to the mobility and efficiency of labour, and to economic expenditure and consumption; reforms with regard to the social ideals of the people, which will engender a more widespread and intense desire to render social service; and reforms with regard to the social and economic position of women."

A striking contribution to the discussion of the Indian population problem has recently been made by an Indian scholar, Mr. Ranadive of the Bombay University, who with the assistance of Professor Vakil has brought out a book on the subject entitled *The Population of India*. The custom of child marriage is blamed for the undue expansion of the population and for the unnecessary suffering and misery it casts upon Indian womanhood. Mr. Ranadive sees in the abolition of this custom and the adoption of birth control the only solution of the grave problem of over-population, and it is interesting to learn that the attention of thoughtful Indians is turning in these directions.

The experiment made by Mr. and Mrs. Brayne in the Gurgan district of the Punjab, and described in his book, *Village Uplift in India*, has shown how much can be accomplished by enthusiastic and well-directed effort to rouse villagers from their lethargy and give them a new outlook on life. It was an organised campaign against the ignorance, dirt, disease and waste that prevail in the average Indian village, and it gradually awakened the raiyat to a vision of higher things. To extend the experiment throughout India would be a Herculean task, but there is no field in which the co-operation of the Indian and the British worker could be more fruitful. The Indian worker has greater opportunity here than the European, because he can attack the social habits and institutions which hinder the economic uplift of his poorer fellow-countrymen with much more freedom than his European ally. He does not incur the danger and suspicion that attach to the latter on the ground that he is undermining the religious foundations of the Indian social structure. The history of the Age of Consent Act and its sequel shows how easily that suspicion can be aroused and how mischievously it can be utilised by unscrupulous enemies of the administration. But, though he must walk warily, the European can make a mighty contribution and be of invaluable assistance to his Indian fellow-worker in this great welfare campaign of social and economic regeneration amongst India's labouring classes. Mr. and Mrs. Brayne have proved that to the hilt by their pioneer work in Gurgan. Here, then, is a fruitful and inspiring field in which Indian and European can work heartily together hand in hand in the new India which we hope will arise in the near future, and which we earnestly trust will be built upon the foundation of equal and honest co-operation between the two great branches of the Indo-European family.
The Art of Mr. Lytton Strachey, M.A.

By Mr. G. S. Chuneker.

Saltmarsh see little intrinsic merit in Mr. Strachey as a biographer. Absurdly enough he considers him writer of historical fiction, little more to be valued as a historian than Harrison Ainsworth. There is no denying the fact that of Mr. Strachey's mannerisms of style, his retrospective thought reading and not the least his "cat like touches of ironic malice"—to use his own phrase applied to Hume—are a little overdone. But that is not to deny Strachey brilliant gifts as a literary biographer.

Until the twentieth century, no serious endeavours were made to isolate biography as a distinct branch of literature, more especially to differentiate it from "cognate modes of narration". In the previous century it was more or less the handmaid of ethical instruction or science. Freedom of spirit, calm detachment and biographic candour, the essentials of a true biographic art, were very rare. Hence the rarity of good biographies—biographies that transmuted the personality of their heroes in all its human aspects.

"By applying the tests of individuality on the one hand and on the other hand of truth", says Mr. Harold Nicolson, "we have ourselves succeeded in differentiating biography from both history and fiction". The attempt in this direction was first made by Sir Edmund Gosse in his "Father and Son" but it was not until the publication of "Eminent Victorians" that the new departure from the usual Victorian tradition was noticed by the public.

The present-day biographer at the outset of his work is usually confronted with a huge amount of material. But "he will row out over that great ocean of material, and lower down into it, here and there a little bucket, which will bring up to the light of day some
characteristic specimen", or "if he is wise, he will attack his subject in unexpected places; he will shoot a sudden, revealing searchlight into obscure recesses, hitherto undivined."

Mr. Strachey seems to have adhered to these principles. The period with which he deals offers no small difficulty for a literary biographer; because a literary biography needs a synthetic form. There can be no synthesis without a thesis, a motive or a point of view. And Strachey has a point of view which is both psychological and artistic. He has a keen sense of what is dramatic, piquant, and bizarre. But he does not allow his sense of dramatic value to get the better of psychological values. These others are only used to embellish his portraits, to bring into relief those aspects of their character without which no personality can be complete and human. His concern is to unravel the intertwining contradictions of human nature. Like a novelist he picks up a few arresting but expressive features of his character so that the whole figure unfolds itself before the reader. More often than not he calls his characters before the reader to state their own case through memoirs, diaries and letters. He neither condemns nor compliments but merely exposes.

EMINENT VICTORIANS

The several portraits in the "Eminent Victorians" illustrate the truth of my remark. The two figures of Manning and Newman are alternately brought before the reader and vividly presented and contrasted. He especially emphasises those incidents of their early childhood which had had a permanent hold and influence on their personality in later life.

How as a child Manning devoured the "Apocalypse" and never forgot the "lake that burneth with fire and brimstone"; how as an astute lad tricked his master by running away with his horse; as an undergraduate matured plans at Oxford for a public career of importance only to be disappointed by the bankruptcy of his father and how ultimately he reconciled himself to a curacy—all these various stages are succinctly described. The apparent failure of his worldly ambition was but the beginning of a long career which spanned nearly the whole of the nineteenth century. A century which is full of important events and personalities. Manning became one of the leading figures of the century "less through merit than through a superior faculty of gliding adroitly to the front rank". The Oxford movement was the touchstone that tested Manning and Newman. The panoramic view of his life, the conflict of his spiritual doubts and worldly ambitions, his intrigues with M. Talbot and the Pope, his faithfulness both to Gladstone and Newman, all this is intended to reveal the dual and complex personality of Manning. The figure of Newman comes as a pointed contrast to the active and obviously detestable Archbishop of Westminster. The age and the circumstances in which he lived were responsible for the tragedy of his life.

Rationalism was in the air and the liberal principles of the French Revolution had even infected the Church. Newman was a child of "the Romantic Revival, a creature of emotion and of memory, a dreamer whose secret spirit dwelt apart in inaccessible mountains." As a child he wished "he could believe that the 'Arabian Nights' were true". Such a temperament and such an age could not harmonize. Hence he was baulked of all his desires: the Oxford Movement proved a failure; his conversion disillusioned him regarding the life at Rome; his hope of seeing the Catholic University established was dashed to pieces by the ulterior aims that its originator had in view. To cap all, the very last act of grace—the offer of a Cardinal's hat—which would have brought him some satisfaction was spoiled by a cruel irony of fate secretly working in the form of a former friend. But Manning's figure does not come out unsullied, especially in the final acts of the drama of their lives. Newman gains one's admiration by the spiritual heights he reaches through his failures.
Strachey's latest and last, "Portraits in Miniature" are little vignettes, done after the style. There is a good deal of falling off in quality. Still a gentle raillery, an ironical smile, of something sharp behind the velvet surprises the reader. Of the two sections, the one on the six English historians is the more interesting inasmuch as it reveals incidently Strachey's own intellectual affinities.

He likes David Hume for his detachment, his divine art of impartiality, "his having no axe to grind"; his "balance of contrasting opposites", his vigour, his lucidity and his attempt to apply intelligence to the events of the past. Though Strachey appreciates Macaulay's extraordinary power of narration, he hears a ring of hollowness and sees a hardness of outline in his work. Besides Macaulay showed a profound distrust, almost amounting to actual hatred of art which Strachey could never approve.

His portrait of Carlyle also is none too sympathetic. One thing is clear and it is that Strachey has not much of an affinity with people who allow their emotions, feelings and enthusiasms to get the better of their calmness of mind and philosophical judgment. In one word, "who let themselves go". And Carlyle let himself 'go' in his moral preoccupation and German studies. And so, though he had a true gift of history, it was undone by his moralisations.

Of all historians it is Gibbon who is most to Strachey's liking. What he admires most in him may be taken as the final expression of Strachey's faith in a literary artist. With Gibbon as with Strachey the central problem of history was one of exclusion.

The whole of Strachey's work shows him to be an apt pupil of Gibbon. The characteristic qualities of a classical writer that Strachey so much admires in Gibbon are equally true of himself: order, lucidity, balance, precision are as much the special features of Strachey's art as those of Gibbon. Above all, irony which is the salt of his work and a product of his style pervades his work like an atmosphere. By its very nature, irony keeps out a multitude of other energies. "It makes sympathy impossible, it takes no cognisance of passion, it turns its back on religion with a withering smile. But that was just what was wanted then."

And also what is seen now in the present day literature. Strachey's withering smile and his cat-like touches often deprive him of sympathy with his characters. But Strachey would have us believe that biographer's point of view does by no means always imply sympathy. He is merely an artist whose business is to expose.

Mr. Strachey has clearly declared himself on the side of those who regard history not as a science but as an art. His statement "that Gibbon was a great artist is implied the statement that he was a great historian" is significant enough, as showing his own viewpoint.

According to an American critic, the German element in Strachey seems to have been omitted from his Englishness, only the French left. It is not therefore difficult to understand the wholesale condemnation of Strachey as a biographer by English critics like Mr. Christopher Saltmarsh and St. John Irwine. While not forgetting some of the glaring defects in his writings, let us not at least be blind to his brilliant gifts as a literary portrait painter. Ruskin once claimed that the best pictures that exist of any school are all portraits. May not a future historian of the twentieth century say the same of Strachey's literary portraiture.
Youth Movement In China

Youth movement in China played a vital part in the direction of social and public affairs.

The history of the movement is the history of her conflicts with the foreign, imperialists and the humiliation involved in the loss of territory and the payment of tribute.

On more than one occasion, the Chinese students played an important role in public demonstration and in spreading Nationalist Propaganda launched by the People's party which is better known as the Kuomintang. They became in fact Crusaders of New China. They have realized that they must work out their own salvation by means of a new synthesis. It will be seen that they succeeded in liquidating the illiteracy of the teeming millions.

The population of China has been estimated as 450 millions which includes nearly one quarter of the human race. Potentially, China is a store house of natural wealth and human energy. But up-to-date neither has been utilized to any appreciable degree. Since no description of China is complete without a word of the aforesaid resources, I hope, I will not be called upon to apologize for this depression.

The Chinese students played an active role in the revolutionary movement of 1911. Students who returned from America and Japan took the leading part in overthrowing the Manchu regime. It appears that after the world war the Chinese students had their organization established to effectively deal with the economic and social problems demanding immediate solution. The habit of looking to the West for wisdom was, however, very strong and some of the younger ones believed that communism could give what they were looking for. They were not disappointed at the result.

By Mr. T. K. Mazumdar

The students spread to every district and, supported by popular subscription, are carrying their propaganda and educational campaign through the length and breadth of the vast continent. They are teaching rustic audiences, stirred for the first time to listen, the rudiments of Geography, political, science and patriotism. Along with this, they instil the hatred and fear of Japan and cite for them the boycott as the only hope of salvation from the fate which overtook Formosa and Korea.

Literally, millions of farmers, dealers and artisans are discussing for the first time, national and international affairs. The students accompanied their propaganda by a well-organized boycott campaign. The results of the student movement were thus summed up in the Weekly Review of the Far East of the 28th June 1919: "(i) They forced a resignation from the Chinese Cabinet of the three of the worst offenders who have been bartering away China's Inheritance to the Militarists of Japan. (ii) They have started a strong boycott against the consumption of Japanese merchandise in China and it is effective in that Japan's trade in China has already been cut down from one third to one half its total before the boycott. (iii) They have to a small degree stimulated among the Chinese merchants a desire to promote the industrial development of China. (iv) They have surely frightened the old fashioned Conservative official and military class in China and also in Japan, and regardless of the future, this demonstration of the public opinion in this country, that has known no public opinion before, will serve as a check upon the actions of the officials in the future."

STUDENTS AND LABOUR

It would be interesting to recall the subsequent activities of the students in the field of labour. They entered the labour
unions, where no unions existed; they helped to organise them. In some unions they acted as Secretaries and in others as advisers. A definite set of regulations was adopted at the seventh annual conference of the National Students' Federation held in June 1925 in Shanghai for the purpose of (i) espousing the labourer's cause in their fight against Capitalism, and assisting them to secure adequate protection from the Government; (ii) rendering necessary assistance to the starting of labour organizations and carrying on propaganda work; (iii) founding night schools and publishing mass education literature to help the workmen to acquire adequate knowledge in political matters; (iv) giving proper backing to idle workmen during strikes.

The student activities did not stop here. For we find that after the renunciation by Soviet Russia of special privileges in China, the signing of the treaty of 1924, and the opening of the Sun Yat Sun University in Moscow, there arose before the Chinese students the question of an industrial revolution to emancipate the oppressed nations and peoples of the Orient under the domination of the Western imperialists.

That the relatively inarticulate and unorganised mass of humanity is credited with a formidable capacity for obstruction and passive resistance is a truism which calls for no demonstration.

The students are not only full of public spirit themselves, but are a powerful force in arousing it throughout the nations. What they did in 1919, when Versailles awarded Shantung to Japan, is well told by Mr. Fyan in his chapter on the Students' Movement. And what they did was not merely political. To quote Mr. Fyan:

"The students then directed their energies to the enlightenment of their less educated brothers and sisters. For instance by issuing publications, by popular pictures showing them the real situation, internally as well as externally, but specially by establishing free schools and maintaining them out of their own funds. No praise can be too high for such self-sacrifice, for the students generally also teach in these schools. The scheme is endorsed everywhere with the greatest enthusiasm, and in Peking alone it is estimated that fifty thousand children are benefited by such education."

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**Rationalization: Its Meaning and Application**

By Mr. C. V. H. Rao, M.A.

The phenomenon of world-wide depression in trade and the consequent intensification of unemployment has resulted in the pushing forward of schemes of Rationalization in every country. The remedy sought to be introduced by this method has in some respects tended to prove worse than the disease itself, though the tendency in this direction is in many cases only transient and temporary.

One of the outstanding causes of the prevailing world trade depression is admitted on all hands to be the overproduction of commodities transcending all the bounds of the demand for them; and, unemployment followed as a necessary and inevitable consequence of a slackening of export trade in the various
countries, both industrial and agricultural. For while industry is not producing the profits it was doing, it cannot help but send its working hands into the streets.

Now when Rationalization is proposed as a remedy for trade depression, as a cure for inefficiency in industrial organization and as a curative for unemployment, we have still to face the phenomenon of the persistency of the original tendencies. For the increased efficiency of production, the reduction of overhead charges, the reduction of the cost of production owing to the process of co-ordination of efforts, amalgamation of business and pooling of resources, which is what is meant by Rationalization in Germany, the country of its origin—all these will only tend in the direction of throwing more people out of work, and unemployment will continue unchecked. The paradox will ensue of increased industrial efficiency existing side by side with growing unemployment, of starvation aggravating in the midst of plenty, to use Professor Gregory's words.

**NEW INDUSTRIES.**

Professor Gregory, the President of the British Association has pointed out that "unemployment from Rationalization is a lesser evil than unemployment resulting from relative inefficiency". Though in the short run, Rationalization may not prove a root remedy for unemployment, and it may on the contrary, be a factor making for unemployment, still in the long run, when the unemployed labour has adjusted itself to new conditions, when new industries are producing commodities for which there is a new demand created by the higher standard of living induced in the working class in those industries which have been Rationalized, the evil effects will be automatically effaced. Rationalization will thus be providing a double remedy, for, while on the one hand it reduces inefficient over-production of articles for which there is reduced demand, on the other hand, it directs the producers' attention to the production of commodities for which there is a real and effective demand.

However, until such time as the adjustment is not complete, the spell of unemployment will perhaps continue unabated giving rise to another paradox of a rising standard of living continuing side by side with a lower earning capacity on the part of many.

The hope for the future consists, therefore, in the fact that there are not wanting signs and examples to indicate that demands for new products can be stimulated quickly provided they are sufficiently cheap. The era following the Industrial Revolution really led to such a stimulation and the passing over of the present phase of economic depression will also, it may be hoped, be followed by a similar revival.

One good effect of Rationalization will be that the unemployment resulting from the lowering of real costs will encourage the growth of new and competing industries, though not necessarily of the industrialized type but of the character of small enterprises which may afford occupation to the unemployed hands. Thus an increased demand for labour will necessarily manifest itself, though it is difficult to say in what directions the increase will be called forth. Professor Gregory says, "Both American and British experience would seem to show that the demand for labour in the existing industries is likely to shrink, whilst every technical knowledge desirable to industry will make the demand for labour in relation to output smaller in the new industries, the rise of which, we have reason to suppose, will accompany reduction in real costs in the existing industries." The remedy for this lies in the direction of concerted measures for securing an increase in the mobility of the working population or in other words a geographical distribution of labour. The transition stage from one method of industrial organization into another necessarily involves a period of mal-adjustment, which would be accentuated by monetary and other circumstances, not necessarily connected with Rationalization.

Rationalization is a definitely advantageous procedure so long as it concerns itself with
the elimination of waste in the productive processes and introduces a systematic efficiency therein. For achieving this purpose, some degree of amalgamation of existing industrial concerns is necessary and inevitable, just as we find to be the case in Germany. But amalgamation may unconsciously and with quite a good degree of ease, degenerate into monopoly. That this apprehension is not a mere hallucination but may turn out a practical certainty, and that is in the minds of people in England, is also made evident from the speech delivered by Professor Macgregor before the Royal Economic Society of London. He said: "The time will come when this country is interested not in the restriction of output (which will be the immediate effect of Rationalization) but in its extension. It will not be a good thing when that time comes if the control of fundamental output is left to the hands of great combines without proper safeguards and one must be sure that the word 'Rationalization' means something now which will be ready to stand by when the phase changes". Just now the phenomenon of depression in trade may give an impetus to Rationalization everywhere and Rationalization may be acquiesced in on the same account; but when the depression passes over and a brighter time for Industry dawns, we must be sure that Rationalization was not undertaken as a 'Panic scheme' or that it has given birth to giant trusts which have become unmanageable.

Another matter which will have to be taken into account in any discussion of the scheme of Rationalization is the possible and potential reactions it will have on the interests of the community. Rationalization with its dogma and its message of efficient production may lead to a rise in the price of the products manufactured by the Rationalized industry. This rise may not always be necessarily in the interests of the community. A special guarantee is therefore necessary that schemes of Rationalization, whenever undertaken, will be in the interests of community or the consuming public and not prejudicial to them; and this matter has got to be scrutinised beforehand with a view to the State undertaking legislative measures for safeguarding the public interests. Rationalization to be popular and to gain adherents, to be above suspicion and to benefit the consumers, must aim at "gaining for the community" according to the Genoa Economic Conference Resolution "greater stability in price levels and a higher standard of living".

**RATIONALIZATION IN INDIA.**

The process of Rationalization is gaining rapid ground in Western countries, especially in the Industrially forward countries, and is welcomed in all quarters as a movement which ought to embrace all branches of the national economic life, nationally co-ordinated with the object of providing, "a plentiful fund of subsistence for all." In India, with her low rank amongst industrial countries, Rationalization is not so much a living factor as it is a great and pressing economic need, especially in regard to our agricultural industry which requires to be rationalized in the sense that it has to be put on a footing of scientific management and made to produce more than before, that scientific research and investigation will have to be undertaken into the methods of raising important crops, and that the old antiquated and uneconomic agricultural methods be replaced by modern ones. The establishment of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research and the reorganisation of the Agricultural Departments in the various Provinces resulting in the rising up of many Demonstration farms, fulfill these demands to a certain extent, but much remains to be done yet towards creating in the minds of our agriculturists a psychological revolution in favour of scientific farming. So far as our industries are concerned, the cotton Industry, which is the premier Indian industry, after the recent spell of depression through which it has been passing, after the losses and failures of numerous Mills, especially in Bombay, has come to realise that its salvation
lies in rationalisation and its leaders have accordingly begun to take steps to bring about an amalgamation of the various Bombay mills with a view to weeding out inefficiency and introducing scientific lines of management and production. It is an interesting experiment on which the industry has embarked and it has to be seen how far it will lead to better methods of production, better marketing of produce and generally to better prospects for the industry. Then, as regards the steel industry, Government have postulated certain prescribed standards of efficiency and production before according it protection and there are sound reasons to believe that the management of the industry has since been quite satisfactory and its methods of production quite up to the standard, so that it may be said that it has been following rationalisation all along. Other Indian industries will do well to study western methods of industrial organisation and take a leaf out of their book copying all that is good and beneficial and rejecting all that is unnecessary and wasteful.

The process of industrial rationalisation, though indispensable in itself, will not be entirely sufficient unless followed by the rationalisation of the transportation methods, meaning thereby the methods of marketing. Here again there is so much waste being occasioned on account of the absence of scientific marketing schemes for various important commodities. In spite of the change that has come over industrial and commercial relationships, whereby the whole world has become one market for all principal articles of trade, the tendency is still very strong to impose artificial restrictions to free exchange of goods. An urgent improvement and reform in this direction is called for if trade is to revive. The exploration of new markets, the discovery of the means whereby goods can be easily and quickly transported to them, the removal of protective barriers which tend to hinder free movement of goods, in short, the inauguration of scientific marketing schemes—all these are essential to a programme of world restoration. If Britain is faced with a discouraging economic situation, she has set herself boldly to explore new markets overseas by sending economic and trade missions to various countries. So also other countries not the least among them being India, the agricultural products of which are experiencing an acute fall in prices, must hasten themselves and secure a gradual stimulus to their export trade by agreement among themselves and by international co-operation.

Rationalisation is not confined to particular phases of industrial reorganisation alone: it is an all-round and all-embracing movement. The point to be remembered is that rationalisation schemes to be successful should proceed from within the industries themselves and not imposed from above, for most employers are individualistic by temperament and lack the experience and an understanding of the advantages of co-ordinated action. From this point of view rationalisation must be regarded as a mental revolution and it must be realized that full success will not come unless managers of large unified concerns escape entirely from the habits of mind associated with the direct management of smaller enterprises.
Jamshedji Tata: A Great Captain of Industry*

By “An Admirer.”

Jamshedji Tata made Swadeshi talent thrive and prosper, whilst other patriots recited the slogan of a Government, of the people, by the people, for the people, he made it practical by establishing colossal enterprises in industries with Indian directorate and Indian labour.

In the roll of the many great names that have been recorded in the annals of India as having worked patriotically to bring about the renaissance of their motherland in the nineteenth century, that of Jamshedji Tata will hold a very prominent place. Born on March 3, 1839, he witnessed in the year of his attaining majority, the great upheaval in India known as the Indian Mutiny which ended the rule of John Company. Within a few years thereafter was laid the foundation of the Indian National Congress and one of the greatest sons of India, Dadabhai Naoroji, devoted his time and attention for the better recognition at the hands of the British people of the rights of Indians to political and economic freedom. Jamshedji Tata and Dadabhai Naoroji were both born in the town of Navari, and the former followed with great interest the valiant campaign which Dadabhai launched in Great Britain.

Jamshedji Tata founded a trust, now known as the J. N. Tata Education Scheme, which made it possible for many Indians even when no simultaneous examinations for the Indian Civil Service were held in India, to qualify themselves for the Indian Civil Service, and which continues to bring out the latent talent of so many Indians who but for the benefit of his scheme, might have been buried as so many mute, inglorious Miltons dying without recognition in the country of their birth.


But greater than this endeavour of his to advance the interests of his individual countrymen, were his schemes of industrial advancement, he gave a princely donation of Rs. 60 lacs for the foundation in India of the great College of Research which eventually materialised in what is known as the Indian Institute of Science” at Banagalore. When this princely donation was first announced the vernacular papers in Bombay which were mostly managed and edited by his co-religionists, with one or two honourable exceptions, denounced Mr. Tata as having ignored the claims of his community and asked that the money might be reserved for the benefit of the members of his community alone. Jamshedji Tata, however, placed the claims of the nation above those of the community.

Mr. Tata travelled widely and with his thinking faculty developed to an extraordinary degree, and with great fertility of imagination he conceived schemes which at one time appeared to be extravagant visions, but which we see materialised in India now as monuments to his great foresight and nationalistic spirit. The world has described him as a great captain of industry. He was greater. He was the pioneer of Indian Industrial regeneration.

Mr. Tata’s keenness extended to other pursuits as well, perhaps smaller in importance, but not less romantic. Who has not heard of the Taj Mahul Palace Hotel which, owing its existence to his conception, stands in front of the Gateway of India, offering to the countless visitors that arrive in this great country from all parts, a choice abode, and adds by its excellent structure and magnificent elevation to the beauties of Bombay, the Beautiful.

Mr. Tata died in the year 1904 with his contemplated schemes of the iron and steel industry and hydro-electric plants still in
their prospective state. He, however, left behind him as a legacy to his sons the fire of an inspiration which lit the first torch in the old jungle of Sakelsi village in the East of India. On the other side of the country, the torrential falls in the Western Ghats, converted into thousands of horse-power of living energy, harnessed for the service of mankind, adding to the wealth of the natural scenery and the material wealth of the people, betoken the portentous genius of the mind that first gave conception to the scheme.

Those who knew him will accept the verdict pronounced on him at his death by an eminent Chief Justice who said: “Wealth came to him in full measure, but he remained to the last what he was by nature, a simple modest gentleman seeking neither title nor place, and loving with a love that knew no bounds the country that gave him birth.”

The Citizens of Jamshedpur must feel genuine pride, privilege and honour in playing their allotted part in that town named after the great departed soul, and in paying homage to his memory on the 93rd anniversary of his birth, they cannot forget to take note of that which was the greatest qualification and merit of Jamshedjee Tata.

Implicit good faith, honesty and rectitude are oft said to be inconsistent with commercial morality. With Mr. Tata it was just otherwise. As a pious Zoroastrian he recognised “Aevoo pautao yo ashah: vispe anyan apautao”. “There is but one path: that of rectitude: all others are no paths.” His sons, and the members of the Tata House after him, have continued to maintain the family shield sans peur et sans reproche and have thus built an edifice of glory on the foundations so well and truly laid, as a tribute to the nation, by one of the most enterprising sons of India of the nineteenth century who left behind on Indian soil not mere footprints on the sands, but more than one monument to his greatness and goodness and eternal glory.
MOTTO.—A reviewer of books is a person with views and opinions of his own about life and literature, science and art, fashion and style and fancy, which he applies ruthlessly or pleasantly, dogmatically or evasively, brutally or plaintively, as his humour prompts or his method dictates, to books written by some body else. The two notes of the critic are sympathy and knowledge. Sympathy and knowledge must go hand in hand through the fields of criticism. As neither sympathy nor knowledge can ever be complete, the perfect critic is an impossibility. It is hard for a reviewer to keep being ignorant, but he need never be a hypocrite. Knowledge certainly seems of the very essence of good criticism and yet judging is more than knowing. Taste, delicacy, discrimination—unless the critic has some of these, he is naught. Even knowledge and sympathy must own a master. That master is Sanity. Let Sanity for ever sit enthroned in the critic's armchair.—The Honorable Augustine Bissett M. P., on "The Critical Faculty."

BOOKS OF THE QUARTER.

Mr. R. D. Banerjee's History of Orissa*

The passage of time had made Dr. Hunter's Orissa and Dr. Rajendralal Mitra's Antiquities of Orissa almost obsolete, and a new work on the history of that tract had been badly wanted for years past—such as is now rendered available by the publishing enterprise of Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, in offering the late Mr. Rakhil Das Banerjee's magnum opus on the subject. A tragic and a pathetic interest attaches to this work in that the distinguished author (an eminent archaeologist and the real discoverer of the Mohenjo-Daro antiquities) died before he saw the fruit of his arduous labours result in practical shape. Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, well-known as the editor of the Modern Review, therefore, deserves to be felicitated on the time and energy he has spent on the production of this outstanding work of high literary merit. Mr. Banerji's work has been edited and produced in such a way that it will long retain its place as the standard authority on the history of Orissa, from the most ancient times to about the end of the first quarter of the twentieth century. It may safely be said that no book on Orissan history has been projected on so comprehensive a scale. It was an excellent idea on the part of Mr. Banerji to undertake the work of writing a history of Orissa from the ancient to the modern times. The author who had worked in the field of Indian archaeology for a considerable period, and had acquired great reputation, was not only thoroughly competent

*History of Orissa: From the earliest times to the British Period. By (the late) Rakhil Das Banerji, M.A., Manmeha Chandan Nundy Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Berures Hindu University; Two volumes (R. Chatterji, Modern Review Office, 129-2, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta), 1929-31.

for the great task he had undertaken but was also, perhaps, the only person who could do ample justice to it. Nor is the result at all disappointing, for his work is truly monumental and of great merit and excellence. Every page of it abounds in fine scholarship and historical research and bears striking testimony to the learning of the author—his great critical acumen, and his sound and scholarly judgment.

The work, under review, which throws a flood of light on the ancient, mediaeval and modern periods of Orissan history, and which is the first connected sketch of Orissa during the historical ages, embodies the results of research during the last one hundred years, as recorded and embodied in the pages of journals of various oriental and historical societies. The book, which was written by the late Mr. Banerji just before his much-regretted death, is the best history of Orissa, yet published. The illustrations are all specially engraved on two-hundred screen plates, and deserve special commendation. Thus as justly recorded by the distinguished Cambridge Senvant—Professor Rapson: A sad interest attaches to this last work of the great Indian scholar, whose name will always be associated with the wonderful discoveries at Mohenjo-Daro—which have revealed to the world a lost chapter of its ancient history." The book—though nominally a history—is far more comprehensive than that word usually implies, as being synonymous with political history. Mr. Banerjee designated his book history in a far more comprehensive sense—including under the term such allied subjects as geography, ethnology, etnography and
cultural history. His book is thus not only a political history of Orissa—a record of the rise and fall of the ruling dynasties—but also a comprehensive sketch of its ancient geography, and an account of the various races inhabiting it, their customs and characteristics, as also of their arts, in particular, and their civilization, in general. The arts of architecture and sculpture, as developed by the Orissans are critically sketched and appraised in the last two chapters and form most interesting reading. They are notable contributions to the study of the architectural and plastic arts of north-eastern India. Suffice it to say that Mr. Rakhai Das Banerjee's *History of Orissa* is truly a great work—great in the truest sense of the term. Though all that is said in it is not yet beyond the range of controversy, it is nonetheless a work of rich and rare scholarship and redounds to the highest credit of Indian scholarship, in general, and the author's, in particular.

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**The Armaments Industry**

*By Mr. Reginald A. Reynolds.*

Recently I at last got into my hands a book that I had been tracing for some months. It was originally published in Berlin (in German) under the title *Die Blutige Internationale or The Bloody International*. Its subject is the International Armaments Industry; Its author, a German doctor, Lehmann-Russbuhl. No English edition exists, but I at last got on the track of an American edition published in New York by Alfred King. The title of this American translation by Pierre Loovig is *War for Profits*.

"During the war," writes Dr. Lehmann-Russbuhl, "we observed a peculiar phenomenon. The very organisations which on their own account had praised internationalism most highly declared at the time that the concept of the Nation should be put before everything else." By these organisations he means such as organised religion, Peace Movements, the Labour and Socialist (Second) International.

On the other hand the nationalists and "patriots" and avowed opponents of internationalism "were secretly nursing a solidarity which transcended national frontiers... The two most important ones among these are the dynastic ring and the armament industry." The facts produced in substantiation of these statements are beyond controversy. The industry which thrives upon War has almost eliminated the "War of competition" from its ranks. The world market for destructive weapons is portioned out between the firms, and while the nations live in dread of each other's guns and bombs, those who supply the guns have long since settled all disputes by rationalisation and pacific agreement.

The net effect of this on modern warfare is in the nature of a ghastly joke at the expense of humanity. Dr. Lehmann-Russbuhl has collected detailed information which only a vast conspiracy of silence hides from the general public. How the British in the Dardanelles were shot down by British guns and a British battleship sunk by a British mine, how Alfred Krupp supplied arms to both France and Germany before the Franco-Prussian War, and how his works exported half their output of cannon to countries which were opposed to Germany in the Great War, how the Boers fought the British with British-made arms, how the British Admiralty bought German airships as a counter to German U-boats—such are the ways of the "Bloody International."

Most remarkable of all are the facts of the War-time trade itself. While German manufacturers were exporting barbed wire to France via Switzerland to be used in the French defences, British manufacturers were sending copper into Germany via Sweden for lining German hand-grenades. The dynamite
industry was in the extraordinary position of being linked in one vast international combine, founded by Alfred Nobel (of "Peace Prize" fame)! In 1915 the British and German shareholders arranged an exchange of shares to obviate a very awkward situation.

On the post-war period this book is equally enlightening. Vickers had been making a hand-grenade after a Krupp patent, and after the war Krupps demanded their royalties! The amount claimed was $1 per fuse on 123,000,000 fuses used. To avoid a scandal on both sides Krupp accepted instead a large interest in a British-owned steel and rolling mill! For the rest, the old policies are still being pursued.

PERSONALITIES

Behind this sordid business hover, "Personalities", Krupp, the friend of Bismark and Napoleon III, the German armaments manufacturer who was an officer of the French "Legion of Honour." Krupp writes to Napoleon III offering guns "which I have supplied to several powerful European Governments." The Emperor's Secretary replies with "his lively wishes for the success and expansion of an industry which promises to be of considerable service to mankind." Sir Basil Zaharoff, an Anglicised Greek with a Spanish wife and the Grand Cross of the French Legion of Honour on his breast, controlling Vickers Ltd. and ten other British armaments factories—his influence has extended from the French Press to the Bank of England—not to mention the control of the Monte Carlo Casino!

Or Alfred Noble, the realist who desired to make war so frightful that civilised nations would abandon it!

I do not propose to discuss Dr. Lehmann-Russbudl's suggested solution of the problem of war and Armaments. Briefly it is the suppression of all export trade in armaments and the prohibition of profits in the industry. Unfortunately he has himself shown that this is neither so simple nor so effective as it might appear, for (as General Morgan says in a quotation given in this book)—"There is only one way to disarm a great industrial nation, and that to destroy all its industries". Coal with its by-products and petroleum are the chief needs of modern warfare, and to attempt control of these products is to go far beyond the proposals of this German authority. With something like fatalism he admits that "the proletarians of the world have not yet united, but the petroletrians are certainly making an attempt to do so." The escape from disaster points surely to a conflict with these new allies of the Bloody International. Can Geneva help us? Can Moscow? On all these aspects War for Profit has useful information.

Since publishing his book I understand that Dr. Lehmann-Russbudt has obtained much further material, all of which still awaits translation. Even to-day Norwegian armament firms are ministering to the needs of China and Japan, while the Morganbladet (Norwegian daily) remarks that a war "wound stimulate the economic life of the whole world."

The Historical Jesus

By Francis Musgrave.

Among English books emanating from the Liberal side, on the origin of Christianity, this is one of the best we have recently encountered, though that perhaps is not paying it a very high compliment, certainly not as high as it deserves. Whether the authors call themselves Liberals is extremely doubtful, but their freedom from apologetic interests entitles them to the adjective. But they do not go so far as to attempt to harmonise Jesus with so-called modern thought as do so many com-

mentators. They rightly perceive that it is not Jesus who needs to be harmonised with modern thought, but that modern thought should be harmonised with him. But "harmonisation" is not their business, nor the source of their motives. They are scientific historians, and as such, they set themselves to ascertain the Fact, leaving the reader to make what he will of it—the Fact in question being the historical figure of Jesus. And it should be added at once that the Fact, as they
Testament quite as firmly as the case demands, ascertain it by scientific methods, is imposing and profoundly significant; which is more than can be said for the nebulous artefact, neither God nor man, that does duty for the historical Jesus in a great deal of the "liberal" theology now current.

In arriving at the striking result of their inquiry the writers betray no conscious desire to prove the doctrine of the Incarnation or any other doctrine; at the same time it must be noted that the figure of the historical Jesus as they ascertain it accords more nearly with the Incarnation than with any other theory of his person. This conclusion is challenging, and is, indeed, presented as a challenge; but the writers are well equipped with the knowledge, the power, the penetration and the balanced judgment that are needed to support it. Especially noteworthy and commendable is their firm grasp of the New Testament as a whole—another point where this work stands in contrast to that of many modernist critics, who begin by breaking the New Testament into a debris of incomplete and inimical Christologies, Pauline, Johannine, synoptic and others and then make their escape as best they can on promising fragments of the wreck.

That the New Testament is, as these writers maintain, an indivisible unity with a discernible structure, animated throughout with the single theme of a Person who bore upon his shoulders the whole fate of humanity and believed himself to be, and acted and spoke as though he were, the Saviour and Redeemer of mankind—to this conclusion we give our heartiest accord. Save in the context of that unitary theme there is not a single book, gospel or epistle, and hardly a single passage in any one of them, that cannot be made fully intelligible. But our writers go further. Keeping strictly within the limits proper to impartial scientific inquiry, they maintain that the existence of this theme, so consistently given from many points of view, so uniformly present (and often most strenuously in passages which at first sight seem to obscure it), so dynamic and vital in the manner of its presentation, so shattering and revolutionary in the consequences to which it led—all this, they maintain, proves conclusively that such a Person did actually walk this earth, and speak, act and suffer in the general manner recorded of him; in short, that his life and death are a fact and cannot be otherwise explained, make of it what you will. And here it is that a doubt, or a misgiving,

suggests itself that possibly the writers have proved too much. Or at least they force us, rather vehemently, to the unwelcome alternative of having to accept the historical Jesus as they discover him, consciously unique and bearing the fate of humanity on his shoulders, or else as infatuated, self-deceived and perhaps not a little insane.

If the "Life and Death of Jesus" were all the New Testament writers were interested in, if those two words conveyed all the essential things that constituted the event in which Christianity has its roots and took its rise, our doubt would be less insistent. But I venture to think that the authors are using loose language when they choose the words "Life and Death" as the keywords of the argument. The words which need to be substituted for these are "Crucifixion and Resurrection", and the full force of the challenge is not apparent until the substitution is made.

To begin with the less important word, St. Paul and the other theologians did not preach Christ "dead" or "killed" or "martyred" but Christ crucifict; not the doctrine of his death but the doctrine of his death on the Cross. If the reader will turn to St. Paul's argument in the third chapter of Galatians, he will find that it all turns precisely on that, insomuch that if Jesus had died by any other mode, by a sword-thrust, an arrow or poison, the whole argument would collapse. Far more important, however, is the word "resurrection". The Christ whom the New Testament is concerned to present is not one who merely lived and died, but one who, after living and dying rose from the dead, one whose living and dying reached the crown of their significance in that event—a Christ who, as Paul explicitly says is "declared to be the Son of God" with power according to the spirit of holiness (not by his living and dying but) by the resurrection from the dead." The authors are using language far too loose when they say and repeat often in other forms, that "a critical sifting of the evidence of the New Testament points to the life and death of Jesus as the ground of primitive Christian faith, and points in no other direction."

Unquestionably the evidence does point to that life and death, but only to them as crowned by his resurrection and deriving great significance from that. Until that addition is made the fact to which the evidence is pointed remains imperfectly focussed, deprived, indeed of its essential element, and our writers have not grasped the unity of the New
Bird's-Eye-View

(1) LITERATURE OF INDIAN ECONOMICS.

Messrs. Longmans, Green and Co., Ltd., (53, Nicol Road, Bombay), are entitled to the acknowledgment of their services, to the study of Indian Economics, by the publication of their meritorious series of books devoted to the study of the subject. Of these publications the four that lie before us—Population Problem of India (by Professor B. T. Ranadive), Taxation of Income in India (by Professor V. K. R. V. Rao), the Growth of Trade and Industry in Modern India (by Professor C. N. Vakil and S. C. Bose) and Mr. G. C. Mukhyar's Life and Labour in South Gujarat Village—all bear each of them, a highly useful contribution to the study of the various aspects of our economic problems.

Population Problem of India attempts to establish that there is a growing maladjustment between population and production in this country. The intensity of the problem is so great that the current efforts to increase agricultural and industrial production must be considered wholly inadequate and amazingly slow, and the need for a prompt and comprehensive economic policy will be realized when the nature of the problem presented in this book is appreciated. The work contends theoretically in favour of the general Malthusian proposition that population increases faster than means of subsistence. In applying this theory to Indian conditions, the author considers the principal checks to the growth of population and computes the normal birth-rate on the one hand and statistically collects the available Indian food supply on the other. The disparity thus disclosed in the rate of growth of Indian population and India's food resources leads him to arrive at the main thesis of his work, namely, that in India a grave danger is threatening, consequent on a much too rapid growth of population. Mr. Ranadive's monograph (in spite of the fact that it takes an extremely, pessimistic view of the situation), is an interesting contribution to the subject, and it presents the problem of Indian regeneration in a clear manner and shows how difficult is the path leading to a prosperous India.

The Taxation of Income in India contains a critical examination of the Indian Income-tax system in all its aspects, in the light of modern principles of taxation and the experience of several other countries. This has enabled the author to make many useful suggestions for an overhauling of the Income-tax legislation of the country. A brief historical review of the tax serves as an interesting background to the illuminating discussion of the modern problems. Mr. Rao's able analysis of the whole field of the Indian income-tax problems assumes a topical interest, in view of the recent taxation proposals of Sir George Schuster. The book is divided into two parts: historical and analytical. The former instructively surveys the history of this tax from its inception in 1860 to the latest amendments till the time of the appearance of the book under notice. It is, however, the analytical part which is of greater interest to the student. In the course of it Mr. Rao compares the Indian system with those obtaining in other parts of the world, pointing out the defects in the Indian system, and making helpful suggestions for removing them. The book is well-documented, but a select bibliography will have greatly added to its usefulness. We congratulate the author on the production of this competent and creditable treatise on an important subject.

The Growth of Trade and Industry in Modern India contains a general survey of the trade and industry in certain selected articles produced in the country. The object has been to discuss the main tendencies with a view to explain the economic forces prevalent in recent times and to provide a background for framing an industrial policy for the country. The authors have refrained successfully from the pet theory of the successive Finance and Commerce Members of the Government of India (that the balance of foreign trade of India being in her favour, she is prosperous) by showing that the figures of the foreign trade of a country are not in themselves, a proof of a corresponding growth of prosperity. On the whole, the authors have conclusively proved that the share of India in the gains arising from foreign trade are small indeed. Thus they have made a useful survey and analysis of the present-day tendencies with reference to profitable lines of expansion and the form that State encouragement to such industries should take, is illuminating.
Life and Labour in South Gujarat Village, by Mr. G. C. Mukhtyar is another valuable addition to the series. The author is a recognized authority on Indian Economics and has selected a village in the Surat district for investigation. His stay there totalled 200 days during different seasons of the year for an exhaustive study of the life of the people of a village which offered him typical conditions of the larger area of South Gujarat. A detailed explanation of the method adopted by him for his comprehensive survey should interest all students of Economics as a new method in research. Mr. Mukhtyar's investigation, as embodied in the treatise under notice, will sustain the reputation of a standard work which is a valuable contribution to the study of Indian Economics.

II.

Miss Margaret Read's The Indian Peasant Uprooted (Longmans, Green and Co., 53, Nicol Road, Bombay) is an excellent and useful compendium. To what extent are the weavers in a cotton mill in Bombay or the miners in Bengal colliery affected by the great world forces of capitalism, communism and co-operation? Does the Indian peasant care about raising his standard of living? To answer these questions was a part of the work of the Royal Commission on Labour in India. But the resultant Report is too detailed—and perhaps too dry for the ordinary reader—and it runs to eighteen volumes. Miss Read has, therefore, taken the evidence and statistics from the Report and on them has based a study of the Indian peasant, instancing a number of lives that are typical of the workers of India. Thus her small book is an inviting summary of the Report of the Whitley Commission, in which she has accomplished an excellent condensation. The Rt. Hon. J. H. Whitley, the President of the Commission, writes a Foreword in which he commends the book to people in England and India. The book is well illustrated and thoroughly readable. It needs an Index which, we trust, will be supplied when a new edition is called for. For the rest, it is excellent, all through.

Miss Cecile Matheson's Indian Industry (Oxford University Press, Bombay) is a useful piece of work. Miss Matheson came out to India some years ago. She had behind her an imposing record of work as Warden of the Birmingham Settlement. Her influence in that depressing city of smoke and vulgar display was enormous. Perhaps, Miss Matheson's experiences in Birmingham led her to expect the worst when she came out to India. In many ways, however, she was pleasantly surprised, and, on her return to England, she did not hesitate to tell her audiences that in some respects—though only in some—Indian conditions were superior to the British. Indian Industry is an excellent sketch of the past and present industrial conditions of this country. It is equally interesting and instructive and should appeal to the student of the subject.

Professor N. G. Ranga's Economics of Handloom (D. B. Taraporevala Sons and Co., 19, Hornby Road, Bombay) and Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya's On Khaddar (Natesan and Co., George Town, Madras) usefully supplement each other. The former is a masterly study of the social and economic conditions of the handloom industry, and of the weavers of South India and is a valuable contribution to the study of the subject. Dr. Sitaramayya's On Khaddar is topical. It traces the causes that led to the destruction of many ancient crafts and industries of this country. The story of the part played by the East India Company is well set forth. After drawing a graphic picture of the influx of machine-made goods being dumped upon India and the consequent serious economic drain, the author points out the tremendous significance of Mahatma Gandhi's whole-hearted attempt for the resuscitation of hand-spun and hand-woven cloth.

(2) HISTORIES OF LITERATURE.

A History of Indian Literature: From Vedic Times to the Present Day, by Dr. Herbert H. Gowen (D. Appleton and Co., 34, Bedford Street, London, W.C. 2) is a notable addition to the text-books on the history of the literature of India. A great literature, older than that of Greece and exerting a profound influence on modern life and thought not only in India and the East but among the Western nations, is here viewed in a study which is particularly timely in view of the prominent part India now plays in the forefront of the world's interest, and we strongly commend the merits of the American scholar's A History of Indian Literature. Dr. Gowen ranges over the whole field of this rich and intensely interesting subject. After a general consideration of the background in India's economic and social systems, he proceeds with a discussion of the rituals, philosophies and religious treatises, the epic and
lyric poetry, romance, drama, and history, bringing the story down to the work of Rabindranath Tagore and other contemporary writers. The book—though based largely on standard works—is highly informative, sympathetic, scholarly, and entertaining. It is work which, to any one interested in the history of culture or of systems of philosophy of India, will open up a vast and fascinating vista.

A History of Spanish Literature, by Dr. E. D. Laborde (William Heinemann, Ltd., 99, Great Russel Street, London, W.C.1) is an excellent introductory manual. In view of the increasing interest in the Spanish language and its literature, which has been so noticeable of late years, this outline of the history of a literature which has deeply influenced English writers, is particularly opportune. It traces the development of Spanish literature with all the fluency and clarity, with which the author's name is associated, and will prove to be a valuable addition to the equipment of the student and the general reader alike. It describes in outline the main developments in Spanish literature from the earliest period of the great epics, to the plays and novels of modern writers, and contains excellent chapters on Cervantes, on Lope de Vega and Calderon, and on Spanish-American literature. It will be found exceedingly useful by the students of Spanish literature.

A Handbook of Canadian Literature, by Dr. V. B. Rhodener (Graphic Publishers Ltd., Ottawa, Canada) may be safely commended as a sane estimate of what has been done by Canadian writers up to this day. It is designed to fill a double purpose; firstly, to give the student (to whom the subject is new) such information as he will find authentic and reliable; secondly, to interest the general public in the currents and movements of literature in Canada, in the past and the present. It offers a fresh and sympathetic synthesis of biographical and historical details, and a critical evaluation of the works of the Canadian authors. It is about the best text-book of the subject.

In their excellent "Reading with a Purpose" series, the American Library Association (520 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago) have issued two useful and instructive booklets called Russian Literature by A. Yarmolinsky and Scandinavian Literature by Hanna Larsen. Each of these is well-written and well-planned, and gives an excellent summary of the subject it details with. They are both very well done.

(3) THE LITERATURE OF ISLAM.


Syed Abdur Razzaque's Islam: The Religion of Humanity, while giving prominence to the distinctive features of Islam, nevertheless attempts to place correctly, in the comity of great religions, this, the youngest of them. The plan adopted by the author is to emphasize the essentials of Islam by a judicious selection of passages from the Qur'an, the sayings of the Prophet and other relevant documents. The materials gathered in this book are intended to counteract the many current misconceptions concerning Islam, and to vindicate that faith as a liberalizing force, when rightly understood and appreciated. Thus the book is an excellent little guide to the tenets and teachings of Islam, and lucidly sets out the religion of the Prophet. The author has culled his material judiciously, and as an introduction to Islamic ideas his work is praiseworthy. Mr. Abdul Karim's Islam: A Study gives an ideal interpretation of Islam. The author explains Islam as a religion intended to adjust itself according to the needs of different times—an elastic compilation of high principles and not a collection of stiff and rigid dogmas. In this short pamphlet, he has given, to quote the words of Chief Justice Salimullah (of the Allahabad High Court) "the essential teachings of Islam in an excellent manner." We agree.

Islamic Brotherhood, By Muhammad Ha'fezullah. (Muslim Depot, Phulwari Sharif, Patna) 1931.

The Religion of Peace. By Ishaq Husain Qureshi. (Khwaja Hasan Nizami, Delhi) 1931.

Islamic Brotherhood, is an English translation of a vernacular pamphlet on the idea of equality and fraternity in Islam. The writer bewails the pride of "heredity and wealth" among Indian Muslims and the distinctions of caste that have crept in, and ascribes the downfall of Islam—at any rate, in India—to these evils. The pamphlet appertains more or less to propagandist literature and will probably interest the circles concerned in Muslim upheaval in this country. Mr. Qureshi's book—The Religion of Peace—mostly con-
tains canons from the Quran, to show to "all well-wishers of humanity and even leaders of opposing factions" that "the desired haven of peace" which it (according to the author) contains "has the power to annihilate all aggressive warlike sentiments with its noble teaching." This also like the previously noticed work is of a propagandist character, if not also polemical. But it deserves attention at the hands of students of Islam.

The Legacy of Islam. Edited by (the late) Sir Thomas Arnold and Professor Alfred Guillaume. (The Oxford University Press, Bombay) 1931.


The Legacy of Islam is the latest addition to the Oxford University Press "Legacy" series, and it lucidly sets forth what has been bequeathed to Europe by the arts, the thoughts, and the sciences which flourished under Islamic rule, and with which the West came in contact. The book is a scholarly and well-illustrated collection of thirteen chapters, contributed by as many distinguished savants, and covering the whole range of subjects contained within the scope of the work. Well-planned and well-executed, the volume is of great interest to students of culture and world civilization.

Mr. Zaidi's Europe's Debt to Islam—which is introduced by Dr. P. C. Ray—is a brochure on the same subject and is well put together for a compilation; but it is at many places uncritical, for which allowance will have to be made by the reader.

Mahomedanism. By Basanta Goomar Bose (The Book Company Ltd., College Square, Calcutta), 1931.

The chief value of Mr. Basanta Goomar Bose's Mahomedanism is that it is perhaps the first work on Islam, in English, written by a rationalist Hindu. A long Introduction is devoted to the authenticity of the text of the Koran, compared with that of the several books of the Holy Bible. The main Islamic doctrines are pointed out and discussed from the rationalist standpoint. In the chapter on the religion preached by Muhammad, the author holds that no philosophy is to be found in the Koran. In the concluding chapter we have an interesting comparison instituted between Christianity and Islam. The plan adopted by the author is to emphasize the the essentials of Islam by a judicious selection of passages from the Koran and the say-

ings of the Prophet. The book is highly suggestive, though not always convincing.

(4) RECENT BOOKS ON TRAVEL.


India the Land that Lures is a sumptuous volume—paper, printing, photographic illustrations and binding are all of the best. The authoress is enthusiastic about travel in India and sets out to show how it may be done with enjoyment and profit. She has written a guide book and a tourists' diary combined. She does not aim at the scholarly exactness which Murray's Guide to India offers to the intelligent inquirer, nor the exhaustive information which the same book places before the traveller; but as an armchair volume to stimulate readers to make a trip to India it should serve the writer's purpose. On the reflective side the authoress has nothing new to offer though she apparently desires to be fair in her judgment and suggestive in criticism. Being an American and of the sex emotional her language and hyperbole sound rather strange to the ear. But the illustrations and the enthusiasm of the authoress make up for any shortcomings; and
if nothing else its naivety and quaintness make this book delightful reading.

A man who has lived forty-four years as a Consul in a country ought to know something about it. Sir Telford Waugh who retired from the post of British Consul-General in Turkey spent forty-four years in that country—a period that has been full of revolutionary changes in character, life and politics. The Turkey to which Sir Telford went out in 1885 was a vast Empire, including Tripoli in Barbary, Albania, Arabia and Mesopotamia. The Turkey from which he returned in 1929 had become a small homogeneous republic, with no commitments—other than Constantinople and Adrianople—outside Asia Minor. In his vivid, volume of reminiscences called *Turkey Yesterday, To-Day and To-Morrow*, the author gives a survey of the changeeful scene as it presented itself to him under a succession of Ambassadors, with a brilliant range of figures. This picture of the past closes with an attempt to sum up the factors making for success or failure in the future, in this a well-illustrated and informative book.

*Afoot in Italy* by Mr. John Gibbons is an account of the Italian people and their cities by a voluntary tramp in that country. It makes no pretensions to describe the arts, country and life as they really are, but as they struck one who was rather meagrely equipped to study them and was not a bit abashed about it. It will no doubt amuse some people, but can not be described as an informative work.

A companion volume to the book noticed above is *London to Sarajevo* by the same author. Judging from this book Mr. Gibbons’ journey was well worth while. What he found in Serbia both surprised and pleased him, and he vividly recorded his experiences and impressions in this account of his wanderings. It gives a good account of places which are very little known to tourists, and will interest readers of travel literature dealing with unfamiliar lands.

*In Search of Scotland* by Mr. H. V. Morton is in its ninth edition—a testimony of its popularity. Mr. Morton’s previous volumes in this series have been the most popular books of their kind. He has found a wealth of new material about of which he treats. In his haphazard wandering the author met many strange characters and captured the charms of the countryside. We welcome this new edition, and commend to readers of high class travel literature the other books of the same author in his “In search of” series dealing with England, Ireland and Wales.

Mr. C. J. Cutchiffe Hyne, the author of the Captain Kettle stories, has written a number of travel sketches, under the title of *People and Places*. In writing them, he has drawn upon a very wide experience of unusual and interesting travel, ranging from the Amazon country to the bleak Hebrides. The author also explores some quaint by-paths of long-forgotten local history, and many of the articles are in a humorous vein, which make it a very entertaining book.

*Sea Travel* by Roydon Freeman is a jolly book giving information about ships and their routine, and hints on how to make the most of a voyage; it also gives the humourous side of sea travel with anecdotes of many voyages. It is a pleasant book for all light-hearted sea-adventurers in fact or fancy.

Mr. Philby is the chief British representative in Trans-Jordan and he has written two other books on Arabia besides the volume under review—*Arabia*—which is a particularly interesting and notable addition to the “Modern World” series edited by the Rt. Hon. H. A. L. Fisher. Arabia has an exceptional fascination for the layman as well as for the historian. For the busy man of affairs who has not the time at his disposal to read more exhaustive accounts, this book, which gives a good survey of the comparatively modern Arabian History, ought to be very useful.

*Altai Himalaya: A Travel Diary* by Nicholas Roerich is a fine revelation of the soul of a remarkable artist. As is to be expected, Mr. Roerich is no mere globe-trotter. He is not concerned with the surface but with the heart of things. He met all sorts of people in his wanderings, stayed in the former palace of the Dalai Lama, visited ancient Buddhist monasteries in Mongolia, and discoursed with pilgrims and monks on life and death. He tells us of old manuscripts and traditions of Isu (Jesus Christ) who is said to have visited the countries that he visited, and gives us his interpretation of the teachings of Buddha and Confucius. But he is not in a serious mood always. He is humorous also, and tells us with great gusto of pillaging Tibetan officials, and the decay, sloth, and brutality he found in Tibet and Mongolia. And he is not merely descriptive, he is prophetic as well. He sees a day, in the not distant future, when East and West will come together and be united. The
Illustrations to the book by the author himself are, needless to say, as interesting as the letterpress.

(5) LATEST BIOGRAPHICAL LITERATURE

The Life of General Lord Rawlinson of Trent. Edited by Major-General Sir Frederick Maurice (Cassell and Company Ltd., La Belle Sauvage, Ludgate Hill, London), 1930.

The Life of General Dyer. By Ian Colvin. (William Blackwood and Sons, Ltd., 45, George Street, Edinburgh), 1930.

Lord Reading. By C. J. C. Street (Gollfray Bles, Suffolk Street, Pall Mall, London), 1930.

The Life of General Lord Rawlinson of Trent is based on his journals and letters. He was in the United States, Canada, China, Malaya, Burma, Africa and Russia. His experience was still more widened during the great war when he held a command in the fourth army. Finally he was appointed Commander-in-Chief in India. As to the Government of India Lord Rawlinson wrote:—"After two years, experience of Indian Government, I have come to the conclusion that it is one of the most uncomical in the world to-day. In general method and in detail it is out of date...Large sums are spent annually all over India upon regal splendour in the form of bodyguards, red chaparais, entertainments, huge palaces, etc., which, whatever effect they may have had upon the Indian of the past, do not impress the politically-minded Indian of to-day. When I come away from meetings of Council after fighting for a little money to provide for India's security and I pass the huge palace which is being built for the Viceroy, I am tempted to curse and swear........" This book should be read by all interested in the Government of India in particular and the work of the British Army in general.

Mr. Ian Colvin's Life of General Dyer is a hymn—though the language at times is far from choice—in praise of the hero of Jallianwalla Bagh. We shall leave the book to the judgment of his own countrymen. Noticing this biography the Nation of London observed:—"This canonisation of the General, which has been proceeding ever since he was allowed to resign, is a curious phenomenon. The massacre at Amritsar is happily one of those incidents which have been extremely rare in British history; it was entirely contrary to the traditions of British law and administration, civil or military, not to speak of humanity........It might be expected that those who count themselves peculiarly fitted to be the guardians of British honour would do their best to allow the world to forget the unfortunate General and his action at Amritsar. Far from it. They conduct a regular campaign for turning General Dyer into a saint, a martyr and a hero." The Nation offered to the late General's admirers the sound piece of advice, that "the attempt to turn a man, who through an error of judgment committed this horrible act, into a hero and a saint is doing no service either to his memory or to his country". Mr. Colvin has written a superluous book so far as India is concerned.

Lord Reading by Mr. C. J. C. Street should interest readers at the present time when his name is so much before the public. His amazing career from poverty to power and prosperity makes exhilarating reading. The book is well written and well got up, and should interest a large circle of readers. His Indian career yet being a part of contemporary history is naturally not beyond the range of controversy. But when all is said and done, the fact remains that Lord Reading's has been an exceptionally brilliant career, which deserves careful study. It has many a useful lesson to teach and Mr. Street's book is well calculated to serve the object he had in view in writing the biographical sketch of this eminent Jewish lawyer, judge, ambassador, and administrator of India.

(6) CURRENT WORKS OF REFERENCE


In 1928 the Council of Foreign Relations, New York, issued a Political Handbook of the World. The wide appreciation it received led, in 1929, to its being published in an enlarged and improved form, with the addition of a section on the United States. Since 1930, the book has been appearing annually. It is a thoroughly up-to-date and comprehensive survey of the parliaments, parties and the press of the world. It gives in a compact and readable form, for each State, the programmes of the leaders of the political parties, the composition of governments, and the affiliations and policy of political journals, as its main topics. The information brought together, within its covers, is, on the whole, accurate and sound, and it will be of great value to publicists, journalists and public men throughout the English-knowing world. The section devoted to India gives a succinct sketch of the Central Government, the parties in the Assembly and an account of the section of the Press...
conducted in English. Altogether the Political Handbook is a notable acquisition to reference literature.

Statistical Abstract for British India. Ninth issue. (Government of India Central Publica
tion Branch, Hastings Street, Calcutta), 1932.
The Government of India series of volumes called Statistics of British India, and the Indian Office handbook known as the Statistical Abstract Relating to British India, were amalgamated in 1923, and replaced by the Statistical Abstract for British India. The new series (in one large but compact volume) is a reproduction of the contents of both the publications and is an improvement on them for purpose of easy reference. But it comprises statistics and statistics alone—oneprogress mass of figures grouped under various headings, with no saving grace or redeeming feature, by way of any analytical statements bringing out their significance, such as one finds so helpful in the year-books of the various Dominions. Nevertheless the Statistical Abstract for British India is an indispensable reference book for the worker in Indian problems. The ninth issue, under notice, is completely revised and judiciously overruled, and it should find a place on the bookshelf of every publicist and businessman concerned with or interested in Indian affairs.

International Year-Book of Agricultural Statistics for 1930-31.—(The International Institute of Agriculture, Rome, Italy), 1931.
The Year-Book issued by the International Institute of Agriculture, Rome, is a standard publication. The comprehensiveness of the volume can well be realised, when it is stated that it is arrayed with figures for various countries covering the apportionment of areas and production, trade and prices of the chief agricultural products, livestock, fertilisers and other chemical products useful in agriculture. This annual is not only authoritative but also of immense value to the agriculturist, the journalist and the statesman. Now that considerable attention is being paid in India to the development of the agricultural resources of the country and a Royal Commission has already submitted its Report on the problem in all its bearings, the International Year-Book of Agricultural Statistics ought to find a wide circulation amongst those interested in the expansion, development and improvement of Indian agriculture.

The Investor's Indian Year-Book 1931-32
Nineteenth edition. (Place, Siddons and Gough, 32, Dalhousie Square, Calcutta), 1932.

Messrs Place, Siddons and Gough—the well-known stock and share brokers of Calcutta—have issued, carefully revised and fully brought up-to-date, the nineteenth annual edition of their Investor's Indian Year Book. The compilers have adhered to the old plan of surveying in the Preface the economic situation and trade conditions during the preceding year, followed by summaries of the various companies dealing in or concerned with loans and banking, railways, coal, cotton, jute, tea, rubber, tin and some others. The statement about each company has a short preamble, followed by a table showing the analysis of working for the past few years. It would thus be seen that the book is stocked with most useful information for bankers, brokers, sollicitors, share operators and others who have to deal in shares. It is the complete work of reference of its class and kind, and covers the whole field of investment and employment of capital, planned on a sound system. It is thus absolutely indispensable to investors and businessmen in this country.


Webster's Royal Red Book is the only reference work of importance which is issued regularly twice a year. It is the oldest work of its kind, judging from the fact that the January (1932) issue is the 279th edition. It appears every January and May, and the latter edition is intended for the London season. Its main features are the London street directory, followed by a classified list of prominent London professional and business houses—a feature which will be found very useful by purchasers in India. An alphabetical list, with addresses of the residents in London, an almanac for the current year, the lists of the members of the Houses of Lords and Commons, the Government offices, clubs, public societies and institutions, hotels, and the plans of the London theatres, etc., form other useful features of the publication. The Royal Red Book is thus a valuable reference work which visitors to and residents in London cannot do without. It is a highly useful guide to London society, and its usefulness is maintained by careful and judicious revision twice a year.

The Negro Year-Book—now in its eighth edition—is—as its name implies—an annual
cyclopaedia dealing with the Negro and his problems, and is a standard work on the subject. Being the only work of its kind in English reference literature, it is widely used as a compendium of useful information on all matters relating to the Negro, and enjoys a large circulation in America, in particular, and other parts of the world in general. It provides in a succinct form a comprehensive and impartial survey of Negro affairs, and a review of the events and incidents affecting the interests and the progress of the Negroes. Facts and data about all spheres of Negro activities are brought together in it and are systematically arranged and presented, while the value of the text is appreciably increased by the inclusion of an extensive bibliography which is topically classified for the benefit of those who may desire to follow up their study. Altogether the Negro Year-Book is a unique and very creditable addition to annual reference literature. The edition under notice has been judiciously brought up-to-date and carefully revised, and it deserves wide appreciation.


We welcome the second—improved and overhauled—edition of the Manchuria Year-Book. It is an impartial, accurate and comprehensive survey of that country, as it is to-day, and deals in great detail with its geography, history, administration (both executive and judicial), diplomatic and military affairs, finance, agriculture and forestry, industries, transport and communications, trade and commerce, banking and currency, foreign investments, labour and immigration, education and religion, hygiene and sanitation, and social welfare institutions. It is embellished with numerous illustrations and many maps and diagrams, which appreciably add to the usefulness of the excellent letter-press. Just at present, when Manchuria is prominent in the public eye, this meritorious work of reference should command wide attention.


The Municipal Council of Bangalore deserves felicitation on its Municipal Handbook, which is a well-illustrated and detailed description of that famous civil and military station and sanatorium. It will be not only useful to residents in but also to those visiting that city.

This handy and compact volume gives a comprehensive historical sketch of Bangalore, the rise and growth of its municipal administration, its educational and other public institutions, its social life and its places of amenities and interest, and contains a large number of photographs of its beautiful buildings, besides a large map of the city. It sets an excellent example in topographical literature, which may well be followed by our other large cities in this country.

All About Mysore: Edited by D. V. Gundappa. (Karnataka Publishing House, Bangalore City), 1932.

Mr. D. V. Gundappa is a well-known Mysore publicist, who has placed a good useful literary record to his credit. His All About Mysore is an excellent little compendium full of reliable data and highly useful facts and figures, gathered mostly from official publications, regarding the social, educational, industrial and economic conditions of the State, its topography, history and administrative system. It will prove of great utility not only to visitors to Mysore, but also to serious students of the affairs of that model State. The editor has been well-advised in keeping political and controversial issues out of the book, with the result that it will be found all the more useful and advantageous alike to the tourist and the publicist.


The purpose of Messrs. Horne and Harrer's Handbook of Classical Mythology is to supply, in a convenient and compact form, the essential information about the characters of Greek and Roman mythology. The names are arranged in alphabetical order, and divided into syllables marked with accents so as to show the usual English pronunciation. There follows an account of the genealogy and the life-story of the character in question, and, in the case of the more important personages, references to works of literature and art concerned with their lives. There are several big books on the subject, but a handy one was badly wanted, and this want is now removed by the work under notice.

The World At a Glance. By T. P. Chandra. (Bharat Buildings, La Chamberlain Road, Lahore), 1932.

Mr. T. P. Chandra—a well-known Sindhi publicist of the nationalist school of thought
has evidently specialized in boiling down facts and figures, with great advantage to seekers after sound and accurate information. His Indian Cyclopedia is a well-known handy reference work, while his The World At a Glance is a bird’s-eye-view compendium of general data, which will be found highly useful by students and publicists alike.

(7) CURRENT EDITIONS OF DIRECTORIES.

(A) Indian.


The Times of India Directory, 1932. (Times of India Press, Bombay), 1932.


Of the many directories annually issued in India, the first two—the current year’s editions of which are noted above—are best-known as standard works of reference amongst their class. Thacker’s Indian Directory is now in its seventy-second annual edition. For years past the Lal Kitab (“the Red Book”), as it is familiarly known, has been justly regarded as the one indispensable work of reference amongst Indian directories.....The Times of India Directory is even an older publication than Thacker’s, as its current edition is the eighty-first annual issue. Chief Justice, Sir Basil Scott, of the Bombay High Court, described it in one of his judgments as “a standard work of reference in Bombay.” The current editions of both these directories are fully up-to-date.....The Government of India Directory contains the names and addresses (at Delhi and Simla) of their officers, including also of the heads of Local Governments and Administrations, and also of members of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly. It is a useful publication dealing with the higher officialdom in India, and it ought to have a wide circulation in circles connected with the Central Government at Delhi and Simla, as their personnel changes—almost kaleidoscopic rapidity.

(B) British.


Having seen the light in 1845, the current edition of the Newspaper Press Directory is the eighty-seventh annual issue of this indispensable work of reference to British periodical literature. Its range of information is wide and accurate, and it supplies the fullest details about the press of the British Commonwealth, in particular, and that of the other countries, in general, with the result that it is of the highest utility to pressmen, advertisers and tradesmen. The Newspaper Press Directory has established for itself a reputation for presenting concisely much valuable information and statistics in respect of inter-Imperial trade. The current edition has been judiciously revised and carefully overhauled and we have lighted upon few misstatement... of fact. But the section dealing with the press of India requires to be carefully revised by some one in intimate touch with its present conditions.


Willing’s Press Guide, 1932, which is now in its fifty-ninth annual edition, is an excellent compendious record of the press of the British Isles. It also gives lists of telegraphic news and reporting agencies, of the principal colonial and foreign journals and a variety of useful and instructive information about the fourth estate of the realm. It thus... of a concise and comprehensive index to the press of Great Britain and Ireland, in particular, and that of the British Commonwealth, in general. Altogether, it is a useful work of reference for the journalist and the advertiser.

(8) NEWEST GUIDE BOOKS AND TOURISTS MANUALS.


The two books enumerated above are issued annually by the organizations mentioned after their names. London, 1932 is a very useful guide to London, since it tells (in a short compass) what to see there, where to stay at its residential hotels—i.e., establishments “unlicensed” for the sale of alcoholic liquors—and what to pay for accommodation in them. Well illustrated, brimful of the latest practical information about social events and sporting fixtures, and containing
descriptive sketches of the principal scenes and sights of London, it is for its price—which is but six pence—the cheapest, and the most up-to-date guide to the capital city of the British Commonwealth.

The scope of the Hotels and Restaurants in Great Britain is not so wide as that of London, 1932. Divided in three parts, its first section deals with the "licensed" hotels and restaurants in London, the second in England and Wales and the third in Scotland. Alphabetical arrangement is adopted, in each section, which facilitates reference. In addition to useful information about each hotel or restaurant (regarding accommodation, tariff, telephone number, and telegraphic address), there is also appended a photographic view of the establishment in question. The book will be highly serviceable to travellers in the British Isles.

Ellora. By the Chief of Aundh (P. O. Aundh, Distt. Satara, Bombay Presidency), 1891.

The Chief of Aundh—Shrimant Balasaheb Pant Pratimidi—is not only a graduate but a scholar of distinction and a man of great culture. In his Ellora, he has presented to the public with an excellent compendious and interesting sketch of the world-famous cave temples (Buddhist, Hindu and Jain) which exist, at the village of that name, in the Nizam’s Dominion. The text is well-written and excellent, the illustrations numerous and properly executed, and the book (as a whole) a highly useful and creditable performance which reflects great credit on the scholarship and culture of the author. It will be found highly serviceable by visitors to the cave temples at Ellora.


Mr. J. E. May’s Pocket Guide to May Meetings and to London—which appears annually—contains a good deal of useful information about the meetings, conferences, and conventions of the various religious and philanthropic bodies, which are held in London, during each year—particularly from May to December. The publication also gives, in alphabetical order, a list of the exhibitions, museums and public buildings in London, and the times at which they can be visited. Its usefulness is increased by its inclusion of large coloured map of London. Persons interested in the various meetings and conferences, in London, will find this handy annual invaluable for reference.


This book is designated as the New Logan Guide to Oxford Colleges after one David Logan, who lived two and a half centuries back, and issued a volume of engravings of drawings of Oxford Colleges in a bird’s-eye view. The present Guide comprises well-written letter-press by Mr. E. G. Withcombes and excellent illustrations of engravings in photogravure from pen and ink drawings by the late Mr. E. H. New. The result of the combination is a highly interesting work on the colleges of the world-famous Oxford University.

(9) ANTHOLOGIES, COLLECTIONS, REPRINTS AND TRANSLATIONS.

Mr. Robert Lynd’s Great Love Stories of All Nations (George Harrap and Co., Ltd., 39-41 Parker Street, Kingsway, London), is an excellent and highly interesting anthology. Mr. Lynd, the famous essayist—as the editor of this collection—has tried to bring together as many of the famous love-stories in literature as could be found in good prose versions of tolerable length. He has not scrupled to mingle original prose with prose that has been translated from verse; nor has he hesitated to introduce fact when it seemed as moving and as entertaining as fiction (i.e., the story of Antony and Cleopatra). As regards the definition of ‘love-story’ by which he has been guided in his selection, he says: “It has been wide enough to include almost any kind of preference temporary or lifelong, of a human being (or divine person) of one sex for a human being (or divine person) of the other.” Seventy stories, culled from the annals of twenty-nine nations, are included in this volume of almost twelve hundred pages, providing us with browsing material for a sufficient time to allow a further addition to the series to materialise. Ancient and modern writers are almost equally represented. The majority of the famous old love stories are widely known but the interest and charm in re-reading them in conjunction and contrast with famous modern ones are almost undescirbable. Messrs Harrap’s omnibus Great Love Stories is, indeed, a great and valuable possession.

A feature of the new series of anthologies—called Poets in Brief (Cambridge University
Press, Amen Corner, London, E. C.)—is the inclusion of brief fragments and even single memorable lines as well as complete poems. Lord Tennyson: An Anthology is chosen and edited by Mr. F. L. Lucas. In Mr. Lucas's opinion, much of Tennyson's best work is being neglected and forgotten. This anthology contains, besides his most famous shorter poems, many others less known, including three first published in 1931. Further, here is a selection of the most perfect passages from his larger works, including the fascinating Devil and the Lady which first appeared in 1930. Altogether a very great possession.

The Best Short Stories of India, in two volumes, (D. B. Taraporewala Sons and Co., Hornby Road, Bombay), is a collection which should appeal to a very large circle of readers in this country. It contains many well-known and interesting tales, accompanied by brief, elucidative notes. The stories are grouped together under various provinces and peoples, and introductory essays (written by scholars) enhance their value to students of the science of Folklore. By the publication of this book, the publishers have rendered one more notable service to Indian literary revival, and their achievement deserves acknowledgment and appreciation.

Mr. Stephen Graham's books on "tramping" are "the gospel of the open road." Because he is a master of his craft, he initiates his readers into the mysteries of books and knapsacks, of fires and "scrounging"; but because he is an artist, he introduces them to the delights of the countryside and the freedom of highway and by-way. We welcome, therefore, the cheap reprint in the "Essex Library" (Ernest Benn, Ltd., Bouverie House, Fleet Street, London) of his famous work called The Gentle Art of Tramping. It is a classic of the open-road tramp.

Originally published in 1902, Crawley's The Mystic Rose quickly attained a world-wide reputation as a study of primitive customs and beliefs relating to marriage. We welcome its reprint (Watts and Co., 5 and 6 Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4) in a first popular edition, which contains the whole of the original text, revised and enlarged by Mr. Theodore Besterman. This standard work, in its present form, should command a wide circulation.

An Anthology of Contemporary Italian Prose, compiled and translated by Francis M. Guerresi (Scholastic Press, 30, Museum Street, London) is a very sound selection of contemporary Italian prose, admirably rendered into English and edited with acute and informative, biographical and critical, notices. It should be highly useful to the student of the subject.

Selections from Samuel Taylor Coleridge, edited by Professor B. I. Evans and Marjorie Evans, covers for its size a large ground and suitably appears in the "English Classics" series of the publishers (Methuen and Co., Ltd., 36, Essex Street, London, W.C.). Within the compass of some 200 small pages is offered the pick of Coleridge's poems and prose, which should interest a large circle of readers.

The Cambridge University Press (Amen Corner, London, E. C.) have added to their "Landmarks in the History of Education" series two such classics as Herbert Spencer's Education and Mathew Arnold's Culture and Anarchy—both excellently edited and annotated. These standard works in cheap and well-edited reprints are a great boon to students and scholars alike.

In his Rubaiyat of Heart's Delight (Luzac and Co., 46 Great Russell Street, London, W. C.), Mr. Maurice Hanley presents an excellent rendering into English of the Persian poems of Hafiz-ud-Deen Mustamed "Ishafani," who lived in India in the time of Muhammad Shah (1749-48). The meter adopted is that of Fitzgerald's Omar Khayyam and the translation reads exceedingly well.

(10) ON OUR LIBRARY: TABLE

MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE

The three books on education—Miss. Van Doren's Christian Education in the villages of India, Dr. Mackey's Developing a Project Curriculum for village schools in India and Dr. Munschort's Social Settlement as an Educational Factor in India (Association Press, 5 Russell Street, Calcutta)—are excellent treatises and redound to the credit of American missions in India. The principles underlying religious education are as applicable to a remote school in an Indian village as to high school or college classes. To show how these principles may be applied in village situations is the aim of Miss Van Doren's book. It has been written in the hope of bringing some help to Indian education workers and missionaries who are interested in the improvement of religious education, but have not had the opportunity to make an extended study of the subject. While dealing principally with
village conditions, it is hoped that the suggestions given will also prove useful to towns. Dr. Maclean’s big book is a highly useful contribution to the subject it deals with—developing a project curriculum for village schools in this country, for which it offers a highly suggestive method and procedure. It should be found invaluable by educationists and educational reformers. Lastly, Dr. Manashtari’s work provides an excellent introduction to the Settlement Movement, with the educational contribution to it specially stressed. Students of the Settlement Movement in this country will find this book alike interesting and instructive. The Association Press deserve well of Indian education for these highly useful publications, which should command wide appreciation and large circulation.

Hindoo Holiday, by Mr. J. R. Ackerley (Chatto and Windus, 97 and 99, St. Martin’s Lane, London, W. C. 2) is an account of a six months’ visit to the Court of the Maharajah of “Chhokrapur,” to whom the author went as private secretary to His Highness and tutor to his son. It is a mixture of travel book and novel and is both amusing and dramatic. Though neither political nor sensational, Hindoo Holiday combines perfectly the charm of the first-rate travel book and the excitement of candid autobiography. In Mr. Ackerley’s hands the story of a six months’ sojourn at the Court of the Maharajah of “Chhokrapur” becomes a gay satire on autocracy, a living picture of a small corner on India, and, at the same time, a vivacious tribute to the character of its eccentric ruler. Mr. Ackerley has the true storyteller’s gift of selecting only what is interesting and amusing from his experiences. Above all, his book is a witty and sensitive comment on a scene which cannot long continue to survive the onslaught of modernity. Hindoo Holiday is distinctly a book to read through for rollicking entertainment.

Miss Frederika Blankner (an American) holds a degree from the University of Chicago and that of Doctor of Letters from the Royal University of Rome. She is a member of the Faculty of Vassar College, and of the Summer Faculty of the Royal University of Peruia for students from abroad. Miss Blankner has been decorated by Italy for her writings and interpretations of Italian culture, especially literature. One of her literary studies was awarded the Dante Prize from Harvard University. She has lectured widely. She is also a poet of high order and we welcome the collection of her poems called All My Youth (Brentano’s, 1 West 47th Street, New York, U. S. A.). Some of these appeared in the Hindustan Review, and other periodicals. They possess in a pre-eminent degree the merits which competent critics associate with poetry of the highest class and kind—sincerity, individuality, variety, and beauty. We commend the perusal of Miss Blankner’s poems to all lovers of “the literature of inspiration.”

Travel by Lt.-Col. F. S. Brereton (B. T. Batsford, Ltd., 15, North Audley Street, Mayfair, London, W. 1) is the second volume in a series dealing with the “Essentials of Life” and is designed mainly for school reading. It tells how man hacked his way through virgin forests to establish communications, how rivers were first bridged and seas navigated, how the Romans brought their legacy of roads and of the traffic that has piled on them—chariots, coaches, farm carts, bicycles and swift modern cars also—of the coming of steam and the early railways, of the invention of the petrol engine, of wireless telegraphy, air mails, express trains and Atlantic liners. The scope of the book is thus comprehensive and it demonstrates what a vast congeries of subjects is included in that one word “travel.” We have no doubt it will readily achieve the author’s aim, which is to excite the young reader’s curiosity and stimulate the imagination and the desire to learn yet more. The series, as a whole, merits attention.

Residential Buildings Suited to India, by Mr. R. S. Deshpande (Saraswat Brahmin Colony, 443, Somwar Peth, Poona No 2) is a pioneer work of its class and kind. It is an excellent treatise on the practical aspects of planning and constructing domestic buildings suited to Indian conditions. Sketches and designs of construction, and plans of various types are amongst its interesting features. The author has had a good deal of experience in the line, and the public should be well-advised to study carefully his hints and suggestions. His treatment ranges from the subjects of actual costs, qualities of materials and labour, to those of aesthetic details, such as interior decoration and architectural grouping. This meritorious work should prove helpful specially to the middle classes in building comfortable houses at an approximately ascertainable cost, as also to those who look upon building as an investment from the point of view of business. By its publication, the
author has rendered a useful service to the country.

The Devil in Legend and Literature, by Mr. Maximilian Rudwin (Open Court Publishing Company, 86, Strand, London, W.C. 2) is highly interesting. In all religions and mythologies the problem of the eternal struggle between Good and Evil is of paramount importance. Mr. Rudwin traces the evolution of the personality of Evil through the nineteen centuries of the Christian era as portrayed in legend and literature, in prose and poetry, both secular and sacred. The adventures of Satan are described with such lively interest and dry humour that one is fascinated. Although known as the "father of lies," the devil is shown to be scrupulously honest; and although called the Evil One, one finds him the patron of knowledge, the sciences, and social reforms. The method of presentation is historical rather than philosophical, while a scientific impartiality is maintained throughout. The book should interest all cultured readers.

Flowers of Hindu Chivalry, by Mr. Hem Chandra Rai (Delhi, Shahdara, E. I. R.) is a capital little book to rouse the enthusiasm of Hindu boys. Here is a book of heroes and their mighty exploits. Written for young and (necessarily) uncritical readers, it should enable them to enthusiasm over the heroic deeds recorded in it. There are twelve chapters, all pitched in a highly patriotic key. It is easy to point out the weakness of such patriotic writings on the ground that they may be often unhistorical. But it is clear that a strictly scientific historical treatise will fail to rouse the enthusiasm of the vast bulk of youthful readers. Macaulay and Froude are by no means scientific historians, and Mr. Hem Chandra Rai's book will certainly serve a highly useful purpose. It will teach young Hindoos patriotism. They can learn scientific spirit in history and historical research later.

In The Heels of Pleasure—a drama (Law Journal Press, Allahabad) Her Highness the Rance of Sarawak treats a familiar yet different way. Jerry Lee deserts his "angels" for Ernestina Lee—his quaint little cousin from Singapore. Lady Edelestone, his mother, learns that Ernestina is a Eurasian! She is terribly shocked, but resourceful. And Jerry is not. And even if Ernestina were, it would not matter. The drama is to be regarded mainly as a powerful indictment of the way in which Eurasians are treated by the race which begot them. The authoress has done the Eurasian community a very real service, and they should be thankful to her for having turned the searchlight on a crucial problem.

Drop Your Foreign Accent, by Mr. G. N. Trenite (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., Museum Street, London) is designed to help foreigners to pronounce English correctly. It is a series of exercises in pronunciation mostly in the form of amusing rhymes which are easy to learn off by heart. By contrasting such words as "Through, Thomas, Streatham, Anthony," etc., the difficult pronunciation of "th" correctly is shown. All foreigners who desire to acquire correct pronunciation of English words should study this book carefully.

Progress of Cochin (Cochin Government Press, Ernakulam) is a splendid septuagenary souvenir intended to commemorate the completion of the seventieth year of His Highness the Maharaja of the State, and is composed of a series of well-written articles contributed by competent writers. These contributions cover an extensive ground and practically range over the whole field of administration. Progress of Cochin, is thus comprehensive in its range, exhaustive in its scope and is, in fact, almost encyclopaedic.

In her Art of Effective Speech (University of London Press Ltd., 10 and 11, Warwick Lane, London, E.C.1), Mrs. A. M. Henderson presents the subject in a new and practical manner, with original exercises for breathing, articulation and interpretation. Sir George Henschel, in his Foreword says: "It is a sound, sane, simple little book. Intelligent perusal of it should prove of the greatest value to both student and teacher." We endorse this verdict as the result of a careful perusal of the book under notice.
DR. P. C. RAY

The story of Dr. P. C. Ray's great and memorable career is that of a man who embarked on it obsessed with an idea. It was a great ideal that took possession of him in early life, which grew with him and interwove completely with his being. Born seventy years back, Dr. Ray received his early education mainly in Calcutta. As facilities then did not exist, in Calcutta, for a proper scientific training, he thought the best course would be to go to Edinburgh (which then had a great reputation for Chemistry) and start there at the very beginning. He spent seven years in Edinburgh and received a thorough grounding in his subject. Dr. Ray is a born linguist. He mastered French whilst he had to break his studies owing to ill-health for a year in early boyhood. He did not follow this system of that system. He taught himself. He does not speak French with elegance, but he does not care for all he wants is to read and understand the French master minds. He has, of course, mastery over English literature.

After his return to India, he tried to unlatch the forbidden doors of the Indian Educational Service, but his efforts were as much successful as it was possible for an Indian to do at that time. He called on the Director of Public Instruction, who told him that if he was such a clever chemist as all that, why did he (Ray) not start industries and surely he would then be able to keep a few men like the Director as his assistants. So Dr. Ray thought over it and saw the force of the Director's forcible argument. He found he had at that time exactly seven hundred and fifty-seven rupees to his credit in the Bank. With this, he at once started some chemical industry, on a small scale, in his own house. He was production chemist, factory labourer, sales manager, advertising agent—all himself. Thus was the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works born, and now, it boasts of a capital of over 50 lakhs and twice as much in reserve, owning over 100 miles of railway lines from one department to another. The manager is paid something like Rs. 3,000 a month, and in one year his commission was more than 2 lakhs of rupees, whilst the third chemist got a lakh in bonus in that very year.

It was in keeping with his ideal that Dr. Ray converted the business into a limited liability concern, without dreaming to take for himself a sum of money for goodwill, or even the price and cost of stock, plant, etc. He was forced to accept free of payment the minimum amount of shares that would entitle him to a seat as director. His whole holding in the concern is now given to the Society for the Spread of Khaddar. He is now practically without an income. When some years back the tussle between the Ministry of Education and the Calcutta University was at its extreme bitterness, and Sir Ashutosh wrote his famous letter ending with "freedom first, freedom next, freedom always," Dr. Ray did forego even his salary! That was ten years ago, and he has not taken a penny from the Calcutta University for his services since then. Such a sacrifice is very rare in India.

Dr. Ray's History of Hindu Chemistry is a monumental work of patient labour. It is interesting to recall how the idea of writing this great work originated. He was visiting Paris and met there Bertholet, the famous French savant, who had written a history of Chemistry. In that book, the ancient Egyptians and the Chinese were given their share of credit, but hardly any mention was made of the Indian contribution. Dr. Ray pointed this out to Bertholet, but he pleaded that no works existed from which he could get his material and so he naturally passed the Indians over. At the same time, he half-sarcastically added something to this effect: "If you think that Indians contributed anything towards the growth of chemistry, why not write a history yourself?" Dr. Ray immediately set himself to the task. It required him to master the intricacies of Sanskrit, which he willingly did, and thus was produced the History of Hindu Chemistry, which required fifteen years of patient work. He knew that this work would not bring him any recognition as a chemist, but he felt it to be a duty he owed to his nation and country.

*Adapted from some recent tributes.*
As teacher, Dr. Ray was not content with the class-room exposition of his subject but kindled in the minds of his students love of higher learning and research for its own sake. We have known teachers—and eminent teachers too—who keep before their students the glittering academic prizes in the shape of medals and scholarships as the end of their education. These worthy teachers make even the pursuit of knowledge a matter of practical utility; but not so Dr. Ray, who let his students follow their own path, not frightened by the bogey of the examination or lured by the prospects of a degree. It was love of learning for learning's sake that he ever inculcated, and he has been justly regarded as a guru or an acharya, as he has fanned into flame the smouldering desire for learning. But he has taught the younger generation of Bengal as much through his written and spoken word as through the example of his life. It is a glorious life, indeed, in which the body is neither pampered nor neglected but just kept at a proper level of physical efficiency; in which money is neither hoarded nor despised but made to obey the dictates of a tender and generous heart and serve others in the hour of need, in which celibacy has been pursued not on account of the dread of domesticity which bohemianism engenders but because of the desire to conserve all one's energies for the noblest ends of life, and in which the pride of place and fortune has not been permitted to damp one's interest in one's unfortunate brethren. Thus Dr. P. C. Ray's life teaches us that an idealist is not necessarily a dreamer and that Idealism is not a passive state of mind—it is dynamic.
The Necrology of the Quarter

(a) SIR PATRICK GEDDES.

The death of Sir Patrick Geddes is a distinct loss to humanity. Sir Patrick was born at Perth (in Scotland) on October 20, 1854. Trained in biology, in the laboratory of Professor Huxley at the University College, London, and at several continental Universities, he became demonstrator in physiology at University College, Dundee, and in 1919 Professor of Sociology and Civics at the Bombay University, where he did excellent work. He did pioneer research in the evolution of sex. His interest from the beginning was in the relation of biological science to society, and in particular to the problems of Civics.

While retaining his professorship of Botany at Dundee, he was one of the founders of the Sociological Society in London (1903), giving attention mainly to the civic aspect of its work. Going in 1914 to London, he organised a civic exhibition. During his professorship in Bombay, he made surveys and reports on many Indian cities and gardens, and in Jerusalem produced designs of enlarging the city and for the several University Colleges. Amongst his many works, the one of greatest interest to us in India is the Life and Works of Jagadis Chandra Bose. Sir Patrick Geddes came to Bombay in 1919 as the first occupant of the Chair of Sociology and Civics, a post which he held for five years. During his stay in that city he took a deep interest in town-planning, and gave an exhibition in the Institute of Science. The exhibits included specimens illustrative of modern art, as well as plans of model cities and a sketch of his famous Outlook Tower at Edinburgh, which was for many years a stimulating laboratory of sociological enquiry. His keen interest in India was maintained even after he had left its shores and one of the first things he did on his return to Europe was to establish an Indian College at Montpellier University, which owes a good deal to his inspiration and ceaseless work for its progress.

(b) MR. PROVAT KUMAR MUKHERJEE.

Mr. Provat Kumar Mookerjee, Bar-at-Law, the famous Bengali novelist and short story writer, died at his Calcutta residence on the 5th March at the age of 59. Mr. Mookerjee, who was born in 1872, graduated from the Presidency College and went to England to qualify for the Bar. His arrival in London synchronised with the death of Queen Victoria. His book of stories "Deshi-O-Bilati" shows that he had an intimate knowledge of English life. He was called to the English Bar in 1902 and on return home practised at Gaya for a pretty long time, though his heart was not in his profession. It was here that he wrote his famous novel "Rama Sundari" which contains description of Kashmir of a nature which it is impossible for anyone to depict without personal experience. Even Rabindranath was 'duped,' and when he was preparing to pay his first visit to Kashmir he took the book with him, and was agreeably surprised when the author disclosed to him that the book had been written without his ever going to Kashmir.

While at school young Provat Kumar took a hand in writing short stories and was able to impress the public with his great abilities. From England he used to contribute short stories to the once famous, but now defunct, Bharati, and it was not long before that his reputation as a story writer was firmly established. "Nava-Katha," "Shorashi" and "Deshi-O-Bilati" are his best story books. "Rama Sundari," "Sindur Kanto," "Nishadha-Phal" "Nabin-Sanyashi," "Jugal Sahityik" are among his widely-known novels. He wrote unremittingly all his life, and the volume of his output is considerable. After Rabindranath Tagore, Provat Kumar was undoubtedly the best Bengali story writer, and it is by his short stories that he will be finding an enduring place in the history of Bengali literature.

(c) MR. K. V. RANGASWAMI IYANGAR.

Death occurred at Delhi, at the age of 46, of the Hon. Mr. K. V. Rangaswamy Iyengar, an elected member of the Council of State from Southern India. He had been connected with the Central Legislature for over twenty years, since the days of the Minto-Morley reforms. Mr. Rangaswamy Iyengar was a great philanthropist and had helped many charitable institutions. He was connected with the Srisuvagam Municipality for several years and had a nationalistic turn of mind. Not unnaturally, therefore, the news of the premature demise...
of Mr. Iyengar has caused widespread regret. If he was never in the limelight, he had always been, since he entered public life, in the field of active national service, readily stretching his helping hand to every good cause or progressive movement. As disinterested in spirit as he was unobtrusive by nature, he early won the confidence and respect of the public and retained them till the very last. It was in the sphere of legislatures that he found opportunities equal to his virtues. As a member of the old Imperial Legislative Council, and of the reformed Assembly as well as of the Council of State—in fact as a legislator of over twenty years' experience in different legislatures he had to his credit a record of excellent work. In politics, never did he swerve from the path of nationalism. A zamindar with an uncommonly progressive outlook and a gentleman of far more than generous impulses, he will be long remembered not only in South India but beyond, for his many good qualities among which none perhaps shone better than his great capacity for unostentatious public service.

(d) DR. SARAT CHANDRA BANERJEE.

Death is announced, in Calcutta, of Rai Bahadur Dr. Sarat Chandra Banerjee, M.A., D.L., the second son of the late Sir Goooodas Banerjee. Dr. Banerjee was a distinguished graduate of the Calcutta University, having obtained the Doctorate of Laws. He started practise as a Vakil in Calcuta High Court, where he enjoyed an unrivalled reputation for his erudition and legal learning. His services were, later, requisitioned by the Government of India in the Legislative Department, where he soon made a great impression by the great care and precision which marked his work. When later on, about 1912, the Calcutta Improvement Tribunal was created, he was selected as its first president, and his term of office was renewed every two years up till September 1930, when he had attained over 60 years. Eloquent tribute to the high quality of his work in the Tribunal was paid by the Hon'ble the Chief Justice, Sir George Rankin, when a few months after his retirement his lordship unveiled Dr. Banerjee's portrait, being the gift to the Tribunal of the legal practitioners of that Court, as a token of their esteem and regard for the deceased.

(e) PANDIT PADMA SINGH SHARMA.

Ex-president of the All-India Literary Hindi Sammelan and the first recipient of the Mangla Prasad Prize, Pandit Padam Singh Sharma, the well-known Hindi author, critic and writer, who died on April 7, was one of the pillars of Hindi literature. He devoted himself to literary pursuits with a religious fervour and held a unique position in the Hindi world. He wielded a virile pen and his death has created a gap which will not be filled in the near future. The Hindi literary world is the poorer by his death. Pandit Padmasingh was a very deep scholar in Hindi, Urdu, Sanskrit, and Persian as well. As a critic he stands in a class by himself as much by his ability and discernment as by his being the pioneer of "comparative criticism" in Hindi. As an essayist he has no rivals. He was easily the most eloquent and fluent writer in the language and the ornate and flowery qualities of his prose seem to be an echo in Hindi of Macaulay's writings. He was, indeed, the Macaulay of Hindi, having the same brilliance, felicity and sonorousness and having also the same gifts of irony and satire.
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Founded in 1900 by Sachchidananda Sinha

Vol. LVIII. JULY—SEPTEMBER [Nos. 332-334]

The Hindu-Mussalman Problem

By Nagendra Nath Gupta.

One of the commonest arguments urged against the establishment of an Indian rule in India is the communal difficulty, the smouldering hatred between the followers of different religions in India and the frequency with which this bitterness finds vent in the outbreak of violent riots involving the loss of life and other serious outrages. The presumption is that British rule in India has been successful in preventing these outbursts, but if it were to be withdrawn or replaced by a purely Indian rule, communal factions and strife would appear all over the country and the result would be anarchy and chaos. The two principal communities in India are the Hindus and the Mussalmans; the other communities are in an insignificant minority.

For a dispassionate consideration of this question it is necessary to remember that Hindus and Mussalmans lived in India long before the British came to this country or held dominion over it. If there were any truth in the above argument India should have been in a state of anarchy and chaos before the advent of the British, but such a theory would be contrary to facts. There were both order and prosperity in India under the Mahomedan rule and even earlier. There is no record or historical evidence of a state of anarchy at any time in India. Of course, there were brief periods of disorder and lawlessness as during an invasion or the faction fights of rival claimants to power, but there are no indications that there were at any time prolonged periods of misuse or such protracted confusion as was likely to end in anarchy. On the contrary, the agriculturists, who form an overwhelming majority of the population, pursued their immemorial avocation in peace, trade thrived and social order prevailed throughout the country. The mere fact that India continues to be a populous and peaceful country is
conclusive proof of the fact that she was not inessantly torn by internal factions and internece wars. No nation can survive perpetual warfare or undying communal hatred. Such antagonism as might have existed helped the development and not the destruction of the race.

Communal differences in India do not imply a racial difference. The Moghul conquerors of India were merged in the resident population of India. By far the majority of present-day Mussalmans of India are Moslems by conversion and not by descent. It is not necessary to enquire minutely into the history of their conversion any more than to find out how starving villagers were converted to Christianity during periods of famine. In the outlying villages of India there are millions of Mussalmans who, apart from their religion, retain the customs that their forefathers followed before being converted to Islam. They speak the same language as their Hindu neighbours and follow the same pursuits. It would be impossible for Hindus and Mussalmans to live together in the same village if there were hereditary feuds between them or if they were bent upon cutting one another’s throats. Occasional quarrels might have taken place as they will in the best regulated families; for that matter, there are squabbles between different Hindu factions and between Shias and Sunnis among the Mussalmans. But no one ever heard of a communal problem. Hindus lived peacefully under Mussalman rule. They are now the same people belonging to the same race. They are free to follow the tenets of their own religions without any interference or hindrance. Apart from religion all their interests are common and what hurts one hurts the other. Mussalmans are now being scared by the bugbear of a Hindu Raj, which is being persistently described as the goal of the Indian national movement. As both Hindus and Mussalmans belong to the same race, and neither is an alien it is immaterial which assumes the role of the ruler, though it is abundantly clear that what is being aimed at is neither a Hindu nor a Mussalman rule, but an Indian rule in which all communities will be adequately represented and will have a voice in the control of affairs.

Another imaginary stumbling-block to the establishment of a national Government in India is the interest of the minorities. The tenderness and the thoughtfulness which conjure up these difficulties would be more commendable if they were a little unselfish. All mixed communities are composed of majorities and minorities, but their interests are identical and what is good for the majority is also good for the minority. There can never be any question of the interests of the minority being sacrificed to those of the majority. In most countries the ruling class is numerically in a minority, but it does not necessarily follow that the interests of the majority suffer thereby. A Government is only satisfactory when all interests of majorities as well as minorities, are proportionately represented, and that must be the aim of all national and representative Governments. The problem of the minorities in India does not present any real or serious difficulty.

As regards the Hindu-Mussalman problem is there any reason why it should be more acute in British India than in the Indian States governed by their own rulers? These States sometimes consist of extensive territories inhabited by mixed populations of Hindus and Mussalmans, and there are minorities as in other parts of the country. These States are not independent and owe allegiance to the paramount British Power in India. There is a British Resident, who represents the British Government, attached to every Indian State, but there is not constant or unnecessary interference with the internal administration of the affairs of these States. Almost every State has
both Hindu and Mussalman subjects and they live at peace with one another. No one has ever heard of the Hindu-Mussalman problem in any Indian State. It is believed that many of these States are more cruelly governed than British India. The rulers are often pleasure-seeking men who pass all their time in the pursuit of pleasure and do not attend to the affairs of their States. Nevertheless, several of these rulers are broad-minded and make no distinction between their Hindu and Mussalman subjects. Hyderabad is the largest and most important Indian State and the Nizam takes the foremost rank among the Princes of India. The Nizam is a follower of Islam and Hyderabad is in that sense a Mahomedan State. Most of the great and wealthy nobles of Hyderabad are Mussalmans and yet the present Prime Minister of Hyderabad is a Hindu. Similarly, Mysore is a Hindu State and the Maharaja of Mysore is an orthodox Hindu, but he has appointed a Mussalman as his Prime Minister. The best among the Indian Princes have no religious or race prejudices. Hindu-Mussalman riots are rarely, if ever, reported from Indian States. There is no scrambling between the two communities for favour and special treatment. If all India had been like the Indian States there would have been no such thing as the Hindu-Mussalman problem.

Since, however, the existence of this problem in British India is an undeniable fact it is the obvious and imperative duty of the Government of India to find a satisfactory solution for this difficulty: what is the explanation for the anomaly that whereas this problem does not exist in the States ruled by Indian Princes it should have attained such serious proportions in British India? Granting that it was in existence when the greater part of India passed to British control its removal was the first duty of the British Government. That Government lays claim to many virtues; it is claimed that the affairs of British India are much better administered than those of the States under Indian rule. If so, a solution for the Hindu-Mussalman problem should have been found at the outset of the new order of things. Instead of which, it is evident that this problem has been growing more acute with the passing years. Instead of a solution being found the problem is becoming more complicated year after year. Some years ago Hindu-Mahomedan riots were only occasionally reported from remote villages and they were invariably due to the slaughter of cows, the Mussalmans considering it incumbent upon them to slaughter cows on a particular day in the year while the Hindus regard them as the most sacred animals on earth. Formerly this was the only cause of misunderstandings between these two important communities, but latterly the differences have multiplied and fierce riots have frequently broken out in large cities apparently without any provocation. These riots are quelled either tardily or immediately, and there are grave allegations made against the police and the local authorities.

On the other hand, the authorities attribute these outbreaks to the mischievous activities of agitators. This is merely an attempt to shift responsibility and does not carry conviction. Agitators have nothing to gain by inciting Hindus and Mussalmans to break one another’s heads. The rabble that does some looting when riots break out consists of men who are not agitators and who have no influence. The one irresistible conclusion is that British rule in India has not been conducive to the promotion of harmony between the Hindu and Mahomedan communities. If anything, the difference already in existence has been accentuated and fresh sources of friction are constantly appearing. Looked at from any point of view the Hindu-Mussalman problem reflects no credit upon British rule in India. The duty of a Government which claims to be the best for the country is not the suppression of strife, but the prevention and eradication of causes that may lead to strife, and in this duty the present Government has signally failed.
The Beginnings of Democracy in India

By
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Bar-at-law.

The Report of the Franchise Committee not only deals with, and formulates proposals upon, some of the most intricate and momentous problems of Indian constitutional advance, but is embodied in a tome of nearly 300 pages—divided into twenty-two chapters, including a majority report, a minority report (or a 'minute of disent' by three leading Indian members), a 'rejoinder' by the majority to the minority report, besides explanatory notes, qualifying declarations, mild and strong protests by individuals or groups of members, and also no less than eight important appendices! The results systematized and digested in the Report are based on the oral statements recorded of 311 witnesses examined by the Committee and of those of 73 others by the Provincial Committees, and also on 187 written statements received by the former, and 1,120 through the medium of the latter.

The Committee, therefore, evidently feel justified in making the observation that in regard to their recommendations, they can claim that they are based on a full examination of the field. This, of course, not wholly correct, for as admitted by Lord Lothian himself, shortly before his departure from India, the views represented by the Congress party did not at all come within the Committee's work of examination and inquiry—whosoever's fault it might have been due to. In the circumstances, the contention that the Committee's recommendations were 'based on a full examination of the field' is obviously untenable, and their proposals thus lack that weight and definiteness, which otherwise could have been justly claimed for them. Nevertheless, the fact remains that unlike the Report of the Simon Commission, that of the one presided over by Lord Lothian is based on a large volume of data and materials rendered available to it by the co-operation of all the political parties in the country—other than the Congress. That being so, he would be a bold man (except, of course, the editors of our dailies, who have got to do it) who would venture to express his views, on a Report of such composite and complex character, in a hurry. And though nearly three months have elapsed since its publication on the 3rd of June, it is with considerable diffidence that I am even now approaching the subject. I need scarcely add that I propose to confine myself to but some of the salient features of the Report, which have struck me as deserving of special attention.

II

Before, however, I comment on any of the specific proposals made by the Committee, it is but fair that I should present a broad survey—as briefly as I can—of what would be the net results of the acceptance of their recommendations. These have, no doubt, appeared already in every newspaper and journal, but the matter is of so great an importance and tremendous a significance as to bear repetition, and I make no apology for recapitulating them, in my own way, in a summarised form. Now, as I understand the recommendations, they will (if accepted) lead
to the broadening of the basis of the franchise, as follows:—(a) the electorate in the provinces (for the provincial legislatures), which stands now at about 71 lakhs, will be raised to 300 lakhs—or roughly to a little more than five times its present number—which will mean the enfranchisement of 14 per cent. of the total population of British India, and 43 per cent. of its adult male population; (b) the electorate for the British Indian portion of the proposed federal legislature, which stands now at about 111 lakhs, will be raised to more than that now existing for the provincial legislatures, that is to about 85 lakhs—or roughly to nearly eight times its present number—which will enfranchise 10 per cent. of the male population, as against the existing one per cent.; (c) the electorate for women, which stands now at less than three lakhs and a quarter, will be raised to 68 lakhs—or roughly to more than twenty times its present number by reserving between 2 and 5 per cent. of the seats of the new provincial legislatures for women members, and thus securing to them about one-fifth of the new electoral roll for the provincial legislatures; and (d) an appreciably large registration of the so-called depressed classes on the electoral rolls, a substantially increased representation of labour (38 seats in the provincial councils, as compared with 9 at present) and the continuance of the present special constituencies for the landed and the commercial interests and also for the representation of the universities. These recommendations, in my opinion, are the principal and striking features of the Franchise Committee's Report.

III

But apart from the extent to which the Committee's recommendations will enfranchise adult Indian humanity—as summarized above—one should also take into account their proposals regarding the highly important questions of the qualifications for exercising the franchise, and the method of voting to be adopted at elections, to be able to appraise correctly the value of the system worked out by the Committee. And here I note with satisfaction that along with property qualification—which has been sufficiently lowered so as to include large numbers of landholders, tenants and rent-payers (both in urban and rural areas) and even considerable sections of the poorer classes—education has also been accepted, for the first time. I believe, as a credential for the exercise of the right of franchise, though it is to differ in its standard in the case of men and women voters: for instance, that in the case of the former—for the Federal Assembly—being the possession of the matriculation or the school-leaving certificate or its equivalent, while in that of the latter the attainment of education up to the upper primary standard. As regards the method of election, it is gratifying to note that it is to the 'direct', as opposed to the indirect or the group system, which had the strong backing of the Marquess of Zetland and several other influential retired Anglo-Indian administrators, and which was strenuously agitated and pressed by some of the members of the Committee during the examination of the witnesses. The group system, had it come to be embodied in the new Indian constitution, would have, in my opinion, led—except perhaps in the case of the central second chamber, the Senate—to disastrous consequences. I, therefore, opposed it emphatically, when invited by the Franchise Committee to appear before them at Patna, and I am naturally gratified by the rejection of this new fangled scheme which was sought to be imported into the Indian election procedure from Syria and Turkey. Well, all's well that ends well.

IV

Such being the broad and striking features of the recommendations in the Report, the question now is about the value of
them—value in relation to the constitutional development that we all expect. Now, the value of any administrative, constitutional or political system cannot be properly adjudged except in relation to the object in view—that is, not so much the thing in itself, as its being capable of meeting the requirements of the situation for which it is devised. And here comes in the great difficulty of answering the question I have formulated above—in view of the immense diversity of Indian public opinion, divided at present into that of various groups, sections and parties. The accredited leader (in Bombay) of one well-known political party has already sounded a note of alarm by issuing a statement to the effect that 'such a great extension by one jump (as proposed by the Franchise Committee) is, I am afraid, risky', and that 'the transfer of power should in the beginning be to hands fitted to exercise the responsibility with wisdom and caution.' Well, 'wisdom and caution' are fine things, no doubt, but unfortunately they are not the inevitable concomitants of democracy anywhere, least of all in its incipient stage, and to wait till these two desirable and lovable characteristics are developed in the Indian masses, before they can be trusted to exercise the right of vote, would be to wait veritably till the Greek Kalends. It is, however, significant to note that the views so expressed have found no open support from the other prominent leaders of that party.

In striking contrast, however, to the 'wisdom and caution' school of thought, is the opinion given expression to by the avowed organs of the Congress party, and also by some of the independent section of the nationalist press, which generally—though not invariably—supports the views of the Congress school. One need not quote the comments of the Congress group, since they are all pledged to adult franchise, and the Report to them is thus the herald of—what one of them calls—a 'spurious Swaraj'. The journal, which uses that strikingly alliterative and picturesque phrase, bestows (naturally) the following glowing panegyric on the three authors of the minute of dissent (Messrs. Tambe, Chintamani and Bakhale), and emphasises the importance of its observations by printing the whole of it in italics:—"The three Indian Liberals—hopelessly conservative people all of them—want adult franchise in thirty years, and they could ask for it only in a minute of dissent.' I shall not have the impertinence to attempt to take away the effect of this comment—made all the more forceful in italics—as I am concerned with collating facts and not offering comments of my own, at this stage. I shall, therefore, leave it as that—that the above-quoted extract may be taken to represent the view of the avowed organs of the Congress school of thought. It is thus clear that the Congress party—if one may judge from the comments in their organs—will have none of the Report.

Turning to the views of the independent section of the nationalist press—which is not necessarily committed to the support of Congress views, like the avowed organs of that party—one detects no unanimity on the value of the Committee's recommendations. The leading nationalist paper of Southern India is critical but not unappreciative, for it regards the Report as 'a record of work accomplished under very difficult and trying conditions'. As regards 'the manner and method of investigation' adopted by the Committee, the Hindo pays a just tribute to the 'ability, skill and resource' of Lord Lothian, to whom (according to it) 'is due in so small degree the achievement of approximate agreement on the major issues'. While holding that the Committee have 'exaggerated the administrative difficulties' (in the matter of the introduction of adult franchise), it frankly concedes that 'nevertheless there is the fact that the number of votes
is now proposed to be increased from seven to thirty-six millions,' while the proposals in regard to women’s franchise constitute in the opinion of the Hindu ‘a definite improvement on the present state of things.’ Coming as they do from an advanced, independent and influential nationalist organ, these opinions have a distinct value and importance.

These views, however, do not seem to be shared by another independent and leading nationalist organ—the Tribune of Lahore—which thinks that the ‘predominant feeling’ evoked by the Report will be ‘one of keen disappointment’. Its grounds for this view are stated as follows: ‘There are only two real tests by which the Report can be judged. Does it make for democracy, and is it acceptable to representative Indian opinion? Both these questions must be answered in the negative.’

The reasons urged in favour of this contention are that the number to be enfranchised—namely, 36 millions—is substantially less than the maximum recommended by so inadequately representative a body as the Franchise Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference, which was 25 per cent. of the population, as a whole. Now I have not before me the Report of the Conference Sub-Committee and cannot, therefore, verify the statement about its recommendation, as stated by the Tribune, but it seems to me that (howsoever worded) it could only mean to fix the maximum (not necessarily the actual) at 25 per cent. of the population. Twenty-five per cent. of the total population would be about 64 millions, and would amount to nearly a half of the adult population. I am extremely doubtful if it was so large a number that they contemplated, with equanimity, for the first enfranchisement.

As regards the second question raised by the Tribune—which also it answers in the negative—namely, whether the Committee’s recommendations will be ‘acceptable to representative Indian opinion’—that is a subject on which there are bound to be legitimate differences of opinion, unless it be assumed that only the view of Congress party is to be regarded as ‘representative Indian opinion’. That is not the view evidently of even the Hindu—to say nothing of several leading organs of other schools of thought, which are all, according to their lights, exponents of what they regard as ‘representative Indian opinion’ is rather a vague term, which in the present condition of political activities and public affairs in the country, is susceptible of different interpretations, according to the view of the votaries of the different schools of thought.

VI

Though no constitutional problem is beyond human wisdom and resources, yet that of introducing forthwith adult franchise in this country is not quite so simple or feasible, as it is declared to be by some of the critics of the Franchise Committee’s Report. The biggest self-governing democracy in the world today, the United States of America, has a total population of 122 millions, while the adult population only of British India would be 130 millions, out of a total of 257 millions. These figures speak for themselves. Our adult population of 130 millions, if enfranchised at once, would involve ‘numbers which are far larger’—as stated in the Report under consideration—‘than have ever been made the foundation for a democratically-governed state in history.’ This, though not a conclusive argument, is nonetheless one which cannot be lightly brushed aside, as is sought to be done by some. Whether it is an indigenous or a foreign government that is to wield the destinies of India in future, the introduction by it of adult franchise will have to be a question of reasonable time—if the new constitution is to develop on a sound and stable basis, and not collapse like a house of cards. Though literacy may not invariably imply the possession, on the part of a literate person, of political wisdom of a sort—as is perhaps unnecessarily emphasized by the authors of the Report—still it goes a long way in equipping a voter for the proper discharge of his duties.
in that capacity. That is evidenced by the Committee’s own action in laying down an educational test as one of the qualifications both for the man and woman voter, in future. In this view of the matter, the prevailing low standard of literacy in British India—barely 8 per cent. of the total population—is naturally a great handicap which will have to be seriously tackled by the future Education Ministers in the provinces. Lastly, the administrative difficulty of organizing the elections of 130 millions of voters, all at once, can only be made light of by those who do not care to approach this problem in a serious spirit, probably for want of knowledge of the nature of the organisation required, the difficulties underlying the work to be done, the large amount of expenditure likely to be involved, and the extent of experience and capacity required on the part of officials, for the purpose of conducting smoothly the elections of what would be the largest enfranchised humanity in the world.

VII

The net result of the discussion seems to be that (except on the points to some of which I shall presently refer) the scheme embodied in the Report should be accepted as a fairly reasonable one, by all who would not approach the problem of Indian enfranchisement either as mere theorists or wedded to some preconceived notions, like that for instance, of the desirability of the immediate conferment of adult franchise. This is not to say, however, that the majority of the Committee were right in setting their face against the immediate introduction of adult franchise even where it was perfectly feasible and could be smoothly worked without causing administrative inconvenience, namely, in our large urban areas. In this respect the dissenting members did not, in my opinion, go far enough. They did suggest the extension of adult franchise to all the cities and towns with a minimum population of at least one lakh—they could have reasonably gone down to half a lakh—but they need not have proposed the alternative of adult franchise in provincial capitals only, as they have done. This, if accepted and strictly interpreted, would exclude an important urban area like Lucknow, besides fifteen other large cities in British India, with populations of more than one lakh. Here it is worth noting that Major Milner also supports the introduction of adult franchise in large towns—not necessarily capitals—as ‘both feasible and desirable,’ and so does Mrs. Subbarayan (p. 199). The majority’s reply on this point is hopelessly inconclusive and miserably perfunctory.

The recommendation of the Committee about the continuance of the special constituencies has also, naturally, evoked dissent from various quarters, both in this country and in Britain. Here it has been subjected to criticism particularly by the Muslim communalists, as affecting their interests, while curiously they have reiterated in the same breath their own claims to what would be practically special constituencies for them, based upon separate electorates. In London, Professor Laski has recorded his emphatic dissent from this recommendation in the Labour organ—the Daily Herald. There can be no doubt that special constituencies for interests, sections, classes and communities must disappear in course of time.

But even more forceful than those stated above are the objections that can reasonably be urged against the Committee’s recommendations relating to the enfranchisement of the depressed classes and women. In my preliminary statement, attached to my replies to the Committee’s questionnaire, I emphatically urged that if the constitution was to succeed, it should be so devised as not to have a disintegrating influence on Indian society, but should be rather on lines calculated to coalesce and weld together, into an integral whole, the present centrifugal factors, by methods of centripetalization. In this respect the recommendations of the majority are woefully disappointing, seriously objectionable, and require to be agitated against. As against the recommendation of the Simon Commission rejecting, for weighty reasons, separate elec-
torates for the depressed classes so-called, the majority of the Lothian Committee have committed themselves to propositions which amount in effect to a reversal of the Simon scheme. Similarly, their recommendation to segregate women, as a separate depressed class, as it were, is likely to have, in the long run, a disastrously disintegrating influence on Indian society. As regards the depressed classes, it may be said with some show of reason that their spokesman on the Committee had made a strenuous demand for separate electorates, though it is equally clear that he was not supported by other leaders, or the vast bulk of the depressed community, and Mahatma Gandhi was undoubtedly right in offering an uncompromising opposition to the proposal, at the Round Table Conference in London last year. The position taken by the Franchise Committee majority in this matter is obviously of no weight, since they have not cared to discuss—much less to prove the untenability of—the very cogent arguments urged by the Simon Commission against the extension of separate electorates to the depressed classes, and there is a deal of force in the complaint of their having disposed of this momentous matter, relating to the organic evolution of Hindu society, in almost a spirit of levity. It is to be earnestly hoped that Government will not accept this recommendation, in view of the declaration of so experienced and statesmanly an administrator as H. E. Sir Malcolm Hailey who (replying, at Almora, to an address from that section) expressed the view that he had no sympathy with that school which was attempting, for political purposes, to create a separate community of the depressed classes.

Even worse, to my mind, is the flippancy displayed by the majority in the way they have dealt with the question of women's franchise. As against their proposal to keep women voters in a state of eternal segregation, it is justly emphasized by the three dissenting Indian members that there was a strong and an almost unanimous expression of opinion by women witnesses that they did not want women representatives in the legislatures to be elected by any communal electorates. This fact is also vouched for by Sir Mahomed Yakub, who has recorded in his note that 'the women have not themselves asked for any artificial qualifications, most of their representatives have strongly disapproved of the idea of creating any such qualifications, and have demanded that they should be given suffrage on equal terms with men'. But that is not all, as we find it recorded in the majority report itself that 'without exception the representatives of women's organizations and individual women witnesses demanded that the principle of equality between men and women should be the basis of the new constitution'. And yet, in the face of it all, they have recommended special measures as they have done, forsooth, on the ground that otherwise there would not be a 'sufficient number' of women returned to the legislatures. The contention seems to be frivolous, when it is recalled that in Britain itself (where women outnumber men) there are at present but two women members returned to the House of Commons, out of a total of six hundred and fifteen. The Lothian majority argument need not, therefore, be pursued further, as the fact remains that, however flimsy a ground there may be in favour of the recommendation for separate electorates for depressed classes, there is none whatsoever in favour of making Indian women a class apart from Indian men. These two recommendations of the majority of the Committee constitute, therefore, in my opinion, the gravest defects in an otherwise, on the whole, commendable Report.

VIII

This discussion has 'grewed' (like Topsy) into a longer one than either I expected or intended it to be. But I cannot resist the temptation of referring to one other matter, which I regard as of considerable importance, and the omission of all reference to which—either in the majority or the minority report—is rather disappointing. I refer to the omission of the problem of creating in British India territorial divisions for administrative
and electoral purposes analogous to the 'States' constituting the United States of America and other federal governments. The members of both the majority and minority groups seem to have proceeded on the assumption that a successful working of a democratic constitution in British India is not inconsistent with the maintenance of our present provincial administrations. If so, that is a wrong assumption. The United States population of 132 millions is grouped in no less than forty-nine States, with an average population of less than two millions and a half, as against the 130 millions of the adult population only of British India, grouped in but nine provinces, with two of them with populations of about fifty millions each, and almost all of them larger in area and more populous than many European and American States. The proposition has to be thus stated to evoke careful consideration at the hands of all well-wishers of the success of a democratic administration in this country. The result of basing the franchise scheme on the evident assumption of the continued existence of our present system of administration in provinces, is that the constituencies proposed under the scheme propounded in the Report are bound to be enormous areas, which for all practical purposes would render any personal contact or relations between them and their representatives absolutely impossible, for—as pointed out by the Manchester Guardian “constituencies whose area is measured in thousands of square miles are not easy to canvass”. In a country so extensive as India—which in its area and population is really a sub-continent, and which for ages yet to come is likely to remain satisfied with inadequately developed communications—the only feasible method of making democracy a success is to make the electoral area so compact that it may be practicable for the representatives to establish close contact and personal relations with their constituents, which would be obviously impossible under the Lothian scheme. I shall not pursue this matter further, but I have felt justified in drawing attention to it in the hope that the question of 'states versus provinces' may evoke discussion in the press, so that in course of time, it may be brought within the range of practical politics. We must make up our minds from now, that if democracy is to succeed in India, our provinces must disappear and be replaced by numerous compact 'states'.

For the rest, it remains to emphasize that though Lord Lothian declared in the course of a speech, at Simla, that the Franchise Committee was ill-adapted, by reason of its highly composite personnel, for the object in view (as it had on it far too many advocates and partizans of special claims and interests,) it is all the more gratifying that the result achieved has been, on the whole, fairly satisfactory. And I agree with the observation made in the course of his note by Major Milner, M.P., that the recommendations constitute an immense advance on the existing position, as also that if 'a Committee so heterogeneous, both politically and racially, reaches approximate agreement on the major issue before it, its proposals must obviously carry great weight both with Parliament and the people of India'. I agree, subject to the proviso that on points they have differed upon, the three dissenting Indian members have faithfully and truly represented the Indian nationalist stand-point and their opinions should, therefore, be given preference over those of the majority. These three members by inditing their carefully-prepared, cogent and well-reasoned minute of dissent have rendered a notable service to the country—though they be (as declared by the Indian journal quoted above) 'hopelessly conservative people all of them', it must be borne in mind that nothing is useless in the economy of Nature—not even 'hopeless conservatives'. Nay, if only they be—as these three Indian members have proved themselves to be—patriotic, experienced, capable and tactful, they can render great and valuable services to their country, as has been done by Messrs. Tambe, Chintamani and Bakhale.
Asiatic Culture

By

Dr. Rabindranath Tagore

We of the East have to accept our responsibility in the modern age to bring before the suffering humanity of to-day the message of complete life, which takes cognizance of the fundamental principles of man's personality. By alienating ourselves from the dynamic forces of Nature, and failing to conquer them for a progressive emancipation in the material world, we had for long allowed the foundations of our civic life to remain unsettled, we had lagged behind in the march of life. Our civilization had lost its grip on the constructive principles of conduct, and allowed circumstances to rule our destiny. The unique spiritual gifts of our peoples had gradually become dim and obscure, due to lack of opportunity for self-manifestation, which depends on a secure adjustment of our life to material well-being.

The Western world has come into the arena of the modern age with a vigorous energy of organized endeavor to exploit the potentials of Nature and bend them to the use of man.

Their great gifts of Science have initiated a new age of progress in the human world, which is fast extending its zone of help in the Eastern hemisphere. Unquestionable are the gifts of this material power, and we are thankful to the West for the training to efficiently utilize it. Yet we must never think that by merely raising the material standard of living we can satisfy our human nature. As a matter of fact, the results of merely utilitarian ambition which ignores the spiritual personality of man are too evident in the contending world of to-day. Humanity is torn by greed and selfish strife, and even the organization of material comfort, on which the Western world takes pride, shows signs of rapid dissolution. The time has come for the synthesizing genius of the Eastern civilization to reassert itself, for Asia to establish its ideals of a beneficent humanity on the permanent foundation of a harmonious creative life.

During the creative era of her historic past, the continent of Asia was like a constellation of cultures formed of China, India and Persia, each with its civilization in harmony with the whole, luminous in self-expression. They evolved a personality of manifold powers and a majesty of mind that gave voice to great utterances and raised memorials of magnificent age.

This ancient continent has known periods of great overflow of soul, when the wealth of wisdom that was for all humanity sought its outlets towards distant lands, and traffic of truth was established across mountain and desert wastes. Along with the thoughts, eager to offer and to accept all that was great and worthy, to fraternize in a federation of intellect which, even in those early days of difficult transport, meagre facilities of linguistic and social intercourse, refused to recognize external divergence as fundamental, paths were opened to a great continental commerce of cultures with centres in cities which sprung up along the traffic routes and also in the more inaccessible interior to which the tidal waves of a surging civilization barely penetrated. Philosophy and religion, the sciences, literature, art and crafts: circulated not only in remote parts of Asia itself but in regions beyond it. Ancient records prove that a co-

* Extracts from Speech delivered in the Conference Hall of the Persian Ministry of Education, in Tehran on May 7, 1925.
operative Asiatic civilization in its exuberant vitality absorbed influences from outside her frontiers, from Egypt, Greece and Rome, as readily as she radiated her own influence abroad. Through numerous channels this influence of civilization enriched the soil of our continent, leaving there a permanent potentiality for the artistic mediums of self-revelation, for the impulse to sour in the transcendental atmosphere of pure thought that has courage for all daring adventures of realizations.

The shifting sands of neglectful centuries have choked up the traces of irrigation of thought which in ancient days linked the countries of Asia. Wars and famines, the pestilent attack of destructive savagery, split up our continent into isolated entities of a miserly segregation, and her vision of a continent with an inner human bond but a heterogenous congregation of mere geographical areas.

We became obsessed by our ancient glories which we were powerless to carry into the living present; the spirit of experiment and initiative was dimmed, traditions hardened into unchanging meaningless habit, obstructing fruitful adventures of life. A few cities hesitatingly borrowed the glorious gifts of Science from Europe without being able to assimilate and fully utilize them, while vast rural areas, with seething masses of helpless humanity, were allowed to carry on a cheerless unintelligent existence, unredeemed by the urge of National self-confidence, of a common aspiration, of a rational adjustment with the world, of a progressive economic endeavor which comes from an unitering faith and zest in life. Archæologists dig into the dead sands for memorials of our living past, ruins and monuments that silently beckon to us in hieroglyphic gesture to a magnanimity of heroic life, but disregarded by a feeble present immersed in the niggardliness of its narrow needs. However, the races are active which gradually lighten the deadening burden of medieval inertia, and Asia once more feels the stir of a renewed youth, and is made aware of the rich possibilities of her dormant civilization.

The different races of Asia will no doubt have to solve their own National problems according to their own temperament and needs, until their knots loosen their bonds, but the torches held up on their path of progress will send their beckoning lights to each other thus creating a comradeship of culture, a brotherhood of path-seekers. We remain obscure like dark stars when we are inarticulate. When our National genius is active in trimming its lamps and lighting up its surroundings, the illumination it produces spreads a bond of minds far and wide, proving that man is one in spirit. Let me voice the hope of this new fulfilment, of a generous fellowship of creative endeavors, which will once more offer its inspiration to the world through great art and literature, through organized civic life, through the peace and progress of a new humanity released from the bonds of a dead past and lack of faith in its own inherent greatness.

In the East we bend our heads before all that is humanly great and not merely that is mechanically perfect. We hail him as great who conquers circumstances because he has conquered himself. In other words, we are worshippers of personality. Even in my own corner of India I seemed to have felt the glamour of the greatness of Persia's present Ruler revealing to my mind the vision of a new morning at the verge of a distant skyline. The masterful man, the builder of the destiny of a Nation, has at last appeared in our neighbourhood, who has the far-sighted mind that knows how to make his own the lessons of the modern age and vigilantly to resist all its adverse forces, who has the heroic wisdom needed in the present crisis in Asia, when a whirlwind of greed from an alien sky is cruelly buffeting her from all winds, while she herself lies inert in the darkest gloom of ignorance and superstitions. Whatever part of Asia we may belong to, we are thankful to such a person as he is, for his character is an asset to us all, and the life which he is imparting to his country from his own indomitable vigor cannot but stir us also, though we do not live within its direct sphere of influence,
The Report of the Percy Committee on Federal Finances is a document which cannot be said to have fulfilled the many expectations entertained of it. When the Peel Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference left many questions referred to it for investigation in a state of nebulous uncertainty and transferred the burden of making detailed recommendations to the Expert Committee under Lord Eustace Percy, it was thought that the latter would set the whole picture in order and present it in a completed form. But the Percy Committee laboured under equal, if not greater, handicaps as the Peel Sub-Committee and could not accomplish the task set to it in the manner anticipated between the restricted and narrow terms of reference under which the committee had to work, the uncertain position of the Native States and the difficulties inherent in the present economic situation in the country, the committee’s recommendations suffer from defects which considerably detract from their value as a guide for the adjustment of the financial relations between the Indian Federation and the Federating units. The conclusions of the committee are further vitiated by the fact that the constitutional changes have not yet definitely taken shape, and it is not known whether the Federation will include the Native States also and if it does under what conditions, all of which made them proceed on the basis that the Provinces alone would constitute the Federal Units, so that if the States do come into the Federation, the financial arrangements suggested would have to undergo substantial modifications. Thus the committee have been forced to rely too much upon the facts of the present financial situation, they are tied too much by the existing arrangements, so that their conclusions too have been dominated by the complex of the present and prevented them from looking far into the future and provide for the requirements of the situation as it would be then. The committee themselves were conscious of these limitations to their work and have accordingly warned that it should be judged with reference to the narrow limits set to it at the very commencement, for which they were not responsible. Having thus had to carry on under circumstances in which the facts were set for them, instead of their being at liberty to set the facts themselves and judge them independently, and having had to take as their starting point the exceptional and abnormal conditions of the present economic situation, it was but natural that the committee’s report should bear on its very face the stamp of inconclusiveness, speculation, and uncertainty.

The Report is divided into eight parts, the first being devoted to the Introduction. In the second part, the committee taking as their basis the distribution of financial resources have drawn up an estimate of the probable revenues and expenditures of the Federal and the Provincial government. They find on the basis of those figures that, in the case of the Federal government, the income will be Rs. 8,460 lakhs while the expenditure will be Rs. 8,410 lakhs, leaving a surplus of Rs. 50 lakhs. But they do not find the budgetary and financial position of the Provinces so sound as that of the Federation for, except in two Provinces, every other province will have to face a deficit. This estimate of the financial position makes them turn to methods
of reordering the revenue resources with a view to make good the Provincial deficits and at the same time to see that there is no serious delving into the income available to the Federal government, which will have the effect of dislocating its financial position.

The committee, in striving to investigate into the possibilities for new and additional taxation to meet the exigencies of the situation, find however that it is a fruitless search; for they see no new sources of taxation which can be drawn upon with any great advantage or profit either by the Federal or the Provincial governments, except the excise duty on matches in the case of the former. They discuss the pros and cons of Succession Duties and Terminal taxes as possible sources of revenue in the Provincial sphere; but, though they consider their imposition justified, do not recommend an immediate resort to them. The committee have not considered the necessity for retrenchment in the Federal and the Provincial expenditures in the present conditions, for they do not see any possibility for it, but they have recognized that the cost of administration is heavy and that retrenchment is desirable.

When there is thus no means of securing an equilibrium between the income and expenditure of the Provincial government by either a resort to additional taxation or by retrenchment, the committee turn inevitably to recommend certain adjustments in the existing resources themselves. The most important adjustment that they suggest is the transfer of the proceeds of personal Income Tax and personal Super Tax to the Provinces. But as such a transfer involves a depletion of the Federal resources to the extent of about Rs. 12 crores and leaves the Federal government with a heavy deficit, they go on to recommend that the Provinces do transfer back to the Federation a part of the income they get by the distribution of Income Tax in the shape of Provincial contributions.

This in line is the central feature of the scheme adumbrated by the Federal Finance Committee. The transfer of the Income Tax proceeds, though it is to be welcomed as a step in the right direction, does not and cannot afford the relief so urgently and so greatly required by the Provinces, because of the fact that a major portion of it is to be taken back by the Central Government. The Provinces need not only the means of balancing their budgets but also additional resources to the extent available in order to finance the nation-building departments. They have got to spend larger and larger sums upon such services as Education, Public Health, Agriculture etc., all of which go directly to improve the material well-being of the people. To deprive them in these circumstances of the benefits of additional revenue that they expect to get as a result of the distribution of Income Tax, will therefore, be in act of financial vandalism.

The Federal Government no doubt performs certain very important duties such as the management of the Defence forces of the country, the management of foreign affairs and the development of the economic and industrial resources of all-India, and therefore requires to remain financially strong itself. But it has also revenue resources such as the Customs Revenue, Railway Receipts and others, which, even after the transfer of Income Tax proceeds, may be made to yield substantial sums to enable it to discharge its limited functions without serious danger of a break-down. If the potentialities of new indirect taxes like an Excise duty on Matches and Tobacco are properly availed of, if the existing sources are carefully manipulated to secure the maximum of income, and if the expenditure on the top-heavy Civil and Military services is reduced to the absolute minimum consistent with efficient administration and national security, it is more than certain that the Federal Government will be able to stand on its own legs. If in addition to this, a Reserve Bank is established to manage the currency and credit of the country and there-
by the waste and drain incidental to the existing system of managing these matters is avoided, the central government’s position will be unassailable.

The committee do not however take into account these various possibilities and considerations, but follow the line of least resistance when they prescribe the apparently simple but really very complex and disadvantageous procedure of calling in for contributions from the Provinces. The evils pertaining to such contributions are many and various; they have been time and often exposed, for they formed the main feature of the Meston Financial Settlement of 1919 as they do of the financial scheme of the Percy Report now. To revive a scheme, so thoroughly riddled with criticism and so completely opposed to the principle of Federal Finance that each unit of government under the Federal constitution should, as far as possible, be financially self-sufficient, is the height of unwisdom and cannot be acceptable to the public. The committee recommend, in addition to these fixed, regular contributions from the Provinces, the levy by the Federal government of “emergency” contributions also in certain exceptional and extraordinary emergencies. The emergency contributions are however on a different footing from the regular contributions and are not altogether as objectionable as the latter, though their levy may also have the effect of depleting the financial resources of the Provinces. It is also recommended that no time limit should be fixed for the remission of the Provincial contributions nor has any time-table been prescribed for their gradual reduction.

The committee next deal with the question of powers of taxation and after dividing the various taxes into the categories of Federal sources of revenue, and Provincial sources of revenue federally legislated upon and so on, they lay down the principles governing the allocation of powers. There are certain taxes in regard to which the Federal government should have the right of legislation in the interests of uniformity, though the taxes are as a matter of fact to be levied for Provincial purposes. The question arises in this connection whether under a scheme of Provincial Autonomy, it is not more important to place responsibility for raising revenue on the government which is to enjoy the proceeds. As a compromise between these two views, the committee suggest that the Federal government should have the right of a surcharge on all those taxes levied by it for the benefit of the units; and they do so on the ground that such a right “gives the Federal Government a common interest with the Governments of the Units”.

The levying of a surcharge, though it may be a compromise measure, will lead to difficulties, for the Provinces may legitimately claim the proceeds of the surcharges for themselves while the Federal Government may do so on its own accord. To secure the twin advantages of uniformity, and flexibility the best method will be not the conceding of the right of levying a surcharge to the Federal Government, but to leave the matter entirely to the discretion of the Federal Legislature. There will be representatives of the various Provinces and also of the general population in the Federal Legislature and they may be relied upon to agree upon a uniform standard of rates for the particular taxes to be levied by the Federation for the benefit of the units, while they may also be depended upon to modify the rates, should there be a strong feeling amongst the members to do so and when a necessity for such modification arises.

Dealing next with the question of the Pre-Federation Debt and its allocation, the committee recommend that the whole of it should be borne by the Federal Government. They make no reference to the objections that may be raised by the States to bear a portion of the debt or to the objections that are usually advanced by nationalists that an examination and scrutiny of the various items of the Indian National Debt is essential to see how much of it was made for purely Indian purposes and
in purely Indian interests and how much for Imperial purposes, how much of it is covered by productive assets and how much of it represents dead capital and so on. But whatever might be the results of such an examination when undertaken, it is clear that the Pre-Federation must be a charge on the revenues of the Federal Government itself, except that coming definitely within the purview of the debt known as the Provincial Loans Account.

Next with regard to the borrowing powers of the Provinces, the Federal Finance Committee agree to the independent right of these latter to borrow on their own initiative. But the conceding of the right is subject to the important qualification that in order to avoid conflict between the Federal Government and the Provincial Governments in the matter of borrowing, these latter should give the former notice of their intention to borrow, thus affording it an opportunity to offer advice. This procedure avoids the defects involved in any sort of control or regulation of the borrowing operations of the Provinces; at the same time it does not give room for any conflict between the Federation and the Provinces on the one hand and between the Provinces themselves on the other. The machinery suggested for effecting the loans is the establishment of a body known as the Loans Commissioners, which should be an expert and impartial tribunal and not a representative one. Its functions are merely advisory; and the final decision should rest with the Federal Government itself, which should have the right of fixing the terms as well as the time of borrowing.

In concluding this short review of the Percy Committee's Report, it may be stated that, had it not been for the drawbacks under which the committee had to labour in carrying on their work, their recommendations would have been more valuable than they actually are. The drawbacks and deficiencies noted at the commencement have had the effect of rendering their suggestions inconclusive; but there are others which place on them the stamp of unreality and retrogression. The committee having had to depend mostly upon departmental evidence, its opinions in some vital matters are vitiated by a narrow secretariat outlook. Reforms like the introduction of Prohibition, the cutting down of Civil and Military expenditure, abolition of the Salt Tax, increase of taxation of luxuries and increased expenditure on beneficial social services, which Indian public opinion of all shades has been demanding persistently were either totally disregarded or inadequately appreciated and provided for. It is not taken into account that, when the constitutional changes have taken place and the Federal and Provincial Legislatures under the new reforms are constituted, they will be filled to a large extent by men, who would like to put into effect changes including those mentioned above, and that, unless that contingency is provided for by suitable arrangements made even now, the financial structure in the first years of the Federation may render itself liable to serious dislocation. This failure to look a little ahead into the future is writ large on the recommendations of the committee.

At the same time sufficient allowance has not also been made for factors which may have a tendency to affect the revenue positions of the various governments when the new constitution comes to be actually under way. For example, the present abnormal economic conditions with their characteristic of falling prices and consequential low revenue returns are not appreciated in their proper perspective; and it is not taken into account that their recovery and return to normal conditions would have very significant repercussions upon the revenues of both the Federal and the Provincial Governments, enabling them to do without extra taxation and without the prospects of huge and unmanageable deficits.

Thus on the whole the committee's report has not in any way clarified the Indian financial situation nor suggested any effective
measures to help in the actual successful working out of the Federal scheme. It has only set out the various problems—a thing which does not carry us far; while in respect of those matters in regard to which it contained recommendations, they are so incompatible with the requirements of the situation that they only deserve to be discarded.

(B) INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE’S REPORT

The Lothian Committee’s Report on Indian Franchise is a document which bears on its very face the sincere endeavour made by the Chairman and members of that body to discharge the duties entrusted to them in a most conscientious manner, to avoid extremes and to present as far as possible unanimous decisions. Composed, as Lord Lothian complained when the committee was still sitting in India, of the special advocates of special interests, each of whom thought it his business to secure the maximum benefits he could for his community or interest, it is a gratifying feature that at least so much of unanimity and agreement as is actually evidenced, has been arrived at. There is however a good deal of agreement not only amongst its members but also amongst the public outside that the committee dealt with the Indian Franchise problem in a genuine and sympathetic spirit; and that the Report goes in many cases beyond the recommendations of the Provincial Franchise Committees, is a fact which testifies to the desire of the committee to forward the cause of Indian Self-Government to as great a degree as possible. They did not make a fetish of the usual stereotyped objections against the extension of the franchise, nor did they, at the same time, show a tendency to rush through with a too precipitate advance, demanded by impatient idealists but unwarranted by counsels of caution and prudence. Their recommendations combine moderation with wisdom and caution with liberalism. On the whole they represent and embody the maximum amount of agreement that could be secured on the various points at issue, so that with the introduction of certain important but small modifications in the main recommendations, it would be capable of making them wholly acceptable to the entire body of public opinion.

It is a point of criticism of the Franchise Committee’s Report that it had not plumped in for the immediate introduction of adult suffrage; but it is not generally realized that the majority had by implication accepted adult suffrage as an ideal to be kept in view and worked up to. The theoretical arguments in favour of adult suffrage are unimpeachable and have every thing in their favour; but their application to the indisputable practical realities of the Indian situation, which consist in the widespread illiteracy of the people, the vast population that will have to be taken into account, the huge electoral machinery that has to be brought into operation and the great administrative difficulties involved, is a matter about which there is room for more than one opinion. The real obstacle to the immediate introduction of adult suffrage is, however, not so much any of these objections mentioned, but that in the matter of extending the vote it is necessary to proceed only as rapidly as is warranted by prudential considerations, so as to avoid all pitfalls, make allowance for all contingencies and avoid all dangers incidental to a hasty and irretrievable step being taken. To extend the franchise to a particular maximum limit and then to leave the work of further extensions to the spontaneous and irrefusable demands of public opinion later on, is the best possible compromise method that can be followed. The demand for adult suffrage at present is fairly considerable; but it cannot be said to be universal. And to take a “leap into the dark” unmindful of the consequences of that step or unmindful of whether such a step is a justifiable one in the circumstances, though it may prove a successful one ultimately, as Disraeli’s famous leap in the dark in 1867 proved an unqualified success in England, is hardly worth the risk of being
taken. Therefore, while accepting for the present the extension of the franchise recommended by the Majority Report of the Franchise Committee, the liberty to further extend it automatically, without the initiative being taken by the Parliament, should be left to the discretion of the future Provincial Councils, which would do so as and when the circumstances are favourable to it and the people demand it.

The same cannot, however, be said of the recommendation of the Majority that the electorate for the Lower House of the Federal Legislature should not be the same as that of the Provincial Legislature, but that it should be somewhat narrow and more limited in numbers. Should the aim of affording an opportunity to as many people in the country as possible to cultivate a larger interest in public affairs and appreciate political issues of an All-India character be attained, should it be necessary to avoid the defects of unduly provincializing and parochializing the outlook of the electors and make them broad visioned in regard to public affairs, should it be realized as essential that the political education of the masses should proceed apace, so as to pave the way for the early introduction of adult suffrage, which is to be the goal towards which all efforts are to be directed, then it is to be considered absolutely essential to place as many at least on the electoral rolls of the Central Legislature as on those of the Provincial Legislatures. The scheme of the majority report will have to be modified to carry into effect this fundamentally necessary reform, which is suggested by the Minute of Dissent of the Minority.

When adult suffrage is not to be considered a practicable proposition in the near future, it is all to the good that the Franchise Committee have given credence to the educational qualifications for the vote. Though literacy may not be a test of a man's intelligence—that it is not is testified to by the committee itself, a testimony "which is calculated to make Mill turn in his grave," as stated by the "News Letter," the new Nationalist Government organ—still it cannot be denied that it is a factor in enhancing his capacity to appreciate the real implications of the vote he is casting. Till now, the main qualification for franchise has been the property qualification and literacy as such was not taken into account, except in the case of special University constituencies; and, therefore, that the disequilibrium between the two kinds of qualifications is to be removed at least in the future, ought to be welcomed as a very extremely relieving feature.

Next with regard to the principles which should be adopted to secure proper representation to the various communities, the main point to remember is that a democratic system requires that each considerable and even each inconsiderable section of the population should be afforded representation in the Legislatures commensurate with their numbers and that the success of a democratic experiment will have to be measured by the way in which and the extent to which, this important condition is fulfilled by it. It is therefore gratifying that the Franchise Committee has recognized the supreme principle of the desirability of giving each community adequate voting strength, as also the allied one, which is, however, more important, that the representation of the minor and special interest should not be such as to outweigh the influence of representatives returned from general territorial constituencies.

The criticism was levelled against the British Government at the time of the appointment of the Franchise Committee that the exclusion of the question of commanul electorates would detract very substantially from the value of the recommendations that the latter might make. That the criticism was not unjustified is made clear by the long list of subjects that the committee had to leave over for future settlement, a list which comprises so many outstanding points at issue that, if a decision is not arrived at on them, the future peaceful development of Indian constitution
may be effectively held up. The British Government should have announced their communal award by this time and thus should have given the quietus to the demands that will continue to be made by the communities to secure the attainment of their particular communal and sectional ends. In this connection, the change in the angle of vision of the Muslims as evidenced by the resolutions passed at the meeting of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim Conference held recently is significant and noteworthy. The resolutions condemn the establishment of separate and special electorates for certain minority interests, though, if such special electorates are to be established, the Muslims "must be given a share" in them, "in proportion to their representation in all the Legislatures". This is a very good augury, so far as it goes, in favour of general territorial electorates, for the promoters of the Muslim Conference have been all along identified as being uncompromising adherents of the system of communal electorates. The defects of special electorates and communal electorates which are well brought out by the resolutions of the working committee of the Muslim Conference already referred to, being so patent and so fully recognized on all hands, the Franchise Committee would have done well not to have advocated them in the case of the landlords, commercial interests and the Universities. Similarly, they should not have recommended special and differential qualifications for the enfranchisement, though their recommendation for the introduction of such differential qualifications in the case of the Depressed classes has some justification for it, provided a clear definition is made of the terms "Depressed classes" and provided a specific list is drawn up of those denominations of the populations, who are to be included amongst those classes and comprehended by that term. To conciliate certain communities by some sort of special reservations for them in the constitution appears to be an inevitable and necessary development; but the development cannot be considered unregrettable and the aim should be to reduce its scope to the narrowest proportions possible. The suggestions made above are calculated to achieve that end.

In regard to this matter, the Franchise Committee should have, if its terms of reference permitted, devoted greater consideration to the question of multimember versus single member constituencies. The introduction of multimember constituencies, in which the system of proportional representation or some other variant of it is in operation, will enable strong minority interests in a general constituency to secure a proportion of representation; it will thus make communal electorates to a large extent unnecessary. The system which has been in existence in Madras ever since the Montague Reforms, may very well be continued under the new constitution also, while its advantages may be experimented upon in other Provinces too, where the communal question is not very acute. The minority Minute of Dissent strongly urges the introduction of the principle of multi-member constituencies as an effective set off against sectional and communal constituencies and it is to be hoped that it will be accepted.

The third point in the Franchise Report which needs commendation is its advocacy of the system of direct election to the Provincial Councils and the Lower House of the Federal Legislature. The virtues of direct election need no special elaboration; it is sufficient to state that the committee as a whole accord their approval to it and condemn indirect election and also the group system of voting, which is an indirect method of election to all intents and purposes. Indirect election to the Senate or the Upper House of the Federal Legislature in which the Federal units are represented as such is a system approved and supported by constitutional theory and the committee have done only the correct thing when they suggested it for adoption in the case of the Indian constitution too. Only one stipulation becomes necessary in this
connection and that is that if the States come into the Federation, the representatives of the States in the Federal Lower House should also be elected on the same footing and in the same manner as those of the British Indian Provinces.

The Lothian Committee, according to Prof. Harold Laski, has made a great effort towards a great advance. Apart from some minor deficiencies in their Report, they have on the whole recommended a scheme which will put India securely on the road to democratic self-government. In certain respects the committee's opinions have had to be merely provisional; but that cannot be said of their scheme as a whole. If an early award on the communal question is forthcoming and if steps are taken to implement the committee's suggestions, with alterations in them such as those suggested above, there will be no need for any pessimistic thoughts about the future constitutional development of India.

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The Indian States: Settlement of their Differences

By Mr. D. A. Naik, B. A., L. L. B

NEED OF MACHINERY FOR SETTLING DISPUTES.

By treaties concluded in most cases more than a hundred years ago, the British Government and the Indian States solemnly renounced recourse to war for the solution of controversies which might arise between the States inter se or between a State and the British Government. But, unfortunately, there has been no development of a machinery of adjustment of these differences, which may claim to correspond with the will-to-peace which was the moral support and the reason for the conclusion of the treaties between the parties. As admitted in paragraph 308 of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, "in such cases there exists at the present moment no satisfactory method of obtaining an exhaustive and judicial enquiry of the issues, such as might satisfy the States, particularly in cases where the Government of India itself is involved, that the issues have been considered in an independent and impartial manner." No doubt, the remedy of conflict was abandoned by the parties for ever and the abandonment has been consistently adhered to so that the principle which was recognized at the time has been preserved intact. Nevertheless, the promotion of harmonious relations between the British Government and the States, which the parties had in view at the time, has not been fully achieved. It has thus been established that in order that peace may advance its purpose of mutual harmony and co-operation, it is not enough merely to abandon resort to force of arms as a means of settling quarrels, but that it is also imperative to devise a satisfactory machinery for their adjustment in the closely organised world of to-day.
COMMISSION OF ARBITRATION AND COMMITTEES IN MATTERS OF COMMON CONCERN.

Arbitration is one of the tried devices to assure a peaceful settlement of disputes. The distinguished authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report were the first to recommend it definitely for the settlement of differences of the States. Their recommendation was that in cases of disputes between two or more States, or between a State and a Local Government or the Government of India, and when a State is dissatisfied with the ruling of the last or the advice of any of its local representatives, the Viceroy should appoint a commission, on which both parties would be represented, to enquire into the matter in dispute and to report its conclusions to him, although it made the appointment conditional on the Viceroy’s view, as to whether he felt that such an enquiry was desirable and that was not made obligatory on the Viceroy to accept the findings of the Commission. The Report recommended for the composition of the commission a judicial officer of rank not lower than a High Court Judge and one nominee of each of the parties concerned.

The Government of India accepted this procedure but the resolution embodying the acceptance has remained a dead letter to this day. The Butler Committee make it clear that they attach the greatest importance to the free adoption of this procedure, although they restrict it to current cases. According to them it will satisfactorily dispose of all ordinary differences of opinion as they arise. The Butler Committee have also proposed the appointment of committees to advise the Viceroy in cases of clash of interests between British India and the States in matters of common concern to them. On such committees they advise both British India and the States may be represented. For cases in which such committees fail to agree, the Butler Committee propose that the Viceroy should appoint a more formal committee consisting of a representative of the States and a representative of British India with an impartial chairman of not lower standing than a High Court Judge. Such a Committee’s advice would not be binding on the Viceroy, although ordinarily it would be followed. In the event of their advice not being taken, the matter—the Butler Committee propose—should be referred for decision to the Secretary of State. This procedure is recommended for cases of clash of interests in financial or justiciable questions, such as over maritime customs, or the development of ports, claims to water, etc.

DRAWBACKS OF RECOMMENDATIONS

The recommendations that have been made for a settlement of differences between the States inter se or between a State and a Government of British India have two very serious drawbacks.

In the first place, the commission of arbitration is to be available only if the Viceroy considers that an enquiry is desirable. In the second place, when the commission arrives at its conclusion, it may or may not be accepted by the Viceroy. Similarly, the appointment of a Committee and the acceptance of its advice with regard to cases of disagreements in matters of common concern are also left to the discretion of the Viceroy. The Butler Committee think that the advice of the Committee would ordinarily be taken. But the Princes can not be sanguine on the point, when they know that the resolution of the Government of India about the appointment of a commission of arbitration has never been acted upon. In practice, the Viceroy’s discretion, whether a case should or should not go before a commission or a committee, as the case may be, will be mainly exercised by the Political Secretary, who in his turn will be guided by the reports of the political officers or departmental authorities concerned. It is the political officers who, as admitted by the Butler Committee, have contributed in no small degree to the extension of the modern political practice against which the States have so much grievance. It is through their agency
that the pressure which has been admittedly exercised on the States has come. So long as they have a hand in the appointment of a commission of arbitration or committee in a matter of common concern or in the acceptance of its findings, the utility of the remedy will remain seriously discounted.

THE PRESENT UNSATISFACTORY
SITUATION.

The imperious needs of the present situation cannot be met by a cure which is not thorough-going.

In the first place, as the British Government does not allow the States to go to war with one another, they claim the right as a consequence, and undertake the duty, of preventing those quarrels and grievances which among really independent powers would lead to international conflict. But in some of these quarrels, it happens that the British Government, which has to act as an arbitrator, has an interest on one side or the other, which may be nothing more than what they fancy to be the good of India as a whole, of the preservation of peace and good order throughout India for which they may feel justified in interposing their authority.

In the second place, there are disputes between a State and a local Government or the Government of India.

In the third place, this is a changing world in which conditions alter rapidly, raising unexpected situations with which the parties concerned have to deal.

In all these cases Government have to give decisions in accordance with the recognized rights of parties and also changing political, social and economic conditions. They have thus constantly to interpret the treaties and to determine questions on which the treaties are silent. These decisions, Government claim, have built up a body of convention and usage—the constitutional law of the Empire—by which the States ought to be governed, supplying the place of a treaty where no treaty exists. It is further claimed by the Butler Committee that in giving the decisions the Paramount Power has acted on the whole with consideration and forbearance towards the States. But since, as has been recognized in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, the method cannot satisfy the States, particularly in cases where the Government of India itself is involved, about the justice and impartiality of the decisions, the very foundations of the constitutional law developed during the last century and more is unsettled. The whole body of usage and law, which has sprung up in this way and which, it is claimed, ought to supply what is wanting in the terms of treaties, has laid itself open to serious challenge, in that one of the parties to the disputes has been demanding its wholesale revision, if not repudiation. The remarkable harmony, on which the Butler Committee has congratulated the British Government, is found to be nothing more than the helpless, though willing, submission of the weaker party to the will of the stronger power. Such harmony cannot be basis of co-operation for common weal.

A THOROUGH-GOING REMEDY.

The only remedy which can meet the demands of the present situation as regards the settlement of differences between the States inter se or between a State and the British Government of India is to make obligatory on the Viceroy the grant of a commission of arbitration or a committee in a matter of common concern and acceptance of its conclusion. No doubt, it is the right and the privilege of the Paramount Power to decide all disputes that may arise between States or between one of the States and itself. But it is its still greater privilege to so provide for performance of this function that all decisions shall be just and shall inspire confidence. If the Paramount Power has to appoint a commission of arbitration for this purpose it is its own machinery, and it would accept its advice because it would be satisfied that it ought to be accepted. It is the decisions of such a commission which alone can develop a constitution and body of rules that will command the respect
and confidence of all parties. It is such constitution and rules which alone will truly serve to light the paths of justice to the British Government and the States, point to them their respective rights and duties and consolidate the position of the British Crown as Paramount Power on an enduring foundation. The function of committees in matters of common concern will be to go yet deeper into the roots of the differences between the States and British India, and to adjust them to the rapidly-changing conditions of modern life in India. There is the same need of an orderly adjustment of contesting interests by new arrangements between British India and the Indian States as there is in international states by modification of treaties. It is only the machinery of these Committees which can conjure away the discontent and alarm which the system of one-sided decisions has given rise to among the princes. Confidence that an institution exists to protect rights not only will tend to diminish encroachment by aggressive parties but will also assure the weaker party justice, which is after all the surest guarantee of the Paramountcy of the Paramount Power.

The Beautiful Valley of Nepal: Impressions of a Visit

By
Mr. V. Sundaram Aiyar.

A land presenting scenes of extraordinary beauty, a country of gallant fighting men and tigers, mountains, jungles and forests, a repository of manuscripts and a place where images abound and religious survivals are kept up, Nepal bears a charmed life. It still preserves the calm serenity, the haughty beauty and the gorgeousness of the East.

Hinduism and Buddhism have been flourishing there side by side for long centuries. After the establishment of Hinduism in the Valley, Gautama Sakyamuni, a scion of the Rajput clan and son of a king, was born on the confines of the country. There was an influx of Buddhism when his great apostle, King Asoka, marched to the foot of the Himalayas about the third century B.C. Even to-day Nepal is a centre of orthodoxy for both the religions.

Circumstanced as the Nepalese are, endowed with a climate which is salubrious, with regions of an average height of 4,500 feet above the sea-level, surrounded on all sides by mountains and thick forests, with transport difficulties in the country, the people are accustomed even when still young to carry heavy goods, and they are forced for sheer self-preservation, to pay particular regard to their physique, to be ever ready to fight against Nature. They develop valour, courage and heroism.
THE REGION.

Nepal extends about 500 miles along the southern slope of the central portion of the Himalaya mountains, covering an area of about 60,000 square miles. It comprises every type of climate, from the tropical heat of the Terai to the snow and icy region of the higher mountains.

The country of Nepal is roughly divided into four distinct regions: the Terai, the land at the foot of the Himalayas, lying but little above the sea-level; the Duns or valleys at the foot of the hill country; the hills proper averaging from 4,000 to 10,000 feet in height above the sea-level; and lastly, the Alpine region extending from the hills up to and including the main range of the Himalayas. Here are a series of ridges: Nandi Devi, 25,700 feet; Daulagiri 26,916 feet; Gauinthan, 26,305 feet; and Kunchinchinga, 28,156 feet.

The eastern part of Nepal is known as the seven Kosis, that is, the country drained by the Kosi river and its seven great tributaries. The tract of the country drained by the Gandak is known as the seven Gandakies. The west is the basin of the Karnali. Nepal and its surroundings are locally described as everything between the four passes, that is the four passes that lead from the Valley, north, east, south and west. Some parts of the country are extremely mountainous.

Kali, Karnali, Rapti, Gandak, Bhagmati, Kosi, Vangmati and Mechi are some of the more big rivers in the Valley.

ROUTE TO NEPAL

Leaving Raxaul, the traveller has to pass through the Terai forests which are crossed by a short railway owned by the State, up to Amlekganj, a distance of 24 miles, the high road, the only one in the country, leading from Raxaul on the Indian frontier to Kathmandu, the capital of the Kingdom, a distance of some 75 miles.

From Amlekganj one has to motor as far as Bhimpedi, a distance of 23 miles, passing over the sandstone ranges, which divide the Terai from the Duns or valleys at the foot of the hills. Bhimpedi is a picturesque little town of some importance and stands at the foot of the Sisagarhi Pass. This place during the Mahasivaratri festival is animated with fresh life. Thousands of coolies are ready with palanquins, dandies and dolis to carry passengers and luggages to Kathmandu, nearly a distance of 23 miles.

Leaving Bhimpedi one has to go up an ascent of over 2,000 feet over a boulder-strewn tract. The traveller then reaches the little fort and village of Sisagarhi or Chisapani. Sisagarhi holds a garrison of some 200 soldiers and from the ramparts of the fort, there is a fine and splendid view of ridges succeeding ridges. From Sisagarhi one climbs a few hundred feet to the top of the Chisapani Pass, where perhaps for the first time one gets a glimpse of the snows. At the extremity of the gorge stands a rest-house and a small village called Markhu. The traveller passes on to Ekunduta and then to the valley Chitlunge or Little Nepal by climbing over the Chandragarhi ridge which is 3,500 feet high. From here one can witness series of mountains clad in snow presenting the appearance of silver mountains. From Chitlunge, Kathmandu is 6 miles distant and can be reached by motor.

KATHMANDU AND ENVIRONS

Kathmandu, the capital of the Nepal Government, is a picturesque city, with innumerable temples of every conceivable age and style, of pagoda-like temples, palatial buildings and busy streets with bazaars, where merchants ply their trade in indigenous goods. In the heart of the city is the Darbar Square where are situated the majority of the more important temples, the famous temple of Taliju, the magnificent image of Bhairab and the famous Hanuman Dhoka. Opposite the north-west corner of the Darbar Square is the Kot or the Military Council Chamber. Near by the Thuni Khel (parade ground) stands a lofty stone column, about 120 feet in height.
ADMINISTRATION.

His Majesty the Maharajadhiraj, as the King is called, is the Sovereign of the kingdom, but His Highness the Maharaja, as the Prime Minister is called, is the virtual ruler and he is supreme in all the matters affecting the Government, political, administrative, military and executive. There are ordinary and extraordinary councils, composed of Nobles and certain officers of the State whom he consults whenever occasions demand.

Nepal has been a land of military dominance. The Maidan or the parade ground is about a mile and quarter long and half a mile broad and near by are barracks which can accommodate an army, including the regulars or militia which stands at a total of over 44,000 on a peace-footing, of 51 millions. The army is divided into 31 regiments which include two of artillery, and a regiment of cavalry, consisting of 120 sabres and the latter are used mostly as orderlies and outriders in attendance upon the members of the Royal Family. The recruits are obtained by voluntary enlistment and no difficulty is experienced in obtaining the requisite numbers. The bulk of the Nepalese army is recruited from the Chetris and the Brahmins are not as a rule enlisted in the fighting ranks.

The laws prevalent in Nepal, civil, revenue and criminal, are like those obtaining in British India. They are generally based on the Hindu \textit{Shastras} and suitably adapted. Brahmins and women are exempt from capital punishment whatever be the nature of the crime committed by them and as an experimental measure the Government have for a period of five years abolished the capital punishment in the State. Prisoners undergoing sentence are employed in various public works and they can often be seen in the streets of Kathmandu.

THE PEOPLE.

The Brahmins of Nepal occupy the same high social standing as in British India and from their ranks official priesthood of the country is entirely drawn. They occupy posts in civil and military non-combatant spheres while numbers of them are found in police and kindred services. Cooks are generally Brahmins as there is no objection for people of any caste to take the food prepared by Brahmins. Their manners and customs are like those of their confreres in British India.

Nearly every one in Nepal wears a khukri, the national weapon of the Gurkhas.

The bulk of the people is agricultural or pastoral. Nepal is rich in forest land; oaks, maples and pines are found in abundance; sprenses, firs and larches are the chief species. The external trade of the country is practically confined to British India.

ART AND MANUFACTURE.

The arts and crafts are in the hands of the Newars who are responsible for metal works, sculpture, architecture, painting and literature of the country. They are shrewd business men and traders and the carvings in wood and brass which adorn the houses and temples in the Valley are entirely their work.

MAHASIVRATRI FESTIVAL.

The annual Mahasivratri festival attracts to Nepal several thousands of pilgrims from all parts of India. It is difficult to visit Nepal as the passport regulations are very strict, and people, therefore, take advantage of the Mahasivratri festival when the Nepal Government issue free passports. The State considers that every one who visits the country is more or less a guest of the State. The traveller, on his entering Raxaul, from where the Government has recently constructed a light railway, is given the Mahasivratri concession of 50 per cent. in the railway fare from Raxaul to Amlekganj and, in fact, from his arrival at Raxaul down to his passage to Pasupati Mandir and return, he is given free food or food-stuff and free fuel. Every possible arrangement is made for a regular supply of water from fountains and tanks, every two or three miles. As regards the accommodation of pilgrims there are several hundreds of Dharamsalas or rest houses provided throughout the State and the pilgrims are given presents to the extent of about a lakh of rupees.
PASUPATI TEMPLE.

The Pasupati Temple, 23 miles from Kathmandu, is the most important of the Hindu temples in Nepal, dedicated to Shiva. This is the object of attraction to the pilgrims during the annual Mahasivratri festival. It is a wooden temple, built in the Nepalese-pagoda style and surrounded by a vast number of smaller temples and legend says that the Pasupati temple was built to commemorate the flight of Shiva who in the form of a gazelle, took refuge in the sacred wood of Shlesmantaka where now stands the temple.

The image has four faces, one on each side. The upper portion is in the form of linga and the image is about 5 feet in height. An Eka Mukhi (one-faced) Badraka Maha (sacred head) is inside the centre of the head.

Straight in front of the image lies the colossal figure of a bull, as big as the one in the Brahadswami temple in Tanjore, in the Madras Presidency.

TEMPLES AND SHRINEs.

Numerous are the temples round about Kathmandu and the provincial towns of the State.

Nilkanth Temple: six miles from Pasupatinath Mandir, it lies at the foot of the northern hills and is invested with more sanctity than most of the other out-lying places of Hindu worship in the Valley. It is dedicated to Maha Vishnu whose image, of gigantic proportions, lies upon a serpent coil. There are nine dhars or water-springs in the temple.

Guisherwari Temple: is situated a quarter of a mile north-east of Pasupathi Mandir, opposite the Bagmati river and it is ascended through a flight of steps. The head of the image is like a Purna Kumh seated on a Charaka and when the head is removed water flows from a spring. This holy water is given as parasada.

Tuttariya Temple: Nine miles from Kathmandu, it is one of the large temples in the Valley. The image has three faces Shri Shankaracharya on the right, Tuttariya in the centre and the Goddess Lakshmi or Iswari on the left.

Gokarnanath Temple: situated four and half miles off Pasupati Mandir on the banks of the Vangmochi river; it has a fine image of Gokarneshwar, with several images all round the praharam.

Raja Rajeshwari Temple: A few yards off the Pasupati Mandir. It has 10 nigravams (idols).

Swayambhunath Temple: dedicated to Devi Sitala is the most revered Buddhist shrine in the whole of Nepal and is yearly visited by many Buddhist pilgrims from Tibet and elsewhere. This temple is built on the crest of a wooded hill about 300 feet in height, to the west of Kathmandu. Round about the sacred compound are a multitude of smaller shrines and pillars crowned with images of divinities.

Bodhnath Temple: Another Buddhist shrine lies among the maize-field to the north-east of Kathmandu. It resembles Swayambhunath in general construction and is one of the holiest Buddhist shrines out of India.

SOCIAL REFORM.

Nepal is a conservative country and the Ruler is the supporter of orthodoxy. It is a religious country where Hinduism is preserved in all its purity, still it is not unconscious of evil practices and superstitions that have gathered round social customs, through religious beliefs. The custom of Sati was thus put an end to on June 28, 1920, in spite of the protests of the orthodox elements of the State.

Slavery existed in Nepal till quite recently and it was only in the winter of 1924 that a decree was passed abolishing slavery throughout Nepal. Slavery had existed in Nepal from time immemorial and it is mentioned in the Smritis and Tantras, and in a population of 51 millions, the total number of slave-owners was 15,719 and those held in slavery 51,419. It is said that the Nepa[l slave liberation scheme was completed at a cost of Rs. 3,670,000.
AERIAL ROPEWAY.

Mention must be made of the aerial ropeway constructed by the Nepal Government to facilitate the transit of goods over the Sisagarthi and Chandragarh Passes to and from Kathmandu, without in any way opening up for passenger traffic the new avenue into the capital. The matter was taken into consideration as far back as 1904 but it was then laid at rest.

The transports effected by air rope-ways by the Italians during the Great War induced the Ruler to reconsider the proposal after the War and the aerial ropeway between Kathmandu and Bhimpethi was constructed.

The cost of the scheme is estimated to have been about £100,000. Mr. B. S. Underhill, the Engineer in charge, wrote: “The Nepal Ropeway is 14 miles long as the crow flies, running from Dhursing near the head of the Kat road which connects it with British India to Kisipuli, in the Valley of Nepal. It passes over mountains 1,500 feet higher than Dhursing and its terminal at Kisipuli is 930 feet higher than that place.”

The ropeway carries general merchandise in average loads of 5 cwt. at the rate of 8 tons per hour in either direction and the heaviest individual load permissible is 10 cwt.

IMPRESSIONS.

Away from the din and bustle of a busy world, leading a life which is simple and plain, bereft of all luxuries and artificial life, the Nepalese at home lives, moves and has his being, in a self-contained sphere of his own, unmoved by the passing phases of the hour. To him the cinema and the theatre is, as it were, a forbidden fruit. He is always contented.

The Nepal Government is ever friendly with the British. The Ruler is the Father of his subjects who have ever a smiling countenance. Poverty and economic depression is a thing unheard of in this region.

The visitor who ‘does’ Nepal in a few short days returns from this sheltered Valley with vivid impressions of a land where Nature is bountiful, whose population is genial to a fault, where life is restful. Floreat Nepal!

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The Fascist State: In Theory and Practice

By

Mr. Anil K. Chanda, B. Sc., (Econ. London).

Our attention is to-day mostly directed towards Moscow and even though all of us do not intellectually comprehend Communism, most of us nevertheless feel sentimentally drawn towards it. The future of the world would much depend on the success or failure of the Five Years Plan, that is being worked out with such superhuman effort in the land of the Soviets. In the socio-political field, Communism is after all, one of the various experiments that are being worked out in different parts of the world at the present moment. It has to be admitted that Fascism has not received its due need of intellectual
scrutiny from our scholars and publicists. And yet Fascism cannot be ignored. It has been enthroned in power and popular esteem for close upon a decade in one of the greatest States of Europe and forty-five millions of civilized people are to-day being governed and guided according to its political and economical conceptions. Fascism does indeed deserve our attention, even as much as Communism itself.

It is impossible to form an adequate understanding of Fascism without some knowledge of the internal conditions of Italy during the fifty odd intervening years between the acquisition of Rome as the capital of the country in 1870 and the Fascist March on the City in 1922. By 1870, in the words of Mussolini, Italy had been made but not the Italians. It has fallen to the lot of Signor Mussolini to complete the work begun by that marvellous trio, Cavour, Mazzini and Garibaldi, so truly described as the brain heart and sword of Italian emancipation. The divergent elements of the land which Prince Matternich once facetiously dubbed as a mere geographical expression, are to-day being welded together into a well-knit nation under the white heat of Fascism.

Cavour died without finishing all his work, and unfortunately for Italy, between him and Mussolini, she never had a strong and capable man at the helm of affairs. During this half a century of untutored opportunities, the only man who draws our attention is Signor Giolitti. By many, this really very astounding man has been described as the Italian Lloyd George. Parliament was to him like a chessboard of which he knew every move and counter-move. By a wonderful permutation and combination of the numerous parliamentary groups, which characterised the Italian Parliament, he almost always managed to keep himself at the head of the ministry. But his interest ended there. He certainly was not the man to guide a country steeped in mediaevalism on to the path of prosperity and progress.

Moreover, it is highly questionable if a parliamentary form of government was at all suited to a country like Italy of the 19th century. At best, such a form of government is a luxury so aptly described by Mr. Lloyd George himself as a government by talk. And Italy could ill afford that. Even then the country was over-populated, industry practically unknown and Italy of the day stood for poverty, inefficiency, and corruption. Into this unprepared soil was sown the seed of full-blown liberal parliamentarianism. The result was, as could reasonably be predicted, disastrous. Finally, in 1919, with true Latin ardour, Italy adopted proportional representation, which only gave a fresh impetus to the fissiparous tendencies of the Italian Parliament. To add to the trouble there was ever present the tremendous hostility of the Catholic Church. This hostility was mainly occasioned by Italy's usurpation of the temporal domains of the Holy Father.

With the beginning of the present century several new forces were at work in Italy. In the first place, there was a strong revival of Catholicism and the strained relations between the Vatican and the Quirinal were to some extent relieved and in 1905, a Catholic Party appeared for the first time in the Italian Parliament. Secondly, there was a rapid growth of Syndicalism in the industrial north, as in France, the land of its origin, the syndicalists had no faith in parliamentary government and were always endeavouring for the over-throw of the same. And finally, side by side with these two, there was swiftly growing a keen sense of extreme nationalism, much akin in spirit to our own Swadeshi movement. All these three forces have contributed much to the moulding of Fascist thought and doctrine.

After the Great war, government almost came to a standstill in Italy. She was in the midst of chaos and on the verge of anarchy. Communism, in spite of inane guidance of the local leaders was making rapid headway and it was by no means an uncommon sight to find the red flag of the Third International, ins-
made of a different metal altogether. Like all true men of action, he was restless and pining for power, not so much for personal aggrandizement as for serving and saving his country in his light. The Fascio di Combattimento which he had formed in Milan was a semi-militaristic organisation, mainly composed of ex-soldiers and as such he was in a position to dictate terms to the bumbling and foundering central government. The unfortunate country was almost in a state of civil war, because the government was not in a position to maintain law and order, and no two parties of Red and Black Shirts (Communists and Fascists respectively, so termed from their uniforms) met each other without coming to some sanginary conflict. Things obviously could not go on for long in such a manner, and after a conference with his prominent lieutenants held at Naples on October, 25, 1922, Signor Mussolini sent an ultimatum to the government at Rome demanding their resignation within 24 hours, failing which the fascist legions would march into Rome and depose the government, if necessary by force. On government's not taking any action on the lines demanded, on October, 28, about 150,000 Black Shirts, under the direction of the Quadriviriate composed of the late Michele Bianchi, and Generals De Bono, De Vecchi and Italo Balbo marched into Rome in martial array. The then Prime Minister, Signor Facta, wanted to proclaim a condition of siege existing in the capital and put the whole country under martial law. The consequences of this action would have been terrible; it would have flung the country headlong into a most bloody civil war. But the king, Victor Emmanuel III, intervened and refused to put his signature on the necessary documents. He dismissed Facta and sent a telephonic message to Mussolini in Milan asking him to a royal audience; immediately Mussolini arrived in Rome the next morning and met the king; by three in the afternoon his coalition ministry was announced. Not a drop of blood was shed and a new chapter began in the chequered history of Italy.

As a matter of fact Fascism did not come to power through the portals of Parliament. In the election of 1921, no doubt Signor Mussolini and a handful of fascists got themselves elected as Deputies to the Lower House but Mussolini was clever enough to realise at the very beginning that were he to wait for a parliamentary majority to bring him to office and power, he would have to waste his life in political wilderness. But Signor Mussolini was
Such is, in short, the story of Mussolini’s coming to power. But it is not claimed that his escutcheon was stainless. Far from it. But it can be claimed on his behalf that his actions must be judged according to local conditions and local standards. In a country where till yesterday, the stiletto reigned supreme, where family feuds ran on for generations, and where the people are more accustomed to break heads than to count them, perhaps we should be more generous in passing any verdict on him and his party. He should certainly not be singled out for castigation.

II.

It is one thing to give a brief resume of Mussolini’s coming to power and it is a different thing altogether to explain the ethical basis of his doctrine. Our task becomes all the more difficult, because till very recently Fascists themselves have been very averse to theorising. It should always be borne in mind that Fascism grew as a practical defence against a rapidly developing state of anarchy, and as such Mussolini had often to trim his sails according to the passing needs. There is some sense behind the claim that he is the champion political pragmatist of the world. In the Fascist constitution of 1926 there occurs a very significant sentence. “In the armour of struggle acts always precede rules.” And, in short, action is really the very quintessence of Fascism. From the same document, we also gather that “Fascism is a militia, at the service of the nation and its aim is to achieve the greatness of the Italian nation.” It would have passed as a serviceable definition of Fascism had it not contained the gloriously vague expression “greatness of the Italian nation.” Now, who can tell of what is the greatness of a nation composed of? It would be extremely interesting to have a collection of the views of the leaders of the modern world thought on the matter, though it can safely be predicted that the views of, say, for instance, Mahatma Gandhi, Stalin, and Herr Hitler would not very much be alike. It seems, from his pronouncements and actions that in the political dictionary of Signor Mussolini “greatness” stands for what can roughly be described as “honour abroad and prosperity at home.”

Perhaps, the best and most direct explanation of the Fascist theory of the State is through a study of the symbol of the party, which so much grieved and frightened Srijut Mahadev Desai—a bundle of rods tied together with an axe. In the palmell days and of grandeur of the Roman Empire too, the same used to denote the personality of the State, borne in by the fectors before the magistrates. Major Barnes in his illuminating little monograph on “Fascism” (The Home Library Series) approaches the question thus:—“The symbolism is twofold. In the first place, the axe is the symbol of state authority of the importance, nay necessity, of the authority of the State to all well-ordered society, recalling the Roman tradition of authority and of the reign of law and order that was Rome. Secondly, the bundle of rods invokes the idea that in unity we discover strength, whereas a child would be able to break each rod, taken singly, over his puny knee, a bundle bound together is capable of resisting the force of the strongest man. So the idea of authority is here blended with the idea of co-operation, of the need of co-operation as well as of authority in any well-ordered society...... It is important to grasp the simple symbolism underlying the word (fascio), which led to the choice of the bundle of rods and the axe as the emblem of the movement; for herein we have a key notion of its meaning: “Authority and Co-operation.”

This notion of the supreme authority of the State is no new contribution in the Science of Politics or in the art of government. On the contrary, its speciality is its very antiquity. The Fascists themselves do not claim any novelty for their theory of the State. They claim instead historical continuity of thought in Italy. According to the Fascist doctrine, the State is a political unity whose raison d’être is the promotion of the General Good. The highest form of state is a national state. A member of a State can have no interest
greater than that of the State itself. That is, the main function of the State is to safeguard the interest of the community first and always. The individual is subordinate to the State and since, as a matter of fact, he realises the best in him only through the agency of the State, he has to, and if necessary, he will be made to, identify his interests entirely and unconditionally with those of the State. Authority of the State cannot be questioned, because that authority is always wielded for the good of the community as a whole. The only limitation that the authority of the State suffers from is being bound by Moral Law.

This unquestionable and unquestioned supremacy of the Fascist State, of course, negates the conception of personal liberty of the subject, perhaps the very arch-stone of Anglo-saxon political thought. Has not the Duce himself exclaimed, "Know them once and for all, that Fascism recognises no idols, adores no fetiches; it has already passed over the more or less decayed body of the goddess Liberty, and is quite prepared if necessary to do so, once more."? Further, "Liberty is not a right, it is duty......The notion of liberty changes in time. There is a liberty in times of peace, another liberty in times of war. There is a liberty for prosperous times and another for lean times." In passing, it should be noted that the Fascists hold that Italy is to-day going through a period of transition. The Golden Journey has only just begun and this period of transition requires abnormal sacrifices on the part of the nation. Personal liberty has, as a result, sunk to a vanishing point. Thus the absolutist philosophy of the State has been perfected under Signor Mussolini and according to the new Italian Penal Code, it is a crime for an Italian subject to "offend" against the personality and sanctity of the State, no matter whether at home or abroad. It is of some significance that in the recent controversy regarding the legalising of the Catholic clubs, the Pope accused Fascism of having engendered a pagan worship of the State.

In fairness to him, it must be said that Mussolini has paid equal attention, if not more, to a free-play of co-operation in his State as much to enforce authority. But unfortunately it is the darker side of his regime that draws the attention of the outer world, whereas the salutary features of his Scheme have almost entirely escaped attention. Sir Charles Petrie has very correctly observed that Mussolini has achieved Social Reform without recourse to Socialism. It may even be asserted that within a framework of capitalism, he has effected socialism.

In August 1924, he appointed a commission under the presidency of Signor Gentile—one of the greatest of Italian intellectuals—to go into the whole question of government and constitution. The final report of the Commission was published in July 1925, and is a comprehensive analysis of what is known as the Corporate State. The New Italian constitution is based mainly on the findings of the Gentile Commission.

This Corporate State is founded on what the Duce calls National Fascist Syndicalism, as contradistinct from socialist syndicalism which believes so very intensely in incessant and inherent class warfare. Fascist syndicalism, on the other hand, wants to subordinate Capital and Labour to the national interest. According to the Fascist doctrine, the State is not capable of performing efficiently productive economic function. It believes in private property and holds private management and gain to be the greatest incentive to industrial progress and prosperity. Hence we notice the greatest theoretical difference between Socialism and Fascism. The protection which Fascism gives to property and the encouragement that it gives to the worker, who owns his own means of livelihood have contributed much to the popularity of Fascism; for there exists even to-day in Italy a very large proportion of people, who remain their own masters. According to the Census of 1921, nearly 50 per cent. of the total population owned property of some sort or other. In such a
community, Socialism would not obviously be very popular. But though Fascism believes in the ethics of private property, it does not tolerate one to do anything that is harmful to the collective interest. That is, it does not allow the nation to be exploited for private gain. The State, therefore, keeps an ever-vigilant watch on the people engaged in economic pursuits. It insists on all private property being also regarded as public trust.

The Labour Charter of April 20, 1927, is rightly held to be one of the greatest achievements of the Fascist regime. It exhaustively defines the rights and duties of Labour and Capital with regard to national well-being. Further, it legalises the existence of unions both of employers and employees and lays out an elaborate scheme for the smooth working of these corporations. It is in this Charter that Signor Mussolini betrays the syndicalist origin of his political education, though early in his political life, nationalism—Italia sopratutto—rather than syndicalism was a greater attraction for him. Thus, his syndicates or corporations are all subservient to the State. He has taken the sting out of the disruptive forces of syndicalism.

Under the Trades Union Act of 1927, the corporations are divided into three different categories: (a) Employers, (b) workers, and (c) intellectual Workers. In Italy to-day there is a veritable hierarchy of such corporations. That is, the corporations are primarily formed in the communes. The representatives of these communes—corporations sit in the provincial corporations. Similarly, provincial representatives form together the national corporations. The national corporations are 13 in number, 6 for employers, 6 for employees and 1 for intellectual workers. All these 13 different national corporations are under a Grand National Council known as Ente Nazionale Co-operativo. This is directly under the Minister of Corporations.

The main function of the unions is to safeguard the interests of the group that they represent. But they always work under official supervision. Strikes and lockouts are made illegal and are heavily penalised. Special courts are set up to deal with trade disputes. They consist of the judges of the Court of Appeal assisted by experts. Recourse to the Magistracy of Labour are obligatory and its decisions are absolutely final.

Before we pass on to a discussion of the Central Government, it would be interesting to give here the opinion of an impartial and acute observer, Sir Leo Chiozza Money. Writing in the Glasgow Forward, he drew a comparison between the sad inactivity of the Macdonald Government and the fever-heat enthusiasm of the Mussolini group; "Italy, no more than the Labour Government in England, can make the world prosperous, but what it has done is by Socialist national organisation (dictated, but still socialism) to make Italy prosperous in very difficult times. It has reclaimed enormous tracts of land, lent cheap money to the public housing institutes (which put up nice palaces for the working class with rents which I suppose...would not believe if I told him) and organised the whole country in syndicates... does not believe the workers have a say in these syndicates; I can only beg of him to go and investigate..."

The outer facade of the Italian constitution of to-day is much the same as that of any other modern democratic country, but the substance behind is, enormously, if not entirely, different. There is the constitutional monarch at the head of the State, who like the English king reigns but does not rule. There is also present the almost ubiquitous Parliament of two Houses. But we shall miss the whole spirit of the constitution unless we understand the position of the Prime Minister, Signor Mussolini. He is irresponsible. By a law of December, 24, 1925, he is called the head of the Government, and though he is appointed by the king and can also be dismissed by him, the latter must maintain him in office until "the system of economic, moral and political forces" which raised him to power shall cease. By article 6 of the same law, he is
made independent of any parliamentary vote of censure or of no-confidence. And no proposal can be put before the Parliament without his previous sanction.

The Prime minister is, like his English père-a-père, the head of the Cabinet—primus inter pares. The other cabinet ministers are all chosen by him and are entirely responsible to him. The ministry is irresponsible with regard to the legislature. Like Tennyson's Brook it goes on for ever, irrespective of the opinion of Parliament. By a law of 1926, the Executive has the power of making any decrees for reasons of urgency and necessity. But if any such executive decree is to remain in force for more than two years it must be ratified by Parliament.

The Italian Upper House, called the Senate, is formed on the model of the English House of Lords, though it is not hereditary in character. Princes of the blood royal sit in it by right. The others are all chosen by the king on the advice of the Prime Minister for any eminent service done to the State. They must be over forty years of age. It is, therefore, a highly representative body of Italian intelligentsia. For instance, Marconi is a member of the Senate, as well as Professor Carlo Focchi, the eminent Sanskrit scholar of the Rome University, who a few years ago was the visiting professor in Tagore's Visva-Bharati.

Before we begin a description of the Lower House or the Chamber of Deputies as it is officially designated, it is best to say that the so-called Parliamentary sovereignty does not exist in Italy. We have already mentioned that the ministry is not responsible to it. And roughly speaking, ministerial responsibility is one of the main criteria of the sovereignty of parliament. Says the late Secretary-General of the International Centre of Fascist studies: "They (the chambers) share, of course, some of the sovereignty (though in a minor degree than the executive) by virtue of their legislative powers and through them the people at large may be said to share in a still minor degree, in the sovereignty. But they do not pretend to constitute the main real sovereign power as they do in a democratic constitution." Really speaking the Italian Parliament is not much different in character to our own Indian Legislatures.

In the method of election to the Chamber of Deputies lies the chief novelty of the Fascist constitution. In every modern democratically constituted country, the electoral districts are based territorially. That is, when John Citizen goes to cast his vote in any election, he does so by virtue of his citizenship or of residence in any locality. This method of representation is, of course, open to serious objection. Can it really be representative? How can one truly and adequately represent any other group of people, in all their totality of intellectual perceptions? Say, for instance, an election is being fought on the question of Free-trade versus protection. X may be elected by a majority vote of the Free-traders and as such, it may be said that with regard to that particular question, X truly and fully represents the mind of his constituency. But a parliament is not elected to decide a single particular issue. Its field is vast—almost illimitable. And beyond that narrow question on which X was elected, his faith and ideas may be—and very often they are—opposed to those of his constituency. And then, would it not be the very negation of the idea of representation to have such a constituency represented by X? Fascists have found a way out of this imbroglio by making economic interests and not territoriality, the basis of the electorate. X may not be able to truly and adequately represent a territorial district, but if he is an advocate by profession and returned to Parliament by the vote of the advocates' corporation, he will be in a position to represent such a constituency in the fullest sense of the term.

Says Major Barnes: "It (the chamber of deputies) represents the various productive interests (possibly conflicting interests) within the nation. Each member is definitely known to represent a particular interest, and his business is to plead that interest; but naturally—in
a clearly defined body such as this—he will plead in vain, unless he can show reason that the interests he wishes to promote are capable of being squared with the national interests."

Deputies are indirectly elected by the thirteen syndicates of workers, employers, and professional classes, which are juridically recognised as organs of the corporate state. Some other social bodies—cultural, educational, charitable—etc., are also given this privilege. These societies are chosen every three years by a parliamentary committee consisting of five senators and five deputies. The thirteen syndicates make a list of 600 persons whom they would like to have as deputies in the Chamber, each of these syndicates being given the right to choose a number, in proportion to their numerical strength. The non-professional bodies make a list of 200 other names. These two lists of 800 names are then submitted to the Fascist Grand Council, which is the supreme executive committee of the party and can roughly be compared to the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress. This Grand Council thereupon makes a shorter list of 400 names out of these combined lists, adding or deleting any names it chooses. This list is then submitted to the country, all Italian male subjects of 21 and more, being eligible for voting. The whole country as one electoral district is asked to accept or reject the list in its entirety. In case of rejection—almost an unbelievable proposition—fresh lists are to be prepared and submitted to the country. Any organisation having five thousand or more members on its roll may claim to have a separate list of its own. The seats are then to be allotted according to a form of proportional representation.

It is almost futile to submit this method of election to a critical examination, because, in the first place, this is no election, at least in the sense as we understand it to be, and, secondly, the Italian parliament is no parliament at all, since it merely exists to give its approval to the decrees passed by the Fascist Grand Council. It lacks the independence which is the prime quality of any parliament. This scheme can best be described as a plebiscite for the Fascist Party. And as such it is really successful. For whatever the Manchester Guardian may say, it is an undeniable fact that Signor Mussolini is to-day looked upon as a veritable Messiah by millions of his fellow-countrymen. He might have curtailed liberty, but he has at least given them order and prosperity. In his own words the people did not want liberty from him, they wanted bread. Let it be said in fairness to him that he has done it.

In conclusion, a word or two should be said about the Grand Council. It is now legally established as an organ of the State—perhaps the most flagrant tampering with any constitution ever perpetrated by a responsible statesman. But if we look deeply into the matter, we shall look upon it more as a blunder than a crime. For, in every parliamentary state, the party caucus plays a most important role. It is only a question of degree. Even a casual observer could have detected the dictatorial tone adopted by the Trades Union Congress in shaping the policies of the last Labour Government. That was even more clearly noticeable in the case of the labour caucus and the last Labour Government in Australia. It was at its worst a bad tactical blunder on the part of the Duce. He would have been just as much of a dictator even without tampering with the constitution in such a blatant fashion. The Grand Council is empowered to advise the government on every political, economic and social question. All the members of the Cabinet are ex-officio members of the Grand Council. So naturally these two bodies tend to become identified with each other. The Council is also empowered to nominate the successor, in case of death or disability of Signor Mussolini. Perhaps it would be interesting to quote here from a speech delivered by the Duce before the party convention, in May, 1927. "I have become convinced that I must carry on the task of governing the Italian nation for ten or fifteen years yet. My successor is not yet born."
The design of this paper is to consider, first, how the organic constitutional relations between the League of Nations and India can be improved, and, secondly, whether the moral influence, if not the actual agency of the League can be brought to bear upon the solution of the problem of the Indo-British relations.

India is an original member of the League, and, every year since its formation, has sent a delegation to its Assembly. Her contribution to the expenses of the League is considerable. Indeed, there is a feeling entertained even by the Government of India that it is out of proportion to the actual benefits hitherto derived by the Indian people from the work of the League. This feeling was strongly voiced in the Assembly of the League by Lord Lytton, who led the Indian delegation in 1928. Nevertheless, in spite of comparative paucity of tangible benefits, India has loyally co-operated in the activities of the League, and has been doing her best to discharge the obligations laid upon her by its resolutions.

India's membership of the League is regarded as having given her Dominion Status internationally. The late Mr. Montagu always stressed this connotation of her membership, and hoped that it would react upon her internal status, quickly leading to the full realization of her Dominionhood. Mr. Winston Churchill recently described this international Dominion Status of India as ceremonial. This description, though not entirely devoid of truth, is not wholly true. That her membership of the League has given India a kind of Dominion Status in international relations can hardly be denied. On the other hand, this nebulous or inchoate or imperfect or quasi-international Dominion Status is somewhat embarrassing, and brings into greater relief the yawning gulf between what is and what should be, nationally and internationally. India cannot have genuine and full Dominion Status internationally, unless and until she has such status nationally. This proposition is too plain to be disputed. It must not, however, be understood to imply that she should forego such international Dominion Status as she has got by her membership of the League. It gives her a vantage ground, of which the fullest use should be made.

With the exception of India, the members of the League are either independent countries or Dominions of the British Commonwealth. India being neither an independent country nor a Dominion, the organic constitutional relations between her and the League are not free from anomaly. Article 3 of the Covenant of the League of Nations provides that "the Assembly shall consist of representatives of members of the League". This has been construed by the Government of India to mean that members of the Indian delegation must be selected by themselves, and that the Indian Legislature should have no voice in the matter. This view would make the Government of India synonymous with India. It is inconsistent with the position that by her membership of the League India has obtained Dominion Status or quasi-Dominion Status internationally. As I have said, this status is far from being equal to real and full Dominion Status, such as is enjoyed by Canada, Australia, the Irish Free State, South Africa and New Zealand. But such as it is,
it should entail the representation of India on the Assembly, not by the nominees of the Government, but by the representatives of the people. The Constitution of India has created a Central Legislature which is representative of the electorate which, though limited, must, in principle, be regarded as responsible not only for its own interests but also for the interests of those who do not as yet enjoy the franchise. If the spirit of the League Covenant and the spirit of the Indian Constitution are to be scrupulously followed, Article 3 of the Covenant must be understood as enjoining, not that India's representatives to the Assembly must necessarily be selected by the Government, but that they should be chosen by the Indian Legislature. At all events, there is nothing in the Article which would make the election of India's representatives, excluding the representatives of Indian India, by the Indian Legislature, illegal or unconstitutional. The analogy of the Dominions, whose representatives are chosen by their Governments, is not the point, because those Governments are responsible.

It is possible to reach a compromise in this matter. The Indian Legislature may elect a panel of 15 or 20 members from which the British Indian section of the delegation may be chosen by the Government.

The debates of the Indian Legislature show that it has taken considerable interest in the League and its work. The Hon. Sir Phiroze Sethna has fought for the liberalization of the constitution of the Indian delegation and for Indian leadership thereof. But this interest will certainly grow if the Legislature is allowed some voice in the choice of the personnel of the delegation. There should also be a Joint Advisory Committee of the Legislature to advise Government on questions coming before the Assembly.

Suggestions have been made that there should be, as far as possible, continuity in the personnel of the delegation, the delegates being chosen, say, for three years, and that a permanent representative of India should be maintained at Geneva, who should keep himself in continuous touch with the activities of the League and safeguard the legitimate interests of India. Both these suggestions deserve to be accepted by the Government and given effect to.

One of the activities of the League which I consider very important and valuable is that relating to Intellectual Co-operation. One of the best means of promoting international harmony and good-will is to promote international knowledge of the best thought, aspirations and ideals of the different countries and peoples of the world, embodied in their literatures, particularly their living literatures of the present, not their dead literatures of the past. We Indians try to understand English and Continental thought in a fair appreciative spirit. But how many Europeans are there who care to understand our thought and to understand it in a spirit of sympathy and appreciation? The ideas of racial and National superiority and inferiority, which have played such havoc with human unity and solidarity, peace and happiness, can only be removed by mutual understanding and appreciation of the thought and culture of the several peoples of the world. Ultimately, a common international thought and culture heritage must be created by a reasoned synthesis of the different thought and culturesystems of the world; and I believe the movement for Intellectual Co-operation, inaugurated under the auspices of the League as an essential part of its work, will be helpful in evolving such a synthesized common International thought and culture. In order that India may effectively co-operate in this noble work of Intellectual Co-operation, I would suggest that a National Academy should be founded in India with sub-Academies, each sub-Academy concerning itself with Intellectual Co-operation in each distinct important linguistic region. And this National Academy with its Provincial or linguistic sub-Academies should be linked with the Committee on
Intellectual Co-operation instituted by the League and with the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation created by the French Government in 1925 and placed under the auspices of the League, for investigating questions referred to it, and carrying out decisions reached by the League's Committee on Intellectual Co-operation. So much for improving the organic constitutional relations between India and the League.

I now turn to the second question which this paper is designed to answer: Can the moral influence, if not the actual agency, of the League be brought to bear upon the solution of the problem of how to place Indo-British relations upon a permanently satisfactory basis?

In my book entitled "Principles of the Constitution of the United States of India" published in 1930, while the first Round Table Conference was in session, I have urged the development of the League of Nations so as to extend its jurisdiction to disputes between one country and another, though they may not be independent, but members of the same Commonwealth or Empire. And I quoted with approval some remarks bearing on this point made by Professor Laszki in a lecture on "International Government and National Sovereignty," delivered by him in 1926 at the Geneva Institute of International Relations. Those remarks are very suggestive. Mr. Laszki said:

"I am concerned to bring home to the modern Nation-State the notion that it is not sovereign in the concerns of the world; that it is not entitled to form its judgment as though other States were not in existence; that in each step that it takes, in which the interests of others are concerned, the judgment that is formed is a judgment that must be formed in concert with those others and, in addition to being formed in concert with those others, must be formed also by the aid and assistance of Powers more nearly impartial than the parties to the conflict.

I should be prepared to have Great Britain state her case in relation to India before the League of Nations with an entire confidence in the result such as, being an Englishman, I do not have when I am told by Englishmen that we are in India for the benefit of India, and by Indians that we are in India for the benefit of Great Britain. I find a certain margin of difference between those statements that leaves me with a sense of moral discomfort".

I sent a copy of my book to Mr. Harris, Editor of Headway, a monthly review of the League of Nations, and, in a letter he wrote to me, he said:

"I have been reading your book with great interest, particularly the passages suggesting ways in which the League of Nations might be associated with the settlement. It so happens that I was discussing with Sastri, who was lunching with me just a week ago, this very interesting idea, of which, I imagine, more will be heard".

Let me try to clinch my point. The question of India's Constitution is at present under consideration. No settlement has yet been reached though certain principles, upon which the constitutional structure is to be raised, have been settled. The parties concerned are Great Britain, the Indian States and British India. Within British India herself, the parties are the Minorities, the Congressmen and the non-Congress Nationalists. The communal award is to be given by the British Government. If this award is acceptable to all the parties concerned, one point of dispute will be settled. But if it is not, what is going to happen? What should happen? Should the parties to which it may not be acceptable resort to direct action and thereby disturb the normal life of the Indian people, and add to the disturbance already caused to it? Or, again, the question of the safeguards may not be settled by agreement. The actual measure
of responsibility to be transferred to the Indian people may be another bone of contention. Speaking specifically, the present warfare between the Congress and the Government may go on, involving Civil Disobedience on the one hand, and Ordinance-rule on the other. Cannot the parties agree to make a fresh effort towards restoration of co-operative relations by the abandonment of Civil Disobedience and Ordinance-rule and by an understanding that, if after further prosecution of the Conference method, any questions remain unsettled, they may be referred to the arbitration of an independent tribunal set up by the League of Nations? Cannot the agency of the League be invoked for the purpose of removing such inter-Commonwealth or inter-Empire differences or disputes?

The constitutional position, unfortunately, is that the League cannot intervene in such disputes. This is one of its limitations which must be removed in due course. But why should not the principle underlying the League be appealed to and all vital questions affecting the relations between India and England referred to an independent tribunal, if no mutual agreement is reached? The doctrine of National sovereignty will really not be affected by such reference, for that doctrine can have no application to the case of dispute between one country and another which have not fused themselves into a single political community or a single Nation. Even though the League may not directly apply itself to the consideration and settlement of any vital dispute between England and India, it should not hesitate to exercise its moral influence in bringing about a better understanding between them. The League must gain at least in such moral influence; otherwise it is difficult to see how those very anti-social forces which the League is designed to remove from international relations can be prevented or how their malignant operations be circumscribed within the narrowest possible limits. Unless all parties develop to the highest pitch the will to peaceful settlement, I see no way out of the present difficulties, whether they relate to England or India or other countries. Mankind cannot have peace, and the progress and the happiness of which peace is a vital condition, if it will not cultivate the proper spirit and develop the right will. It is the duty of all those who believe in the cause of peace to promote the cultivation of such spirit and the development of such will. Upon those who belong to the League of Nations Union, and have faith in its ideals, this duty devolves in a special measure.

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**Sir Horace Plunkett: The Man & His Mission**

_T.s. Mr. Hemendra Prasad Ghose._

Sir Horace Plunkett, who died full of years and of honour succeeded in doing for Ireland what generations of patriots had failed to do in the heat and dust of political struggle. Due importance has not been given to the constructive work done by Sir Horace Plunkett and his co-workers. But the importance of their work has not escaped the notice of people in other parts of the world, especially in countries like India in which the conditions are similar to those in Ireland.

In 1815 Lord Carmichael, Governor of Bengal, paid a visit to Murshidabad which had once been famous for industries and suggested
that the home workers of the district should be given a chance of displaying their skill in Calcutta and that afterwards a permanent sample-house should be established where their work could always be bought. The Statesman made the following remarks on the suggestions: "This plan has been tried in many cases in Europe. Probably Sir Horace Plunkett’s efforts to link up the Irish villages with the populous centres is the most famous as it is the most successful instance of the revival of village life and village industry".

As a matter of fact, the revival of village industry was a part of the programme advocated and advanced by Sir Horace after a careful study of the economic conditions of Ireland. The task before him and his associates was "the adaptation to the special circumstances of Ireland of methods successfully pursued by communities similarly situated in other countries". And after five years’ pioneer work he considered that the time had arrived when they would be justified in forming a centralized Co-operative Union in Ireland which would aim at Agricultural Co-operation. The condition of Ireland at the time when Sir Horace appeared on the scene was distressing. Discussing the situation the late Mr. Stead remarked in the Review of Reviews: "It is indeed high time that light did arise from some quarter to illumine the cimmerian darkness which has been steadily settling upon Ireland. Ireland is our great failure, the greatest and most universally conspicuous of all the failures which we have made in the world...Many of the ills of Ireland arise from its poverty". And, as James Connolly said, "to the cry of despair swelling up from the hearts of families, crouching in hunger upon the road side in sight of their homes, to the heart-broken appeal of the labourer permanently disemployed by the destruction of his source of employment, to the wail of famishing women and children the politicians invariably had but one answer. "Be law-abiding, and wait for the repeal of the Union." The population had been forced into entire dependence on the land and the country had been reduced to that economic condition in which famine became chronic. It was to change this miserable condition of the country that Sir Horace applied himself.

The example of Sir Horace Plunkett and Lord Montague, Sir Nugent Everard, Father Finlay and Mr. R. A. Anderson—his associates in inaugurating the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society in 1894—should be emulated by every Indian who has the welfare of India at heart. A careful study of the work done by the Society would bring home to the student the truth of Sir Horace’s insistence on the necessity of rebuilding the country from within, and with it the importance of Co-operation in so doing. Almost immediately after the establishment of the Society, Sir Horace wrote a letter to the newspapers which brought about the formation under his chairmanship of the Recess Committee in which extreme Nationalists and thorough-going Unionists sat side by side and which opened a new chapter in the economic history of Ireland—reminding one of the well-known lines in Isaiah: "But there shall be no gloom to her that was in anguish. In the former time he brought into contempt the land, but in the latter time hath he made it glorious. The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light. They that dwell in the land of the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined."

It is needless to say that instead of endeavouring to evolve schemes of reform from our own inner consciousness, the first thing always is to ascertain what has already been done with success elsewhere, and then having ascertained that, to bring our best judgment to bear as to how much of it can be adopted for use at home. This is precisely what the Recess Committee did. They tell us in their report: "We first devoted our attention to the present economic condition of Ireland, and sought to trace our industrial shortcomings and commercial disadvantages to their more direct causes. Then we sent special Commissioners to the following
countries:—France, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Bavaria, Wurttemburg, Austria, Hungary and Switzerland. They were asked to enquire into the development, in each country, of its industrial resources through the agency of State aid and the active co-operation of the inhabitants”.

Having obtained these reports they proceeded to evolve a scheme embodying that which was most likely to heal the ills Ireland complained.

The recommendation of the Committee as to what should be done in Ireland was, in brief, that the people should be encouraged and stimulated to help themselves, and that the best means to do this was to adopt the system which had been found the most efficacious for promoting local effort in countries which nearly corresponded to the social and economic conditions of Ireland.

The one supreme object which the Committee had put before them was to create in every Irish parish a center of life for purposes of co-operation, of education, and of social and industrial amelioration. The importance of this object in an agricultural country cannot be over-estimated. The report of the Committee resulted in the inauguration of the department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland. And it indirectly helped the I.A.O.S. to push on its work on sound lines. How thoroughly the Committee did the work would be evident from the fact that as soon as it was calculated that there were only 240 days in the year during which a man could work upon the land, and that, to fill the interval for a population mainly agricultural with remuneration, wholesome and dignifying occupation was not only an economic but a social and moral problem of the highest interest to the nation, they suggested that there was a large field capable of development as artistic handicrafts and gave a suggestive list. Then the Recess Committee and the I.A.O.S. established a new era of progress in rural reconstruction in Ireland.

As we have said Ireland, like India, was—and still is—a pre-eminently agricultural country with the rural industries deeply distressed. The task before Sir Horace Plunkett and his associates was to change the existing condition of things. The aims and scope of the I.A.O.S. were simply and clearly stated by Sir Horace in the first of the I.A.O.S. leaflets in which it was emphatically said that the Society was “neither sectarian nor political”. They also stated that the organizers of the Society “have carefully studied Ireland’s depressed condition, and they are persuaded they have found a means of bringing about a better state of things in the country. They take it for granted that the welfare of Ireland depends mainly upon the welfare of the Irish farmer. To make Ireland prosperous many things will have to be done, many industries promoted, but the first thing to be done, is to improve the farmer’s condition. And this improvement, they are convinced, can be, and is being, brought about by farmers themselves uniting to improve the methods of their industry, as all the prosperous farmers of the world have done, or are doing”.

The example of Denmark was cited and it was pointed out how science was at work in the Danish farm—“physical science, which teaches men how nature can yield them a return for their labour which fifty years ago would have been thought impossible, and social science which teaches men engaged in the same industry how to combine together to help themselves by helping each other”.

Sir Horace next proceeded to lay down two fundamental principles of the movement which must be clearly understood before any progress can be made. “The first is that the salvation of your industry must come from yourselves, and yourselves alone; the second is, that you cannot effect the desired improvement as individuals. The work to be done can only be accomplished by united effort, or, in other words, by agricultural co-operation”.
To the Irish peasant was demonstrated how a well-organised association of farmers can improve the conditions of the farming industry in five main directions:—(1) It enables them to own and use jointly expensive machinery which individuals cannot generally own. It lowers the cost of production for its members in many ways as it obtains for them seeds, manures, feeding stuffs, implements, and general farm requisites, of the guaranteed quality and at the lowest cost. (2) It can exercise some control in the farmers' interest, over the marketing of live-stock and produce. It can get these commodities carried at a lower rate to the markets, and in much better condition. (3) When the market is reached, the farmers associated together can have their goods sold by their own agents, in their own interest, and thereby save to themselves many of those middlemen's profits which represent the astonishing difference between what the producer gets and the consumer pays. (4) By co-operation the farmer can borrow money at a much lower rate of interest than he has to pay when borrowing individually and also have the loan made for a sufficiently long term to enable him to repay it out of the profits earned by the application of the loan itself. (5) When they work together the farmers soon find that by exchange of ideas among themselves, by friendly discussion and mutual help, they become better farmers, better businessmen and better members of Society.

The ideal was to substitute for stagnation in rural areas a civilisation suited to a rural community. That was Sir Horace Plunkett's mission in life. And the work to which he devoted his energies is the work which India needs, for agriculture is India's universal industry and to be economically sound, we must make it the basis of the industries we hope to build up in the future.

It is a significant fact that it was as food-producers that the Americans got their first start in international trade. Their agricultural produce, their wheat and cotton exports, provided them with the money to build factories and iron works. Even yet their largest industries are closely connected with agriculture. There is no reason why the same should not be the case in India; why in India which is a peasant empire and where a rural civilisation has kept the people contented and progressive for centuries, the people should not organise themselves to rebuild that civilisation and create a clean social condition in which it would be possible for the people to progress along the path of self-realisation.

The climatic conditions and social traditions of India favour such rebuilding and it is for the educated leaders of the people to take up the work which certainly awaits them. In the village community and the social system the builder will find ample materials which he has to utilise with care and caution to construct a new India peaceful, progressive and prosperous.
The Problem of the Misfits.

By Mr. Bhagat Ram Kumar, B.A., (Oxon.)

It is an obvious truism that all social organisations and institutions exist for the sake of the individual: they are the means which he utilises for self-unfoldment and self-perfection. Man is essentially a spirit, an abstract being, and the abstract can express itself by taking a concrete form. An artist must find a canvas or marble to clothe the beauty of his thought forms: the poet and philosopher must find words for the same purpose. The rose and sunset reveal the beauty of colour, the hills the peace of eternity, and sea the depth of the deep. And exactly in the same manner man must have wife and children, parents and relations to develop the tender qualities of love and protection: he must have friends to show faithfulness, state to develop patriotism, caste to develop loyalty, religion to express his gratitude to the unknown cause of his being.

As Aristotle pointed out long ago, the state came into being for the sake of mere life, but it continues for the sake of a good life—a life which has to express itself in and through social institutions. Resistance is essential for progress, and similarly social institutions are indispensable for the onward growth of man. As the dumb-bells develop our bodily muscles, so does social contact develop the muscles of the soul. The highest qualities of the soul—love, tenderness, self-sacrifice—are developed more by a life of honestly fulfilled duties than by the solitary life of the hermit in the cell away from social obligations and duties.

The proper adjustment of the individual and social institutions, then, is the most vital task of society. The two must be in gear if there is to be the maximum of efficiency or any efficiency at all. To the extent that the two are out of gear is the individual ineffective and helpless and therefore marking time. Failing to subserve the needs of man, institutions cease to be serviceable, and become a hindrance and an encumbrance. Hence it is that in every age the wise men have given especial attention to secure harmony between the individual and the social organism. This was the fundamental justification of the caste system in ancient India. Upon this basis was built not only a stable, but also a happy society. The place of every man was thus easily found in society and the individual fitted into it naturally and without question or effort. Man is at heart individualist—and naturally so, since each person is unique—and would not in early stages submit to the yoke of institutions unless imposed upon him with religious or other sacred authority.

The comparative influence upon man of nurture and nature is a moot point of dispute. But this much can be accepted without doubt that nurture is more powerful with the civilised man, and nature with the savage. Civilisation is dynamic; it is ever moving forward because of man's inner promptings. Hence it is not enough that social institutions were at one time in harmony with the cravings and yearnings of man. They must ever keep pace with him if they are to be useful at all. In one sense the difference between the savage and the civilised man is simply this—that the latter has unfolded more of his hidden possessions than the former. But every possession that he unfolds, every faculty that he develops, requires new instruments and channels of expression. To the savage a masterpiece in art or literature is only a luxury, to the cultured man it is a necessity.
Hence a society which fails to keep up the supply of new organisations with the demand is really starving some part of its people. But not only is each step in civilisation the development of a new faculty; it is also the refinement of older faculties. There is all the world of difference between the music of the savage and the music of the civilised man—and yet essentially the two are the same. Social organism has to keep pace with the individual, if the latter is not to be thwarted or dwarfed.

In other words the social organism must grow and modify its parts as its members expand in needs and experience. Life must ever grow and adapt itself to environments: failure to do this entails death. Social organisations that do not grow and therefore change, inevitably stagnate, bringing death upon themselves and their members. If the individual grows and the social organisation does not adapt itself to the change there must inevitably be confusion and chaos. If the individual sacrifices his own individuality to fit into his environments, unsympathetic though they be, he can never find peace and happiness; for he is sacrificing the very law of his being, his self-development. On the other hand, if he is compelled, most of the time, to be out of society or to be against it, he is equally unhappy, for he is unable to achieve self-fulfilment. Unless and until the two are in complete accord there can be no peace for man, for whom social organisation is the means of self-perfection and without self-perfection there is no happiness.

This problem of the social "misfits"—square men in round holes—is one of the most serious in India to-day. On all sides we witness its menace and magnitude. Only the other day a friend of mine, a rich merchant, was telling me how his son felt it beneath his dignity to join the business of his firm because he was a B.A. Honours. Our ancestors were not ashamed of manual labour for it was part of their heritage; it came with birth. Hence society was stable, because each man willingly took his place in it. But the young man of to-day refuses to accept the lot of his birth and yearns somehow to escape it. In the village there is aversion for agriculture so that every matriculate would much rather be a clerk than a peasant; and in the towns we all want to be gentlemen at large, with no heart to fill a useful and vital part in society for which we are adapted. The peasant boy who insists upon being a clerk merely because he is a matriculate is not thus going to be happy, because he will be severed from all social ties in the process, and the town graduate is, in most cases, equally a misfit, because every man, fortunately, was not destined for sitting on a chair or stool.

The fault, of course, does not lie entirely with the individual. In many cases, it lies with the social organisations. We are misfits in our profession, because it is in most cases divorced from our instincts and craving, and similarly we are misfits in our homes and our religions. On the one hand we allow our boys and girls to imbibe the western ideas of family and private life and of religion and philosophy; and on the other we expect them still to accept with faith and without questioning our old social institutions and religious belief and formulae. The two things are impossible. Man is not an inanimate part—part red and part green—he is one living being, in which green and red will both mix together to create a new colour. To expect anything else, is to expect our young men to be either fools or knaves. We know they are not willing to accept the old, and yet when they are compelled to do so against their instincts, it only leads to a life of unhappiness and misery.

We see this everywhere. Family life is breaking down. The joint family is gone with all its grace and dignity. In its place we daily witness brothers wasting their money in law courts fighting against each other for trifles. With it has gone the whole moral discipline of the home. The old home was the place where brother and sister, nephew and niece, young and old learnt those good man-
ners which it is said "maketh man". Vulgarly,
dis courte sy, rudeness were effectively check-
ked when the young had to deal with all ages
and sizes. With the old family has also gone
those wider sympathies of fraternal feelings
and relationship, which extending to the vill-
age and the town making civic life noble and
useful, begin at home. Gone also is the pride
of the family which made for noble deeds and
heroic actions. Gone is the pride of the fam-
ily profession. In fact gone is the sheet-anchor
of an ordinary life. Individuality is good and
necessary but its means must always be social
service. Else it is nothing else but selfishness
—the foundation of all vice.

The chief cause of the social 'misfits' in
India is the transitions through which our
social organism is passing to-day. Indian
society in the past was based upon birth: it
is now more and more based upon individual
effort and ambitions. The horizon of men's
desire in the past was narrow; it is ever wide-
ning. But in a competitive race, there are
only a few prizes, and there must inevitably
be numerous failures. The dazzling nature of
the prize attracts all and sundry and the ma-
jority are from the very commencement con-
demned to fail. Another cause is the failure
of social life to adjust itself to the individual's
growing desires and aspirations.

The educational institutions of a people must
be places of creative thought and scientific
application of thought to daily life. It is the
brain in the body that coordinates the differ-
ent movements in it—and that is the place of
Colleges and Universities in national life. But
unfortunately the stimulus to creative thought
is entirely absent. Imitation not originality is
prized in these institutions. A brain out of
sympathy with the rest of the body is the ex-
act analogy applicable to the social organism
in India to-day. Education divorced from ac-
tualities is a danger not a blessing. It creates
longings and desires that can never be satis-
fied. To know motor driving in a locality
where no motors are allowed is not likely to
add to a man's happiness—on the contrary, it
will only create dissatisfaction with the bul-
llock carts which otherwise would be so ser-
viceable and useful.

Education in accord with our life and tra-
ditions, and social institutions in accord with
the best education, are the vital needs in India
to-day. To fail to solve them is to prepare
for the inevitable social chaos and confusion,
the shadows of which are even now visible on
all sides. Our Colleges must get out of the
routine work of preparation for examinations
and prepare the students for the civic life.
In addition to the regular curricula, it is vital
to inculcate in the young men a civic con-
sciousness and their place in the whole. We need
merchants, doctors, lawyers, teachers, engi-
neers by the thousand—but inspired by a new
spirit—the spirit of service through their own
particular avocation. Every profession is
noble, if it is a necessary part of national
whole. How difficult it is to get pure unadul-
terated ghee or milk or butter in these days.
Does it not show a woeful lack of social con-
sciousness? Perhaps I may say the same of
other professions. Each is out for himself,
forgetting that the welfare of the whole im-
plies the welfare of the parts. Thus only
shall we solve the problem of the misfits.
In the death of Bepin Chandra Pal—a great thinker, a great writer, a great orator, a great leader and a passionate exponent of Indian nationalism—India has sustained a great and an irreparable loss. That all sections of the people in the country, irrespective of party differences, have combined to pay homage to the memory of the departed leader is a sufficient testimony to the hold he had on their thoughts and affections. His was a life of agitation for well-nigh half a century. Politics was not the only sphere to which he dedicated his life; he was at once a well-read scholar and a philosophic thinker of an intensely religious and ascetic bent of mind.

Bepin Chandra Pal was born on November 7, 1857 in the district of Sylhet in Bengal (but in Assam, since 1875) and passed the entrance examination while still young. He was then sent to Calcutta to prosecute his collegiate studies. It was at this period came a turning point in his life. He came under the influence of Keshab Chandra Sen whose lectures on religious subjects had already been captivating the minds of young Bengal, and, as a consequence, he embraced Brahmoism which so offended his father that he disinherited him. Young Bepin had to discontinue his studies and was put to no small difficulty at this period of his life. Though unable to derive the full benefit of collegiate study, his thirst for knowledge was so ardent that he lost no opportunity of augmenting his stores of information with the result that his learning and culture were such as few products of our Universities could claim to possess.

Bepin then took up to various callings one after another, such as the headmastership of a school at Cuttack, sub-editorship of the Bengal Public Opinion, the Tribune, etc., and was afterwards appointed Secretary and Librarian of the Calcutta Public Library and then became Licence Inspector to the Calcutta Corporation. At this time his wife died and the incident cast a gloom on his mental horizon. For a time he wandered about here and there in the company of holy men and when he returned to normal conditions of life he was prevailed upon to marry the widowed niece of Babu Surendranath Banerjee. He now began to take part in public movements. The late Mr. Kali Charan Banerjee delivered a series of lectures extolling Christianity and denouncing Brahmoism and his counter-lectures bore the impress of his scholarly attainments.

VISIT TO ENGLAND.

In 1900 he went to England with a scholarship from the Sadharan Brahma Samaj to study Comparative Theology at Oxford. The usual course of studies extended to over two years, but the Principal of the Theological College was so much impressed with his ability that he awarded him the usual certificate even at the end of the first year. He then travelled widely in England, France and America, lecturing on Hindu theism, temperance and Indian politics, returning to India in 1911.

CONNECTION WITH CONGRESS.

Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal's connection with the Indian National Congress was not continuous and permanent. Though sporadic, it was meteoric in its splendour so long as it lasted. He joined the third sessions of the Congress held at Madras in 1887, and made his debut as a public speaker in a speech on the Arms Act, which according to Mr. A. O.
Hume illustrated the excellences as well as the weak points of the Bengal style of oratory. While making this speech Bepin Chandra Pal came in conflict with the late Sir Narayan (then Mr.) Chandavarkar. Pal wanted the Act to be repealed altogether, which Chandavarkar flouted as a schoolboy idea. Pal was a powerful speaker and could make himself heard by huge audiences, and very soon he came to be regarded as second only to Surendranath Banerjee as a Congress orator. He rose to fame as a leader of the political movement during the anti-partition agitation in Bengal, and was regarded as a leader of the left wing of the Congress. For three years on end he was a dominant figure on the Congress platform with Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Lajput Rai. Coming to the forefront of the political fight he addressed meetings after meetings and carried the banner of "boycott" and "no mendicancy" throughout the length and breadth of Bengal. He started Bande Mataram which was the organ of Indian nationalism.

Pal was a power behind the Calcutta Congress of 1906, and after the session was over, he burned with the desire to carry the banner of passive resistance outside Bengal. At the request of some enthusiastic men in Madras he went on a lecturing tour to Southern India, and visited Madras in May, 1907. It was at Madras that Bepin Pal achieved the crowning oratorical triumphs of his life. For six days he addressed audiences ranging from twenty to thirty thousands and the ability displayed by him in his lectures attracted the attention of The Times and the Spectator. His tour in Southern India was convulsed by the deportation of Lajput Rai. With the wonderful chain of consequences as a result of the said deportation, the Congress split (at Sarat) in 1907—Bal Gangadhar Tilak's long term of imprisonment for sedition and the retirement of Pal—the Congress knew him not for about ten years. In 1916, however, came another tide of fortune, for extremism was once again the dominant feature in Indian politics. The moderates, including Surendranath Banerjee, were practically hounded out of the Congress, which under the leadership of Mrs. Annie Besant and Tilak, entered upon a new phase of its activities and once again Pal was a dominant and masterful figure. In fact, from 1916 to 1919 Bengal ruled the Congress, and Pal had more than his fair share of power, prestige and influence.

SECOND VISIT TO ENGLAND.

Bepin Pal visited Europe for the second time towards the close of 1908, when "agitators" began to be hounded and tracked from place to place. He started there a paper called Swaraj and conducted it with his wonted ability. An article entitled "The Etiology of the Bomb", in which was traced the causes of the discontent and the revolutionary mentality was the cause of his getting into hot waters. London, a hospitable retreat for persecuted patriots, became more distinctly hostile after the assassination of Sir Curzon Wylie, and Pal managed to trickle back to India in 1911. On his arrival at Bombay, the Government arrested him and sentenced him to one month's simple imprisonment for the article mentioned above. Soon after his return to Bengal he started a monthly, the Hindu Review, which did not last long.

RIFT IN THE LUTE.

Bepin Chandra Pal was very intimately connected with Mr. C. R. Das being his friend, philosopher and guide for long. They worked together in close co-operation for the cause of the country till 1921, when they disagreed over Mahatma Gandhi's non-co-operation programme. In fact, they all set out to fight Mahatma Gandhi at Nagpur, but the fight did not come off; Mr. Das capitulated at once and Pal followed suit. Mr. Das's conversion was genuine and permanent; Pal's conversion was genuine for the time being, but did not last longer than six months. At the Nagpur Congress the difference reappeared and at the Barisal session of the Bengal Provincial Conference, held in 1921, over which Pal presided...
the breach was open and definite. Pal expressed his disagreement with the programme of the Mahatma in characteristic language saying: "you wanted magic. I gave you logic". Pal soon had neither a platform nor a press; the glories of his mighty voice had passed away and though his intellect was as keen and unclouded as ever he realised—none more keenly than he—that his was a voice crying in the wilderness. After that he retired from the Congress politics of which he had been one of the most outstanding figures for years. In fact, he had lived more or less a retired life, since.

Pal was a member of the second Indian Legislative Assembly, 1923-25. His legislative career was a mere echo of his past, and the Pal of the partition days and post-partition days was reduced to but a shadow of his younger days.

ARDOUR FOR SWARAJ.

However much he differed from the new leaders of the national movement Bepin Chandra Pal’s patriotism never grew dim and his ardour for Swaraj never cooled down. One need only turn to the public speeches that he made immediately after the Declaration of 1917 to realise his greatness as a political thinker. Speaking at a public meeting held at Lucknow on the 25th October, 1916, he warned Britain against delaying the solution of the constitutional problem in India by saying that "the future of the Empire depends entirely upon an absolute, a timely, a suitable, a satisfactory solution of the Indian problem;" and commenting on the declaration of the policy of 1917, he said, at a memorable meeting at Calcutta: "Have we not been asking for responsible government in India for the last 30 years? I remember that when we were trying to solve the intricate problem of political criminalism in this country, when we were discussing ways and means to control this so-called anarchical propaganda in Bengal and elsewhere, we distinctly asked the Government to make a declaration of policy similar to what has been made to-day. We said that these young men, patriotic men devoted to their country, misguided though they were, blinded by political frenzy, were moved by the ideal of freedom which moved revolutionaries and patriots in every part of the world, and we said, "you cannot fight idealism of this kind by means of repressive measures. If you want to fight this idealism you must come forward and give some ground of hope to these reckless idealists that their ideal has a chance of being realised by lawful, and peaceful constitutional methods." This offer of responsible government is not made in response to our prayers. Let us rest assured of this simple fact. We prayed, we begged, and we memorialised, but it is not for this reason that this declaration has been made. It has been made for reason of State. I want you to lay these words to your heart; this declaration has been made for reason of State. It has been made not to satisfy your ambition but to safeguard the interests of the British Empire (applause)."

No less ambiguous was Pal’s condemnation of a scheme of constitutional reforms under which India was to get no more than Dyarchy in the provinces and a large association of Indians in the Central Government. Instancing Bengal, he said:—"There will be two governments of Bengal—one the government of Bengal as at present constituted. Side by side, there will be another government of Bengal to be newly constituted and they will be a responsible government—responsibility and irresponsibility—like shine and shadow—will go together in the reconstitution of the Empire. The irresponsible government is to have full control over the finances and the responsible government, i.e., the government elected by the members of the Legislative Council and accountable for their actions and policies to them—they are to have a certain sum of money given to them to carry on the functions that may be transferred to them. . . . And the whole finance, land revenue, salt and excise and all other sources of income are to be in the hands
of the irresponsible government and you are to get a certain sum of money for the management of your house. A beautiful arrangement! A household arrangement—a man and wife arrangement!"

How prophetic were the words that he uttered fifteen years ago? Dyarchy has been weighed in the balance and has been found wanting. It has only helped in creating a cleavage between the Ministers and the members of the Legislative Council, the former always depending upon official support to escape the votes of censures passed on them.

Bepin Chandra Pal was a born journalist, a clear thinker and was of a philosophic bent of mind. He worked and laboured for the Indian cause, suffered for the Indian cause, and however much misunderstood man that he was, his energy and enthusiasm for service at the altar of Indian nationalism was unbounded, and with the courage of his conviction, ever mindful of the nobility of his mission, he passed through a life of agitation, all to no personal gain, but for national cause. His death is indeed an irreparable loss to India.

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The Centenary of Col. Olcott's Birth

By Mr. C. Jinarajadasa.

On August 2, 1932, fell the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Colonel Henry S. Olcott, the first President of the Theosophical Society. He will always have a place in the history of India, if not for his many philanthropic and religious activities, than for the fact that he was the first to use certain phrases in connection with India's National life which are common to-day. He was the first to organize in 1879 a Swadeshi Exhibition of Indian manufactures, to show the public of Bombay what beautiful objects were being produced by Indian workmen, and were being slowly lost to India because Indians cared little for them. Five weeks after his arrival with Madame Blavatsky in India, in his first address describing the Theosophical Society, he used the following phrases: "Be Indian first," "Young India," and "the Motherland." In a magnificent peroration he described the picture of India's awakening after a sleep of ages and the revival of her past glories.

Colonel Olcott was born in the United States, and as a young man quickly became an expert in agriculture. He wrote in 1857 a work on Sorghum, which had then been introduced into the country. He was invited at the age of 25 to be the Agricultural Director of Greece. On the breaking out of the Civil War in 1861, he at once volunteered. As a reporter for the New York Tribune, he was present in disguise at the hanging of John Brown, when he was discovered and about to be shot as a spy when he was allowed to escape on giving certain secret signs as a Freemason. He fought for the North, and was wounded in one of the campaigns, and when he recovered and was about to return to the army, the Government detailed him on special duty on behalf of the War Office to investigate bribery and corrup-
tion in the Department. This work required unusual integrity and courage as his life was threatened, but as the result of his investigations several malefactors were sent to gaol. At the conclusion of his work for the War Office, the Navy Department took him over for similar investigations. During this period he was closely associated with the newspapers of New York, and he was the agriculture correspondent for several of them, and on occasion a dramatic editor also. He became a lawyer and built up a lucrative practice in connection with Customs and Revenue cases. He was a member of the famous Lotus Club of New York, and Mark Twain and Edison were among his friends.

In 1874 he was deputed by the New York Sun and Graphic to investigate the spiritualistic phenomena which were taking place at the Eddy Farm. His methods of investigation and his reports made a deep impression on the American public, and his book called People from the Other World sold rapidly. It was dedicated to Darwin's colleague, Alfred Russel Wallace, and to William Crookes, both famous Fellows of the Royal Society, and both keen investigators into Spiritualism and firm believers in man's survival after death. Wallace wrote a highly complimentary letter praising Colonel Olcott for the ingenious tests against fraud which he had introduced in his investigations of the phenomena.

It was in connection with these investigations that he met Madame H. P. Blavatsky at the Eddy Farm. From then began a close collaboration with her, which lasted until her death in 1891. Colonel Olcott, with Madame Blavatsky and others, organized the Theosophical Society in September, 1875. After four years in New York, these two distinguished Theosophical leaders left for India and arrived in Bombay in February, 1879. From then the development of the Society's work is familiar to the Indian public. Colonel Olcott travelled not once but many times through all the principal cities of India organizing the Society's work. He was not profoundly philosophical, but had a deep realization of ethical principles, and so had the greatest interest in all the religions of India. He initiated in 1883 an organisation for Indian lads called the "Aryan League of Honour" to develop in them the sense of truthfulness, courage and religion. He was one of the first to take up the question of the Untouchables, and in 1895 he organized the first of five schools for them where elementary education was given free. The schools were maintained by donations which he gathered from his Theosophical friends, with a small grant from Government.

Colonel Olcott became quickly the champion of the Buddhists of Ceylon. In a remarkable way all the High Priests of the Island gathered round him, and they gave him a commission under their signatures to admit candidates into Buddhism with the Pancha Sila, the old Pali formula of admission into Buddhism. Such an honour had never been given to any layman before, even among the Buddhists themselves. It was largely as the result of his work that the Buddhists obtained a public holiday on their principal festival, the birthday of the Buddha. This paved the way for Hindus and Mohammedans later to obtain a similar right for their festivals.

Colonel Olcott started a Buddhist educational movement in Ceylon and travelled from village to village in his own bullock cart, lecturing, collecting funds, and organizing a work which now has to its credit four large Colleges and over 200 schools for boys and girls, all under the management of Buddhists. He travelled twice to Japan, on the first visit delivering over 70 lectures, and on the second getting the signatures of the leading Japanese sects of Buddhism to a statement of 14 fundamental principles of the religion which had been urged upon by the Buddhists of the Southern Church of Ceylon and Burma. After a period of 2,000 years of separation he brought together these two divisions of Buddhism.

Colonel Olcott had unusual magnetic powers of healing, and was an expert in this depart-
ment of occult study. He was not only able in nearly all cases to remove pain at once by magnetic passes, but on certain occasions he was able to bring about almost miraculous cures by the speed of his healing. He was successful in several cases of paralysis.

All who came into touch with him in India felt at once his intense sympathy to every Indian. He was absolutely without the slightest sense of "colour," and all Indians, whether Hindus, Parsees, Buddhists or Mohammedans, were as his own blood brothers. Though he was most interested in Buddhism and Hinduism, yet he was also keen on the revival of Zoroastrianism, and one of his enthusiasms was to get the Parsi Pancahyat of Bombay to equip archaeological expeditions to go to Persia on the search for Zoroastrian remains, particularly lost scriptures. On a few occasions he lectured on Islam so successfully as to be acclaimed as a better Mohammedan than his audience.

One of the remarkable contributions to the revival of Indian learning was Colonel Olcott's organization in 1886 of the Adyar Library. His aim was to collect and preserve rare Sanskrit and other manuscripts in India which were fast disappearing. Further, he intended to build up round the Library a scholarly institution to revive the ancient learning in connection with the great religions of India. From a small beginning the Adyar Library has grown to be one of the well-known Oriental institutes of the world, with its special publications. It has especially collected manuscripts, and the collection to-day contains 17,584 palm leaf manuscripts. Three Pandits are permanently on the Library staff, and as funds permit, manuscripts are brought to increase the collection. Copies of manuscripts in the Library are made and sent to other Oriental libraries.

A noble dream of Colonel Olcott's was to make a Hall of the great Religious Founders at the Headquarters of the Theosophical Society, at Adyar, Madras. This dream he was able to realize, and in the Lecture Hall of the Society to-day there are the statues of Shri Krishna, Buddha, Zoroaster and Christ. Obviously there could be no statue of the Prophet Mohammed, as images of any sort are forbidden in Mohammedanism; so the place of a statue is taken by an Arabic inscription praising the Koran. The sign of Theosophy in the Hall is the seal of the Society, with its motto "There is no Religion higher than Truth."

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The League of Nations' Gold Delegation's Report*

The final report of the Gold Delegation appointed by the Financial Committee of the League of Nations is now published. The Delegation, which was appointed in 1929, had previously issued two interim reports and had also published selections of the documents submitted by experts for its consideration. The final report is signed by all the members who parti-


cipated in the final discussions; but there are individual notes of dissent.

The main report is in two parts. The first and shortest part is concerned with the recent breakdown of the gold standard and with the measures that should be taken to restore it. The Delegation recommends a return to the gold standard with the definite statement that "at the present stage of world economic development the gold standard remains the best available monetary mechanism."
The Delegation goes on to say that "it is impressed by the practical difficulties and dangers of regulating currencies which are not on a common world basis, and by the very great desirability of agreement upon an internationally accepted standard in order to facilitate the free flow of world trade. Whatever the theoretical advantages that may be urged in favour of other monetary systems, their universal adoption presents very grave, if not insuperable, practical difficulties at the present time. The Delegation is, moreover, of the opinion that, granted the general acceptance of certain guiding principles, the gold standard is capable of functioning in such a way as to achieve most of the advantages of stability and justice claimed for alternative standards more broadly based on commodities, other than gold."

Recognising that "the time and level—as well as the particular form of restoration of the gold standard, should that be decided upon—can be determined only by the proper authorities in the countries concerned", the Delegation lays down certain conditions that are necessary before any such restoration can be expected. There are three main recommendations involving international agreement and action.

The first is "the restoration of a reasonable degree of freedom in the movement of goods and services." The second is "a satisfactory solution of the problem of reparation payments and war debts," and the third, agreement concerning "certain guiding principles in respect of the working of the gold-standard system."

In addition to these measures involving international action, it is considered essential that in each country "the budgets of the State and other public bodies must be balanced on sound principles", and that "the national economic system as a whole, and especially costs of production and costs of living, should be adjusted to the international economic and financial position, so as to enable the country to restore or to maintain the equilibrium of its balance of international payments."

The second part of the report is concerned with the working of the gold standard and the desirability of avoiding violent fluctuations in the purchasing power of gold. The analysis is introduced by a definition of purchasing power and a discussion of the index-numbers available for its measurement. In succeeding chapters the supply of monetary gold is discussed in connection with the secular or long-term trend of prices.

The Delegation records its opinion that "the world's total stock of monetary gold, apart from any considerations as to its distribution among different countries, has at all times in recent years been adequate to support the credit structure legitimately required by world trade and that the rapid decline in prices, which began in 1929, cannot be attributed to any deficiency in the gold supply considered in this sense."

Valuable statistics are given of the total supply of monetary gold in the world, of the amount of new production, of the gold tempted from hoards in the Far East, and the amount of hoarding in Europe, which in the latter half of 1931 is estimated at 8400 million.

Further statistics show the sharp accentuation of the problem created by the uneven distribution of central bank reserves, which is regarded as being caused by "disequilibrium in the balance of payments of certain countries."

After considering the effects of violent fluctuations in the purchasing power of gold, the Delegation considers the suggestion that action should be taken to raise the present price-level. It regards "such a rise of prices as desirable" but does not "look to monetary policy alone to adjust the price-level, which is influenced by many factors of a non-monetary character." The important statement follows that "where credit contraction for one reason or another has been carried to extremes, it is proper and, indeed, imperative
for the central bank to take such action as may be within its power to check excessive contraction, and in some cases to take the initiative in encouraging a freer use of credit."

But the Delegation concludes that "until there is some clearing of the atmosphere of international distrust and a modification of the obstructions to international trade" it will be difficult to restore prices and standards of living to more satisfactory levels.

Concerning the possibilities of price stabilisation in the future, the Delegation expresses the view that it is not possible to avoid all oscillations in the general level of prices and that such relative stability as is possible (and very desirable) to achieve cannot be secured by monetary policy alone. The maintenance of a flexible but relatively stable price-level can be achieved only by "the most carefully planned and closest co-operation between central banks." The Delegation rejects the possibility of stabilisation policies based upon an index-number of wholesale commodity prices; but considers that action taken in international consultation and co-operation and based upon a "joint act of judgment" in regard to "all those indices which reflect business activity" might in fact have the result of keeping wholesale prices steady.

The most important recommendations of the Delegation are that the present reserves ratios by which most central banks are now bound should be reduced, and that the Gold Exchange Standard system should be revived in a modified form.

The main dissenting note, signed by the Chairman of the Delegation (M. Albert Janssen), Sir Reginald Mant and Sir Henry Strakosch, dissents entirely from the analysis in the main report of the causes leading to the abandonment of the gold standard. The dominant cause of the breakdown, in their view, "is the maldistribution of monetary gold reserves which began in the early part of 1929."

In regard to monetary policy in the future, the members in question make it clear that, in their view, "the prime objective of monetary policy should be stability in the general level of wholesale commodity prices." They differ from the majority of their colleagues in their much stronger belief that "it is both theoretically and practically possible to restore gold prices to a suitable level and to maintain them stable at that level."

As far as practical remedies are concerned, of those proposed in this note of dissent, the first two are practically identical with the recommendations of the report, viz., an early settlement of the question of war debts and reparations, and the removal, as far as possible, of restraints on international trade. There is, however, a divergence of views in the later recommendations. Whereas the report recommends national action to restore equilibrium of the price-levels and balances of payments, the dissenting note urges "a concerted attempt by the principal gold-standard countries to restore wholesale commodity prices as measured in gold, to the level prevailing in 1928," together with "a similar attempt by the paper-standard countries, under the leadership of sterling, to stabilise their internal price-levels." Professor Cassel, who was not able to be present at the final meetings, has written a separate note of dissent which is in broad agreement with the above mentioned note.
The Sapru-Sam Hoare Controversy: Survey in Prose and Verse

By "One Who Knows Both"

The one topic of absorbing interest, in India, at present, is the controversy resulting from the statement made by Sir Samuel Hoare, in the House of Commons, in the last week of June, about the new procedure for "advancing" reforms, by scrapping the Round Table Conference, and the very prominent part taken in it by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. Sir Samuel finding his first statement open to misunderstanding by the dull-headed Indians has made since several other statements, both inside and outside the House, while his pertinacious and pugnacious adversary has flooded the columns of the press by issuing the full text of his letter of resignation to the Viceroys, his searching criticisms of Sir Samuel's speeches, his skillfully-worded interviews given on them to the representatives of the Indian journals—in fact, everything except a speech on a public platform. I have no desire to take a hand in this highly exciting political controversy, but I do want to cut in to have my laugh over the whole affair, and I want the readers of this essay to do the same.

"Sir Tej"—as on British analogy Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru is often inelegantly so designated—has long been known as a learned jurist, a profound lawyer and a skilful advocate, but he has not been credited with possessing any very keen sense of humour. Hence, why he has taken Sir Samuel Hoare so seriously. If instead of being but deeply and widely read in literatures known as analytical, constitutional, institutional, intuitive, jurisprudential, sensational, and pestifential, he had but betaken himself (like me) to the sole study of the literature operatorial—as collected, say, in the

late Sir William Gilbert's famous Savoy Operas—he would have been in a far better position to meet, on his own ground, a controversialist of the type of Sir Sam Hoare. But Dr. Sapru may well turn round to ask who the devil I am to advise him as to what he should have done or should do now. Well, I have already referred to my qualification, and I shall now briefly proceed to give some examples of my pursuit of knowledge under difficulties. I shall do so mostly by means of quoting sundry apposite extracts, relating to the present controversy, from the various famous Savoy Operas. To begin with, to answer the question put by Dr. Sapru about myself, I may as well say—recalling Sir Samuel's favourite proverb about the caravan and the dog barking—that I claim to be "a pleasant fellow, the merriest dog that barks, as when there's naught else to laugh at, I laugh at myself till I ache for it", and I can do so till I have made Sir Samuel feel like "the saddest and sorriest dog in all England." Here's a little more about myself:

I've jibe and joke and quip and—tickle,
For lowly folk and men of rank;
I ply my craft and know no fear,
But aim my shaft at prince or peer.
I aim my shaft and know no fear.

II

On one occasion, arguing a case in the Allahabad High Court, Dr. Sapru (I am informed) gave a gentle shock to the learned Judges by citing a passage from Campbell's Lives of the Lord Chancellors! But has he ever cared to dip into the life-story of the great statesman, with whom he has rushed into fray, as
embraced in the famous American book called
Lives of Unstatesman Britisli Statesmen, issued
by a Chicago publisher, a couple of months
back? Had he done so, he would have prob-
ably forborne from joining issue with Sir
Samuel so lightly as he seems to have done.
For then he would have known that though
both he and his adversary may be addressed
as "Sir," there is as much difference between
merely a life-long knight and a baronet, who
is a hereditary knight—which good Sir Sam
is, the second of the race too—as between dear
little Snowdon and the mighty Mount Everest.
Now what is the characteristic trait of a
baronet? Listen to Sir William Gilbert,
a greater authority on the subject than Sir
William Blackstone, whom Dr. Sapru is con-
tantly citing in courts. This is how Gilbert
lays down the law (in his famous opera, Ruddigore):—"All baronets are bad." This is
rather prosaic, and so this follows in verse:

Oh! a baronet's rank is exceedingly nice,
But the title is uncommonly dear at the
price!
Ye, supple M.P.'s, who go down on your
knees,
Your precious identity sinking,
And vote black or white, as your leaders
indite,
(Which saves you the trouble of thinking.)
For your country's good fame, her repute,
or her shame,
You don't care the snuff of a candle—
But you're paid for your game, when
you're told that your name,
Will be graced by a baronet's handle!
As "Pooh-Bah" would say (in Mikado), the
verses quoted above are "merely corrobora-
tive detail intended to give artistic versimi-
liude to the bald statement"—that "all baronets
are bad".

III.
Having learnt now of the class to which Sir
Sam belongs, let us try to learn something
about him personally. The Chicago book-
referred to above—tells us that at birth, in the
family of a Darwinian-man he was "like most
sons, masculine in sex", but that at school he
"did nothing in particular, but did it very
well". He was originally intended for the
stage, and his favourite quotation at the time
was Gilbert's famous song.

Politics we bar, they are not our bent,
For, on the whole, we are not intelligent.

Later, when he was sent to the university
(in spite of himself) he developed some taste
for brains. In one of his recent speeches, in
the Commons, on India—unfortunately the
passage is omitted even in Hansard—he is re-
ported to have delivered himself as follows:

"I don't want to say a word against brains—I
have a great respect for brains—I often wish
I had a little more myself—but with the Round
Table Conference composed almost exclusively
of Indians of intellect, what's to be the fate of
the Joint Parliamentary Committee (loud
applause and hilarious laughter)? In putting
it as he did, Sir Sam might have, or might not
have, been ungrammatical, but he was deci-
dedly, deliciously epigrammatical. May his
shadow never grow less!

Poor, Dr. Sapru has been amongst those few
who, at great sacrifice of health, energy and
resources, have taken the most active part in
and the keenest interest in the proceeding of the
Round Table Conference during its two
sessions. He—poor man—is anxious that
In a contemplative fashion,
And a tranquil frame of mind,
Free from every kind of passion,
Some solution let us find;
Let us grasp the situation,
Solve the complicated plot;
Quiet, calm deliberation
Disentangles every knot.
That is the burden of Dr. Sapru's song.
What of his opponent's? Listen:—
I am an eminent logician,
Who can make it clear to you,
That black is white, when looked at
From the proper point of view;
A marvellous philologist
Who will undertake to show,
That 'yes' is another and
A neater form of 'no.'
I am a great arithmatician
Who can demonstrate with ease,
That two and two are three, or five,
Or anything you please;
But whether you're an honest man,
Or whether you are a thief,
Depends on whose solicitor
Has given me my brief.

IV.

By birth, traditions, upbringing, convictions, and temperament the great Sir Sam is, of course, a staunch Conservative. I wonder if Dr. Sapru has ever heard the famous song of the Conservatives; well, let him listen to it now:

I am an intellectual chap
And think of things that would astonish you,
I often think it is comical,
How Nature always does contrive
That every boy and every gal,
That's born into the world alive,
Is either a little Liberal
Or else a big Conservative.

A "little Liberal" is an atrocious libel on Mr. C. Y. Chintamani—the President of the great National Liberal Federation! As for the "big Conservative," here is Sir Sam's commentary on the sentiment enshrined in the song, with special reference to his present position as a member of the cabinet of the "national" Government of Britain:—"I am a Radical of the most determined description, right up to my waist, but my legs are a couple of confounded Conservatives and, on a division, they would be sure to take me into the wrong lobby. You see, they are two to one, which is a strong working majority."

It is with such a controversialist that Dr. Sapru has got to contend, and I shall not be surprised if he be worsted in the end. In one of his statements Dr. Sapru charged Sir Sam with attempting to reconcile the irreconcilable. But what's the latter's reply to it, made at the Central Asian Society? Why just this—a suppressed passage, by the way, by the reporting agencies:—"In me there meet a combination of antithetical elements which are at eternal war with one another. Driven hither by objective (pro-Indian) influences, thither by subjective (anti-Indian) emotions, wafted one moment to the pinnacle of enthusiasm for self-Government for India by reason of the tremendous co-operation received from the Muslim Round Tablers, and plunged next into the impenetrable darkness of tangible despair by reason of the non-co-operation of the (worse-than—extremists) Liberal Round Tablers, I stand unabashed as a living ganglion of irreconcilable views and sentiments, and it is idle to ask me to attempt to reconcile them (loud applause.) I hope I make myself quite clear (Hear, Gcri,) but to remove all further doubts and suspicions, and to contradict my alleged contradiction and vindicate my alleged lapse from rectitude, I shall quote but two famous passages—one of the greatest Conservative statesman, Lord Beaconsfield, who said on a memorable occasion that 'it is one of the happiest characteristics of this glorious country that official utterances are invariably regarded as unanswerable,' and another from a hitherto unprinted play of one of the lesser known Elizabethan dramatists, one Mr. William Shakespeare, who put into the mouth of one of his characters—a Conservative statesman—the noble lines:—

Things are seldom what they seem,
Skin milk masquerades as cream.
Highbows pass as patent leathers,
Jackdaws strut in peacock's feathers.

(Loud laughter and heavy applause.)

True, Dr. Sapru has succeeded in convincing many in India, and some even in Britain, that the Huarian explanations come to naught when closely analysed. In substance, says the Indian leader:—

Gild the farthing, if you will,
Yet it is farthing still.
But Sir Sam professes to have acted in accordance with the dictates of his conscience
and is prepared to chance the consequences—all the more so as many times many of those, who have withheld their co-operation from him, have assured him (in confidence, of course) that the method now devised by him of superseding the Round Table Conference is an ideal one for advancing Indian reforms. Hence Sir Sam's attitude of studied defiance:

But if I carried out this glorious scheme,

At my exalted name, Posterity

Would bow in gratitude. The scheme is rash

And well may fail, but ours are not the hearts that quail

The hands that shrink, the cheeks that pale

In times of emergency.

To Dr. Sapru's repeated remonstrances
(Challenging the correctness of Sir Sam's view) conveyed in some such lines as:

Now is not this ridiculous?

And is not this preposterous?

A thorough-paced absurdity,

Explain it. If you can.

The reply vouchsafed to the enquiring Round Tabler by Sir Sam is as follows:—"Take care, when I am thwarted, I am very terrible, for I must have my mighty must and my inevitable shall, besides;

I am not fond of uttering platitudes
In stained-glass—attitudes."

And so like a wounded snake this dreary

Sam-Sapru controversy is dragging its slow length along, looked at from different angles of vision by the various parties concerned; by the Congress party evidently as under:

There's fish in the sea, no doubt of it

As good as ever came out of it,

And some day we shall get our share,

So we don't care so we don't care.

As between the nationalist Round Tablers and Sir Sam, the controversy is more or less on the following lines;

Sir Tej:—"Stop, Sir Sam. I think I see where we are getting confused. When you said

"Orphan," did you mean a person who has lost his parents, or did you mean 'frequently'.

Sir Sam:—I beg pardon, Sir Tej I see what you mean—frequently.

Sir Tej:—Ah, You said often frequently.

Sir Sam:—No, only once.

Sir Tej:—Exactly. You said often—frequently, only once.

Well, we should wait for Sir Sam's next speech for explaining which it was he really meant—'orphan' or 'often.' That he will ultimately succeed in doing so:

Of that there is no manner of doubt,

No probable, possible shadow of doubt,

No possible doubt whatever.

VI.

Sir Sam Hoare has the deepest commiseration of the Muslim Round Tablers, now that he has disclosed that he has come to know that "many prominent Indians regard" him "as a particularly re-actionary and Conservative Secretary of State, unsympathetic towards all their aspirations and hostile to all their programme." Dear, dear, dear! who perpetrated this gross calumny? Surely, not Dr. Shafat Ahmad Khan? Well, never mind, who has done it. But the allegation is, of course, a gross libel on our good, noble and virtuous Secretary of State. He has emphatically given it the lie (in prose) and sent me a statement (in verse) for being given the widest publicity in this country. Though a particularly haughty and exclusive person of pre-Adamite ancestral descent, he is nevertheless highly talented, remarkably clever, immensely intelligent, intensely studious, excruciatingly witty, unusually accomplished, and exceptionally virtuous. In the interest, therefore, of maintaining happy and amicable relations between Britain and India, he has favoured me with the text of the poem printed below. I have no doubt the reader will appreciate the underlying spirit and the underground sense of it—quite apart from its transcendental philosophy, though (I fear) that unhumorous critic like Dr. Sapru will, in his present state of feelings.
towards Sir Sam, call it "stuff and transcendental nonsense." I have no doubt, however, that Sir Sam's poem will survive Sir Tej Bahadur's attack; well, here it goes:

If you give me your attention, I will tell you what I am:
I'm a genuine philanthropist—all other kinds are sham.
Each little fault of temper and each social defect,
In my erring fellow-creatures, I endeavour to correct.
To all their little weaknesses I open people's eyes;
And little plans to snub the self-sufficient I devise;
I love my fellow-creatures—I do all the good I can—
Yet every Indian says I'm such a disagreeable man!
And I can't think why!

To compliments inflated I've a withering reply;
And vanity I always do my best to mortify;
A charitable action I can skilfully dissect;
And interested motives I'm delighted to detect;
I know everybody's income and what everybody earns;
And I carefully compare it with the income-tax returns;
To benefit Indian humanity, however much I plan,
Yet every Indian says I'm such a disagreeable man!
And I can't think why!

I'm, sure I'm no ascetic; I'm as pleasant as can be;
You'll always find me ready with a crushing repartee,
I've an irritating chuckle, I've a celebrated sneer,
I've an entertaining snigger, I've a fascinating leer.

To everybody's prejudice I know a thing or two;
I can tell a woman's age in half a minute—and I do.
But although I try to make myself as pleasant as I can,
Yet every Indian says I am a disagreeable man!
And I can't think why!

There, there, there. What a splendid poem that, likely to be much more inspiring to the politically-minded Indian than Mrs. Leo Hunter's famous "Ode to the Expiring Frog", which touched so tender a chord in dear Mr. Samuel Pickwick's heart? May I venture in all humility to ask Dr. Sapru to leave now poor Sir Samuel Hoare alone? Poor man, he has had more than he bargained for at the hands of those whom he trusted and still trusts, but who distrust him now, for no fault of his. Incidentally I may also point the moral that had Dr. Sapru studied (like me) the works of wit and humour—instead of merely legal tomes and the codeless myriads of precedents—he would have been able to smash up better Sir Sam Hoare, as I may claim to have done.
The Essence of Romance.

By Mr. A. S. Wadia, M.A.

"Frankis speech is called Romance.
So say clerks and men of France."

Robert C. Bar.

No word in the English language makes such a powerful appeal to youth or wakes up such happy memories in old age as the word—Romance. Nor all the attractive schemes of socialists nor all the ecstatic dreamings of mystics find as ready an ear or as complete a response as a tale of romance. In all truth and reality, it may be said that a touch of romance, far more than a touch of nature, makes the whole world kin.

The ordinary dictionary defines the word Romance as a species of fictitious writing, originally composed in meter in the Romance dialects, dealing in fanciful stories invariably sentimental and crowded with scenes and incidents remote from every day life.

This definition is true in its way, as all dictionary definitions are; but it misses the essence of romance. In the first place, romance need not necessarily be confined to fictitious writing. On the contrary, the highest kind of romance I know of is taken straight from the ever-evolving, ever-enlarging book of life. Take, for instance, the story of Dante and Beatrice or of Paolo and Francesca or of Abelard and Heloise. Each of these stories provides us with as fine a piece of romance as any spun out of the mind of medieval romancers. It is not fancifulness nor novelty nor yet mere extravagant display of sentiment that makes a story romantic. But what makes it so is the unexpected and unbelievable manifestation of the latent energy of the soul in its unyielding struggle to overcome the insuperable bar set up by social laws or human perversity or accidents of birth, sex, colour, race or religion preventing two spiritually-affianced human beings from coming together and working out their purpose in existence. In the Insuperable Bar lies the essence of romance. And it is this bar which distinguishes a tale of romance from a mere fairy or wonder tale or a tale of love and knight-errantry and allies it to a true tale of adventure. For romance is really a species of adventure worked out in the realm of emotionalism instead of in the sphere of physical prowess. When we thus look upon romance as a species of adventure, we no doubt limit its commonly-accepted connotation. But then what it loses in comprehensiveness it gains in depth, for by limiting its connotation we secure for it its old, high place in the great hierarchy of words.

A few typical examples more than a detailed discourse will perhaps better demonstrate how an insuperable bar of social laws, human perversity and pure accidents of birth, sex, colour, race or religion is necessary for the creation of true romance. Of the first Dante and Beatrice and Paolo and Francesca are typical instances. In this case the bar lay in the fact of their being already married. To it, consequently, the world owes two of its immortal romances and literature, some of the finest things that have been written on the eternal problem of human love and passion. Of the second, Romeo and Juliet and Liaila and Majnun provide us with appropriate examples insasmuch as the bar of human perversity in the shape of old family feuds kept two loyal hearts ever apart, though the stories of their love and fidelity unto death have secured permanent places in the heart.
of humanity. Of the third, Othello and Desdemona, King Caphetua and the Beggar Maid, and Abelard and Heloise are instances to the point. In the first, the force of circumstances and certain basic human affinities were just sufficient to overcome for a while the insuperable bar of race and colour and the fundamental differences of tastes and ideals. In the second the vast social gulf that seemed hopelessly to sever two eternally-allied souls was bridged over by the invisible span of strong affection and mutual attraction thrown across it. But in the third the bar of religious vows and ecclesiastical bigotry for ever asundered a pair of twin-souls whom the stars in their courses had brought together for a while just to leave behind, it seemed, a deathless story of human love and remorse. What, however, we need note is that there can be no true romance without a bar of some kind or other, really or seemingly putting asunder two divinely aflame spirits. And the stronger and more obstructive the bar, the deeper and more enthralling the romance. Remove the bar and what is left is a mere love-story, pretty perhaps and attractive to certain types of men and women, but without the magic-spell which romance rightly so-called has cast over the human heart from the beginning of time. This is why the wedding-bells invariably and inevitably toll the death-knell of Romance, because they remove once and for ever the Bar Insuperable which is the Essence of Romance.
MOTTO.—A reviewer of books is a person with views and opinions of his own about life and literature, science and art, fashion, style and fancy, which he applies ruthlessly or pleasantly, dogmatically or suggestively, ironically or plainly, as his immovable prompts or his method dictates, to books written by some body else. The two notes of the critic are sympathy and knowledge. Sympathy and knowledge must go hand in hand through the fields of criticism. As neither sympathy nor knowledge can ever be complete, the perfect critic is an impossibility. It is hard for a reviewer to help being ignorant, but he need never be a hypocrite. Knowledge certainly seems of the very essence of good criticism and yet judging is more than knowing. Taste, delicacy, discrimination—unless the critic has some of these, he is unskilled. Even knowledge and sympathy must own a master. That master is Sanity. Let Sanity for ever sit enthroned in the critic’s armchair.—The Rt. Hon. Augustus Herstel M. P., on “The Critical Faculty.”

BOOKS OF THE QUARTER.

(a) Long Live Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya

Among the leaders of the national movement in the country there is no name more widely respected than that of Madan Mohan Malaviya. Long before many of the politicians of to-day had entered upon their careers, Panditji had made a name for himself as an earnest and self-sacrificing patriot. Judged by solid, tangible achievements, he is supreme among his contemporaries, and the Benares Hindu University is his abiding memorial. Fortunately for India he has lived beyond the poet’s allotted span; and to celebrate the happy and eventful occasion a Commemoration Volume of over a thousand pages has been published. It contains personal tributes to the Panditji from almost every prominent Indian, of every shade of thought and from every walk of life—tributes that bear eloquent testimony to the esteem and affection in which he is held. It contains also contributions from leading Indian scholars on such subjects as Literature, Science, Law, Sociology, Education, and History. The whole volume is of surpassing interest. It is well-printed: we would have preferred the book to have been bound in two volumes, as in one volume it is bulky and unmanageably uncomfortable.

About seventy illustrations add to the interest of the volume; the four portraits of Pandit Malaviya are especially valuable. As Srinivasa Ramanan points out: “The figure changes so much; but the identity persists wonderfully. Who does not know, and who cannot recall without visible aids, that form which blends the twin qualities of beauty and purity? Standing on the platform, it adds a third charm—a voice calculated to attract and persuade.”

The Malaviya Commemoration Volume.—Edited by A.R. Dorsey (Benares Hindu University, 1922.)

About eighty persons have co-operated in bringing out this tribute. Among these are Mahatma Gandhi, Rabindranath Tagore and Sir Jagdish Bose; Sir Radhakrishnan; Dr. Ganganatha Jha, and Sir P. C. Ray; Dr. Satchidananda Sinha, Mr. Chintamani, and Sir Mirza Ismail; Sir M. Visvesvaraya, Prof. Bhandarkar, Sir C. V. Baman, Mr. Ramana Mascherji. We are sure our readers will be interested in reading some of the personal tributes. Here is Mr. Chintamani’s summing up of his qualities: “Full of the milk of human kindness; charitable in deed, certainly, but, what is less common, in judgment; unselfish to a fault; tenacious in adhering to his opinions, sometimes to the point of obstinacy, at the same time with a broad toleration for the opinions and feelings of others; with an amount of respect for age and seniority; with no end of pride in his religion and country; and very sanguine about the future of his race; loyal to friends and forgiving to opponents: Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya is a model of a Hindu and a Brahma.” Sir Mirza Ismail says: “I have heard a great lawyer say that if Mr. Malaviya had so willed it, he would have been an ornament to the legal profession. Perhaps a College Professor would say, with equal truth, that, had he so desired, he would have been a splendid teacher of youth. A philosophically inclined person might claim him, perhaps with equal right, for his own fold. I am emphasing not so much his versatility as the sacrifice he has made for the sake of advancing public interest.” We entirely agree with Sir M. Visvesvaraya when he says of Malaviya: “A noble and lovable personality, a staunch Hindu, and a great Indian, all he thinks of, all he works for, are the interests of his community and country; to these interests he is
giving every moment of his working time. We congratulate Principal Dhruva and his Board on this memorial to our Illustrious countryman. It deserves extensive circulation and wide appreciation.

(b) Srijut Nagendra Nath Gupta’s Literary Works

Readers interested in Indian literature and thought will extend a cordial welcome to the collection called The Race of Man and other Essays. The author—Srijut Nagendra Nath Gupta—is not only a veteran publicist and a man of letters, but also a distinguished scholar, though learning sits lightly on him. His interests are many; his literary activities varied, and he has the rare gift, as a writer, of retaining his readers’ attention, even through a discussion on abstruse subjects. On political and social subjects he writes frequently in periodicals—many of his papers having been written for the Hindustan Review. But in the volume under us—extending to about 200 pages—he has collected eight essays on subjects of less ephemeral interest, namely on literature, religion, art and philosophy, which are all the result of deep study and indicate his seriousness of purpose. They also reveal unmistakably the writer’s personality—thoughtful, tolerant, widely-read, and highly cultured. The first of them—a thoughtful study on The Place of Man is almost a lament that in the course of the ages man has ceased to be content merely with “towers of fables immortal, fashioned from mortal dreams,” that one religion has been extolled to the disparagement of another, and that no religion has helped men to realise that all men are brothers and equals. We almost seem to detect in this the spirit that produced “Lockley Hall Fifty Years After.”

The essay on “Swami Vivekananda” is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the life and career of that remarkable disciple of Ramakrishna, who was one of the most eloquent preachers of Hinduism in the recent past. The writer knew Vivekananda intimately, and writes of him with knowledge, insight and sympathy. The same remark applies to his paper on Tagore, for whose works and ideals he expresses an enthusiasm, which is highly infectious. Of the Maithil poet—Vidyapati—few scholars are more competent to speak than the author, who has studied his poetry for years with devotion and rare perseverance, and has brought out an excellent edition of his poems; in fact, it may be truly said that what he does not know of Vidyapati is not worth knowing. We have read with great interest his essay on “Megalomania in Literature”—an attack on the element of pride of race in contemporary English writers. We hope the book will have the very wide circulation it so richly deserves. Though one may not agree with all that the author writes on the different subjects, he deals with ripe learning and rare scholarship, yet no one but will rise from a perusal of his book with his knowledge enlarged, sympathies quickened and outlook widened.

II

Sheaves is a volume of poems by Tagore, published (in America) with an instructive and illuminating introduction by Srijut Nagendra Nath Gupta, who is also responsible for translating them. The book contains all the various verse-forms in which Tagore excels—lyrics, child-poems of patriotism, and dramatic poems. Of the faithfulness of Srijut Gupta’s translation, its verbal finish, its literary aroma, and its surprising freedom from awkwardness, we cannot speak too highly. He has rendered a distinct service to the poet in introducing so many gems to his Western admirers, who were beginning to ask if the fount of his inspiration had run dry, and if he would be content with repeating what he had already said. The translator and expounder of Tagore demonstrates—what indeed those familiar with the original Bengali knew already—that there are still beautiful poems in his works that have not been rendered into English. One quotation will reveal the felicity of Srijut Gupta’s translation and the excellent poetic quality of the original:

Strike, dumb thy babbling poet,
Take away his heart-lute
And play upon it
Thy own profound measures!
Piped full in the depth of the night
The deep note of thy own nocturnes—
The notes that fill the planets and the moons
With boundless amaze.

The long-garnished heap of my words
Will he swept away in a moment;
I shall listen to thy music in silence
In the shortless dark.

Numerous such verses can be easily quoted out of this neatly-printed and attractively-bound volume—which brings into striking relief Tagore’s simplicity, delicacy of touch and subtlety of perception. We shall be very pleased if Srijit Gupta gives us in English a volume of Tagore’s short stories, and also some other untranslated works.

(c) Mr. Satya V. Mukerjea’s Baroda Census Report

The first volume of the Baroda Census Report for the year 1931, just issued, is the sixth report of its kind, issued by the Baroda State, the first being for the year 1881. This Report is the second in succession, written by Mr. Satya V. Mukerjea, B.A. (Oxon), F.S.S. (London), the Baroda State Census Commissioner—who is a scholar and a man of culture. Census Reports are generally considered as dry-as-dust publications, stuffed with figures, tables and charts, whose import is quite unintelligible to the ordinary reader. But the Report issued by Mr. Mukerjea, apart from the statistical value, throws a flood of light on the conditions of life in the Baroda State, and justly claims that in several respects the additional enquiries, which the Census Commissioner instituted, achieved a much greater measure of success than the previous operation in 1921.

In common with the rest of India, an unemployement census was taken, and though much success did not attend in this matter, it is some consolation that in other parts of India also, this enquiry did not come up to expectations. On the present occasion, the Census Commissioner was able to engage a much larger number of women workers from the Education and the Medical departments, for the special enquiry into the size and the sex condition of families. Besides this, the census of the livestock, the classification of homesteads according to the standards of house-room, the size of the normal house-hold, the special tenement enquiry in the City of Baroda, the collection of statistics and other materials regarding the practice of divorce amongst the people, a special life-table for the State population and a food survey of the principal castes, were among the additional matters in which the census organisation was utilised, yielding good results, which are recorded and lucidly commented on.

Lively interest attaches to the chapters in the Report dealing with the wondrous variety in social phenomena and the several problems connected with Indian sociology, such as early marriage, enforced widowhood, infirmities by occupation and civil condition, insanity, deaf-mutism and blindness by sex and age, and leprosy, etc. All these have an interest for the social worker. The economist will find a wide range for his activities in the statistics relating to factory-workers, the comparative land values and the proportion of dependents on wage-earners. To the teacher the problem connected with the literacy will appeal. The caste problems, figure largely in the Report. The Report also gives the number of the centenarians in the State. As the census figures on these cannot be entirely relied upon, individual claims to longevity have been closely enquired into, and it was found that there are 311 persons aged 100 and above, of them 132 being males and 179 females. It would interest the reader to know that of these 33 are returned at 165, 13 at 110 and 8 at 120. Details are particularly given of four cases which form interesting reading. These are but a few examples of the excellent work done by the Baroda Census authorities, headed by their highly qualified Commissioner.

The Census Commissioner has infused fresh life into the dead valley of figures by his human touch into their relation with actualities. The Report gives considerable materials which cannot but serve as data for a scientific study of any aspect of the Baroda administration. It were much to be wished that the reports of the census operations of other States and the British Indian provinces struck some such new line as has been done by Mr. Satya V. Mukerjea, instead of their traversing the beaten
track. In conclusion, we desire to felicitate Mr. Mukerjea in his notable achievement in producing a scholarly and model Census Report. We hope his splendid production will receive from the Baroda Government the appreciation it so richly merits for the many excellent and striking features—only some of which we have been able to touch in this survey.

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Bird's-Eye-View Critical Notices.

(1) **AMERICAN BRITISH AND INDIAN BOOKS ON MODERN INDIA.**

I. **AMERICAN.**


2. The Case for India. By Will Durant. (Simon and Schuster, 386 Fourth Avenue, New York) 1931.


II. **BRITISH AND INDIAN.**


2. India on the Brink. By a British India Merchant; A Searchlight on Gandhi: By the Author of “India on the Brink”. (P.S. King and Son, Ltd., Orchard House, 14 Great Smith Street, London, S.W.1) 1931.


The first batch of six books enumerated above hail from the United States and easily betray their origin. A work covering a large ground is The Power of India by Michael Pym. The author, a woman in spite of her name, has lived in India as a “native,” and has been able to grasp something of the present Indian situation through exceptional acquaintance with all classes of people ranging from high British and Indian official to lowly peasant. She believes that the power of India is primarily spiritual, and her book describes the non-political influences of Indian thought on the mind of the world, and the influence of this thought on the conditions of unrest and the present political crisis. She gathers the intricate threads of Indian life into an unforgettable picture; we see the peculiarly cultured mental equipment of India, the political personalities, and the visible landscape and intimate details of social life. Mrs. Pym's book covers almost every phase of Indian life and history—politic, spiritual, and historical. The book is divided into three main parts. Roughly speaking, part I deals with geographic and historical India with its significant distribution of beliefs and physical aspects, part II presents the story of India as expressed in her philosophy, art, music and metaphysics; and part III offers a sketch of political India, exposing the political issues that have led to India's present-day attitude, and ending upon a note that India's challenge to the West, which is provoking the Indian renaissance, is significantly more spiritual than political. The book successfully presents India—rather than any case for India. Thus in this timely and important book are gathered the intricate threads of Indian life into an unforgettable picture, which enables one to see how great is “India's
spiritual power" and how far-reaching it may become. The author's point of view is a balanced one, her anecdotes of personal experiences fascinating, and her understanding of the present problems deep and intelligent. The book is illustrated with many beautiful photographs, and is excellent reading.

Dr. Will Durant, an American scholar, spent six months in India and presents his impressions of the people and Government in an interesting, though not always convincing, volume called The Case for India, written from the viewpoint of an Indian nationalist. The author has, however, tried to be fair to the dominant authorities, but his verdict is decidedly in favour of India. At the very outset he promises that "if I write at all, it is not only because I feel deeply about India, but because life cannot wait until knowledge is complete. One must speak out and take sides before the fight is over." This equipment will not carry conviction to all impartial readers. He refers to the territorial conquest of India in the days of the East India Company and to the economic exploitation of the country. He also gives a vivid description of the Amritsar outrage, bringing the narrative up to date by showing up the assaults of the chivalrous knights of lathis on the followers of Mr. Gandhi since the birth of the civil disobedience movement. Though—as stated above—the book is frankly of a partisan character, there is nevertheless much in it to interest even the protagonists of the Indian Government. As an antidote to the books written by Miss Mayo and Mrs. Kendall, Dr. Duran's Case for India has a distinct value of its own.

Mrs. Patricia Kendall's India and the British is a pale imitation of Miss Mayo's notorious Mother India. The writer following in the wake of her "literary parent"—makes a great display of the "damned figures," called "statistics," to prove the inherent incapacity of the people of India for self-government. But as pointed out by Mrs. Pym in the preface to her Power of India "statistics can be interpreted to suit almost any theory." Perfectly true that. Mrs. Kendall has for the subtitle of her book "A Quest for Truth." But "what is truth" to her is absolute falsehood to the Indian reader. By writing such foul tirades against India and the Indians, American women like Miss Mayo and Mrs. Kendall render service neither to India, or their own country. No Indian nationalist desires any one—native or foreign—to write political works on India of a partisan character. But if the work of a critic—especially a foreign one—is to carry conviction to an impartial reader, it must be inspired by a spirit of sympathy and scrupulous fairness. Judged by this standard, Mrs. Kendall's book is a failure.

In striking contrast to Mrs. Kendall's book is Miss Gertrude Emerson's Voiceless India—an excellent work. Of late many books have been written on India, but very few of them give a clear, reliable picture of village life in this country. The European or American who tours this country hardly comes into contact with villagers, but is content with impressions formed hastily of urban life in most cases. It must however be remembered that more than 83 per cent. of our whole population live in the villages, and consists of the proletariat with a sprinkling of the petty bourgeois. It is, so to speak, the very basis of Indian culture—a fact which has not been recognised by foreign travellers. Miss Emerson who spent a year or so, living in a remote village, has written not only an interesting but also an instructive book Voiceless India, wherein the author describes the village in its varied aspects, such as the houses, streets, public health, agriculture, education and variety of occupations. On the whole, the presentation of the details is more or less gloomy and the Government is advised to take steps to make village life more happy or prosperous. For that, however, we fear the country will have to wait, till she attains genuine self-government, both provincial and central.

Mr. Arthur Duncan's India in Crisis is intended for the general reader, whose knowledge of Indian affairs is too slight to enable him to understand the swiftly moving current of events in this country. Mr. Duncan, who is equipped for his task by many years' residence in India, in various capacities, has here given a connected statement of facts, bringing the story of India, and Britain in India, down to the Round Table Conference and after. The author deals with political and cultural conditions, trade and commerce, and recent events in India. He covers the whole field briefly but clearly, and enables the general public to understand the significance of current Indian events. Of special interest and value is the author's expert and accurate summary of the attitude of all classes in India to the Simon Report. The book will be invaluable as a comprehensive and popularly and soberly written
guide to the present critical situation in India—especially to readers in America.

Mr. Edward Holton James's book called 
*I Tell everything: The Brown Man's Burden (A Book on India)* was highly appreciatively reviewed, at length, in a recent issue of the *Hindustan Review*, as perhaps the best book on the India of to-day. The author—a distinguished American journalist—spent some six months in this country in the cold weather of 1930-1. He heard all and saw all and wrote what he felt. The result is a work of profoundly absorbing interest. The only other work which can favourably compare with it is Mr. Robert Bernays *Naked Fakir*—which also was reviewed last year in highly appreciative terms in the *Hindustan Review*. The value of these two books is that they present—the one from the British and the other from the American point of view—intensely enthralling pictures of the greatest movement for political and economic freedom in India, during the whole course of her long history.

II. BRITISH AND INDIAN.

Mr. H. N. Brailsford is well-known as a keen and intelligent observer of world politics, whose writings are characterized by clarity, brilliance of style and honesty. His acquaintance with India's problems dates back many years; but as late as 1930 he travelled extensively in the country, gathering facts and impressions at first hand. His book—designated *Rebel India*—is a record of that journey, but it is more than that. It brings into focus the whole nationalist movement and presents the ideals and leading characters to the setting of a great world drama. It is a readable account of the Indian nationalist movement, and an informed interpretation of its meaning. Mr. Brailsford gives a vivid picture of one side of the Civil Disobedience movement, and much of what he says is a justified indictment of a police and judicial system which was never intended to deal with modern political agitation. But the author is not an unthinking signer of Congress praises; he realises that *caste, child-marriage, ahinsa, reincarnation, and the whole Hindoo heritage of obsolete thinking are fatal obstacles to economic well-being, to social justice, and to physical inward to analyse the inheritance of the past.* In that Mr. Brailsford seems to us to hit the nail on the head. The author's final chapter is not too optimistic but he points out, in the interests of India itself, that acceptance of even a poor constitution would be better than a renewal of "the struggle" in which event he sees the danger of the production of a Muscovite India. Though one may not agree with all that Mr. Brailsford writes, he is pre-eminently entitled to be heard as a sagacious and sympathetic exponent of Indian problems from the nationalist standpoint.

*India on the Brink* and *A Searchlight on Gandhi* are both anonymous works by a British Indian merchant, who is familiar with our present-day conditions, but whose point of view is not favourable to this country. More than three-quarters of the first book is made up of quotations. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report, the Simon Report, *The Oxford History of India* and other non-official books are among the authorities he constantly quotes. The result is, on the whole, a book which should assist foreign readers, who have not the time to read deeply for themselves, in forming a judgment on Indian questions and the results of British rule in India. But the value of his work is materially decreased by his unsympathetic attitude towards Indian nationalism. The second book is worse, as it is a serious attack on Mr. Gandhi. There have been several books of late which have eulogised the Indian mystic and politician, but this volume is very severe on Mr. Gandhi and his campaign. Some who admire Mr. Gandhi and yet wish to read both sides will read this volume. Certainly those against Mr. Gandhi's policy will revel in the onslaught, while his admirers will loathe the book. But both the books have a value of their own as showing "the other side."

Lord Meston—a quintessential Liberal—is now a hopeless reactionary. His American lectures, issued under the title of *Nationality for India* aim at setting out the chief factors in the Indian conflict, and some of the measures which are being concerted for abating it. The thesis is that, stripped of all political trappings, all sentiment and all misleading analogies, the real driving force behind India's discontent and claim for self-government is the spirit of Hinduism, eager for the preservation— it may even be for the restoration—of its power, and the Brahmin is the driving force behind it. Lord Meston's estimate of Hinduism's contribution to Indian nationalism is grossly unfair; it is highly ungenerous. The author emphasizes the need of evolving a nation-wide nationalism out of the present vocal organization of orthodox Hinduism which "has still to prove to the world its ability and its will to design a true nationhood for India." But he has brought to bear upon the
based upon Biblical Ethics. The author tries to prove that Western civilization is not the outcome of Christianity. We all admit that. He further suggests that Christian ethics have not been a good influence on the people of Europe and gives numerous illustrations to prove his argument. It is true that Christianity has been disgraced by many who gave it lip allegiance, but that does not justify the hostile aggressiveness that challenges wholesale the religion which has in it much that is noble, true and sublime.

(3) WORKS ON PHILOSOPHICAL AND METAPHYSICAL LITERATURE.


5. Wit and its Relation to the Unconscious, By Professor Dr. S. Trend. (Kegan Paul, Trench Trubner & Co., Ltd., 68-74 Carter Lane London S.E.) 1929.

Mr. H. J. Paton in The Good-will deals with the problem of goodness, not as an empty abstraction, but as intimately bound up with human life and will. Beginning with instinct on the level of momentary impulse he traces the development of will in the organized life of the individual and of society, and tries to show that every level of human action necessarily manifests its own special good and evil. On this theory moral goodness is shown to be an alien intruder into the world of men, but rather the rational development of something which is always present in any kind of willing. The book ends with an account of self-sacrifice and of the way in which morality seems to demand its completion in religion. The book under review should interest not only philosophers but all thoughtful men and women.

An excellent translation by Dr. Brill of Freud's famous work which forms one of the key-books of Psycho-analysis—a science which he founded—has been reprinted under the title of Wit and Its Relation to the Unconscious. It deals with analysis of wit—technique and tendencies; synthesis of wit—the pleasure mechanism and psychogenesis of wit, and the motives of wit and wit as social process; theories of wit including the relation of wit to dreams and the various forms of the comic. It should be welcomed by students of psycho-analysis.


Philosophy is love of wisdom. If we are to become wise, we must try to "understand the universe." In metaphysics intellect, alone and unaided, undertakes this task. The thesis of Philosophy without Metaphysics by Mr. Holmes is that the attempt to bring Ultimate Reality within the compass of intellect involves an initial misunderstanding of the Universe which disqualifies the metaphysician for the philosophic quest of wisdom, a task which demands the co-operation of all man's higher powers. A very thought-provoking book.

Professor Eddington, in his book, The Nature of the Physical World, asked the question: "Have you (theologians) any system of inference from mystic experience comparable to the system by which science develops a knowledge of the outside world?" Mr. R. Gordon Milburn accepted the challenge and has made a learned and powerful answer in his Logic of Religious Thought, which deals with such problems as the observation of spiritual fact, myth and symbol in relation to the apprehension of truth, kinds of definition and other subsidiary logical processes, the tacit canons of religious induction, verification, the validity of deductive inference in the sphere of religion and the possibility of a new unitary sacre-secular culture.

Mysteries of the Soul, by Richard Muller Freiinfe1s, whose philosophical and metaphysical writings are well-known in Germany, discusses religion and the "soul" of man from an original and unconventional standpoint; it is more modern, since it looks to the future. The chapter-headings give some idea of the scope of the work, which, for all its close thinking, is easy to follow because the thought is so logical: The Immortality of the Soul; the Individual Man and his Destiny; the Dramaturgy of Life; the Americanization of the Soul; the Magic of the Religion of the Future; the Realization of the New Religion etc. The author of this work is regarded as one of the chief exponents of the modern German "philosophy of life" and therefore this work should be of much interest to the student of the mystery of life. The translation into English by Bernard Mialt is elegant and accurate.

Professor Dawes Hicks says, in his Foreword to Kant's Conception of God, that its author, Dr. England, "has been assiduously devoting himself to a minute study of the writings of Kant and of the huge literature that has gathered round them; and this volume contains the first fruits of his labour". The central thesis of this work is that Kant's negative conclusions in regard to the metaphysical concept of God do not follow from the critical principles strictly interpreted, but are due to the persistence, in critical philosophy, of certain non-critical modes of thought. The book under review contains a critical exposition of the metaphysical development of Kant's conception of God, and includes a translation of the Nova Dimusidatio.

Says Professor Halder in his preface to his work Neo-Hegelianism that "it is a study rather than a history of British Neo-Hegelianism. A strictly historical treatment of a movement, represented mostly by contemporary writers who have influenced each other does not seem to me to be possible. Nevertheless, it will not, I trust, be found to be quite unlike a work on the history of philosophy". The author gives us in this substantial volume a very clearly-written account of the best known philosophers of the School to which he describes himself as indebted only less than to Hegel himself. So far as citation and comparison can take us the present work leaves little unsaid little that is essential and the constructive metaphysical contributions of Stirring, T. H. Green, the two Cairds, Wallace, Ritchie, Bradley and Bosanquet could scarcely have received a more thorough and complete exegesis within so relatively small a compass. We hope every reader of this agreeable nicely printed, 500 page book will travel through to the concluding chapter of it, modestly entitled "Appendix". All the way to that point the book is saying to him, "go to the great writers". At that point, however, in most decided fashion, the milled changes, and the author emerges into the living presence, of one, if not of the great writers, at least of those who were worthy to stand
in his own gallery. The author drops the role of a writer of Outlines, and emerges as a redoubtable wrestler himself, with important philosophical problems. It is a great achievement of Indian scholarship and we hope it will find a large recognition.


13. The Philosophical Discipline. (Kamala Lectures) By Ganganath Jha (Calcutta University Press) 1928.


The Story of Oriental Philosophy, by Adams Beck (E. Harrington) should find an eager public. The story of Oriental life has been told very delightfully and the reader is taken into the intricacies of Eastern thought by an author whose own life is enriched and deepened by constant companionship with the great minds of Asia, and she makes them live for her readers. The illustrations drawn from Asiatic works of art enhance the value of a vivid, rich and readable book. It should serve as a splendid introduction to a more serious study of the oriental philosophies.

The Essentials of Eastern Philosophy are two addresses delivered by Professor Shastri at the Philosophical Conference before the University of Toronto in 1922; offers a lucid introduction to Indian philosophy for Western readers. The treatment is marked by a balanced judgment, clear thinking and a commendable grasp of Western philosophy.

The Kamala lectrureship—the endowment for which was made by the late Sir Ashutosh Mukerjee in memory of his beloved daughter—is fast creating a literature of permanent interest. Dr. Jha’s lectures—the Philosophical Discipline deal with the important subject of the qualifications of those who enter upon the study of philosophical and spiritual subjects and controvert a very erroneous view that has been held by some writers regarding morality and its place in the Indian systems of thought, namely, that there is no room for morality in Indian philosophy. He rightly points out that this view has emanated from ‘a propagandist source’ but has unfortunately been repeated by several scholars ‘who were expected to know better’. Panditji quotes Davies, Jacobi, and Deussen, and proceeds to show that ‘even Macaulay’s proverbial schoolboy should have known how superficial all these observations are. But prejudices die hard’.

Light from the East is a collection of letters written by the Hon. P. Arumachalam to his friend Edward Carpenter on the subject of Gnamam (the divine knowledge) and contains much information about the esoteric life and lore of Ceylon, as well as some account of various customs connected with the religion of the people—the whole supplemented by articles on subjects from the pen of Mr. Carpenter himself. That Edward Carpenter should have thought fit to edit them, with the consent of the writer’s widow, should be enough indication of their general and philosophical value.

(4) LATEST REFERENCE ANNUALS.

Glimpses of the East 1931-2. (N.Y.K. Office, 2 and 3 Clive Row, Calcutta; and Lloyd’s Bank Building, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay) 1932.

Glimpses of the East, now in its fourteenth annual issue, is truly a guide de luxe to the geography and commerce of the greater part of the earth and its future editions may appropriately be called "Glimpses of the World". It is the official guide of the well-known Japanese steamship line, the Nippon Yusen Kaisha, and is a large and handsome volume. The Company are to be congratulated on producing so useful and interesting a geographical work, full of beauty and accurate information. Each country dealt with has an outline—geographical and historical—followed by sections on products and trade, and trader’s advertisements. The superb coloured illustrations, which number hundreds, are admirably produced. There is all the information the business man is likely to want about the chief parts of the world, or the traveller about the lands of the East and the West. Convenient arrangement, a good index, numerous insets and the splendid illustrations, all make this work highly attractive alike for reference and study—truly "a thing of beauty and a joy for ever". Only it is too bulky and inconveniently large for comfortable use.

We welcome the *Indian Finance Year-Book, 1932*, as a notable addition to the ranks of the reference books, published in India. In a volume of 276 pages of foolscap size, the editors have traversed a wide range of subjects, relating to the economic and the financial condition of India. To make the publication authoritative, about two hundred useful, statistical tables (culled from official and reliable sources) have been furnished. The comprehensive nature of the publication can well be realised from the variety of chapters appearing therein on almost all aspects of Indian economics and finance. In congratulating the Editors on producing such a valuable and highly meritorious work of reference, we may point out that a fuller and a more detailed index would be of immense assistance and advantage to the seeker after information. Also, the Year-Book, in its foolscap size, is quite unwieldy and uncomfortable to handle, and the succeeding editions should be issued in a portable size. The *Indian Finance Year-Book* is a mine of useful information which the politician and the journalist, the legislator and the business men, cannot prize too high.


The *Official Year-Book of the Commonwealth of Australia*—which is now in its twenty-fourth annual edition—is a repository of highly useful information relating to Australia. Detailed chapters are devoted to the history, physiography, political and local government, land revenue and settlement, overseas trade, transport and communication, finance, education, public health, labour, wages and prices, defence, etc., of the Commonwealth; in fact, all subjects of importance, enriched with statistics brought up to date, find place in the *Year-Book*. In addition to the general chapters—enumerated above—each issue of this valuable reference work contains special articles dealing with some subject, or subjects, of both current and permanent interest. We commend this book to those who may be desirous of studying the working of responsible government in the Australian Commonwealth.

The *International Labour Office Year-Book 1931*. (The Indian Branch of the International Labour Office, New Delhi) 1932.

The *International Labour Office Year-Book 1931*, is an international survey of social policy and progress. It provides for officials, employers, workers, educationalists, and all others interested in industrial and labour questions, a compendium of the principal events and developments, during 1931, in the realm of economic and social affairs, and presents all the main facts relating to the activity of the International Labour Organisation and the wide range of problems with which it is concerned, summarising also the national and international legislation of the year and bringing out the trend of social policy—problem by problem and country by country. This new addition to reference literature will prove of real utility to those who wish to know how the various States of the world are dealing with their common, and also their special economic and labour problems.


The *Constitutional Year-Book*—which is now in its forty-sixth annual issue—is to the British Conservatives and also to all seekers after information about that party an excellent guide, and a work of great utility. Its scope is chiefly political and it offers a handy reference book of facts and statistics bearing on topics of current political interest. It is carefully revised and its pages supply useful and accurate information. The current edition of the *Constitutional* is replete with up-to-date information regarding British political conditions from the Conservative standpoint. The statistical section will facilitate the task of seekers after information for the study of current economic problems. The *Year-Book* is comprehensive in scope and range, and deserves to be kept handy as a useful reference annual.

The *Liberal Year-Book for 1932*. (The Liberal Publication Department, 42, Parliament Street, London, S.W. 1) 1932.

A publicist in India who desires to be in touch with the movements and the developments of the three leading British political parties, should keep on his book-shelf the annual editions of the *Constitutional*, the *Labour* and the *Liberal Year-books*. The edition of the last, for the current year, is the twenty-eighth of the series. It is carefully revised, from year to year. The result is that each new edition is thoroughly up-to-date and abreast of the latest political data. Some of its most attractive features, of special interest to Indian publicists, are the excellent and up-to-date sketch of parliamentary procedure, the biogra-
phies of Liberal members and the fairly comprehensive bibliography of current books of political interest. Altogether, the Liberal Year-Book is one of the most useful reference annuals.

Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology for the Year 1930. (Kern Institute, Leyden, Holland) 1932.

We heartily welcome the fifth issue of the Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology. Its general arrangement is similar to that of the previous volumes, which have been widely appreciated as supplying a long-felt need. The bibliography contains full information regarding all books and articles, which appeared in 1930, dealing with the archaeology, epigraphy, numismatics, ancient history and geography of Greater India, and, indeed, of all countries which have come under the influence of Aryan civilization. The Introduction gives a survey of the chief discoveries made in the field of antiquarian research during the year under review, and is a useful feature of the work, which is illustrated by means of first-class collotype plates. It is most valuable and highly useful to scholars and students of research in the history of India and Greater India.


Reformers who are fighting against the abuses in municipal administration in India will undoubtedly draw inspiration from the civic enterprises of Birmingham, which are admirably described in this "official handbook". For a long period, Birmingham has justly claimed to be "the best governed city in the Empire". The "Birmingham tradition" dates from the days of Joseph Chamberlain. The late King Edward referred to it in highly appreciative terms when he said: "Birmingham is the home of the best traditions of municipal life." The City of Birmingham Official Handbook is replete with highly instructive information about the civic administration of that city and it merits careful perusal.

(5) LATEST WORKS OF REFERENCE.

Like the Everyman's Encyclopaedia, the World Atlas (issued with it) is comprehensive and clearly printed; its maps and index provide Everyman with a geographical reference work adequate for all ordinary purposes. The Atlas comprises 224 pages of coloured maps. There are 27 pages of world maps, variously showing physical features, temperature, rainfall, density of population, races, religions, languages, world time, etc. The maps of continents and countries occupy 197 pages, and are grouped into broad sections. All the maps are as generous in scale as possible, and some idea of the mass of detail in them (although the place names are never crowded or hard to read) may be gauged from the fact that the 170-paged index, which follows the maps, comprises about 35,000 entries. The Atlas—which is thoroughly up-to-date—is unique as a marvellous repertory of general information. Its twenty-two sections, compiled by a dozen special editors, comprise almost every branch of knowledge. The edition under notice, which is a book of over 1,000 pages with a coloured atlas—of 31 pages of maps, flags, illustrations, and diagrams—is an excellent compendium of general information. It has articles, written by specialists, on subjects on which information is always being sought. This half-a-crown encyclopaedia is the cheapest and the best one-volume book of general reference, and it is fully abreast of the latest events and incidents.


Condensed biographical sketches of many noted—and even some "unnoted" men in Southern India is furnished in Who's Who in Madras together with their portraits. Considering that it is the first publication of this book, the publishers may be congratulated on the fairly comprehensive scope of the work. About seven hundred biographies are included in it. The photographs are excellently reproduced and in no small measure enhance the value of the letterpress. There can be little doubt that an excellent beginning has been made in this book, which deserves acknowledgment. If constantly improved, it will become, in due course, a standard work of reference for South India notabilities.

Mr H. D. Turing's Where to Fish is a guide to fishing throughout the world, and in particular in the British Isles. Besides these, other countries in Europe, Asia, Africa and America are all included in the volume, with sufficient data to give a visitor the preliminary information necessary in making his plans. Thus this old-established book is a standard work of reference for fishermen. The new edition has been largely re-arranged, which makes it different from all previous editions; it is printed throughout in larger type. In its present form, it is an indispensable guide to fishermen throughout the English-knowing world.


Mr. Berwick Sayers' book is primarily designed for those who manage junior libraries, but it will also appeal to all who are concerned with the intellectual pursuits of children. The Manual of Children's Libraries covers a careful study of the history and qualities of children's books, the practical work of book-selection and the after-care of books in libraries, and describes fully the making of the library, its furnishing, classification, and cataloguing. It also deals with general and municipal school libraries and is thus a comprehensive and a useful work on the subjects it deals with. It is a notable addition to bibliographical literature.

Cochin Installation Souvenir (The Pearl Press, Cochin) 1932.

In commemoration of the installation of the Maharajah of Cochin, the publishers have issued a beautiful souvenir bearing the title Progressive Cochin—containing an excellent survey of the historical, social and economic conditions in the State, mostly culled from official sources. A brief sketch of the history of the Cochin State, a short account of the ruling family, and articles on several subjects of topical interest, are given in the publication, which is neatly got-up and contains numerous photographs and pictures on art paper. Altogether an excellent souvenir of Cochin.


Dr. J. Gunn's Nelson's World Gazetteer and Geographical Dictionary is a wonderful, little reference work, and is remarkably good value for the trifles it costs. Over ten thousand places are mentioned in it, and the essential facts are given about them. Correct pronunciation is also given for the places named. There are 31 maps enhancing the usefulness of the letter-press and making this compact volume, a valuable desk companion. It should find a place on the bookshelf of all journalists and students of current affairs, as a handy useful and accurate gazetteer.

(6) GUIDE BOOKS AND TOURISTS' HAND-BOOKS.


Holiday Haunts. (General Manager, Great Western Railway office, Paddington, London) 1932.


Hints for Holidays. (General Manager, Southern Railway office, London) 1932.

Under the Railways Act of 1921, the then many lines of British railways were grouped, as from the 1st. January, 1923, under four managements, designated the London Midland and Scottish, the Great Western, the London and North-Eastern, and the Southern Railway. Each of these four lines publishes annually-revised and up-to-date editions of profusely illustrated, large, bulky hand-books, weighing about a couple pounds each, giving full particulars of the many holiday resorts served by it, the text being embellished with maps, plans, descriptive sketches, practical information and everything else which the average tourist is likely to require in the way of knowledge of travel-conditions—and all this at the cost of but six pence. Marvelous, indeed, must be the organizations which can turn out such superb, excellent guidebooks, of about one thousand pages, and place them on the market for the benefit of the travelling public for a mere trifle.

The Wheatsheaf Holiday Guide, 1932 (1 Balloon Street, Manchester) 1932.


Those who are in doubt where to spend a holiday, in the British Isles, will find all the
information they need in The Wheatsheaf Holiday Guide or The Weekly Telegraph Guide to Holiday Resorts, each of which gives descriptions of all the holiday resorts with much practical information, and thousands of addresses of boarding houses and apartments. All the resorts described are arranged in alphabetical order—in the Weekly Telegraph Guide grouped in territorial sections—thus facilitating reference. Both the guide books, under notice, are old-established favourites with holiday-makers and are, in fact, standard works of reference on the subject they deal with. Though either of them will do for the average tourist, yet they usefully supplement each other, and so both should preferably be kept handy in the tourist's handbag.

The Traveller's Pocket Reference and Notebook for the Continent. (Anglo-Continental and International offices, 3 Bd. de Grancy Liasanne, Switzerland; also at Kennan's House, Crown Court, Cheapside, London, E.C. 2.) 1932.

The Traveller's Pocket Reference and Notebook for the Continent—issued in coat-pocket size—contains all the information embodied in many larger volumes, and offers useful notes, practical hints, schematic maps, up-to-date lists of continental hotels, pensions, schools and medical establishments, besides blank pages for recording a diary of the tours undertaken. Thus the traveller will find it handy and informative, since it supplies reliable data about most of the health or pleasure resorts of Continental Europe, their sporting facilities and sights, and also car routes, maps, and sound, practical advice. We have, therefore, great pleasure in commending it to the prospective travellers to the various countries of Continental Europe, who will find it a highly instructive guide and companion; withal, fully abreast of the latest changes.

Hotels in Great Britain. (Travel and Industrial Development Association of Great Britain and Ireland, Kinniard House, I Pall Mall, East London, S.W. 1) 1932.

The new British hotels guide—called Hotels in Great Britain—is a work of great practical utility, with preface and explanatory notes (in five languages) and four maps, the guide makes clear the prices charged by the hotels of all descriptions throughout the British Isles. Attention may be called to the fact that lately there have been radical improvements in the equipment of the British hotels generally. We hope that arrangements will be made to issue annually revised editions of this handy and practical guide to British hotels, which will be found highly useful by all travellers in the British Isles.

Ulster for Your Holiday. (Ulster Tourist Development Association, 6 Royal Avenue, Belfast, Northern Ireland) 1932.

Ulster for Your Holiday is "the official publication" of the Ulster Tourist Development Association, at Belfast. It is exceedingly well put together—being handy, compact, detailed, and embellished with numerous well-executed illustrations and well-drawn maps. It reflects very great credit on the Association responsible for its production, as it will be found to be both highly informative and practical by all visitors to "Northern Ireland", which is the official designation of Ulster.


Mr. Gillespie's Popular Official Guide to the Scottish Zoological Park at Edinburgh, now in its ninth edition, is attractively put together—the letter-press being interesting, the illustrations excellent and the plan useful. It will be a delightful companion on a visit to the zoological park in the picturesque and romantic Scottish capital.

II


Although the world-renowned cave cathedrals of Elephanta, and also the cave temples at Jogeshwari, Kanheri and Mandapeshwar, are within a few miles and easy reach of Bombay, they have not hitherto been popularly appreciated as they deserve to be—evidently for want of a suitable guidebook to them. Mr. Vakil's book on the subject, containing authoritative information on everything worth knowing relating to these wonderful monuments of antiquity, and profusely illustrated with photographs, now removes a long-felt want. Like the author's meritorious earlier handbook, called At Ajanta, this new book has also been written with the specific object of "bringing nearer the popular mind and imagination" to the world-famous cave-cathedrals at Elephanta and the less-renowned cave-temples at other places, in the neighbourhood. The author writes with knowledge and genuine artistic appreciation, he being an acknowledged authority on Indian Art. The visitor to the caves, described in the book, under notice, would do
well to take it along with him, which he will find an indispensable guide to them.

Tourists' Guide To Mysore: By T.L. Kantam (Secretary Mysore Dasahra Exhibition Committee; Bangalore) 1932.

Mr. T.L. Kantam's excellent, little guide (compiled and issued under the authority of the Mysore Government) gives all the information which a traveller needs to be able to plan a tour through the State, and see all that should be seen in it. The illustrations are excellent and the road map of Mysore is especially commendable. Thus the Tourists' Guide to Mysore is a very useful handbook for travellers, which describes the natural attractions of the State, its architectural monuments, the chief social events of the year, a short history of the Kingdom of Mysore, its present system of administration, and also its important towns and interesting places. Detailed information is given as to railway and bus services, and the practical information furnished is full and up-to-date. By reason of its comprehensiveness of scope and accuracy, Mr. Kantam's Guide to Mysore is a handbook which no traveller to that State can do without.

Majestic Mysore. (Publicity Department of the Indian Railways, Delhi) 1932.

It is an exceedingly interesting booklet—Majestic Mysore—and is profusely illustrated. It gives—without pretending to be a guidebook—a great deal of useful information about the beauty spots and the historic places worth visiting in the Mysore State. A map of the Mysore railway system, and a map indicating the route to the famous Gersoppa falls add to the attractiveness and usefulness of this well-get-up brochure. It may be added that the publishers have also brought out similar well-written and well-get-up pamphlets on various other areas in the cities of India, which are supplied gratis to the prospective travellers, who will find them informative, instructive and interesting.

(7) LATEST INDIAN DIRECTORIES.

The Industry Year-Book and Directory, 1932; (Industry Book Department, Keshub Bhaban, 22, Shambazar Bridge Road, Calcutta) 1932.

The Industry Year-Book and Directory has, ever since its first appearance, come to be acknowledged as a reliable and useful book of reference on all matters pertaining to Indian trades, commerce and industries. The current edition is planned on a comprehensive scale and is distinctly richer in the variety and reliability of the information it contains. Of outstanding importance to the merchant community is the Review Section. Subsequent pages are devoted to the banking and insurance business, agricultural and mineral resources, factory and cottage industries and chemical industry research. The Directory section has been thoroughly revised, and brought fully up-to-date. Another section of considerable importance to the commercial community is the market places—an encyclopaedia of Indian markets, the nature of business conducted, production, imports, exports, modes of communication and chief fairs. Altogether the Industry Year-Book and Directory is an indispensable work of reference to those engaged, or interested, in the industrial development of India.

The Asylum Press Almanac and Directory, 1932: (Directories and Agencies, Ltd., 20, Sunkurama Chetty Street, Madras) 1932.

The Asylum Press Almanac and Directory is the oldest publication of its class and kind, the current edition being the one hundred and thirty-first. For Southern India it gives the fullest information about almost all matters of public interest. The work is carefully revised, from year to year, and although no work or reference—least of all, a directory—can ever be thoroughly up-to-date, nevertheless this handy annual is as much abreast of the latest changes as it is possible for books of its class to be. It is undoubtedly an indispensable work of reference in Southern India.

The All-India Swadeshi Directory, Third Edition, (Chakravarti and Chatterjee, College Street, Calcutta) 1932.

The third and enlarged edition of the All-India Swadeshi Directory contains more names and more pictures of the nationalist leaders than the second edition. It not only gives fairly complete information in regard to Swadeshi goods and Indian manufacturers, but it has been enriched, in the edition under notice, with the portraits of many leaders. "Swadeshi gems" i.e., important quotations from the sayings of eminent leaders on Swadeshi, are included in this edition and make it equally interesting and informative.

Liddell's Simla Directory 1932: (Liddell's Printing Works, Simla) 1932.

As Simla society changes considerably, from year to year, its directory—called Liddell's Simla Directory—has naturally got to be re-
cast and rewritten as frequently. The work of its thorough revision is skilfully performed, and the result is an excellent, up-to-date and comprehensive directory of the summer capital of India, which is indispensable to all residents in, and visitors to, Simla.

(8) LATEST LEGAL LITERATURE.


Mr. Story Deans’s second series of Notable Trials is a work of great merit. The literature of criminology has an absorbing interest, especially when the case under consideration possesses psychological, dramatic and romantic qualities, and it is for these, in particular, that the author has selected the representative trials, which he surveys. Over a period of several centuries he has chosen cases of intense human interest, every one of which is also illustrative of an important and elusive legal problem. This combination of human and legal elements is unique, and the book should attract a large circle of readers. Mr. Deans opens each case with a spirited story of the crime, as it presented itself to police and counsel—often baffling, contradictory and apparently inexplicable. He then follows the detectives on their trail, until the suspect is hunted down and brought to justice. Then comes a detailed and vivid record of the trial, punctuated with searching criticism of the evidence, and the use made of it by barrister and judge. The reader enjoys the sensation of being himself engaged in the investigation, and of finding his own surmises confirmed, or refuted, in the course of the story. Many notable cases are thus recalled to memory, and altogether, it is a capital collection of great interest.


Mr. Albert Crew’s Judicial Wisdom of Mr. Justice McCardie is a collection of twenty-eight judgments of that famous Judge relating mainly to domestic and social relations and other topics of general interest, even to laymen. No living judge interests the public so much as does Mr. Justice McCardie, “the bachelor judge.” In this book are given his judgments in a number of important cases on such problems as who owns an engagement ring, a doctor’s duty, the value of a wife, the validity of a spoken contract, and a score of other ticklish questions that occur in ordinary life. It is an absorbingly interesting book to the layman and of importance to everyone living under English law; since Mr. Justice McCardie is well-known as a judge who deals with human problems in an interesting way, and comments on them on morals, manners and human frailties. Outspoken and even provocative, he bubbles over with kindly humour and keen sympathy. His judgments, shorn of all unnecessary legal verbiage, have been edited and included in this book, in such a way as to make them intelligible to the general reader. The book should interest a large number of cultured readers.

The Central Authority in British India. By Dr. A. P. Dasgupta. (Registrar, Calcutta University, Senate Buildings, Calcutta) 1932.

Dr. A. P. Dasgupta’s volume deals with the difficulties with which the central authority in British India was faced during the first years of its existence, on account of the vague and limited powers entrusted to it by the Parliamentary statute which gave it birth, while the tradition of independence in the subordinate presidencies died hard. It reveals the great struggle which took place between the Governor-General-in-Council in Bengal with the head of the Madras Government to retain, what each side interpreted to be, its own position under the Act of 1773. The background of the work is the foreign relations of the British-Indian presidencies during the eventful period from 1774 to 1784, and it illustrates how a critical time in the history of British India had to be faced by a defective organisation. Based on original documents—which are not generally accessible—the book is a valuable contribution to the early constitutional law of British India, and merits wide appreciation.


The third edition of Rai Bahadur G. K. Roy’s Handbook of the Laws Relating to Press in India is very welcome. The work includes the Registration of Books and Newspaper’s Act, with the amended laws up-to-date, the present Press Act XXIII of 1931, together with the rules issued thereunder, the Official Secrets Act, the Indian States (Protection against Disaffection) Act, and the Foreign Relations Act, 1932, with relevant portions of statements of objects and reasons, select committee
reports, and case law up-to-date, to which are added copious extracts from leading judgments. The two Acts, relating to the Indian States, add materially to the utility of the publication. The work is well done and has been appreciatively reviewed by us in its earlier editions. It will be useful to all concerned with the subject—officials, lawyers and journalists alike. We commend the book to the notice of all these classes.

Anglo-Muslim Law, Muslim Law in British India and The Muslim Law of Pre-Emption. By Al-Hal Mahomed Ullah S. Jung. (S. Sultan, 18 Edmonstone Road, Allahabad) 1932.

Dr. Mahomed Ullah S. Jung made his mark some years back, by issuing his two works called The Muslim Law of Marriage and The Administration of Justice of the Muslim Law. These he has now followed by the publications of the three works enumerated above. The Anglo-Muslim Law—compiled from the original Arabic authorities—is an excellent, handy digest of the Mussalman law as administered in British Indian courts, and it is usefully supplemented, particularly on the historical side, by his Muslim Law in British India, which is really the "concluding continuation" of his previous work on the administration of justice of Muslim law. The third book is a well-digested compendium of the law of pre-emption. Dr. Jung's various works on Anglo-Muslim law are marked by learning and scholarship and they are valuable contributions to the subjects they deal with.


Both these editions of the Partnership Act are well edited. The new Act, comes into force on October 1, 1932, and the publication of two annotated editions, with a full and clear exposition of the case law on the subject, is very welcome. The Partnership Act, which introduces a number of changes in the Indian law and, in the main, follows the English law of Partnership, is an important enactment. The large number of English decisions, digested in both these books, will be of great use to the profession in appreciating the changes introduced by the Act. The printing and the get-up of the books are excellent, and redound to the credit of publishing enterprise in Madras.


This is a collection of excellent biographical sketches, with portraits, of twenty eminent Indian judges, of whom only one, Sir Shadi Lal, is still on the Bench. The others have either passed away or retired. The list is not exhaustive but selective, but the sketches are well-written and will interest lawyers and laymen alike, as not only the judicial, but other, aspects of the work of the judges is duly chronicled, thus appealing to a larger circle.

(9) RECENT BIOGRAPHIES AND AUTOBIOGRAPHIES.

A


B


C


D


Mr. Bernard Shaw is one of those strong personalities towards whom no one is indifferent, people are either violent admirers or else they have a very wholesome distrust for his views and an antipathy for him. He
is eccentric, but there is a method in his eccentricity. He is the most successful propagandist of the day; he has the art of keeping himself in the limelight. Fabian, socialist, vegetarian, essayist, dramatist, he is one of the most prominent, and inspite of all his apparent outspokenness, one of the most mysterious of our contemporaries. Mr. Henderson produced several years ago a biography of Mr. Shaw's, bits of which were authentic, but large portions mere padding. Mr. Chesterton's stimulating volume purported to be a criticism by one eccentric genius of another. There has not been any satisfactory study of the life and work of Mr. Shaw, nor are we satisfied that Bernard Shaw, by the late Mr. Frank Harris, is the hook to which scholars will turn as an authoritative work for reference. Frank Harris supplies from his imagination what he cannot gather from any other source. He writes throughout to suit his theory. Fidelity to facts is not his strong point. There is an undercurrent of bitterness and of jealousy which he takes no trouble to conceal: he could not forgive Shaw for achieving success and fame, where he himself was only an instance of the promise of unfulfilled renown. Frankness, brutal and unsparing, characterises this volume. The author's attitude is thus explained: "Shaw has rarely, since I have known him at least, been the underdog, and so I suppose the impulse has been to bite at him rather than bark with him". But when all is said in criticism, it must be confessed that the book has not a single dull page in it. The style is virile and entertaining, and there are scores of interesting stories, and some revolting details of an intimate nature.

Mr. Hugh Kingsmill's Frank Harris is a very opportune publication, coming as it does very shortly after Harris' death. Oscar Wilde is reported to have said: "Frank Harris has been received in all the great houses—one". His abilities were widely acknowledged: Meredith calling him the greatest living short-story writer. Mr. Kingsmill describes him as a blackguard, a blackmailer, and a swindler. The man who wrote so eloquently on Shakespeare, who was a brilliant editor of the Saturday Review, who was the author of a fascinating biography of Oscar Wilde, and of a bright volume entitled Contemporary Portraits—of him Bernard Shaw has said that he really had not one career but two, simultaneous, but on different planes. "On

the imaginative plane, the invariable generosity of his transports of indignation, scorn, pity, chivalry, and defiance of snobberies, powers and principalities enabled him to retain the regard of people who had the same sympathies. But on the prosaic plane of everyday life, he got into difficulties and incurred misjudgments from which it was not always possible to defend him". Mr. Kingsmill has written a very readable volume which will attract a wide circle of readers.

II

Selma Lagerlof was the first woman to receive the Noble Prize for Literature, and the only woman ever elected to the Swedish Academy. Professor Berendsohn's German book on her has been translated into English by Mr. Timpson, Miss. V. Sackville-West, who contributes a valuable preface, says of Selma Lagerlof that she combines both realism and romanticism in her art: "wild, romantic, and improbable happenings are confirmed by the thousand threads and strands attaching them firmly to a basis of sensible and homely observation". And again: "Human events, human psychology, in the ordinary sense, are not her strong line. She moves easily upon two planes only: the plane of peasant life, with its perennial anxieties, small meanesses, and sudden generosity; and the plane of high emotions, with its poetry, apparent unreality, and essential truth". Her novels have reached almost every part of the globe, and they have found many readers who admire her gifts of description and portrayal and character-drawing. The present volume furnishes all the knowledge we need of her life, and the environments and influences, which have made her stories acceptable, rendered into some three dozen languages.

Dr. Hugo Illis's Mendel appears for the first time in English, this year, though the German volume appeared eight years ago. Dr. Illis, a biologist of repute, has drawn in it a fascinating picture of Mendel the man, and written an authoritative account of his work. Mendel's eminence as a researcher and discoverer is, of course, widely acknowledged now. Mendalism is recognised as the most important aspect of the doctrine of heredity. All students of science will welcome this full and detailed biography of one of the greatest of nineteenth century scientists.
devotee with much enthusiasm and spirit. It will be prized by all Mr. Krishnamurti's disciples, and read with interest by others who, while declining to accept him as a teacher, find much that is new and stimulating in his writings. As a highly educated and cultured man, Mr. Krishnamurti will, no doubt, make allowance for the enthusiasm of his devoted biographer.

"B—G"—the author of Golak: The Hero—is the Rev. H. Golaknath of Jullunder. His book is an enthusiastic sketch of the life of the Rev. Golaknath (Chatterjee)—long a well-known missionary in the Punjab. As a biography, the book is discursive and unsystematic and gives few dates. But it is readable as a glowing tribute to the memory of a good man.

B.


Mr. David Devant's My Magic Life tells the story of a lifetime devoted to the Art of Mystery. Past president of the Magic Circle, that exclusive association of the wizards of the world, and the Magicians Club, Mr. Devant has an international reputation as a past-master of the arts of magic and scientific illusion. He has probably "deceived" more people more often than any other man alive today, and in this book he makes retribution with some fascinating glimpses behind the curtain of some of his most famous illusions. My Magic Life is the absorbing history of an ambitious youngster who, gaining his early experience of magic at the cost of hard-earned coppers spent on trifling tricks, eventually became the acknowledged master of his craft and the envy of his teachers. In writing this book Mr. Devant has achieved perhaps his greatest illusion, for on every page he has left, it seems, the imprint of his personality which, on less than his polished art, has gained for him the title of Master Magician.

Merrily I Go to Hell: By Mary Cameron. (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 40 Museum Street, London, W.C. 1).

It is a rollicking autobiography—"Mary Cameron's Merrily I Go to Hell"—of a woman who was always completely human, full of the zest for life and continually on the lookout for adventure. Her sparkling personality dominates the book. A rebel from infancy,
for they cost no more than a shilling each. The latest volumes are Sir James Frazer's _Adonis_, which is a series of word pictures depicting vividly life when religion was in the making; Mr. L. L. Tuckett's _The Evidence for the Supernatural_—which surveys the answer of science to the question whether spiritualism is true; Mr. G. Elliot Smith's _In the Beginning_, which is a fascinating study of the origin of human customs and institution; and James Thomson's great poem _The City of Dreadful Night_. The books in this series deserve a large circulation.

**The Private Life of the Romans by Dr. Johnston**, revised by his daughter, Mary Johnston (Scott, Foresman and Co., 623 South Wabash Avenue, Chicago, U.S.A.) is indeed, very welcome. For twenty-nine years it has been the authoritative work on this phase of Roman life. Now, the author's daughter, herself a Latin scholar, has brought the volume fully up-to-date, revising it judiciously and adding to the material of the original book.

Three hundred and twenty-six illustrations, including colored maps of Italy and the Roman Empire, are of special value and usefulness. In its present form, the book offers an adequate picture of every phase of the daily life of the people of old Rome, and it merits a wide appreciation and extensive circulation, especially amongst our students.

Khan Saheb Khaja Khan is a highly cultured South Indian Muslim, who has written some excellent works on Islamic philosophy, which have been appreciatively noticed in the _Hindustan Review_. His latest work, however, is a reprint of his earliest book—_The Philosophy of Islam_—originally issued in 1930. While it is to be welcomed as an able exposition of the subject, it were much to be wished that he had rewritten and substantially enlarged the book, and enriched it with the results of his now larger scholarship. We hope he will do so even now, for he is fully qualified for the task by the possession of learning and culture.

**The late Dewan Dayaram Gidumal's Life of Hiramand**—which saw the light in 1903—now appears in a revised and enlarged form, with much additional matter (Blavatsky Press, Rambagh Road, Karachi) under the new title of _Hirananda: The Soul of Sind_. The late Mr. Hirananda was born in 1863, and died (at the early age of thirty) in 1893. He was not only a highly gifted but a truly cultured man, and was withal a reformer, a patriot,
and, above all, the very soul of goodness. His activities deserved a permanent record, and we are glad to find them so well perpetuated in the book under notice, which deserves a large circulation.

We welcome a popular reprint of Dr. Henry Lea’s *History of Sacerdotal Celibacy in Christian Church* (Watts and Co., 5 and 6 Johnson’s Court, Fleet Street, London E.C. 4). The fourth edition just issued has been revised by the author. Well printed and bound, this edition puts an important book at the service of readers at a low price. This famous classic gives a vivid description, based on original records, of the long struggle made by the Christian Church to establish its priestly system upon the suppression of one of the deepest instincts of human nature, and ultimately failed—a lesson for fanatics.

The late Major B. D. Basu’s *Rain of Indian Trade and Industries* (Modern Review Office, 120-2, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta) is a revised and enlarged edition of a well-known book. It is a well-documented work, setting forth lucidly the facts and circumstances which led to Indian trade being ousted from her age-long position of importance. The scope of the book is comprehensive, the treatment sound and fair, and the result is an excellent treatise which merits serious study by all political and economic reformers, in this country.

Lt.-Commander R. T. Gould’s *Oddities* (Philip Allan and Co., Ltd., Great Russell Street, London, W.C. 1) is a reprint of the original edition of 1928. It is a collection of “unexplained facts”; an accurate account of facts di vested of legends. The evidence has been carefully sifted, the records given are authentic and contemporary, and the facts are so startling that the reader will find something to baffle, to fascinate, and to thrill him on every page of the book, which is highly interesting.

James Hinton’s *Life in Nature* is justly regarded as a classic in Science. We therefore welcome its reprint with an illuminating Introduction by Mr. Havelock Ellis (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., Museum Street, London, E.C.) Few thinkers and writers of to-day have had a wider influence than Mr. Havelock Ellis. In this book he gives us, with the few cautions necessary to bring it into line with the latest scientific advance, the remarkable work which so greatly influenced him at the start of his career, and which is invaluable.

Two reprints which will be welcome on all hands are of Nietzsche’s *Thus Spake Zarathustra*, (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., Museum Street, London) which is a thoroughly revised translation, with an illuminating Introduction by Dr. Oscar Levy and of Constance Holme’s excellent novel—*The Old Road from Spain*—in the World’s Classics series (Oxford University Press, Bombay). The former is an exceedingly well got-up pocket edition on thin paper, in flexible cover; the latter an excellent addition to a well-known series.

III.

Professor A. F. Murison—well-known as the translator of Horace into English verse—offers (in hexameters) a rendering of *The Bucolics and Georgics of Vergil* (Longmans Green and Co., 39 Paternoster Row, London, E.C. 4). Vergil’s pastoral poems, though imitations, maintain a perennial charm, and the apparent untractableness of the horticultural and agricultural subjects is dissolved in a glow of mythological illustration and human sympathy. The translator has done his work exceedingly well, and he essays to justify his belief that the English hexameter is the proper vehicle for the translation of Latin hexameter. The book is a notable addition to the literature of translations into English of the European classics.

The *Slav Anthology*, translated into English verse by Edna Worthley Underwood (The Mosher Press, Portland, Maine, U.S.A.) is an excellent collection of the classic poets of Russia, Poland, Bohemia, Serbia, and Croatia. It is the only book in which the great periods of poetry of almost all Slav peoples may be found, and it is also the only anthology of the Slav peoples translated by a single individual, and a poet. Verse-forms of originals, lives of most of the poets, and critical study and history of the various sections of Slav poetry are to be found in this excellent volume, which is a work of encyclopedic scope and vastness, dealing with the work of eighty poets, and more than two hundred poems.

Messrs Gerald Howe Ltd., (23 Soho Square, London) have rendered a service to lovers of standard Continental fiction by the publication of an exquisite rendering into English (by Miss Longman) of Fromentin’s *Dominique*, which was originally published, in French, in 1863. The author was eminent in his day as painter, traveller, and art critic. Written in the sound tradition of its period, it also anti-
icipates many of the characteristics of the moderns, and the publisher who introduces it to English readers may safely proclaim it as a classic in its genre. We commend it to lovers of high-class fiction.

Mr. J. J. Chapman’s *Lucian, Plato and Greek Morals* (Basil Blackwell, Oxford) is an excellent Introduction to the writings of Lucian, of which there are two good renderings into English. The compiler has condensed Lucian’s *Dialogues* by judicious omissions, but the work of condensation and elucidation has been very well done, and the volume should appeal to a large circle amongst those interested in European classical literature.

Mr. Lewis Wharton’s *François Villon: Blackguard and Immortal* (The author, 2136, Pentland Road, Victoria, Canada) is a very well got-up brochure, containing some fine renderings into English from the French of Villon—who, whether or not a blackguard, is certainly immortal. It will be cherished by all lovers of the great French classic.

IV.

Mehta Udhodas’s *The Japji and Discourses on the Bhagwad Gita* (The author, Retired Chief Judge, Bahawalpur) is a translation of one of the great devotional works. Guru Nanak’s *Japji*, is the sacred book of the Sikhs, and it is placed in the *Adi Granth*. The language of the poem is the Punjabi of the 15th century, and as such is not easy to be understood by present-day readers. In addition to the language difficulty, there is the other—that the subject-matter itself relates to philosophy. Besides, the use of Persian words in the text makes the task of the commentator one of difficulty. In the circumstances, the endeavour of Mehta Udhodas to interpret it through the medium of English, for the benefit of the average reader, is welcome. The first part of the book consists, besides the Introduction to the text, of the seven chapters of the *Japji*, with an excellent translation into English. The commentary, following the text, is highly elucidative, and praiseworthy. The discourses on the Bhagwad Gita are a collection of articles, which will repay perusal, as they throw light on the *Japji*. The book should make an appeal to cultured readers interested in the religion of the Sikhs and the Hindoos.

Mr. C. Sankara Rama Sastrī’s translation of Sri Harsha’s famous drama, *Nagananda*. (The Sri Balamani Ram Press, Mysapure, Madras) deserves wide appreciation. This edition of the *Nagananda* keeps in view the requirements of our students. The English rendering is printed along with the Sanskrit text, and the notes are given at the end of the book. This arrangement affords all facilities to the student. The scholarly translator has done exceedingly well in presenting a reliable and useful edition. His notes are brief but highly elucidative. An exposition, of Sanskrit prosody, with special reference to the metres occurring in the drama, is appended, in an excellent Preface, the translator discusses some highly interesting topics and examines the source of the plot, meets the criticisms levelled against the art-technique of the play, and summarises the story of the play, act by act. Altogether it is a creditable performance.

Akhoury Basudeo Narayan Sinha has rendered a service to students of philosophy by the publication of his *Isopoishad*, containing the Sanskrit text with an excellent prose translation, illuminating commentaries and an Introduction in English. (The author, Sri Rupkala Kutir, Mithapur, Patna). Printed neatly in pocket edition size, the brochure should appeal to all religious-minded people.

(11) VERBACULAR LITERATURE. (Hindi)

The famous Naval Kishore Press (Lucknow), have recently issued four excellent works in Hindi—Sri Lalla Lalji’s *Prem Sagar*, carefully edited and illustrated, with a sketch of the author’s life; a nice translation of the *Bhagwad Gita*, in simple language; a highly readable verse translation of Bhushan’s poem, called *Shivaraj Bhashan*; and a new edition of the well-known and useful dictionary called *Sridhar Bhasha Kosh*.

The Sahitya Sadan (Chirgaon, Jhansi) have published three good works in Hindi verse and prose—in the former the fine poems of Mr. Mithaiji Saran Gupta, called *Jhankar*, and Mr. Srimat Saran Gupta’s designated *Durvadat*—in the latter, Mr. Krishnanand Gupta’s *Ankur*, a collection of highly interesting short stories. They have also brought out another important poetical work of Mr. Mithaiji Saran’s called *Sakat*, which we shall notice, at some length, later.

Dr. Jafar Hasan’s *Muntakhabat Hindi Kalam* (Hyderabad Book Depot; Bhadra Bhat, Hyderabad, Deccan), is an excellent and well-edited collection of Hindi poems—printed in both the Nagari and the Perso-Arabic characters, with good translations and elucidative
commentaries in Hindustani. The editor is a scholar of both Hindi and Hindustani and is highly cultured. He has brought to bear upon his work both enthusiasm and scholarship, and the result is a treatise which is equally instructive and interesting.

(12) ON THE EDITOR'S TABLE:
MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE.

Narratives from Purchas, selected and edited by Professor H. G. Rawlinson, (Cambridge University Press, Amen Corner, London) is a well-known travel classic, though it was never fortunate enough to acquire the reputation of Hakluyt. Spenser and Shakespeare, Marlowe and Chapman—all owed a deep debt to the work Hakluyt. Purchas continued his work, and he says, "that stock (of papers bequeathed to him by Hakluyt) encouraged me to use my endeavours in and for the rest". Purchas' Pilgrims occupy twenty volumes in Maclehouse's magificent edition, and what a treasure-house of knowledge, anecdote, mythology they are! Mr. Rawlinson, who is responsible for the volume of selections before us, is a noted historian whose scholarship and erudition are too well-known to need iteration. His introduction and notes are brief, and he leaves the sixteenth-century chronicle to tell his tale himself. He has selected thirteen accounts—all of interest, but the one which will attract our readers most is that dealing with Sir Thomas Roe, and his arrival at the Court of Jahangir. Ten illustrations, all from contemporary sources, add to the charm and value of the book, which we warmly commend not only for its historic worth but also as containing good and virile Elizabethan prose.

In his The Call for Blood, Mr. Herbert A. Stark (The author, 16A Elgin Road, Calcutta) follows up his Hostages to India, of which the later work is a sequel, and which resumes the story of the Eurasian community, in India, at the point at which the earlier work broke off. It is mainly concerned with the heroism of the members of that community during the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857-8. Though the book is written—like its predecessor—without passion, there is nothing in it which may be characterized as unsound or uncritical. The two volumes together constitute an excellent record of the achievements of a community, which by reason of its permanent domicile in this country should have even greater claims on Indians than on the British—if only its members themselves appreciated this fact more keenly than they seem to do at present. Mr. Stark's two volumes are well-written and make available to the reader many facts and incidents which are unknown to the average student of the subject. By writing them he has rendered a notable service to India, in general and the Eurasian community, in particular.

In his Bombay, (The Times Press, Bombay) Mr. S. T. Sheppard— the cultured and liberal-minded editor of the Times of India—has written a capital, short sketch of the history of the greatest city of western India. In its preface he disarms criticism by saying that "this book does not pretend to be even the outline of a history of Bombay". Well, that may be the author's opinion. For our part, we welcome this well-written and compact narrative, based on much original research, and it will be found highly interesting by not only residents in and visitors to Bombay, but also by those who are interested by business relations with the fortunes of that important city. In a later edition, the author would do well to append a bibliography of the subject dealt with in the book, which is well got-up and is also illustrated.

In his The World of Books (J. M. Dent and Sons, Ltd., 10 Bedford Street, London, W.C. 2) Mr. Basil Blackwell gives a panoramic view of the whole world which is concerned in the making and marketing of books. It is, however, no superficial survey; the present position and problems of authors, publishers, book-sellers, printers, book-binders, paper-makers, and typefounders are discussed by a constructive, stimulating mind, which has a truly remarkable grasp of the many factors in book production and distribution. Those who work in any capacity in "the book world" cannot afford to miss reading this brilliant little book, while those of the greater "book world"—the general reading public—will learn from its pages where the book-trade, printer no less than author, stands to-day, and what are its hopes for the future.

Mr. A K. Ghose, a qualified writer on Indian constitution and public administration, has collaborated with Mr. Sachin Sen, in the preparation of an excellent work (in two volumes) called Principles of Civil Government—the first of which is devoted to Civics, and the second to Economics (D. B. Tarporevala Sons and Co., Hornby Road, Bombay). Civics is now a subject prescribed by several Indian Universities. The present
work has been prepared especially to meet the requirements of our students. For them it would form an almost ideal text book. But besides being a book suitable for them, it will be found interesting and readable by all who wish to be thoroughly acquainted with this subject of vital importance. The two volumes together constitute the most comprehensive statement of Indian Politics and Economics.

_Touring the Ancient World with A Camera_, photographed by G. C. Geoffrey Holme and described by William Gaunt (the Studio, Ltd., 44 Leicester Square, London, W.C. 2), is the title of a pictorial travel-book, which gives a well-illustrated description of a journey round the countries bordering on the Eastern Mediterranean, starting and finishing at Genoa. The letterpress, which is descriptive enough to explain the illustrations, tells with historical allusions sufficient for the average tourist, what may be seen on such a tour. The numerous reproductions of photographs—which constitute the _raison de être_ of the book—are good and well-chosen. Both the photographer and the author have well utilized their opportunities, and have succeeded in producing an interesting and attractive work, which will be an acquisition to a drawing-room library.

An important historical work is now available, in English, in Leon Trotsky's _The History of the Russian Revolution: The Overthrow of Czarism_. (Victor Gollancz, Ltd., 14 Henrietta Street, London, W.C. 2). In it we get for the first time the history of an epoch-making event in the evolution of modern Europe, written (by one of the principal figures) in a purely objective way, as Trotsky refers to himself throughout in the third person. His analysis of the corruption of the Government of the Czar and the Duma, and of the causes of both the 1905 and the 1917-18 revolutions is not only scientific, but also so convincing that the reader is compelled to accept its correctness. When completed, in its English garb, it will be a notable addition to the history of modern Russia.

Mr. J. Dover Wilson's _The Essential Shakespeare_ (Cambridge University Press, Amen Corner, London, E.C.) is an excellent and exceedingly well-written sketch of the life of the great dramatist. The one outstanding feature of the literary history of recent years is the controversy raging around the life of Shakespeare. Many and numerous are the views held on the subject, and Mr. Dover Wilson is a scholarly contributor to the discussion. His views and theories are noted for sanity and virility. And in this small book he gives an idea of Shakespeare as he believes him to have been. It is a work which should be studied by all lovers of Shakespeare.

The seventh volume of the _Cambridge Medieval History_ (Cambridge University Press, Amen Corner, London, E.C.) splendidly keeps up the high and great scholarly traditions of its predecessors, and, in fact, of Cambridge histories, in general. It deals with Europe in the fourteenth century and covers the whole range of the subject. The book, though a composite one, is written by eminent experts and specialists, and it is the best available in English, for the period it covers. It is accompanied—in a separate volume—with an excellent series of maps, which enhance the value and the utility of the text.

Mr. Syed Ali Akbar's _The German School System_ (Longmans, Green and Co., Ltd., 6 Old Court House Street, Calcutta) is a comprehensive sketch of the subject it deals with, based upon the author's personal knowledge and experience. Now that the Indian educational system is in a melting pot, our educational reformers may do well to study the school system of so advanced a country as Germany; and to this end thus they cannot find a better or a more instructive book than Mr. Ali Akbar's _The German School System_, which we commend as an authoritative work.

Dr. G. E. Fuhrken's _Standard English Speech_ (Cambridge University Press, Amen Corner, London, E.C.) is an excellent compendium of English Phonetics for foreign students. This book is based upon the author's long experience in teaching English to foreigners. The main facts of English phonetics are set out with a detailed treatment of vowel-length, and numerous hints are given for helping foreigners to pronounce English correctly. It will be useful to those for whom it is intended.

Mr. C. F. Carr's _The Complete Hiker and Camper_ (Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons, Ltd., Parker Street, Kingsway, London, W.C.2) is a modern holiday guide that provides one with all the essential knowledge and advice for the perfect outdoor life. Though primarily intended for use in Britain, it will be none-the-less found to be of use in India, as it covers the whole ground exceedingly well.

_Gardens and Gardening_ (The Studio Ltd., 44, Leicester Square, London, W.C. 2) is a high
class and beautifully illustrated treatise on the various aspects of the subject dealt with in it. Though the text is well-written, it is the illustrations which deserve special commendation as being superb. The result is a splendid and artistic work, which must be cherished by all lovers of gardens and gardening.

Mr. F L. Brayne's *The Boy Scout* in the Village (Uttar Chand Kapur and Sons, Lahore) is a highly instructive sketch, which every scout in India should read, mark, learn and inwardly digest. It is out-and-out the best book on the subject it deals with, and on which the author is an authority. The result is an excellent sketch of the subject.

Mr. T. B. Krishnaswami's *Noble Indian Women* (The Teachers Publishing House, Madras) comprises sketches representing twelve types—chosen from life and literature—to illustrate the Hindu ideal of womanhood. They are well-written and interesting, and should appeal to our girl students, in particular.
Mr. Ramsay Macdonald’s “Communal Award”

The Macdonald award is a highly interesting document, look at it from whatever viewpoint one may. While it is perfectly true that the British Government being solely responsible—during the Morley-Minto regime—for the introduction of separate electorates as methods for elections to legislatures, cannot equitably relieve itself of its great moral responsibility for the abolition of this pernicious system from the administration of the country, yet it must be conceded that the strength of the opposition to the award, now made, is bound to be weakened in the eyes of all reasonable people by the failure of the Round Tablers to come to a satisfactory settlement amongst themselves, and their agreeing to submit the matter to the arbitration of the Prime Minister. This important factor cannot and should not be ignored in any attempt at a fair criticism of the award and, in the circumstances, it is idle to impeach the bona fides of Mr. Macdonald’s. But making full allowance for it, the fact remains that the award announced means a death-blow at the smooth working of a responsible and democratic system of government in this country, and the installation in its place of either communal or combined-groups government, the result of which, in the long run, is bound to be disastrous in the work of administration. Without being unduly pessimistic, we cannot conceal from ourselves the apprehension that the system now sanctioned will accentuate the already disruptive factors in the country, intensify the working of the centrifugal elements in our public life, thwart and ultimately suppress the present, rather weak, centripetal forces, and divert the proposed constitution from that of the responsible type into one which will be just the reverse of it, by reason of its evoking an anti-nationalistic spirit in the administration.

We have expressed the view that the document is highly interesting, in our opinion. That is so to us, both in form and substance. Its form is rather amusing in that while providing representation for Muslims, Sikhs, Indian Christians, “Anglo-Indians”, “Europeans” (British or Russians, as the case may be), the depressed classes, commerce and industry, mining and planting interests, landlords, labour, universities and (last but not least), even our women—for all (in fact) except labour, by means of separate electorates—the award insists throughout the document upon using the expression “general seats”, meaning thereby those reserved for the Hindu males (and the allied group of Jains) and the Parsis. As the latter are residents in only one province (Bombay), the term “general seats” must be taken to mean, for all practical purposes, the Hindus. Stript of its verbiage, which limits the Hindus themselves to representation by means of separate electorates, and considering the separation of all others, except labour, the number of separate electorates—at present but a few—will be substantially increased in future to as many as fourteen, and this fragmentation will be unfortunately based not only on racial lines (as between the British and the Indian) but also on religious and economic ones, as enumerated above. While it is a matter for thankfulness that labour has been saved the inherent evils of separate electorates, yet the deliberate dismemberment of the body politic into as many as fourteen racial, religious and economic factions and groups is obviously a system which is not only antibacterial but anti-rational, as well. Yet all the while retaining the expression “general seats” for practically one religious community only—the Hindus—and insisting upon its use, as if it could possibly mean the vast bulk of the body politic, is characteristic of Mr. Macdonald’s pucky Scotch humour, which appeals to us most.

Coming to the substance of the document, its redeeming feature seems to be that it is not obsessed with any such irksome thing as a principle, and it makes no attempt at conforming to any precedents or political dicta laid down by other high authorities. In the face of the emphatic declaration, for instance, in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, deprecating the extension of representation through separate electorates, the award confers this privilege on all and sundry—including in its benign sweep even poor Indian women, who had strongly and strenuously offered resistance to this proposed blessing. Similarly, in utter defiance of the strong expression of opinion recorded by the Simon Commission, in their Report, that “it would be unfair that Muhammadans should retain the very considerable weightage they now enjoy in six provinces, there should at the same time be im-
posed—in face of Hindu and Sikh opposition—a definite Muslim majority in the Punjab and Bengal, unalterable by any appeal to the electorate", that is what has been actually done, in substance, though not in form. Then, again, while the 32 per cent. of the Muslim population of Assam have been given weightage at 40 per cent, the nearly 28 per cent. of the Hindu population in the Punjab have not only got no weightage, but even slightly less than the proportion of their population. Lastly, while there is a clear indication of a separate administration for Sindh, and the figures of the Sindhi legislature are worked out in detail in the award, there is no such suggestion for a separate administration for Orissa. Such instance of want of any definite principle may easily be multiplied—perhaps the most glaring of which is the maintaining of weightage of 30 per cent. to the Muslims in the United Provinces, who constitute 13 per cent. as compared with the but 18 per cent. now granted to the Sikhs in the Punjab, who also total the same. There can be thus little doubt that the award does not rest on any sound principle.

Judged, therefore, from the nationalist standpoint, the award is obviously as bad as it could be, while from the communalist point of view, it must be declared to be an almost ideal award conceivable. If in spite of it the communalists say that they have not got all that they wanted and that they are still dissatisfied with it, one may reasonably take their declarations cum grano salis. The serious defects and great limitations of the award being obvious from the nationalist standpoint, the progressive parties in the country must now be prepared to face the situation. It yet remains to be seen what the provincial constitution is going to be—whether it will be of the genuine type, or a more counterfeit pretension of what a responsible government should be. If the former, it may be possible to work it, more or less satisfactorily, in spite of the great handicap underlying the institution of separate electorates on so extensive a scale; but if the constitution itself is going to be seriously defective—reserving extraordinary powers in the hands of the governor—then one may bid adieu to the prospect even in the dim, distant future of a peaceful solution of the Indian problem. We say so, for we are not at all impressed by the suggestion of the revision of the system, now introduced, after ten years, as the now long experience, of the working of the separate electorate system for more than twenty years, clearly shows that once a community has acquired some such vested right or interest, it cannot be induced to give it up. We are not, therefore, optimistic enough to persuade ourselves that the extraordinary concessions (now, justly or unjustly), made to communalists will be given up by them at the end of ten years.

In the Public Eye

MR. NARSINHA CHINTAMAN KELKAR.

There have been great rejoicings on the occasion of the completion of the sixtieth year of Mr. Narsinha Chintaman Kelkar, the trusted lieutenant and the right hand of the late Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, and one who has consecrated his life to the cause of the country by identifying himself with movements conducive to the uplift of India. Particularly in Maharashtra, the land of his birth, he holds a unique position as a public man and patriot.

Born on August 24, 1872, Kelkar received his education at Poona, and after taking his law degree, settled down to practice there, as a district court pleader, till 1896. In that year he joined Tilak, and came to be associated with the Kesari, the premier and the most powerful Marathi paper (in Maharashtra) and also with the (English weekly) Maharashtra, as its sub-editor. In 1897, when Tilak was prosecuted for sedition and sentenced to eighteen months' rigorous imprisonment, young Kelkar, who was then hardly twenty-five, was entrusted with the
editorship of both these journals, which were considered even then powerful organs of public opinion. Since then, he edited the Maharatta from 1897 to 1919, and the Kesari from 1897 to 1899, and again from 1910 onwards. If these two journals have come to be regarded as influential organs, the credit is in no small measure due to Mr. Kelkar, who has been their life and soul ever since he came to be connected with them. When the 51st birthday of the Kesari and the Maharatta was celebrated on a grand scale at Poona, in the first week of January, 1931, Mr. Kelkar was justly the recipient of congratulations from all parts of India.

But journalism is not the only sphere of activity in which Mr. Kelkar has taken a keen and an abiding interest. Civic life and progress have interested him. He was a member of the Poona Municipal Council in 1892-94, and was the President of the Poona City Municipality in 1918, and again from 1922 to 1924. He was a member of the Congress and Home Rule League deputations that proceeded to England, in 1918, where his encyclopaedic knowledge of constitutional problems stood him in good stead, and he rendered valuable service to India.

Mr. Kelkar was twice elected member of the Indian Legislative Assembly and served, as such, from 1923 to 1930. Early in that year he resigned for personal reasons. First as a Swarajist and later as a responsive co-operationist, Mr. Kelkar worked in the Assembly with great ability. Before the breach in the ranks of the Swarajist party was effected, Mr. Kelkar was first the chief whip, and then the Deputy Leader of the party. His speeches in the Assembly received encomiums from many officials, and Sir Denys Bray—the then Foreign Secretary—in paying a tribute to Mr. Kelkar, as a speaker, observed: "Ordinarily when Mr. Kelkar gets up to speak, I settle myself down in my chair for a delightful half-hour. For I greatly enjoy the charm of his manner, his urbanity of speech, his delightful quips and literary anecdotes, his touch of humour, and the tolerance and moderation of his views."

Despite his strenuous life, Mr. Kelkar has found time to enrich his mother tongue, Marathi, of which he is a great scholar. His monumental biography of the late Mr. Tilak is perhaps the only work of its kind in that language and his book on "The Maharattas and the English" shows at once that Mr. Kelkar is a consummate dialectician and a powerful literary artist. He is, besides, the author of a few dramas and short stories, which have secured for him a conspicuous place among the Marathi writers. He is also the author of various valuable books in English, "India's Case for Home Rule,"—"Landmarks of Lokamanya's Life", "A Passing Phase of Politics", "Pleasures and Privileges of the Pen", etc. The esteem in which Mr. Kelkar is held even in England is thus described by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu: "When I was in England Mr. Nevinson spoke to me about Mr. Kelkar, warmly appreciating his merits as a journalist. Also, whenever I had an occasion to hear any reference made to Mr. Kelkar, in my conversation with officials and non-officials, I could hear nothing but praise for his remarkable ability. I have great regard for his learning, for his poetic and literary susceptibilities, and his courage of conviction."

Such is Mr. Kelkar. We wish him a long life of useful public activities in the interest of the country, which he has served faithfully for so long a time.
Passing Away of Two Dailies

I. BENGALEE.

Born in 1859, the Bengalee (of Calcutta) died on the 9th of August, at the advanced age of seventy-three—not so much of old age as of mal-nutrition. Though not founded by him, its great and glorious career (as a great organ of progressive opinion) was justly associated in the public mind with the name and activities of that patriot and nationalist leader—Surendra Nath Banerjee, who passed away at a ripe old age, in August 1925. He edited it for about forty years—for twenty of which, as a daily, into which he converted it in 1899. During his editorial control of the Bengalee, he conducted it with great vigour and virility. When he severed his connection with it, on his appointment as a Minister, in 1921, the paper rapidly went down under his successors. But it sank into the very nadir of decrepitude when it passed under the control of a South Indian journalist under whom the paper—as correctly stated by the Leader—"steadily deteriorated; under there were left only headlines and advertisements to read, while its politics became loyalist." Even the change in the name—from the Bengalee to the Calcutta Evening News—did not and could not at all improve matters. And now this once leading nationalist organ, in Bengal, has been acquired by a communalist Muslim syndicate, who are to conduct it for their own propagandist purposes, under the new name of the Star of India. We drop a tear at the passing of the old Bengalee, with its high nationalist traditions under Surendra Nath Banerjee.

II. PIONEER.

Born in 1865, the Pioneer (of Allahabad) died on the 30th of May last, and on the 1st of June it reincarnated under conditions, with which we have no concern, at present. Though it may be that the old soul survives in the new body, there can be no doubt that the old Pioneer—as an independent Anglo-Indian journal—ceased to exist, on the date mentioned above, in its sixty-seventh year. The Pioneer is the last in the series of deaths of leading Anglo-Indian journals, which began (in 1914) with the passing away of the Bombay Gazette—followed by that of the Madras Times, the Indian Daily News, the Empire and the Englishman, the last three of Calcutta.

The Pioneer was started by (the late) Mr. George Allen as a thrice-weekly and three years later, it became a daily. Founded in 1865, it has as pointed out by the Manchester Guardian—remained substantially under the same proprietory for more than half-century. It was the daily organ of the services, going to almost every club and mess throughout the country and being regarded as indispensable for Government officers throughout India. It was very distinctive of the old British India, and now completely passed away. Its form, during the greater part of its almost seventy years, had been essentially unaltered, and in its successful period it printed very many advertisements. It had a remarkable list of contributors, in which could be found the names of most of the men who rose to eminence in the Administration, from the days of John Lawrence to those of Lord Reading. In later years its anti-Indian editorial tone was, to some extent modified. Linked with the Pioneer was the Civil and Military Gazette (of Lahore) the paper on which Rudyard Kipling served his apprenticeship. The Allahabad daily has had some able editors, but none whose work and services made him of conspicuous importance. The semi-official character of the paper would probably account for that.

The Pioneer was befriended by Government and it became, a Government organ. It explained Government's attitude in public matters and thus helped to gather public goodwill for a Government that could not speak for itself. Slowly but surely, high Government officials were encouraged to write for it, and it came to be known as the chief mouthpiece of the Government of India. Indeed, it claimed in 1915, "to be the daily newspaper of the services in India" and "one of the most influential organs of Anglo-Indian public opinion in the country." That description held good until very recent times, excepting during the period of the administration of Lord Curzon, who befriended the Times of India, which during his regime basked in the sunshine of Viceroyal favour and patronage. The Pioneer's more famous editors have been the late Mr. A.-P. Sinnet, the great Theosophist; the late Mr. G. M. Chesney (the son of General Sir George Chesney) and Sir Maitland Park, who later became editor of the Cape Times,
Among the Pioneer's best known assistant editors was Mr. Rudyard Kipling, who served for seven long years (1881-1889), without ever rising to the post of the editor. His inimitable letters, called (in book form) "From Sea to Sea," first appeared in the Pioneer.

In recent years, the Pioneer underwent a radical change, both in its make-up and its policy under Mr. Harv ard and later, during Mr. Wilson's regime; its writings, editorial and other, partially lost their crusted old conservative flavour, and displayed a spirit of liberal-mindedness. But attempts to resuscitate and run it on the old lines evidently proved abortive, and it passed away, at the end of May last, un mourned even by its Anglo-Indian contemporaries.

So far as politically-minded Indians are concerned, the disappearance of the Pioneer will not mean a serious loss as—except during the short regime of Mr. Wilson—it was invariably hostile to their aspirations, and often indulged in offensive and provocative language. As for its policy and prospects under the new Indo-British proprietary body, we refrain from making a forecast about it. We prefer to wait and see, and we may return to this subject in a later issue of the Hindustan Review.

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The Necrology of the Quarter

SIR DORAB TATA.

By the death of Sir Dorab Tata, India has lost a great captain of industry, a true philanthropist, a benefactor of the public and a simple, conscientious and sympathetic man. He kept aloft the reputation of his renowned father, the late Mr. Jamshedji Nusserwanji Tata, the greatest industrial pioneer. The success of his life was mainly due to the singleness of purpose with which he devoted himself to the development of Indian industries and to the promotion of the great industrial schemes conceived by his father.

Sir Dorab was born in Bombay on August 27, 1859, and in his sixteenth year he was sent to England for his education. For two years he remained with a private tutor and then went to Cairns College, Cambridge. On return to India, in 1879, he joined St. Xavier's College, Bombay, and graduated in Arts in 1882. In his younger days, both in India and England, he took a keen interest in sports, particularly athletics and started the Bombay High School's Athletic Association and was also one of the founders of the Parsi Gymkhana and its Vice-President for many years. He was one of the founders of the Willingdon Sports Club brought to existence in Bombay to bring Englishmen and Indians together. He was also a member of the Bombay Presidency Olympic Games Association and a Member of the M.C.C.

In 1912 Sir Dorab proposed to endow a School of Research in Tropical Medicine in India and to associate the scheme with Bangalore, but it dropped for want of necessary support. Later on, he again offered to endow a School of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene in Bombay, and an Institute of Medical Research at Delhi, but the Government refused the offer on financial grounds. The greatest work of Sir Dorab's was to give practical effect to the great industrial schemes which his father had left him as a legacy, and for which he had received necessary training during the earlier part of his business career. In 1884 he entered his father's business and the great lessons that he had learnt there—efficiency, organisation and knowledge of technique, stood him in good stead throughout his career.

Sir Dorab Tata's fame will permanently rest on the three great achievements of his: the iron and steel works at Jamshedpur, the hydro-electric power schemes, and the Research Institute at Bangalore. His public benefactions were in the direction of encouraging...
scientific and literary research. He endowed a chair of Sanskrit at the Bhandaskar Institute at Poona and subsidised the researches of many a deserving scholar, particularly those who desired to throw further light upon the history of the Parsees. Both he and his brother, the late Sir Ratanji Tata, took a practical interest in the education of women. Their benefactions were not confined to India. Sir Ratanji, at a time of distress, assisted those Indians who were in conflict with the South African Government. In recent years Sir Dorabji gave £25,000 to the University of Cambridge for the equipment of laboratories in the School of Engineering. The University then elected him an Honorary Fellow of his old college, Gonville and Caius, a distinction held only by eight other men, and by no other man born outside Europe.

Ever since his wife's death, Sir Dorab had been anxious to make some kind of settlement of his enormous property, both moveable and immovable, and before he sailed for Europe last spring, he had the trust deed prepared which covered properties worth over three crores of rupees. Apart from this great trust, Sir Dorab also set apart a sum of Rs. 25 lakhs for instituting scholarships for research work in connection with what are known as incurable diseases, particularly the malignant type of anemia which caused the death of Lady Meherbai Tata.

Owing to the unique position he held as one of the great industrialists of his time he refrained from taking part in politics, thus following the footsteps of his father, but he was at heart a staunch nationalist.

MR. R. S. BAJPAL

We are grieved to record the sudden and premature death of Mr. Rama Shankar Bajpai, Director of Information, Government of India, who was (along with Dr. Rushbrook Williams) the founder of Central Publicity Office, during the Home Membership of Sir William Vincent when Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru was the Law Member. His knowledge of men and matters proved particularly useful to the Government. Mr. Bajpai, who was 46 years at the time of his death, was the eldest son of Bai Bahadur Sitla Prasad Bajpai, now Chief Justice in Jaipur State. Two of his brothers, Mr. G. S. Bajpai and Mr. S. S. Bajpai, are members of the Indian Civil Service, the former being at present Secretary to the Government of India in the Department of Education. After leaving Lincoln's Inn College, Oxford, in 1914, where he took the degrees of B.A. and B.C.L., he practised for a while at the Bar, mainly in Calcutta. In 1920 he joined as an Officer (on special duty) the Central Bureau of Information, and also acted for a while as Secretary to the Staff Selection Board. He became Deputy Director of the Bureau in 1923, and continued to hold this post throughout the period of Mr. Coatman's directorship, officiating as Director at various times. In 1930 he became the Director. He was a member of the Legislative Assembly during more than one term. Mr. Bajpai's death will be very keenly felt by a wide circle of friends throughout India. He was popular in the lobby with the members of the Assembly, and it was often his influence that prevented the axe falling on his department. His kindness, his delight in obtrusive hospitality, and his unswerving personal loyalties, endeared him to all with whom he came in close contact, and by his death the Government have been deprived of the services of a valued and capable officer—a fact to which testimony has been borne officially in the Gazette of India.

PANDIT KESHAV RAO

Pandit Keshav Rao, ex-judge of the High Court of Hyderabad (Deccan), was a prominent Arya Samajist, a keen social reformer and a philanthropist. He was the first Hindu High Court Judge in the Nizam's Dominions. The Pandit was a striking example of a self-made man. Born of a poor family in a village in the Hyderabad State, he went to Gulbarga at an early age and after schooling himself privately obtained a post as a petty clerk in the Tehsil office and set himself to study law in his spare time and succeeded in obtaining a sound of a third-grade pleader. He then came to Hyderabad City, set up a practice as a High Court vakil and succeeded so well that he became a leader of the local Bar. He was elected to the Hyderabad Legislative Council and in 1922 was appointed a High Court Judge which position he held till 1928. He was a very keen social reformer of the Gokhale school and it was he who introduced the Hindu Widow Remarriage Bill in the Hyderabad Legislative Council in spite of considerable opposition from a section of his co-religionists. The late Mr. Keshav Rao was the acknowledged leader of the Hindu community in that State and no good cause that solicited his support failed to get it. His donations were over a lakhs of rupees and the Deccan Education Society and the Servants of India Society were the special objects of his pride and affection.
MR. SWARNA KUMARI DEVI.

The late Srimathi Swarna Kumari Devi (Mrs. J. Ghosal), is well known as the great Bengalee literary and a pioneer of women’s movement, education and culture in Bengal. She was the fourth daughter of the late Maharshi Devendranath Tagore and an elder sister of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore. She received her early education at home and had her literary training and inspiration from her brothers, Dwijendranath and Jyotindranath. Coming in contact with the great reformer Ranitamu Lahiri she embraced Brahmoism and she married Mr. Janakinath Ghosal. It was Janakinath’s advanced social ideas combined with those of Swarna Kumari Devi’s brother, the late Mr. Suryendranath Tagore that encouraged her to come of the Purdah more than half a century ago. She was the first lady journalist to take up the editorship of the Bengalee monthly magazine, the ‘Bharati’ founded by her brothers Dwijendranath and Jyotindranath in 1877. She edited it with remarkable success from 1884 to 1910 barring the period from 1895 to 1906. In 1886 she started a ladies association called “Sakhi Samiti” with a view to promote friendly intercourse among Indian ladies and to foster in them the growth of an active and enlightened intercourse in the welfare of the country, to provide a home for and educate poor Hindu girls and to assist them in the encouragement and development of Indian arts and industries. When the sixth sessions of the Indian National Congress was held at Calcutta in 1890, it was for the first time attended by Indian lady delegates, one of whom being Mrs. Ghosal.

Srimathi Swarna Kumari Devi for nearly half a century enriched Bengalee literature with her valuable contributions as poet, novelist, dramatist and story writer, and in recognition of her eminent services to Bengalee literature she was awarded the Jagattarini Gold Medal by the Calcutta University and in 1930, when the Bengali Literary Conference held its 29th sessions at Bhawanipore, she occupied the presidential chair and delivered a most interesting address. Mrs. Ghosal always took keen interest in the affairs of the Widows Industrial Home at Ballygunge founded by her daughter, the late Srimathi Hiranmoyee Devi and bequeathed the copyright of all her books besides a substantial donation for two stipends to the institution.

BABU JAGANNATH DAS.

In the death of Babu Jagannath Das the Hindi literary world has lost one of the distinguished poets. He belonged to a respectable Agrawal family of Delhi, where his forefathers had held high offices during Moghul rule. Jagannath Das, even in his boyhood, came in frequent contact with poets and himself developed a love for poetry at a very early age. His poem “Harischandra” (based on the puranic story) raised him to fame in the Hindi literary world, in time he came to occupy a very prominent place among the Brij-Bhusha poets. His “Gangavataram” was given a fitting reception by all lovers of poetry, and was honoured by the Hindustani Academy by the award of its valued prize. Only a few months back was published the poem “Udhava-Shatah” which is a piece of exquisite workmanship, showing a beautiful combination of poetical imagination and mastery of the poetic technique. Besides making his own contributions to the treasures of Hindi poetry, Babu Jagannath was equally eager to bring old gems before modern readers, in all their splendour and grandeur. He devoted years of labour of love to bring out an authentic and fully annotated edition of Bihari’s “Satas”. During his last years he was engaged in bringing out similar editions of the famous Baktha poets, Surdas and Nandadas. His death is a very great loss to the development of Hindi literature.

MR. SHIBESHWAR DAYAL.

The premature and sudden death, in his 42nd year, from failure of heart’s action of Mr. Shibeshwar Dayal, Government Pleader in the Patna High Court, has cast a deep gloom over the legal and social circles in Patna. Nor is it at all surprising, for the deceased was one of the most brilliant products of the Calcutta University and had practised with great success since the inauguration of the Patna High Court, in 1916. As was remarked by the Chief Justice in the course of the reference made by him on behalf of the full Bench of the Court, the deceased who had a frail body and he also suffered partially from defective eye-sight, had his great talents, and his boundless energy and his great legal learning more than made up for his physical defects, and he possessed strength of character and a skill in advocacy which won admiration alike of the Bench and the Bar. For the last ten years he had ably conducted a weekly legal journal—The Patna Law Times—which had
survived its competitors and rivals in the same field. It will keep his memory alive amongst lawyers in this province for time to come, but apart from it all, his loss is irreparable to the social circles in Behar in general and in Patna in particular, for as emphasised by Sir Ali Imam in the course of his remarks on the occasion of reference in the High Court, it was as a man that Mr. Shibeshwar Dayal was loved and respected most by all sections and communities in the province. Given the normal period of human life, there can be no doubt that he would have gone very far. It is a matter of profound sorrow that in the course of these three years, Behar has lost three brilliant young men, each of them cut off in the prime of life with a brilliant career before each of them—Mr. Harmanand Lal Nandkeolyar in 1930, Mr. Shambhu Saran in 1931 and now Mr. Shibeshwar Dayal in the current year.

MR. S. VEDAMURTHI

By the death of Mr. S. Vedamurthi, India and Burma have lost a true patriot, a progressive politician and a veteran journalist. Mr. Vedamurthi was born in 1865 in a village in the Tinnevelly district, in the Madras Presidency, and after graduating himself from the Trivandrum College set to study for the Law, but journalism having a fascination for him, he underwent training under the late Mr. G. Subramania Iyer, the first Editor of the Hindu and for the next eight years he filled various high and responsible offices under the Madras Government. He then started an English weekly called the People's Guardian and soon left his favourite work and proceeded to England in connection with the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company to purchase two vessels on its behalf. His stay in England was short and on his return to Madras he proceeded to Rangoon where he started the Rangoon Daily Mail. He associated himself with public work and strongly advocated the usefulness of Burma's inclusion into the Montford scheme of reforms. In 1919-20 Mr. Vedamurthi helped the deputation of the Ayurvedic and Unani Tibbiya College, Delhi, and it was mainly through his efforts that the said cause was popularised in Burma. He was the founder of the Indian Association, Burma, which crystallised Indian public opinion in Burma, and in 1923 he became a Member of the Council of State where for three years he rendered good work. On account of his declining age he retired from public life, but in his own unostentatious way he was serving the Motherland. Only recently he removed himself to Delhi and at Rishikesh he met with his tragic end, in the waters of the Ganges.

MR. FRAMROZ TARAPOREVALA

Mr. Framroz Dinshaw Taraporevala was the head of the firm of Messrs. Taraporevala and Sons—the well-known firm of book-sellers and publishers—which came into existence nearly forty years ago, when his mother purchased a book-sellers' establishment, which was being then run under the name of Cooper, Maldon and Co. The name was then changed and Mr. Framroz Taraporevala and his three brothers conducted the business, which was largely extended during the War. After working in partnership for some time, the eldest brother separated, and Mr. Framroz Taraporevala became the head of the firm. The firm made large profits out of the business in the course of years, and it is now one of the largest firms of book-sellers and publishers, with a reputation that has spread not only all over India, but even as far as Europe. The late Mr. Framroz Taraporevala was 63 years old at the time of his death.
"DIP" ON SOVIET.

The Dip Narain Singh's have given their impression of Soviet Russia in The Hindustan Review of which Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha is the Editor. Both Mr. and Mrs. Dip Narain Singh are great travellers. Mr. Dip Narain Singh found time amid his great travels to go to two places—an Indian prison and Soviet Russia. In Russia, all travellers are dependent entirely on the Government unless they have pals among the Russians. The Dips like other travellers must have been dependent on the tourist agencies which the Soviet Government controls, like any other traveller. But being old travellers they have managed to observe much that is useful and informing. Mr. Sinha deserves to be congratulated for having squeezed out their impressions for the benefit of the public. We found them interesting and we have no doubt our readers will share our view. The Dips have not aimed at anything picturesque or panegyric. They have given a rambling talk of what they saw and felt when they were roaming in the land of the Czars that were. If the Dips were to write a book of travels, it must make good reading. But the trouble is to get these hustlers to settle down in some place and give sometime seriously to put to writing all that they have seen and heard in their world-wide travels.

MR. SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA

Will Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha accept my suggestion? His old friends expect him to write his "Recollections." Mr. B. C. Pal and Sir Surendranath have recorded their recollections; Babu Ambika Charan Mazumdar found time to write his impressions. Mr. Sinha who is a good writer ought to give the world his reminiscences. Friend of Gokhale and Malaviyaji, Das and Basu, Mr. Sinha has a world of recollections in his brain. But why should not the world know them? In his beautifully got-up Hindustan Review, he can start giving his readers a glimpse of the great days that were when Mr. Sinha played an important part. Apart from politics, there is so much to say about the personalities whose company Mr. Sinha kept. Biographical sketches, personal reminiscences, recollections of men and things and political diaries are common in the West but so uncommon in India.

—Daily Herald, (Lahore).

THE HINDUSTAN REVIEW.

The Daily Herald of Lahore has recently made a suggestion to Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha which has our wholehearted approval. It invited him to write his reminiscences. It is a pity that in this direction the Indian mind has not worked with enthusiastic diligence, though talent is not wanting. This may be partly due to the fact that in India, even the men who have been privileged to play a leading part in public life are not known to keep a diary. It is something to be thankful for that Babu Surendra Nath Banerji and Babu Bepin Chandra Pal left behind them volumes of their memories. But to be able to appreciate the times better and the work done by those who laboured hard for the national regeneration, we want more books like 'A Nation in the Making' and 'Memories of My Life and Times.' We have a right to expect men like Mr. Chintamani and Mr. Sinha to give us the benefit of their experience, knowledge, powers of observation, and literary faculty. Mr. Sinha has an obvious advantage over Mr. Chintamani, namely, plenty of leisure, and it is no small factor. He, therefore, ought to set himself to do what is bound to be a work of absorbing interest. A distinguished politician, a facile writer and speaker, a great patron of learning, and a splendid host, Mr. Sinha is one of the outstanding personalities in North India, whose recollections are worth chronicling. New Thought. (Allahabad.)

The current number of the Hindustan Review (for April-June 1932) has an unusually attractive literary bill of fare, including articles on "The Latest Indo-South African Agreement" by the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri; "The Romance of Mohenjo-Daro" by Mr. Kundan Lall, and "Impressions of Soviet Russia" by Mr. and Mrs. Deep Narain Singh. The Editor, founder and proprietor, Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha, is to be congratulated on the high literary level he has always maintained in this the premier review of India, the conduct of which to him has from the beginning been purely a labour of love.—The Eastern Times, (Lahore).
Governments are like flocks of sheep. This sounds a startling statement, but it is literally true, I have in mind normal Governments, that is, where there is no question of an alien rule; the Government as well as the people belong to the same race and are natives of the same country; the ruled do not complain that the rulers are foreigners who have nothing in common with the children of the soil and whose only object is to exploit the resources of the country and the people. This latter form of Government is abnormal and by its very nature must be of short duration, because what is unnatural cannot be permanent.

Governments are like flocks of sheep because they all go to the same way; where one leads the rest follow and there is no new path, no new objective, no fresh initiative. The few rule the many, and the few firmly believe that they can always bend the many to their will. Originally, the right of kingship belonged to the best and ablest man among his fellow-men. The king was chosen, either openly or tacitly, No man was born a king, but had to qualify himself for his office. Confucius deplored the existence of a hereditary monarchy as a sign of degeneration. Hereditary kings were established by two causes: first the concentration of power in the king and the people around him; the accumulation of wealth which represents the sinews of war; second, the general and habitual inertia of the people and their reluctance to act always in concert and to assert themselves. They let things be done for them, they submit to the dictatorship of the few rulers, oblivious of the fact that they are the real masters all the time.
It is the indifference and apathy of the people that have encouraged the extravagant and preposterous claims of the handfuls of rulers. Dynastic rule is due to the acquiescence of the people, much too indolent to examine the qualifications of every successive king. To the same cause must be attributed the myth of the divine right of kings, for no divinity ever intervenes when an exasperated people pulls a king down from his throne and drives him out or puts him to death. Neither king nor captain has any power other than what he derives from his people. A king speaks gibberly of 'his subjects' as if the people are his to trample upon at will. In ancient India the king was the \textit{Raja} and the subjects were \textit{pra\text{	ext{\text{	ext{\text{\text{a}}}}}}}ja\textit{ or his children. Every unit of the power of a king comes from the people over whom he rules; the army is recruited from the people, the police comes from the people, all officers, civil and military, come from the people. When a king calls himself the first servant of the people, he utters the truth, but most kings look upon themselves as the lords and masters of the destinies of their people, dazzled by the trappings of royalty and embalmed by the possession of armed force.}

In the majority of instances the king is an indolent and pleasure-seeking individual because the kingdom comes to him by inheritance and he has done nothing to win it. It is only when he possesses a strong individuality and a marked propensity for good or evil that he counts for anything. The Government that is carried on in his name is in the hands of a few people who get accustomed to the habit of having their own way in all things. They command and the people obey; they demand and the people pay. If at any time the people murmur they are silenced by the armed or organised power of the Government. All Governments have the firm conviction that they are much stronger than the people and they never realise their weakness until it is too late. It is because all Governments are alike that they utterly fail to take note of the varying moods of the people. They govern well or they govern ill, but they are impervious to influences from outside, they can never read aright signs of danger, the prolonged possession of power makes them contemptuous of the unfriendliness of the people and heedless of protest and remonstrance. Governments are like thoughtless flocks of sheep that go up a precipice and then plunge head foremost into the deep sea below.

Not that there are no exceptions. There is indeed no rule without an exception. Perhaps the most remarkable instance of an understanding Government, entirely free from the ovine instinct, is that of Japan. The curious dual system of feudal Government, with the invisible and holy Mikado and the Shogun, the head of the army, as the two emblems of authority, disappeared like magic and Japan adapted herself to the new order of things with scarcely an effort. Here the Government and the people were thinking and working in unison and there was no conflict. Japan stepped out from the past into the present by a most natural transition, the Government being quite wide-awake to the new forces moving in the world. England might be named as another exception had it not been for the fact that a king's head was brought to the block as the price of the change and after winning her own freedom she has proceeded to take away the freedom of other peoples.

Of the want of insight on the part of a Government a most striking object-lesson is the French Revolution. The people of France had their own Government, that is to say, the king, the ministers, the gendarmerie, the army were all French. They were all Frenchmen and yet the Government could not have been less in touch with the people had it been an utterly alien Government. All signs of increasing dissatisfaction passed unnoticed and unheeded. The Court was a dazzling sink of corruption and vice. The mistresses of the kings were surrounded with greater magnificence than the lawful queens. The nobility took its cue from the court. Probably in no other country were the people so completely despised as in France.
The word used to designate them was the same as that used for dogs—canaille. The aristocrats in the provinces and the cities treated the people as the dirt under their feet. It was never realised for a moment that there could be any danger from the people. The Government had the police and the army, and any rising could be easily suppressed. The Court and the aristocracy were rolling in sinful extravagance while the people were hungering for bread.

Did any Minister of France or the French Government do anything to avert the fate that was rushing forward to overwhelm king and Government and the nobility in one common ruin? To the end they remained in blissful and contemptuous ignorance, and did nothing to meet the demands of the people or mend their own ways. Was not the Government all-powerful and what had it to fear from the canaille, the vociferous but impotent rabble? Louis, the sixteenth of that name, himself free from the sins of his fathers but the sacrifice for the evil wrought by them, foolishly said it was a revolt when he heard of the rising of the people and saw the mob in front of his palace, but was grimly corrected and told it was a revolution. The ragged army of the canaille and the sansculottes pulled down the frowning stone fortress of the Bastille like a house of cards and rased it to the ground. When Red Revolution broke out king, queen and aristocrats were slaughtered like sheep, for they represented the Government. During the Hundred Days of the Terror France ran rivers of blood and the children of the Revolution itself perished in thousands. That was the awful vengeance of a frenzied and maddened people.

Before the cataclysm was upon them the French Government must have prated of law and order like all other Governments and must have protested its anxiety to avert bloodshed and anarchy. France passed through the most frightful horrors of anarchy and blind bloodshed, but the French people and nation are not extinct. It is only the sin-laden Government and the aristocracy that have disappeared.
consequently no autocratic Government lasts very long. The French or the Russian Government under the Bourbons or the Romanoffs was not a foreign Government, but by continued repression it passed its own death sentence. Every powerful Government has a false notion not only of its strength but of permanence.

Most culpable is the constant use by every Government about to fall of sounding phrases and maxims of justice. No Government, whether of the Tsars in Russia or the Sultans of Turkey, has ever admitted that it ever did any wrong. The Manchu dynasty of China inflicted the most frightful torture on its subjects in the name of the law. The sanctity and inviolability of the law has been emphasised and enforced by crime of every description. No mob violence can compare with the organised butchery and massacre carried out by many Governments in many lands. And when a Government embarks on a policy of systematic violence the end is in sight.

The fact must be again emphasised that we are here concerned only with natural Governments, that is, Governments that are not foreign and were not originally established by either invasion, force or fraud. It is the continued possession of power that tends to make a Government arbitrary and self-willed, and to maintain by force what it cannot retain by persuasion. All that such a Government can depend upon is the submission of the people, the habit of obedience, the reluctance of the people to challenge the authority of the Government or to resist its power. The Government of Russia under the Tsars was nothing more or less than a systematised brutality. It drove the monjik and the common people to a state of helpless terror while a section of the more intelligent people was incessantly conspiring to meet terror with terror. Notwithstanding his guards, the secret and the public police which guarded him day and night no man’s life was more unsafe than that of the Tsar of Russia. He lived in perpetual fear of his life and more than one Tsar was assassinated in spite of all the precautions taken to protect him.

In all countries in which the Government is indigenous and not foreign it is forgotten that the Government is part of the people and the whole is greater than the part. All ultimate authority and the final power must vest in the people. The power of a Government is derived from the acquiescence and support of the people. Whenever the Government refuses to move with the times or the forward movement of the people it is bound to be superseded or overthrown. The reason why so many Governments have only a brief spell of existence is that they have a tendency to become rigid and to imagine themselves invincible in their strength. They come to believe, quite erroneously, of course, that their power is independent of the people. It is for the Government to command and for the people to obey.

In the case of most Governments it is not merely a matter of history repeating itself, but a strange fatality that seems to be in store for them. There is the same conception of a monopoly of wisdom, the same arrogant assumption of infallibility, the same hollow shibboleths about justice and the maintenance of order. Governments base their claim to wisdom on their right to make laws. As legislators they maintain that they frame and pass laws for the promotion of the well-being of the people, for the proper administration of justice, the growth of a general sense of security. If however, the laws of all Governments, past and present, were to be scrutinised they would furnish ample evidence of every form of human weakness, ignorance, cruelty, barbarity and savage ferocity. There is hardly any crime that has not been at sometime or other, in some country or other, sanctioned by the authority of the law. Fiendish tortures contrived by demoniac ingenuity were inflicted as a legitimate part of the administration of the law. Murder of every kind was legalised, there was no humiliation and no outrage that was spared by the law. It was the law that ordered a man’s hands and legs to be wrenched off by
horses driven by the lash in different directions; wise legislators thought it quite proper that a man should be hanged for stealing a horse or a sheep, and that men and women should be burned alive at the stake; it was an ecclesiastic law that decreed that men should be driven mad by a continuous drip of water on the shaven head, or the tickling of the soles of the feet by a feather; it was perfectly lawful for men to die under the knout, or to be beaten to death by split bamboo. All these things and a hundred other forms of hideous torture were carried out for maintaining law and order.

Every Government that has perished or has been supplanted by another form of Government has failed to realize that in the ultimate struggle no Government is more powerful than the people from which it derives its power. There can be only one issue when a Government comes into conflict with the people it governs. The most tyrannical or the most despotic Government can only punish or kill a certain number of people. A whole people cannot be exterminated or removed from off the face of the earth. The Government, being merely a part of the whole, is easily destroyed. Therefore, in most countries we find dynastic changes, changes in the form of Government, but the people remain the same. A kingdom may be replaced by an empire and an empire may be rejected in favour of a republic, but the people are a constant quantity and it is for them to elect the form of Government under which they will live. A Caesar or a Napoleon, possessed of extraordinary military genius and an insatiable ambition, may bend a whole nation to his will for a time and crush all opposition under his heavy iron heel, but Nemesis pursues him with relentless purpose and brings about his downfall in its own appointed time. For a time the people may be helpless and unable to resist an autocratic Government or a despotic ruler, but once the consciousness of injustice and misrule grows upon them the days of the Government or the tyrant are numbered. Whenever there is a struggle the people, and the people alone, must emerge triumphant.

Scarcely any Government ever bears in mind the undeniable fact that in the last resort the people are mightier than any Government. History is scattered and littered with the debris of fallen and shattered Governments, but no Government heeds the warning, no Government mends its ways to avert disaster. Wisdom demands that a Government like any other person should not insist on retaining what it will but what it can. It is better to lose part of its power than to lose all, but no Government consents to a compromise or to surrender part of its power until it is too late and the Government is overwhelmed by the rising flood of the people's wrath. All that a Government knows is to govern according to its own methods. It never knows when the patience and submissiveness of the people are drawing to an end and they will put forth their hands and pull the Government down from the height of its fancied security and trample it down in the dust. The Government goes its way heedless of the signals of danger, deaf to the mutterings of the thunderstorm brewing around its head.

It is the false sense of security, an exaggerated notion of invincible power that leads to the undoing of a Government. In order to endure a Government must be flexible, it must adapt itself to changing conditions, it must keep a watchful eye on the barometer of popular temper and steer the ship of state carefully when there are breakers ahead. It is the immobility of a Government and the inability to sense coming danger that bring about its ruin. The misplaced confidence in its own seamanship, the blind faith in its ability to ride all weathers and all seas result inevitable in shipwreck and the ship of the Government founders with all hands. There may be safety in veering off a point or two, or in changing the course of the ship, but the captain and the crew refuse to deviate from the course they have appointed for themselves.
The history of Governments would have been different if they had shown themselves responsive to popular feeling and remembered that they are, in reality, the servants and not the masters of the people. Because they are accustomed to govern Governments acquire the fixed belief that their will cannot be disputed by the people. Any sign of unrest is set down as a symptom of disloyalty to be put down by the strong arm of the Government. The function of the Government is to govern and to override all opposition. Every Government believes that it is more powerful than the people and can safely ignore or suppress all opposition. The Government has armed and disciplined forces at its command while the people are disorganised and rarely act in concert. What has the Government to fear from the people? If the people ever show any reluctance to obey their obedience can be compelled. There is hardly any Government that profits by the history of other Governments. A Government never knows when it is jeopardising its own existence. It never knows how to yield or compromise, and thus to win for itself a second life. It heads always straight for disaster.

The whole thing is a tragedy of which the saddest feature is that it conveys no warning to other Governments. One after another Governments fall and disappear, but the fate that overtakes them does not help to arrest the course of other Governments. No Government will ever turn aside from the path it has chosen to pursue and seek safety by avoiding a conflict with the people. No Government can exist for any length of time unless it can carry the people with it or bend to the will of the people. Every Government overlooks the obvious fact that a people may be repressed but cannot be removed. Repression is a weapon that recalls as a boomerang upon the person who launches it. To the people it may be injurious but to the Government it is fatal. When it comes to the final question of removal it is the Government that is invariably removed. A Government falls never to rise again and the people set up another Government in its place.

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The World Disarmament Conference

By

A Student of International Affairs.

The first World Disarmament Conference adjourned on 23rd July, 1932, after sitting since February last, with a resolution that pledged the Conference to the principle of substantial reduction as distinct from mere limitation of armaments, registered the agreements that had been reached on certain points, and provided machinery for preparing agreement on the larger issues that have been left over until the resumption of the Conference.

The "Bureau" (i.e. the officers) of the Conference, namely, the President, the Right Hon. Arthur Henderson; the Honorary President, M. Motta, Foreign Minister of Switzerland, and representatives of the Governments of the Argentine, Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia,
France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, Poland, Spain, Switzerland, the United States of America, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, was to meet to frame texts embodying the measure of agreement already reached, for consideration by all the delegations; to examine President Hoover's proposals concerning effective; and to take up the questions of limiting national defence expenditure and regulating the trade in and manufacture of arms and munitions of war. Governments not members of the Bureau will be called in for consultation on different points wherever necessary, and special committees will submit proposals to the Bureau on defence expenditure and the arms traffic.

As regards naval armaments, the resolution invites the Powers that are parties to the Washington and London Naval Treaties to confer together on the Hoover and other proposals concerning naval disarmament and to report to the General Commission what further measures of naval reduction they consider feasible as part of the general programme of disarmament. The Bureau is to be kept informed of the progress of these negotiations and will co-ordinate the proceedings with the general preparations for the Disarmament convention and the comprehensive decisions of the General Commission. The latter is to be convened by the Bureau at one month's notice as soon as the situation allows, and in any case not later than four months after the Bureau itself has begun to meet (i.e. not later than the second half of January).

The first part of the resolution heartily welcomes President Hoover's initiative for a substantial reduction of armaments and pledges the Conference to the principles underlying President Hoover's declaration.

It further pledges the members of the Conference to the principle of prohibiting bombardment from the air and air attack against civilian populations, to limiting military aircraft by number and characteristics, and to the regulation of and full publicity for civil aircraft, with an international regime designed to prevent effectively their misuse for military purposes.

As regards land artillery, there is to be a limitation of calibre, and for tanks a maximum tonnage. Chemical, bacteriological and incendiary warfare is to be prohibited, and a Permanent Disarmament Commission is to be set up to watch over the execution of the Disarmament Convention.

The resolution was accepted by the American, British, French, Japanese and a number of smaller Powers as accurately reflecting the measure of agreement reached and because it did not, as expressly stated at the end of the resolution "prejudice the attitude of the Conference towards any more comprehensive measures of disarmament or towards the political proposals submitted by various delegations". But even the Governments accepting the resolution emphasised how far it fell short of what they had hoped to accomplish, and insisted that it must be regarded as registering an absolute minimum and the point reached by the slowest straggler in the Conference and not as representing the desire even of the majority, let alone of the vanguard.

The German, Italian and Russian delegations rejected the resolution as not constituting even a first step towards disarmament, and the Chinese delegate abstained from voting on the ground that, unless the Sino-Japanese dispute was solved satisfactorily, the Chinese Government was not able to engage itself in any manner or form to disarmament.

The President, Mr. Henderson, in summing up the situation before the final vote was taken (41 for; 2 against; 8 abstentions), said that he had received a flood of correspondence from every quarter of the world which revealed the strength of public opinion in favour of disarmament, and had been directed particularly to three points: The resolution moved by Sir John Simon on the need for completely abolishing aggressive weapons following the precedent set in the Versailles
Treaty; support for President Hoover’s proposals; support for the principle of the equal rights of States so strongly urged by the German delegation.

He agreed with the delegates who emphasised the shortcomings and weakness of the resolution, but if he were called upon to vote would feel bound to vote for it because it closed no doors to future progress, and because it contained the following three passages:

“The time has come when all nations of the world must adopt substantial and comprehensive measures of disarmament…”

“Firmly determined…” (note these words—and if these words have any meaning I am entitled to conclude that all those who participated in the drafting of the resolution, on behalf especially of the Great Powers, are so determined) “to achieve a first decisive step involving a substantial reduction of armaments.”

“Decides forthwith…guided by the general principles underlying President Hoover’s declaration:

“That a substantial reduction of world armaments shall be effected, to be applied by a general Convention alike to land, naval and air armaments.”

He thought that the second phase of the Conference would be devoted to realising the promises and pledges contained in this resolution. If he did not believe these promises would be executed, he would ask to be excused from presiding over the Conference.

“But I am going to trust the Great Powers; I am going to trust all the representatives who vote for this resolution to come here in the autumn with the determination that we shall have a great gathering-in and that our work will terminate in a Convention which will apply and secure a substantial reduction of world armaments to be applied by a general Convention to land, naval and air armaments.”

BRITISH DISARMAMENT PROPOSALS.

The various proposals considered by the Conference have already been described in the News Sheet. President Hoover’s proposals were immediately accepted as a first step by German, Italy, the U. S. S. R. and a number of smaller States. Further proposals were made in July by the British delegation, covering much the same ground as the American.

As regards land armaments, the British Government declared itself substantially in agreement with the American proposals. As regards effective, it said it would appear that British effective were already below the number specified by the Hoover proposals as necessary for the maintenance of order.

Both proposals agree in prohibiting chemical and bacteriological warfare.

The British proposal asks for the abolition of all mobile guns of more than 6.1-in. calibre. (The Americans propose abolishing “all large mobile guns”) The British Government wishes to abolish all tanks above twenty tons, considering the lighter tanks are defensive. (The Americans wish to abolish all tanks.)

As regards the air, the British propose “the complete abolition of all bombing from the air save within limits to be laid down as precisely as possible by international convention. Attacks upon the civilian population to be entirely prohibited.” All kinds of military and naval aircraft are to be limited as regards unladen weight and numbers. (The Americans propose “all bombing-planes to be abolished. This will do away with the military possession of types of planes capable of attacks upon civilian populations, and should be coupled with the total prohibition of all bombing from the air.”)

In order to understand the naval proposals it should be borne in mind that no country has had to budget for battleship building since the coming into force of the Washington Treaty of 1922, and that at the London Naval Conference of 1927 the lives of battleships left afloat by the Washington Treaty were lengthened to 26 years, which meant that no battleship was due for replacement before 1937. The British Government at that time
expressed the hope that it would later be found possible if not to abolish battleships, at least to agree upon their not being replaced as they came of age. France and Italy have not made use of their right under the Washington Treaty to build battleships, but there has been a movement in both countries for building smaller battleships (between 22,000 and 25,000 tons).

The British now propose to reduce the maximum size of future capital ships to 22,000 tons with 11-in. guns, if the maximum size of cruisers to be constructed in future can be reduced to 7,000 tons with 6.1-in. guns; failing such agreement, the maximum size of capital ships to be reduced to 25,000 tons with 12-in. guns. (The Americans propose the immediate scrapping of one-third, i.e., five out of the existing fifteen capital ships possessed by each of the two Powers, leaving open the issue of future replacement or non-replacement. With regard to cruisers, again, the Americans make no proposals about the size of future construction, but suggest cutting down one-fourth of the present London Treaty tonnage of the two Powers for 8-in. gun 10,000 ton cruisers.)

The British propose that the tonnage of aircraft-carriers to be constructed in future should be reduced from 27,000 to 22,000 tons. (The Americans make no proposals about future construction, but suggest reducing the existing treaty tonnage of such vessels by one-fourth.)

The British propose the abolition of submarines and reducing destroyer tonnage by approximately one-third if submarines are abolished. If submarines are not abolished, it is suggested that their maximum surface displacement should be reduced to 250 tons, and both total tonnage and number of units strictly limited. (The Americans propose reducing the existing treaty tonnage of destroyers by one-fourth and reducing the total tonnage of the submarine fleet of each of the two countries to 35,000 tons, with a maximum of 40 submarine units, of which no single vessel should exceed 1,200 tons. Japanese tonnage to be calculated in the American proposal according to the ratio fixed at Washington and repeated at London; and French and Italian tonnages to be calculated as though these countries had signed the London Treaty.)

With reference to submarines, the Italian Government has also urged their complete abolition, provided battleships also are abolished, and this attitude has been endorsed by France and a number of smaller countries. Germany has offered to abolish her 10,000 ton "pocket battleships" if other Powers abolish battleships.

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International Debating

By Dr. Sudhindra Bose, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer in Political Science, (State University of Iowa, U.S.A.)

colleges and universities having met Oxford, Cambridge, the English National Union of Students, and teams from Turkey, Germany, Canada, China, Australia, Porto Rico, the
Philippine Islands, and other foreign countries. American debating teams, too, have crossed the ocean and made debating tours of the British Isles and the European continent. International debating, many American educators believe, promotes student interest in world affairs and makes a real contribution to student thought.

The international debates in America are held under the auspices of the National Student Federation of the United States of America. This nation-wide organization, built, administered and supported by the undergraduates of the United States, acts independent of any political party or religious creed. Its primary object is to develop an intelligent student opinion on all questions of national and international importance. It also aims to foster understanding among the students of the world in the furtherance of an enduring peace.

The National Student Federation of the United States brought this year three European teams to America, representing Turkey, Oxford, and the English National Union of Students. Formerly each debating team consisted of three men, it is now made up only of two. The foreign teams are invited by the National Student Federation which arranges about thirty debates for each team in American colleges and universities. The Federation also sends an American debating team to Europe every year. Last year this team was composed of two men, and this year of two young women.

It is interesting to note that when the American debating teams go to Europe, they pay all their own expenses; European colleges do not pay the bills of the American teams. But when the European teams come to America, all their living and travelling expenses are borne by the American colleges and universities. The Federation charges a flat rate of about 250 rupees from each institution which schedules a debate with the foreign team. The fees thus collected are turned over to the visiting debaters who stay in the United States approximately eight weeks. There is a distinct feeling among American students that the charges for international debates are excessive. They point out that some of the foreign teams actually make money on their American trips over and above their expenses. "Why should our institutions pay a large sum to the foreign teams?", they ask, "which allows them not only to see America, but to go back home with well-lined pocket-books?"

It is the custom of the visiting teams to submit five or six propositions for debate and indicate the sides which they wish to uphold. Out of the questions suggested, the home team selects the one it likes best. The questions for international debate this year included Independence for India, Freedom of the Press, Tariff, Fascism, Bolshevism, and the Greater Menace of American Civilization than that of Russia. In one of the debates the Oxford team refused to discuss the Russian situation. It opened the debate by admitting that the Russian civilization was a failure and, therefore, no menace. It insisted that any appraisal of Russian civilization was irrelevant to the discussion. The American debaters, using the visitor's strategy, then admitted that American civilization was also a failure and, therefore, irrelevant to the discussion. The debate was thrown into a deadlock and degenerated into a vaudeville show.

According to some of the debate coaches of the United States, the Oxford University team is rated higher than the other foreign teams which have locked horns with those of America. Let us see how Oxford debates. The Oxford debating system is not just like the American system. Hockling, for instance, is a part of the Oxford debating program. The student speaker may be interrupted at any point with questions, or the cries of "Hear! Hear!" mingled with those of "Shame! Shame!" It is inconceivable that an American audience, under any provocation, would indulge in such unseemly outbursts. It isn't simply done in this country,
The Oxford collegian in his purpose, style, and delivery differs markedly from the typical American debater. The aim of the Englishman is to settle a debate “on the merits of the question”, without reference to the relative debating abilities of the two teams. The American settles the question usually “on the merits of the debate”. Intercollegiate debates in the United States are settled by three impartial judges, or by one critic-judge who—apart from any personal opinions—may give the decision to that side which “does the most effective debating”. The award is made on the basis of the arguments presented. Now, the Oxford custom and tradition are ignorant of such procedure. The Oxford debating society—a club the Oxford Union—has no judges. There the students themselves do the voting and judging after the debate.

To understand why the English student is more interested in a discussion of the question and why the American speaker is more interested in the decision, one must look to the genius of the two peoples and to their respective form of government. Politics are as important to the average Oxford undergraduate as are cricket matches or boat races at Henley. Oxford is at the heart of the British empire. Over his tea the student is likely to discuss Mahatma Gandhi and President Hoover. Later this Oxonian will enter Parliament, as did young MacDonald and several other Oxford debaters who had come to America in the last seven or eight years. Under the parliamentary plan of government, the Oxford politician may stand for any English or Scotch constituency. Thus there is a reasonable opportunity for the young Englishman of ability to enter politics and to secure a seat in the House of Commons. Parliamentary government is especially set up for young men, as illustrated by Fox who took his seat at 20, and Pitt who was Prime Minister at 24. Moreover, under the parliamentary system as shown in the recent elections, Parliament may dissolve at any time and after a new election, may immediately reconvene. Under this form of government, public opinion is quickly mirrored in the national legislature. The ambitions Oxford man has thus a practical motive in his college discussions, and is continually conscious of the fact that his political views may be made to count in a definite way.

There was a time in America when it was the ambition of young college graduates to bear a hand in building up the government of their nation. Jefferson, a graduate of William and Mary’s College, was elected to the Virginia House of Burgesses at the age of 26. He was only 33 when he wrote the immortal Declaration of Independence. Madison, a product of Princeton University, was but 25 when he was elected a delegate to the Revolutionary Convention of Virginia in 1776. In the next decade, he and Hamilton, a Columbia University man six years his junior, were writing the Federalist Papers and laying the political and economic foundations of the new American Republic. Washington, who at the age of 23 had been placed in command of the military forces at Virginia, made Jefferson his Secretary of State and Hamilton his Secretary of the Treasury, while Madison was reserved as an unofficial adviser, later to be elected President. American government was at one time a young man’s business.

The young college graduates of the United States have no taste for Politics to-day. They speak of politics as “hopeless”, or “dirty” game. Then, too, the average American college debater is not quite sure that he is closely related to the government at Washington. His chances of success in practical politics are made exceedingly remote by political “bosses”. Washington to him is far away. Collegiate debaters usually go in for law, teaching, pulpit, and other professions—rather than directly into Congress.

Furthermore, the American system of national government with its fixed tenure for members of Congress, its written Constitution, its Supreme Court, and other features give to the intercollegiate debating program and to
the debater a legalistic, rather than a parliamentary interest. The American school and college debating is based upon a brief. It calls for objective, actual evidence. The whole procedure is a reflection of the machinery of the court room, rather than that of a loosely organized legislature like that of England. This difference no doubt explains why the American speakers take more readily to the judges and to the atmosphere of court room, and why the Englishman, when he speaks, thinks of a turbulent House of Commons.

The difference in motive also accounts for a difference in debate technique. The Englishman asks: "What does the audience think?" The American debater asks: "How will the judge decide?" To the latter the statistics, the authorities, the facts, and the clear summaries are important. The young English speaker loves to debate for the sake of the debate. He will take such momentous subjects for discussion as: "That brown bread is better than white", "That the salt of the earth has lost its savour", "That the women's colleges at Oxford should be razed to the ground", or "That the Statue of Liberty at New York harbour is not a sign post but a graveyard." The English debater uses wit and direct discourse. He has a passionate weakness for epigrams and epithets. He engages in anecdotes, invectives, rhetorical interrogations, highfalutin figures of speech, and other gaudy nonsense. The American debater, on the other hand, takes the subject under discussion quite seriously. He does not arouse laughter, but applause. He does not believe that an epigram can be a substitute for solid facts, and severely frowns upon emotionalism. Unlike English debaters, he uses very few gestures. He is too engrossed in his subject to gesticulate. In short, the American interest in cold, logical argument is in sharp contrast to the mushy, sentimental appeal of the Englishmen to the audience.

Another difference between the British system and that of America is the difference in style. The Oxford debating style is literary, ornate and at times even moonshiny, just as America's is clear-cut, practical, and legal. I remember the first Oxford debating team that came to America. In opening a debate, the Oxford man quoted in a 15-minute speech Abraham Lincoln, Walt Whitman, Barrie, Plato, Arnold, Huxley, Browning, the Bible and other sources, both sacred and profane. To American ears his phrasing and literary allusions sounded terribly pedantic. The American college style is the expression of America's unique political and educational inheritance. The American debater uses most of his time in giving figures and other immediate facts. As already explained, his faith in rigid Constitution, in its checks and balances and his firm belief in the Supreme Court, explain his style of debate. American collegians do not care to ape the Oxford style. Rather they try to approximate the rugged simplicity and strength of Lincoln, Roosevelt, and Wilson. Doubtless Oxford and other overseas' debating have their own merit, but they are neither better nor worse than those of the best American student debating.

It is true that the American audiences are at times disappointed by the none too clear English as spoken by British, Turkish, and other foreign teams. Dissatisfaction has also been expressed by some American teachers of debate at the levity and superficiality which pervade the speeches of the debaters from the British Isles. Nevertheless, the game of international debating is worth the candle. The process develops the student's sophistication, promotes his speech power, and expands his mental horizon. The fact that collegiate Europe discusses with collegiate America important questions is an educational project of the highest value.

India now and then sends an all-India cricket team to England. What about sending an Indian debating team to Europe and America?
The Coming Reforms and Our Demands

By Mr. C. Y. Chintamani.

The subject of All-India Federation has been very much to the fore since the first Round Table Conference met in the November of 1930. The ideal was uttered as long ago as 1904 by the President of that year's session of the Indian National Congress. It was discussed by Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford in their Report. It also received attention from the Simon Commission. But everybody thought that it was still a far-off admissible dream and not something capable of early realization. The situation underwent a sudden and dramatic change on the first day of the Round Table Conference, when it was stated in the speeches of the ruling Princes present there that they were quite ready for such a Federation. Everybody was agreeably surprised; and really nobody or almost nobody thought that that expression of enthusiastic approval of Federation on the part of the Princes would have to be discounted when they reached the stage of discussion of the essential details. But that splendid attitude of the Princes served another purpose. The British Government at that time were on the horns of a dilemma. There was the emphatic demand from all sections of Indians represented there that India will not be content with anything less than Dominion Self-Government, with such temporary or transitory reservations as our peculiar circumstances called for, but only for a very limited period of time. Were the British Government, who summoned the Indians to London, to send them back with a negative answer or were they to send them back satisfied? Just then this All-India Federation came to their rescue by enabling them to make a declaration of policy that India would have Responsible Government on the basis of
an All-India Federation and with reservations and safeguards.

Since then the problems of All-India Federation have presented far more difficulties than were suspected in the beginning. At this moment, nearly two years after the first declaration of policy were made, I should not care to commit myself definitely to the statement that All-India Federation will be accomplished in the near future. Having read all, very nearly all, that has been published of the opinions of the Ruling Princess, their Chamber, its Standing Committee and their Ministers, I am not clear in my own mind where exactly we stand in relation to All-India Federation.

Will the position of the future Federal Legislature be such as to enable one to predict with confidence that the will of the people will not be frustrated but will be carried into effect, assuming that the majority of the Princes are as keen to bring about Federation as when they made their speeches? If there must be an irreducible minimum of essential conditions, which alone will make the Federation a true Federation, the question is whether the Princes are likely to accept the essential minimum in the near future. Frankly, my answer to this question is that I am doubtful.

The next question is: Assuming that All-India Federation is not likely to become a fact in the near future, shall we have Responsibility at the Central Government without prejudice to its being expanded or converted later into an All-India Federal Government? Is it likely that the Act of Parliament which provides for All-India Federation will also provide for Responsible Central Government for British India, pending the establishment of All-India Federation? I have not come across a single word uttered by any responsible British statesman containing an assurance on that point. On the contrary, Responsible Government for British India has been made contingent upon the achievement of All-India Federation. This to my mind is not hope-inspiring. It will mean that, if All-India Federation cannot be achieved, we will have to re-start our agitation for Responsible Government for British India. Or, it will mean that we will have to accept Federation on any terms, howsoever unfair or unwise they might be. I must utter the warning that there is no justification for Indian public men to be too hopeful at this moment of the achievement of Responsible Central Government, either on the basis of All-India Federation or for British India alone, in the very near future.

The proposals that we have so far had with regard to the position of the future Legislatures do not enable me to say whether they would be satisfactory. What should be the proportion of members from the States is still undecided. Whatever that proportion may be, their return to the Legislatures would not be by the same method as the return of members from British Indian Provinces. The Rulers of the States claim an absolute right to determine for themselves, not hampered by any limiting conditions imposed upon them from outside, in what manner or by what method the representation of the States in the future Legislature should be made. It may differ from State to State, because in some States there are Legislative Councils, and in some others there are Representative Assemblies, and in many others there are none. In some it may be simple nomination; in others it may be nomination tempered by some form of election. Even the proposal that, after a period of transition, the States should fall into line with British India, and their representatives in the Federal Legislature should be elected members, just like the elected members of the British-Indian Provinces, has not been accepted by the Ruling Princes. If the members from the Indian States will have the right to vote on motions of no-confidence affecting purely British-Indian interests, the value of the Constitution will be further reduced.
II

Coming to the questions of reservations and safeguards, I am not among those who think it feasible that immediately the entire responsibility for the military defence of the country can be assumed by us. But it still remains a question whether any so-called Responsible Government will be worth having if the Legislature is not to be allowed any voice in military policy and military finance. Technical matters which require knowledge of military tactics will certainly be beyond the comprehension of laymen, but policy is different from matters of technique. Even in England, the control of policy is not in the hands of trained soldiers, but in the hands of a civilian Government controlled by a civilian Parliament. If it is contemplated that the Legislature of the future should have no voice in determining policy and should have no authority to decide the limits of expenditure, and should not be endowed with the requisite power to proceed rapidly with the training of Indians for military careers in the highest ranks, so that gradually but within a reasonable period the British Army of Occupation may be replaced by a National Army, then the Responsible Government, assuming that we get it, will be of far less value than the interests of the country require it should be. The Report of the Defence Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference is one of the most unsatisfactory documents of the kind that I have seen. As regards the Committee presided over by the Commander-in-Chief to consider the establishment of an Indian Sandhurst, the majority conclusions of the Committee are so unsatisfactory that nearly every Indian member has had either to append a minute of dissent or write a Minority Report. There has been no indication by His Majesty’s Government that they are inclined to go one single step further. If in the coming conclave in London between His Majesty’s Government and a few Indians this subject does not form part of what is called the “fixed agenda,” the position will be still more gloomy.

The nature and extent of the financial safeguards as reported by the Federal Structure Sub-Committee are also utterly objectionable from the Indian point of view. There would have been some room for satisfaction if a time-limit had been proposed after the expiry of which these provisions will automatically lapse and the Government and the Legislature will exercise the same powers over financial policy as other Governments do. In the matter of commercial discrimination or equality, any proposal which will have the effect of depriving the future Government of India of its inherent right to take such steps from time to time, as it may be advised for the safeguarding of India’s industries, will have to be resisted, as it cannot be acceptable. Whether a formula can be devised which will at one and the same time be found acceptable by Indian Nationalists and businessmen and also by British merchants doing business in India remains to be seen.

I do not think that Provincial Autonomy, even if it be of the genuine variety, will be worth having if there remains an autocratic and irresponsible Central Government, which will lay down the policy in All-India matters. The scheme of Provincial Autonomy that now holds the field is not of the genuine variety. My reasons for saying so are that the Legislative Council will not be a genuine democratic body made up of representatives of the people owing allegiance to the country or the people. It will consist of representatives of an electorate cut up into fourteen different parts! The constitution of the Legislature and, therefore, its composition will be such as in all human probability to make it difficult for what may be called a political party with a political policy—not a communal or class policy—to command a majority and form a Government which can function with authority. The Ministers will appeal to sectional interests to keep them in office, and those who have no sectional axes to grind will be impotent to turn them out. I venture to give this description of what the position will be on the basis
of long years of painful experience inside a Legislature, composed as objectionably as the Council of the future will be—perhaps a little less so, except for the presence of nominated members. That is not the only unsatisfactory feature of the future Provincial Autonomy. In several Provinces there will be a Second Chamber whose electorate will be divided into as many fragments as the electorate of the First Chamber. They will be elected by the upper ten and they will represent the aristocracy of birth and the aristocracy of wealth. The Second Chamber will be representative of the politically halt, lame and blind in each Province.

It has been provided by the majority of the Provincial Constitution Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference that, in ordinary day-to-day administration, there should be reserved to the Governor powers legislative and financial, to enable him to discharge the duties imposed upon him to preserve peace and tranquility and to safeguard the interests of minorities. The Governor will be endowed with power to override both his Government and the Legislature and act on his own authority and responsibility in these matters. His powers will be both legislative and financial. At the moment the right to make Ordinances is in the exclusive possession of the Governor-General. Hereafter, Provincial Governors will have the right to make Ordinances if they choose to indulge in that luxury, whether the technical designation be that or any other. If genuine Provincial Autonomy unaccompanied by a responsible Central Government is unacceptable to the most moderate and responsible of Indian Nationalists, how much more so should be Provincial Autonomy of this spurious brand?

There are satisfactory features in the coming Reforms, in so far as they have taken shape, which are undoubtedly of value. But it is no use disguising from ourselves the fact that there are features which are most unacceptable and which, once they become part of the Constitution, will be very hard to change.

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A Labour Party in India
ITS NEED AND PROSPECTS EXAMINED.

By Mr. S. G. Warty, M.A.,
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There exists a Labour Movement in India to-day but not a Labour Party. The leaders of the Labour Movement are trying to improve the status of labour as such and those among them who are nominated to the legislative councils, provincial and central, ventilate labour grievances and generally devote themselves to the advocacy of such legislative and administrative measures as they consider to be necessary to remove these grievances and ameliorate the conditions of labour. In other words, the work that these leaders are doing,
at the present moment is of a sectional character, that is to say, they are not looking to national interests as a whole, but to the particular business of guarding and promoting the interests of Labour. Labour leaders as such, except as individuals, have no consistent political programme which they hold as a party, and which they desire to advance by concerted action. They hold no common views on the public questions of the day, and they have not yet shown any serious aspirations to come into power and themselves drive the legislative and administrative machinery of Government. In short, there does not exist to-day in India what may be called a Parliamentary Labour Party.

The next question that naturally arises is whether there is a real need of starting a Parliamentary Labour Party in India. It is generally recognised that if a well organised Labour Party comes into existence and plays an important and influential part in the legislatures of the country, it may advance the interests of labour to a greater degree and at a more rapid rate than has been possible hitherto. But if it were merely to guard and promote the particular interests of labour that a Labour Party is to be created, then it may be frankly admitted here that much of the labour legislation that has been achieved in India has been due to Government's own initiative and that the labour leaders have only assisted Government in the matter. The inspiration came originally from Geneva, on which Government as a consenting party was bound to act. That inspiration is still coming and if the labour leaders are active enough, they can contrive to keep the labour questions always prominent before the public, the legislators and the Government, and with the continuous assistance from the International Labour Conference, bring about rapid improvements in the situation. What I am driving at is that so far as labour interests alone are concerned, the organisation of a Labour Party as such, will not make much difference, except perhaps slightly hastening the progress of labour legislation.

The real reason why a labour party is necessary is that, the Party having its root in the masses, will be able to bring the view of the common man in the counsels of Government. If the Government of the country is to serve the good of the masses, it is absolutely necessary that the administration must be controlled or at least vitally influenced by those representatives of the masses who come from among them, know the mind of the common man and speak it out with a first hand knowledge. Hundreds of public questions arise for discussion day in and day out, but while every powerful interest is clamorous about them and floods the country with its own views, the common man is the only party in the country who cries in the wilderness, whose real mind scarcely gets interpretation and whose interest even if it be rightly known is generally ignored. The Labour Party should be able to interpret the common man's mind to the world and seek to shape public policy in the interests of the masses.

In this sense, the Labour Party will be the true National Party of India. Unlike other parties, it will have direct contact with the masses. The Liberal Party, though it has undoubtedly rendered great services to the country in the past and has by no means exhausted its usefulness for the future, has not yet been able to send its roots below the upper middle classes of the country. A Cawasji Jehangir may strain every nerve to secure ample protection for the Tata Iron and Steel Company. A Mr. H. P. Mody may move heaven and earth for permission to put his hands deep in the consumers' pocket to enable his Bombay mills to thrive under inefficient management. But that they would ever regard the workmen as members of the industrial family whose interests have also to be adequately and scrupulously provided for, appears to me beyond the bounds of probability.

It may be said that the Congress will in future form the National Party of India. It may or it may not. In present circumstances,
the Congress is no party but the nation itself. It serves no particular interests; it recognises no communities, its attitude is thoroughly national. But then it should be observed that the Congress has engaged itself in a life and death struggle to win Swaraj for India. It has no other end in view at the present moment, and it is also doubtful whether after Swaraj is fully attained (which in itself must take some years), it will continue under the same nomenclature to form Party Government and direct the administration of the country. Looking to the trend of events and the flood of the tide, looking also to the dominant attitude of the outstanding personalities of the Congress like Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, the Congress and the Labour Party may not remain two different parties in future. The name of the Party is of much smaller importance than the principles for which it stands and the people whom it represents. I repeat what I have stated that the Labour Party will be the National Party of India. But it will not remain the Nationalist Party in the sense that like a greedy person it will seek the enrichment of India at the cost of other nations.

Let us next discuss the material at hand, out of which a Labour Party in India can be built up. Unfortunately the Labour Movement in India at present moves along Western lines, and regards industrial labour as its main concern. Labour in England may practically mean industrial labour; but in an agricultural country like India agricultural labour preponderates. It has been estimated that the total number of industrial workers in India is about 12 millions, while the total number of agricultural workers employed as farm servants and field labourers amounts to 28 millions. To these must be added the vast millions of agriculturists who cultivate the land on their own account. From this, it will be seen that an Indian Labour Party which does not include in its sphere the labour employed on land and agriculture, but is founded on the very restricted basis of industrial labour alone, would belle its very name.

The Labour Party in India should in fact be as wide as the nation itself. It should include not only those who have to work for their wage and are serving their employers, but also those who work independently and are not tied to any employers. It will be open to the professional classes, social workers, teachers, journalists, in short to all those who subscribe to labour party principles. Labour candidates for election to councils may not necessarily be workers themselves, but may be quite independent men prepared to apply and work out labour party principles in the matter of legislation and administration, and a Labour Ministry may include men from the professions also even if they are not members of any trade unions. The membership of a trade union is no guarantee that a man necessarily holds labour views. Witness, for example, the case of Mr. Winston Churchill who has been advertised to be a member of the Bricklayers' Union but holds the most re-actionary conservative views.

The Labour Party at start will have to look to industrial labour and agricultural labour as material for its basis, and principally on industrial labour, as this is the more organised of the two. It is a fact to be noted nevertheless, that in spite of the existence of the Labour Movement in India for many years past, the total number of industrial workers organised is only 400,000 out of 12 millions, and the scope for the spread of the trade union movement is extremely large. But the beginnings of the movement have been truly and firmly laid, and even the necessary legislation to smooth the path of progress has been passed. A Labour point of view has been created in the country, the workmen have been awakened to their rights, and what is more, have also grown conscious of their strength. Nevertheless the question of creating a Labour Party bristles with difficulties.

The Labour Movement in India is unfortunately divided into three distinct groups. One group represented by Mr. Joshi and his associates, does not consider the movement as a
class war against the capitalists, but only an agitating body to advance the particular interests of labour and get their grievances redressed. While the absence of an element of hatred is an advantage, there are certain disadvantages attached to this group. The group has no common basis for its politics. Mr. Joshi can be an advocate of labour interests and at the same time claims to be politically a member of the Liberal Party which represents mainly the upper middle class and cannot get out of the meshes of capitalistic interests. Another serious defect of this group is that it seeks from Government nominations to councils, to committees etc., and the acceptance of such favours and patronage from Government and the anxious endeavours to get them, not only seriously compromise the position of these nominated members as independent men but in fact bring generally such men in the councils who would stoop to do any job. Mr. Joshi himself, on the eve of his fresh nomination to the Assembly about the end of 1923, had to vote against the motion for the release of Mahatma Gandhi. If that is the case with a man of Mr. Joshi's position and character, one can well understand how the position stands in the case of small men who now form the nominated labourites in the provincial councils.

The second group in the Labour Movement as represented by Mr. Jamnadas Mehta and Mr. Giri stands for organised class struggle against capitalists. Now this group has got a common political objective, and to this extent it can form the nucleus of a party. The only fear is that its conception of class war may be reflected in the labour party and to some extent this may compromise the national position which we are giving to it. Lastly there is the third group known as the Communist group which seeks to transform society by recourse to violent, revolutionary methods. It is next to impossible to mould this into a Parliamentary Labour Party, but we shall have to reckon the influence of this group and take the wind out of its sails, by skilfully and sufficiently broadening the principles of the party we seek to create.

If we next examine the position of agriculturists, there is no organisation among them except in the form of co-operative societies, and from my study and intimate knowledge of these societies and their federations, I do not hesitate to say that the cooperative movement in India, as it stands at present, is a Big Fraud. The movement is no real movement at all, but a make-believe Government activity which the Government keeps tightly in its grip, and the so-called leaders and workers in the movement are mostly those who do not represent the interests of the agricultural classes in the slightest degree. Material of this type is quite unsuitable for forming a labour party which will have to create its own organisations.

The need of having a Labour Party in India being real, it is no use shrinking from the task because certain discouraging conditions stare us in the face, but a start must be made even with the raw material now at hand. For this purpose, the leaders of industrial labour will have to take the lead and call a small conference of the representatives of labour, agriculturists and those among the professionals and other classes who hold what may be called labour views. At such a conference which must be a handy one, principles should be thrashed out, laying down in brief the aims and objects of the party, the methods by which it should operate and also a programme of constructive work for the time being. It is not to be expected that the very first conference would do anything more than agree on certain broad principles, merely sketching and outlining the map to be filled in later. Let it be clearly stated here that the Party should not be based on the negative principle of opposing Government always, but must have its eyes cast on the future and win public support on the strength of its own practical and constructive programme, so that if times are suitable and if opportunity comes it may always be ready to accept office and work out its policy.
What should be the ideal at which the Labour Party should aim? Is it to be socialism or should the Party work without a particular ideal before them, so long as the real interest of the common man, of man as a human being, is steadily kept in view? Possibly it would be an advantage for the Party not to commit itself to any ideal such as Socialism at start, and besides there is likely to be un-necessary waste of time and energy on a theoretical discussion of this character. Let the views and the work of the Party be allowed to grow and mature, care having to be taken that the activities of the party are not allowed to drift, but the direction in which their development takes place is marked and closely watched. If things develop in the direction of socialism as they probably would, this need not frighten anybody so long as the Party strictly eschews all conception of class war. It may be that the world itself is progressing towards Socialism, and undoubtedly if the last ten years of the Russian experiment is judged from a true perspective, the masses are happier and more progressive there than under any other Government at the present day. We shall have to see however that we do not slavishly follow other countries but develop our own Indian form of socialism suitable to our needs and ministering to our requirements.

The methods by which the Labour Party will have to work will have to be laid down in un-mistakable terms. When we think of creating a Parliamentary Party, it goes without saying that our methods cannot be revolutionary. Even Karl Marx the great Socialist and the originator of class war says clearly that in a number of countries it should be possible to introduce socialism by peaceful means and without recourse to revolutions. The process may take some years but therein will lie its real strength because every interest in India will, during the transition period, undergo slow transformation in its attitude and mentality, while not alarmed at any precipitate changes. Any work done patiently, steadily and uninterruptedly over a number of years and on lines of least resistance would be of a truly enduring character.

As regards the constructive programme, the Party may decide on a small workable scheme in the beginning but it will be necessary soon to appoint good experts, students of politics and economics and public questions, to examine in detail the whole of Indian social economy from its very foundation, decide as to what measures legislative and administrative are necessary for the progress of the people, and lay down a clear and detailed programme for the Labour Party to follow. This programme will have this advantage that it will not have been evolved from the turbid brain of the politicians, but will have been based on a scientific study and knowledge of the conditions prevailing in our midst. The programme will have to be revised from time to time as to suit the changing conditions, and for this a host of distinguished students of politics and economics will have to be constantly working, either voluntarily or in the employment of the labour party, so that the Party will never starve for want of scientific knowledge of the questions they have to deal with.

The Party will also have to develop an efficient organisation to educate the people in the principles of its policy. Unless this education is carried on from day to day, there will not be established that confidence between the people and the party which is necessary for its growth. The Party should learn from the mistakes of the Labour Party in other countries such as England, where the labour party's representatives in Parliament do not consider themselves responsible to the constituencies they represent, so much as to the particular trade unions which nominated them and supplied them with election funds. Such a position is a serious menace to the healthy and independent growth of the Labour Party, and Mr. Bernard Shaw has described it as the "Capitalism" of the Trade Unions. To avoid this cankerous growth, the Party's aim from the very first should be to establish itself in
the constituencies firmly and well by strengthening its own organisation there.

Though I have discussed practically all the points relevant to the subject under consideration, there is still one point more which is vital to any programme that the Labour Party may lay down for itself. I am convinced that unless the Labour Party begins to find its nourishment in the soil of adult franchise, it is bound to wither like an exotic plant or will be different from what it claims to be. As I do not see any prospects of adult franchise being established in the coming reforms, it will be the bounden duty of the Labour Party as soon as it comes into being, to put adult franchise in the forefront of its programme and strive its utmost to achieve it as the most vital condition to its strength and growth. I know there are people who think that in India with her illiterate masses, an adult franchise is a great risk. But I would ask in all sincerity, is there any hope of any serious attempts being made to bring literacy to the millions unless these millions themselves compel us to do it? And the only constitutional means of compelling us is the vote. It is a sort of vicious circle. Until the masses are literate, we do not consider them fit for adult franchise, and until the masses have the power of vote, we would not make any serious efforts to educate them.

This reminds me of the story of a lunatic's marriage. A mother had an insane son on whom all her affection was centred, and she being an orthodox Hindu lady who hoped to attain heaven by having a grandson, her greatest desire in life was to bring her son a wife. But who would offer a girl in marriage to an insane boy? So she went to a renowned doctor and asked him to cure her son of insanity. The doctor was a big man in his profession and examined his patient with all the skill and care that he could command, and finally came to the conclusion that there was no prospect of the son being cured of his insanity until he was married. So the position stood thus. Until the boy was married his insanity would not disappear, and until his insanity disappeared nobody would think of giving his daughter to him in marriage.

The problem of adult franchise in India stands to-day in a similar position. But the decision has to be taken at some end with all the risks involved in a beginning unless we desire to continue the impasse, and I feel that the Indian Labour Party, when it comes into being must devote itself to the vital task of bringing the franchise to every adult in the country. Even if the Party comes into existence for this one purpose alone, it would be justified.
Hindu-Muslim Relations
HAPPY AND FRUITFUL CO-OPERATION PRESERVED THROUGH CENTURIES

By Moulvi Sir Rafiuddin Ahmed,
Ex-Minister, Bombay.

I wish to address a few words to you on a subject which is at present engaging the attention of the public, namely, the agitation arising out of the Communal Award. Is it not surprising that on the eve of the establishment of Self-Government in India it is being asserted by some people in Upper India that a Moslem majority of one or two seats in the Council would mean Mohammedan rule which would be intolerable to the Hindus? On the other hand the Mohammedans in the Deccan resort that there would be a Hindu Raj in southern India because of permanent Hindu majorities in their Councils.

The tension between the two communities has made us the laughing stock of the civilized world and ought to make the educated people of the two communities hang their heads in shame. Under these circumstances, one is naturally led to ask such questions as the following. What were the relations of the two communities in the past when India was ruled over by Hindus and Muslims? Were these relations of the two communities in their capacity as rulers or subjects cordial or otherwise? Have they continued to be so up to the present? If not, what is the cause of the estrangement? Each of these questions, I think, is worthy of historical research. I would confine my remarks to the first of the questions and to our own province of the Deccan on the present occasion.

The Mohammedan conquest of the Deccan began in 1294. But only from 1318 Maharashtra began to be ruled by governors appointed from Delhi and stationed at Devgiri. In 1347, Hasan Bahamani founded an independent kingdom in the Deccan. The Princes of this Dynasty which lasted for nearly two centuries were styled the Bahamani kings. The policy of these kings was the union of Hindus and Mohammedans in these parts and the country was very prosperous under them. Speaking of their rule in the Deccan Col. Medows Taylor says: "The Bahamani kings protected their people and governed them justly and well. Among the Deccan Hindus all elements of social union and local Government were preserved and strengthened by the Mussalmans, who, without interfering with or remodelling local institutions and hereditary offices, turned them to their own use. Persian and Arabic education was extended by village schools attached to Mosques and endowed with lands. This tended to the spread of literature and the faith of the ruler, and the effects of this education can still be traced through the Bahamani dominions. No forcible conversions seem to have taken place. A constant stream of foreigners poured in from Persia, Arabia, Tartary, Afghanistan and Abyssinia. These foreigners who served as soldiers, married Hindus and created the new Mohammedan population in the Deccan."

This description so far as it related to intermarriages between Hindus and Mohammedans and the voluntary conversions of the former to Islam, is confirmed by Mr. M. G. Ranade in his "History of the Marathas". He says: "The Mohammedan rulers took Hindu wives. The seventh Bahamani king allied himself with the Vijaynagar family and the ninth Bahamani king married the daughter
of the Raja of Sonkhed. The first Bijapur king, Yusuf Adilshah, took for his wife the sister of one Mukundrao, a Brahmin, and this lady became his chief queen, being known by the name of Bahuji Khanum, and her sons ascended the throne after Yusuf's death. The first ruler of the Barid dynasty at Bedar got his son married to the daughter of one Sabaji Maratha who was nobleman of some note in the service of the Bahamani kings. In the same category must be placed the influence of Hindu converts. The first Ahmednagar king was the son of the converted Brahmin Kulkarni of Patri in Berar, whose family had entered the service of the Vijaynagar kings. The Brahmin surname Bhairav became Behri the distinguished title of these kings and they so faithfully remembered their origin that they conquered Patri and gave it in Inam to the Brahmin Kulkarnis after a long struggle with the Berar rulers. The first founder of the Imadshahi Dynasty in Berar was also the son of a Brahmin in the service of Vijaynagar, who was taken captive and became a convert. In a similar way the first Bedar king of the Barid dynasty was so loved by his Maratha soldiers that four hundred Marathas became Muhammadans and were his most trusted soldiers."

Mohammadan literature both secular and temporal was so widely and extensively studied in village schools by the Brahmins that Tuskar's brother in one of his Abhangs has complained of Brahmins neglecting their own sacred books in favour of the study of the Quran.

So complete was the fusion of Hindus and Mohammadans in the villages that the Mulla or Mohammadan Priest came to be included among the twelve hereditary village officers called Balotey; and Grant Duff expresses his surprise in connexion and writes as follows:—"It is very strange how he (the Mulla) is found ingrained on the Balotey establishment of a Hindu village. The Mulla is very often found where there is no Mohammadan family except his own, and is known to the Maratha population as the person who kills their sheep and goats when offered as a sacrifice at temples or in their fields. The Mulla is entitled to two pice and a heart of every animal he kills for the Khatak. Some of the Marathas are mindful of the ceremony but, in general they profess not to eat flesh unless the "niyat" has been pronounced by the Mulla or some Mohammadan capable of repeating what renders the flesh of any animal halal or lawful to be eaten. The Mulla has the same kind of allowance as the other Balotey."

II

Side by side with the diffusion of learning among the Hindu subjects the Mohammadan kings encouraged physical culture and athletic sports among them. Athletic schools called Talims were established in every important place under Muslim Pashelwans. The words Pashelwans and Kushti which are still used in Marathi and Gujarati serve to indicate their Mohammadan origin. In every important town of the Deccan there are still Mohammadan Usudus who claim hundreds of young Hindu pupils' territory of the Peshvas which was proclaimed at the grand Durbar held at Poona in 1792 at which the Peshva himself was invested with the title and robes of Vakil-ul-Mullaq. Even the much-abused Emperor Aurangzeb himself had given a firman under his own seal granting Jageer lands to the Hindu temple at Chinchwad.

Coming to politics, it is to be remembered that under the Moslem kings the Hindus were appointed to the highest posts both in Civil and Military departments. A Brahmin was Minister at Bijapur and another was Prime Minister at the Court of Ahmadnagar upon whom the title of Peshva was conferred and the same title was assumed by the Prime Minister of Maratha kings.

When the Moghal Emperor besieged Ahmadnagar and took it by storm and declared that the rule of Nizamshahi king had come to an end and his kingdom was annexed, it was Shahahi who fled with the young prince of
the dynasty, became his regent and declared that though the capital was lost, the reign of the dynasty would continue and all civil and military officers would loyally adhere to the Nizamshah king. Many other instances of loyalty and devotion of Hindu officers to Mohammedan kings and vice versa may be recalled. Tippu Sultan had a Hindu as his Prime Minister, the celebrated Purneiah. When he was slain in the battle of Seringapatam in 1799 and Lord Wellesley, desired to annex part of his territory and hand over the remaining part to a Hindu Prince, it was Purneiah who petitioned on behalf of the Hindu subjects of the late Sultan to appoint one of the sons of the Sultan as his successor. This was refused. But the incident at any rate showed the relations between the Muslim ruler and his Hindu subjects. It will be remembered that General Ibrahim Khan Gadi who was in charge of the artillery at Panipat fought against Ahmed Shah and when brought before him as a prisoner, defended himself by stating that he had taken the Peshwa’s salt and remained faithful to him in accordance with the directions of his religion. Even at the present time there is a Hindu Minister at Hyderabad and a Muslim Minister at Mysore each of whom is warmly devoted to his Royal master and is a zealous guardian of the interests of his State.

III

Thus far I have spoken of the social fusion of the Hindu and Moslem subjects of the kings of the Deccan. Now I shall say a few words about the religious beliefs of the Hindu masses especially of their ruling Maratha houses of that period. Worship of Mohammedan saints universally prevailed among them. Malloji the grandfather of Shivaji had as his patron saint Shah Sheriff of Ahmadnagar. His sons Shahji and Sheriffji were both named after him and there is still in existence a reservoir built by him bear the tomb of the saint. The great Shivaji himself was steeped in these traditions and always showed reverence for mosques, tombs and the sacred books of the Moslems. Shahu always paid the highest veneration to the Emperors of Delhi and was considered by Moslems as one of their own. Mr. Telang in this connexion writes—

"Although, his movement was in essence a religious one, it appears that in providing for the preservation of temples and religious institutions of his own faith, Shivaji also continued the existing grants in favour of Musalmans Peers, mosques, etc., for keeping up lights and religious services."

The first Scindia had as his patron saint a Mohammedan Peer called Shah Mansur and a considerable Jageer was granted to his family. One of his descendants is still a Peer of the present Maharajah. All the Maratha families devoutly participated in the Muharram ceremony under the Muslim kings and the practice is still going on among the Maratha princes of the present day. Princes of the Holkar family became fakirs during the Muharram and Khanderao Gaikwad observed both Muharram and Ramzan. The participation of the House of Scindia in Muharram celebration and the faith of the ruling princes of that family in the martyred hero is most surprising. A State Taboot is made in every important town in Scindia’s dominion. In Gwallor itself the Maharaja walks bare-footed in the procession on the 10th day of Muharram. On the 9th day of the Muharram the three branches of the State army—artillery, cavalry and infantry attend the celebration in full uniform and a considerable amount is spent in charity.

The Peshvas themselves continued all Jageers and grants to Mohammedan saints and took part in Muharram celebrations.

The greatest of them Bajirao I, the distinguished soldier, was pro-Moslem in his proclivities. He had married a Mohammedan wife called Mastani, who lived with him in his palace at Poona. Mr. Telang says:—

"Another matter in which the Peshva of the day failed to carry out his own wishes, in consequences of the opposition from the people was one which had occurred in the time of the first Bajirao. A note of the Editor of the
Peshva’s Bakhar says that Bajirao having had a son by the Musalman wife Mastani wanted to perform the thread ceremony of that son and make a Brahmin of him. But the plan failed through in consequence of the opposition of the Brahmans. In a sketch of the career of Bajirao bearing date 1840, a brief account is given of the sort of quasi-marriage, which has been celebrated between Bajirao and Mastani, Peshva’s Bakhar, p. 40. That such an idea should have occurred to Hindoos defender of the faith is in itself rather remarkable as an example of that telazation of old traditions adverted to further on in this paper. Well might Grant Duff say that Bajirao was free from ‘Bigotry!’”

Bajirao’s vision was widened by his conquests in Northern India and his associations with the statesmen of upper India and if it had been left to him he would have named Shamsher Bahadur the son of Mastani as his successor. But as he could not make him a Brahmin, he thought it right that Shamsher Bahadur should be brought up strictly as a Mohammadan under the supervision of his mother. It is worth mentioning here that religious riots of the kind that occurred in Bombay recently, never took place either in the days of the Muslim kings or under the Hindu kings or Brahmin Peshvas. Indeed there was no occasion for such riots; mosques were respected under the rule of Peshvas themselves; no music was played before mosques and no kind of disrespect was ever shown to Muslim sacred places. It would not be out of place also to mention here of the response which the Mohammadan Emperor made to the religious feelings of Hindus in the territory of the Peshvas. At the request of Mahadji Scindia the Moghal Emperor issued a ‘Firman’ prohibiting cow-killing.

All these instances must have made it quite clear to you that the relations which existed between the Hindus and the Musalmans in the past in the Deccan were very cordial and friendly. If the two communities lived side by side with each other on such friendly terms there is no reason why they should not maintain their cordial relation at the present time under the new constitution in future.

Mutual ignorance of the culture, literature and history of each other is not a little responsible for creating feelings of estrangement. In order to get rid of our ignorance of the true nature of our relations in the past let a thorough and impartial study of the History of India be made. As you, young men are launching upon the study of Indian History, I would like to draw your attention to the defective method in which the History of Muslim rule in India is studied in our schools and colleges. In my opinion, no book on the history of the Muslim rule in India can be considered of any value unless its authors knew Persian language sufficiently well to make use of the original sources lying in heaps in that language. Any person writing a book on or making researches on Roman History or Law without knowing Latin would simply be laughed at in England. The University of Bombay has I understand, made French or German compulsory for every candidate who goes up for M.Sc., examination. I think the University would similarly make study of Persian compulsory for every student going up for the M.A. examination in Indian History of the Muslim period. I would remind the Marathi writers that it is most significant fact that three Persian words are still being used by everybody in Marathi-language everyday—namely: “Tarikh, Mah and Sun” (Date, Month and Year). The Peshvas carried on their diplomatic correspondence with the East India Company and other Foreign Powers in Persian for which Persian scholars were engaged as is indicated by the words Chitnis, Fadnis and Parsanis. Lastly Bajirao I carried on conversation with the British Resident in Urdu.

What I beg you to do is to study History an authentic History and think for yourself. Do not be guided by ready-made ideas in Politics. It is our duty to transmit to others what we learn in a spirit of help and guidance free from communal bias.
The Davidson Committee’s Report
How It Discriminates In Favour Of The Princes

By Mr. C. V. H. Rao, M.A.

The Davidson Committee’s Report on Indian States’ Finances is a document the perusal of which leaves one wondering about the huge price which the British Indian Provinces have got to pay for the ideal of an All-India Federation with the Princes as partners. It brings out prominently into relief the sacrifices demanded of British India and the corresponding lightness of the burden which the States themselves have to bear. The contrast can hardly serve as a stimulating factor and cannot make a British Indian citizen enthusiastic about the ideal set before him as the goal of Indian political development. The Committee have undoubtedly taken a good deal of pains to be as impartial as they possibly could be under the circumstances in which they had to accomplish their task; but what with the narrowness of their terms of Reference, and what with the fact that they ascertained only the claims and privileges of the States without taking a comprehensive and long view of the whole financial question, they had been led into making recommendations which would place the States in a position of distinct advantage vis-a-vis the British Indian Provinces in the matter of financial obligations incidental to the establishment of a Federation.

The main and fundamental factor about the Committee’s recommendation is the patent insufficiency of their appreciation of the consideration that Federation brings into operation certain conditions and imposes upon the constituent units certain obligations which they must be prepared cheerfully to accept and shoulder the responsibility for. They no doubt realize it as essential that there should be as far as possible uniformity in the distribution of Federal burdens amongst the various constituent units; but they confess to a feeling of inability to make recommendations providing for “a uniform distribution of benefits and burdens either between the States themselves or between the States and British India”. The principle of equal distribution of burdens is a fundamental one, the absence of the application of which will be prejudicial to the foundation of the Federation itself: for the units that federate should have to be willing to forego a measure of their privileges and rights, financial as much as political, when they enter into a partnership with one another for common purposes and with a common end in view. The measure of the inability of the different units to pull together in a particular direction and to put their shoulders to the wheel must be taken to be the measure of the detraction which the resultant structure will suffer from in respect of the ideal of Federation, while to the extent that the units are reluctant to bear a reasonable portion of the burden which the Federation constrains them to bear, to that extent there will be a weakening of the Federal structure. Too much insistence upon a rigid mathematical calculation of the different obligations which each unit will have to bear and the various assets which each will bring into the common pool may not be a fair method of dealing with the problem; but glaring inequalities in the sacrifices to be made by the constituent units, which are too much discriminative against one set and too very favourable to another set, ought, in justice to be removed.
III

In view of the above mentioned facts, it is necessary to comprehend how far and in what respects, the Davidson Committee appreciated the importance of recommending the adoption of the principle of equality of sacrifices on the part of the States on the one hand and the British Indian Provinces on the other. It has to be mentioned in this connection however that the Committee are not unaware of the necessity for uniformity of contribution to Federal resources, though they are unable to give the aggregate of the annual value represented by the immunities and privileges which a number of States will continue to enjoy without making any equivalent contribution in return.

Taking first the question of cash contributions into consideration, they recommend not only the remission of all cash contributions, "pari passu" with the Income Tax contributions, which the Percy Committee recommend should be imposed upon the Provinces, but that a moiety should be extinguished within ten years at the latest and the whole within twenty years. They further recommend the immediate remission of all contributions from the States which are in excess of 5 per cent. of the total revenues of the State concerned—a recommendation, which if given effect to, will mean a substantial immediate lightening of the burdens which some of the States have been made to shoulder and will help to restore their financial equilibrium. The Davidson Committee have consequently shown themselves a good many times more generous than the Percy Committee, which could not recommend a prescribed time-limit for the extinction of the Provincial contributions, which forms the central feature of their scheme for placing Federal finances on a sound and stable footing. The contrast incidentally indicates the stepmotherly affection which the Round Table Committees have bestowed upon the British Indian Provinces and the lengths to which they are willing to advance to accommodate the wishes of the States and the feelings of the Provinces.

IV

There is much to be said nevertheless in favour of the demand of the States for the abolition of the contributions or tributes as they may more appropriately be denominated, whether it be that the demand is based upon the sentiment of the States they are reminiscent of a Federal regime and therefore are without place in a scheme of Federation be-tokening equality of status and freedom of choice or whether it proceeds from the desire to place the Provinces and the States on an equal footing in regard to the imposition of burdens. But the question to which no definite answer has so far been vouchsafed is this, viz., Is the step calculated to ensure that equality of sacrifice presupposed by a Federal union, especially when we take into consideration the other immunities which the Davidson Committee recommend should be allowed to continue? Nor can it be set off against any specific guarantee on the part of any considerable body of Princes that they are willing to reconcile themselves to the substitution of the Paramount Power of the Crown by the authority of the Federal Government to be established—a guarantee, which, if forthcoming, would be some sort of compensation and consolation for the sacrifices which the British Indian Provinces would be forced to submit themselves for the sake of the Federal ideal? The main and fundamental fact with regard to the Princes, however, is that they are for all practical purposes as adverse now as they ever were before to forego any of their claims to extraordinary treatment, and the description of their position given by the Butler Committee that the States are so passionately attached to the maintenance unimpaired of their individual sovereignty holds good to-day as effectively as when it was first written.
V

Next with regard to the method of adjustment of the Revenue from Sea Customs Duties, the Committee opine that there are great difficulties in the way of bringing the views of the States with regard to their ports into harmony with the requirements of the Federation and that it is also difficult to make an estimate at the present time of the value of the rights possessed by the Maritime States with reference to their ports and to the portion of the revenue from customs to which they are entitled. Consequently they are unable to recommend any method by which the compensation, if any, that is to be paid by the Federal Government to the States for the value of the assets which the States might bring into the Federation in view of Customs Duties, may be determined. At the same time, they express the opinion that the ideal of a true Federation is difficult to reconcile with the right claimed by any Federal Unit to appropriate to itself the Customs Duties collected at its ports, though they recognize that no maritime state is likely to relinquish that right. The whole thing amounts to this that the States cling as steadfastly to their claim to the whole of the Customs Revenue collected at their ports and that the Federal Government, whose principal source of Revenue under the new dispensation will be Customs, will thus be constrained to put itself under an obligation to lose a large slice of the proceeds from them and find itself landed in financial embarrassments from the very beginning. The compromise suggested by the Committee that "each State should be able to retain the duties on goods imported through their own ports" is as bad as any compromise can be, with the additional defect in this particular instance that it does not tend to remove the root objection to the continuance of the right enjoyed by the States and that it concedes to them much more than they have a claim to. The only positive recommendation in regard to Customs Duties which the Committee make is the buying up of the Customs rights of the States of Travancore and Cochin, though they do not give the figures of compensation that has to be paid in each case. The total immunity of the States in respect of the sea customs is estimated to have been Rs. 182.42 lakhs in 1930-31; but it does not represent the complete immunity, which will certainly be higher.

The Committee not only favour the continuance of the existing rights of the States to the land Customs Duties which they have been collecting and appropriating to themselves but also recommend the removal of any obstacles to their imposition in the relatively small number of cases in which such restrictions are in force. They do not sufficiently appreciate the fact that the conceding of this privilege to the States is incompatible with the theory on the subject which favours the treatment of Excise Duties, which land Customs Duties in effect are, as on a par with Customs Duties and which, therefore, requires that they should be collected and enjoyed by the same authority which collects the Customs Duties. They are looked at from this point of view, legitimately a Federal source of revenue and their imposition must be given into the hands of the Federal Government. In recommending the continuance and extension of the existing practice in regard to this issue of land Customs the Davidson Committee acknowledge that they are going in for a retrograde and anti-Federal step but express the hope that the extension of the privilege "will only be taken in those cases where there is no room for doubt that it would be justified by local conditions and would not involve risk of serious repurcussions on trade outside the territory of the state concerned".

VI

With regard to the States' immunities in respect of the rights of issuing currency and minting coins, and in respect of the Post and Telegraph Departments, the Committee have as usual been solicitous of the interests of the
States. They have found it unnecessary to recommend that the right to issue currency should be classified as an immunity; but it should not be forgotten that the right to issue coins and currency which are to be allowed to be in circulation side by side with Federal coins and currency cannot be claimed by any Federal Unit without grave infringement being caused thereby to the Federal authority and to the extent that it does so, the enjoyment of an immunity in this respect cannot be defended. The case of Hyderabad is an instance in point. His Exalted Highness the Nizam enjoys the privilege of issuing coins and currency which within his own Dominions are absolute legal tender and circulate side by side with British Indian currency and coins. So long as the present state of affairs continues and so long as the Federal constitution with Hyderabad as a Federal Unit does not become an established fact, the privilege does not involve any violation of the right of the Central Indian Government; but, as has repeatedly been pointed out, the acceptance of the Federal ideal presupposes that the Units will give up some of their cherished privileges, at least those privileges which conflict with the right and jurisdiction of the Federal Government. The right of issuing coinage and currency is one such instance; and if Hyderabad enters the Federation, as it is hoped it will, it must be prepared, unless we are to have a Federation of sorts and not a Federation in the accepted sense of the term, to give up this right of minting coins and issuing currency. The issue of coins for ceremonial purposes stands on a different footing and may continue to be enjoyed by those Princes who desire it.

VII

With regard to the territories ceded by the Native States, the Davidson Committee recommend the acceptance of the claims of four States, viz., Baroda, Gwalior, Indore and Sangli, to an annual credit of Rs. 22.98 lakhs in the case of Baroda, Rs. 11.78 lakhs in the case of Gwalior, Rs. 1.11 lakhs in the case of Indore and Rs. 1.10 lakhs in the case of Sangli, taking as the basis of the valuation the net value of the territories at the time of the cession. This recognition accorded to the States' rights to monetary compensation is a matter in regard to which there is bound to be a good deal of controversy. The cession of territories was a historical event, the merits or the demerits of which it is not possible to appreciate at their proper weight at the present day and the States which have ceded territories for a definite and particular purpose, which the Committee themselves state to be that of military protection afforded by the East India Company, must be presumed to have secured the fullest advantage of and return for the act of cession by now. To burden the Federal Government therefore with the necessity of compensating the States for territories ceded by them to the Paramount Power, whose place should be considered to have been taken over by the Federal Government, is a piece of financial favouritism and political injustice, which is further calculated to interfere seriously with the prestige and authority of that Government. The main point to remember is that if the Federal Government is not to entangle itself in financial handicaps from the very beginning, if the prestige, strength and stability of the Federal Government is to be maintained unimpaired and if the States feel, as they ought to feel, that the strength of the central Federal authority is essential for the protection and safeguarding of the integrity of the Units, then one of the essential needs of the situation is for the States to abandon their claims to be given credits for the cession of territories, for which they have received benefits in return which cannot be computed at their proper financial value, and thus obviate the impression gaining ground that they are being unduly favourably treated at the expense of the other Units. The starting with a 'clean slate' in regard to this matter would be of paramount advantage; but in the
absence of any such arrangement, the next best course is to find out whether the people of the ceded territories have any desire to return to their old allegiance, which, if they do, should alone bring up the question of a compensation.

VIII

The intricate and complicated problems of the Indian Federation are too real and too many to be easily brushed aside and it was a difficult work no doubt that the Committee had to accomplish in endeavouring to reconcile the conflicting claims of the different States and the claims of the States vis-a-vis the Federation. It was therefore difficult for them to suggest any uniform or universally applicable methods of dealing with the various States and to lay down certain general principles which would have a fair measure of approval with a large body of States. The main reason why it was not possible to do anything of the kind was that here as elsewhere, one comes up against the dead weight of uncertainty in regard to the attitude of the majority of the Princes about Federation and the responsibilities which it entails on them and the inability to judge how many States are willing to come into the Federation and under what conditions. In so far as this is so, it was inevitable that the conclusion should be come to that the claims of each State should be examined and determined as and when it enters the Federation.

IX

From what has been said above it is clear that the States' Enquiry Committee have exhibited as shown above immense concern for the susceptibilities of the Princes at every turn; and they have so framed their recommendations that they could not, with any justification, raise any reasonable objection to entering the Federation. Not only in regard to the matters referred to above, but also in regard to other matters, as for example, the evaluation of the compensation payable to certain States for territories ceded by them, the concessions in regard to the collection and enjoyment of the salt revenue and others, the Davidson Committee have yielded more or less to all the demands of the States concerned. The Report is a tissue of compromises from beginning to end; but they are all compromises which find the Princes none the worse in the end and which definitely lean towards conceding to them as much as possible. If therefore there should be any criticism levelled against the Committee's scheme, it cannot at any rate be that they have been unmindful of the States' interests and if there is, any party which can justifiably feel aggrieved, it is the Federal government and to a certain extent the British Indian Provinces, whose contributions to the latter are to be in the nature of compulsory payments, while the States can escape very easily. The burden to the Federal Government from the recognition of the various claims of the various States is estimated to be in the neighbourhood of a crore of rupees. And one may legitimately ask, what chance is there of the Federal Government being able to feel its feet on firm ground with so great a financial burden being bequeathed to it by the States on the one hand and with such a legacy of huge deficits being bequeathed by the British Indian Provinces on the other hand. If in addition to all this, the Percy Committee's scheme of Provincial contributions is to be put into operation, then it will clearly be a case of robbing Peter to pay Paul, of fleecing the Provinces to feed the white elephant of the burden incidental to the States' participation in the Federal scheme. Whatever may be the ultimate gain to the Federation by the entry of the States into it, the immediate losses on account of their being wooed into it will inevitably be wholly intolerable, unless the States make themselves acceptable by surrendering certain of their treaty rights and privileges.
The Problem Of Unemployment In India

By

Sir M. Visvesvarayya

The unemployment problem in its present acute form has arisen in India from two, or rather, three causes. One is temporary, attributable to the world-wide disturbance of economic order since 1929 due to misdistribution of the world's gold supplies, failure to meet War debts, uneven production and high tariffs. A second cause is the rapid growth of population in India after the War, and a third one, the defects and disabilities under which this country has been labouring for a long time past. Till about five and twenty years ago, young men who passed out from schools or graduated from Universities, easily found employment in public offices and business houses. At the present time, the supply of such men is greater than the demand.

Generally speaking, the middle class population to which the educated men of this country belong, is suffering most from lack of employment. The working classes were fairly well off for a time owing to rise in wages during, and after, the War. Till about the year 1929 they could readily obtain employment and earn fair wages. Since then, the fall in the prices of primary products has reduced their wages and purchasing power and their condition also in congested areas is far from satisfactory. A rough estimate puts the number of unemployed in India at 40 millions and the total number of persons suffering from insufficient food, clothing and shelter, even judged by the low Indian standards, cannot possibly be less than a hundred million.

*Substance of an address before the University Union, Bangalore, on September 8, 1932.*
period cannot occur without suffering a decline in the average income and standard of living."

India's income from industries may be taken at about one-fifth of that from agriculture, whereas the corresponding income in Great Britain, for instance, is about 10 times that derived from agriculture. Although the United States and Canada hold a dominating position so far as food products and raw materials are concerned, their main source of wealth lies not "in their fields, forests and mines, but in their factories."

I am suggesting two sets of measures, namely;

(1) raising the general level of beneficence and enthusiasm of the Departments of Government connected with nation-building activities; and

(2) certain specific emergency schemes which, by taking full advantage of existing conditions and facilities, will help to raise the national income in the briefest time possible.

These measures, in my opinion, require the most earnest attention of both the Government and the people at the present time.

II

If the Government of India abandons its present attitude of unconcern and embarks upon an aggressive and progressive industrial policy, it can do much to rehabilitate the country's economic life. First and foremost, it should carry out a survey of the country's resources and collect and publish statistics of production and occupation to throw light on the present state of industry and trade. The people should be advised what commodities they can manufacture with profit from the raw materials, now being exported from the country, in order to provide work for local labour. Statistics should be maintained in sufficient detail for each Provincial Government to know what the assets and income of the province are to assure themselves that the people of the province are earning enough to maintain a decent living. Such statistics should be the basis of all economic policies and they should be passed under review at least once a year.

The most powerful help which any Government can give to industry and trade is effective tariff protection. No more practical solution of the unemployment problem exists in the country to-day than a reduction of imports of goods of a kind that are, or can be made in India. Men in India are out of work because they cannot manufacture goods which they were used to before, and they cannot manufacture with any profit because they cannot compete with machine-made goods imported from abroad. Also reforms have long been overdue in the banking organisation and the exchange policies of the Government of India.

I have already drawn attention to the importance of checking the rapid growth of population under the present conditions of its low efficiency and income. Population may be reduced by emigration and by late marriages; but the more modern and effective method is birth control. The Indian birth rate is higher than that of most European countries. Every now and then we come across a person who, by allowing himself to bring up a large family, has had to cut down comforts first, stint necessities next and ultimately end his life in penury and distress. Individual families should be advised by a suitable public organisation to keep down the number of children born within reasonable limits. Birth control is now largely practised in civilised countries and it is now unknown in India. If adopted more extensively, it will help to reduce misery in individual families and raise the general standard of living.

The average citizen requires training in co-operation and team work. Large achievements in these days depend upon organisation and mass action. Individuals are powerless. The chief characteristic needed to promote team work is trust. Trust depends
upon confidence, confidence upon character. The qualities required to manage effectively a public association or to administer a large business in co-operation with groups of individuals are well known and the practices connected with such management are more or less standardized in Western countries. In the best circle the work is distinguished by strict rectitude of conduct, discipline of a high order and dynamic energy. These characteristics should become common property among us and the most effective way to spread them is to study international equipment and characteristics connected with public work and watch the zeal and capacity with which public objects are pursued in countries like Great Britain, the United States and Japan.

The universities and educational institutions in this country should prepare men and women for the business of life. They should give a practical turn to the learning they impart in order to correct certain known tendencies which are unfavourable to progress.

I have long complained that the Indian Universities have been unmindful of the bread-winning occupations. So long as the people are desperately poor, there is no reason why the education of the country should not be largely vocational and why compulsory and adult education should not be vigorously advanced. Continuation schools and classes of the Continental types are needed to prepare young persons for occupations.

III

I have explained the nature of the help expected from the Governments, Central and Provincial, and the radical reforms to be effected in the working habits, discipline and industry of the people in order to increase their working capacity and through that means, their national income and prosperity. But this is a work of time and in the ordinary course progress is bound to be slow.

Three emergency schemes are suggested in order to increase production and enlarge employment:

1. rapid industrialization by multiplying factories and industrial establishments;

2. rural reconstructions by increasing production from agriculture and from cottage and home industries in rural areas by the co-operative effort of the people; and

3. establishment of Practical Training Institutions to provide the last stages or precise knowledge needed for the practice of callings connected with industry and agriculture, for educated youths and adult businessmen.

The object of this proposal is to increase or multiply the number of industries and industrial establishments in the country and to work them with local labour. If a large number of these are successfully started and operated, they will give employment to our workless population and at the same time reduce the money which is going out of the country year after year to pay for the manufactured products imported.

It is easy to spread and develop minor industries rapidly in both urban and rural areas. People are used to them already; only the methods are in many cases primitive, even though machinery itself may be modern.

The scheme I have in view for minor industries is somewhat like this:

The country should be divided into units of areas, each containing about 1,000 houses or a population of 5,000.

In the first year, the statistics of existing industries should be collected including the quantities of products and their value of the number of persons employed in them. Thereafter at the end of each year, similar information should be obtained and recorded and progress reviewed.
What new industries can be started and how old ones may be kept efficient or extended should be under constant study in the locality.

A Council of representatives consisting of businessmen and experts as available, numbering from 7 to 12 persons, and elected by heads of families in the area should take all measures necessary to energize the population and mobilise local resources to keep industrial activity proceeding at top speed.

To increase the number of industries of this class, which will be generally managed by companies working on the joint-stock principle, the provincial governments concerned should, through their respective Departments of Industries and other officers, gather information, facts and statistics regarding existing medium-scale industries.

If a systematic investigation is set on foot, it should be possible in almost every province to discover, in the course of a single year, at least half a dozen schemes fit for serious consideration.

Thereafter will follow a close scrutiny of each scheme by a provisional committee or directorate of persons most interested in it and as well as by experts. The preliminary expenses should be shared by Government and partly by the people interested.

Before any scheme is finally sanctioned for execution, the capital cost and operating details of similar schemes actually existing in this and other countries should undergo scrutiny at the hands of at least two sets of advisers who have considered it independently.

Large-scale industries and manufactures should be pioneered by groups of businessmen and financiers with the active support in money and advice of the Provincial Governments. These will include key industries like textiles, steel machinery and pumps, electrical plant, automobiles, chemical industries and railway machinery and plant.

When Provincial Governments in this country become autonomous, the representatives of those governments should meet in conference and every provincial government should take upon itself the responsibility of pioneering through its businessmen and otherwise, two or three of these industries. The provincial governments should take financial risks in co-operation with businessmen and make sacrifices for 5 or 10 years at the commencement.

It is in the initial stages, usually during 15 or 20 years at the commencement, that the money resources and organising power of the provincial governments will be needed. After that industries will look after themselves with the customary help similar to that usually given in the Dominions in regard to tariff protection, banking etc.

There is no agricultural policy in India to stimulate production by Western methods, that is, methods which have for their constant aim the eliminating of waste and the cutting down of costs of production. The object of a rural reconstruction scheme is to increase production and income by co-operation effort and modern methods. The principal characteristics of the scheme are:

The country should be divided into units of areas holding a population of about 6,000 inhabitants. In the first year, statistics should be collected house by house, and an inventory taken of the total production of the village from agriculture, industries and services. At the end of every year, similar information will be collected and recorded. The total production and income of the village from year to year should be exhibited in the village chawdi or hall.

The agency to carry on this work will be a village council of 7 to 12 members and a headman elected by an association consisting of all the heads of families in the village or the groups of hamlets constituting the unit area.
The village council will be responsible to study the requirements and put into practice the various measures needed for increasing production and income in the area.

The scheme is based on the measures which I have seen practised in certain villages in the interior of Japan. In some villages which I visited the figures giving the growth of production and income was recorded on charts hung up in the village halls and I gathered from these charts cases where villages had increased their income about five-fold in 20 years.

IV

Before concluding, I wish to emphasise three or four cardinal points bearing on the subjects of this address.

After the explanations I have given, I trust you will agree that every Government, Central, Provincial or State, should regard it as its bounden duty to create, each in its own sphere, opportunities for its people to earn a living in the most remunerative pursuits within their reach.

People should not be made to believe as is often done that to be poor or to possess a low standard of living is a virtue; nor should they be allowed to cherish the feeling that any person can prosper without work, or can get something for nothing.

No great improvements can be effected without organisation. Our population both urban and rural should be actively encouraged by Government to organise themselves for the betterment of their conditions of life.

With the growth in world population, and the diminution of the purchasing power of the masses, the unemployment situation is daily becoming more and more acute.

The hesitation of the Government of India to go into the question is probably due to a feeling that it is unwise to raise public discussion on such a vital subject when the country is in a state of political ferment.

I may here add that, in any remarks that I may have made in the course of this address regarding the attitude or action of the Government of India, it should be understood that my criticisms apply to the constitution and system of government as it exists at present and not to its personnel.

I have set forth recommendations based on my personal experience as well as on what I have heard and witnessed in foreign countries. I have done this to suggest a definite course of action in the practicability of which I have full faith. I should welcome any other scheme or course of action if it serves the same purpose. If only there is scope for action, even an inferior scheme will do much good in the present state of the country.

The main thing is, if we are to banish unemployment, we should look to a very large increase in production through the exertions of the people themselves. As large a number of the population as we can should be mobilised and put to work. To meet the new situation, new plans, new policies will have to be devised and, before everything else, a new adjustment will be called for of the basic conditions upon which the Government of the country has hitherto rested. Whatever may have happened in the past, if a time comes, when both Government and the people work with one accord, there is no reason to be pessimistic about the future. We are promised a free constitution and we must look to it. When established, to put an end to the eternal conflict of policies and plans that has been going on for so many years between the Government and the people. A proper understanding and common policies, which a free constitution will bring about, surely pave the way for the reinvigoration of industries and readjustment of occupations and for all the employment which the people need.

Our aim should be to raise ourselves by work. We have abundant reserves in our natural resources and we have also, what no other country except China has, a tremendous asset in our man-power. But, for all this, political emancipation must come first and economic salvation will follow.
The Communal Award

By

Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji

Further, in this scheme of communal electorate and special representation, the Hindus' special representation will not be even according to their relative strength in population. The Hindu minorities of Bengal and the Punjab are to lose substantially in their numbers, while Muslim minorities elsewhere are favoured by an arbitrary and artificial addition to their weight. Forty-three per cent. Hindus of Bengal are now to count as 32 per cent., and 29 per cent. Punjab Hindus are to be reckoned as 26, while 14 per cent. U. P. Muslims must, under the new political arithmetic, count as 36 per cent. Only one Hindu minority, that of the N.W.F.P., has been given the advantage of this arithmetic. And for this favour the Hindus in all other parts of India must suffer a reduction in their natural strength of numbers!

What is the real purpose of this unexpected communal award? It is to thwart and throttle the national aspiration for democracy. It is to set up not a legislature based on common citizenship, and functioning for the common interests of all communities, but a congeries of separate groups and factions incapable of a view of the common good. The second underlying purpose of the award is to establish British authority on a new basis by giving the balance of power to the European vote which has been given accordingly a weightage out of proportion to its numerical basis.

Where will all this separatism lead to? Communities are already refusing to be rated at their numerical value, and even that value is being reduced for important non-Muslim minorities. The Sikhs frankly and firmly
assert that though they are numerically 13 per cent., they count 40 per cent. as tax-payers, The Bengal Hindus refuse to accept a constitution based on counting of heads. They may be 43 per cent. in number, but they contribute, according to Government reports, the major part of the provincial revenue, while their contributions in culture, economic advancement, patriotism and self-sacrifice in the cause of the mother-country cannot be measured in money. Immeasurable is also their service to other communities in measures of relief in flood and famine, or in the maintenance of a thousand public schools in areas predominantly Muslim, and of a university depending mainly on Hindu benefactions.

The time-worn political principle so eloquently expounded by Edmund Burke—No Representation, No Taxation—is receiving a new emphasis in the present political atmosphere of India with the Congress creed to reinforce it. Already the cry is raised in non-Congress circles that if there is to be separate representation for communities, the amount of such representation which a community can claim must ultimately depend upon its contribution to revenue, upon what it pays in taxes to maintain the State, the measure of its sacrifice for the purposes of the State.

The British Government were given a splendid opportunity to lift India out of this slough of rampant communalism, and they have lost it. All non-Muslim minorities and communities, including Indian Christians, declared their faith in democracy undeterred, and stood for joint electorate without any reservation of seats for any community, not even a minority. These make up three-fourths of the Indian people, but the voice of a fourth has made itself more weighty and compelling to the British Government for reasons known to themselves.

II

All these non-Muslim communities have repeatedly declared for the application to India of the international settlement of the communal problem. That settlement is embodied in the well-known instruments called the minorities’ guarantee treaties. And the pity of the situation is that in the framing of these treaties, his Majesty’s Government themselves took the initiative and the largest share of responsibility through their distinguished representative, Sir Austen Chamberlain, to whom India owes the declaration of responsible government as the objective of British policy in India. What really has prevented the British Government, backed by the united voice of three-fourths of the Indian population, from applying to India the international communal award to which they are already committed as contributories, parties and signatories, along with India herself as an original member of the League of Nations? This new international settlement now ranks in the words of Mr. Henderson, ‘as a part of the public law of Europe and of the world’. There is a resolution to the effect passed by the Third Assembly of the League of Nations on the motion of Prof. Gilbert Murray that all the States-members of the League of Nations should abide by it in the treatment of their own domestic communal problems. It is also an international agreement that questions concerning minorities are not to be the domestic concern of any State-member of the League.

But perhaps the best commentary of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald’s communal award is Mr. Ramsay Macdonald’s own speech at the House of Commons on the Round Table Conference:

‘It every constituency is to be ear-marked as to community or interest, there will be no room left for the growth of what we consider to be purely political organisations which would comprehend all communities, all creeds, all classes, all conditions of faith. This is one of the problems which has to be faced, because, if India is going to develop a robust political life, there must be room for national political parties based upon conceptions of India’s interests, and not upon conceptions
regarding the well-being of any field that is smaller or less comprehensive than the whole of India.

"Then there is a modified proposal regarding that. A proposal is made that there should not be community constituencies with a communal register, but that there should be a common register in the constituencies; but that with a common register a certain percentage of representation should be guaranteed to certain communities. It is the first proposal (that of communal representation) in a somewhat more attractive, democratic form, but still essentially the same. . . ."

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

And yet the very principles and proposals which the Prime Minister condemns in this speech, such as communal electorate, reserved or weighted representation, are endorsed with vengeance in his own Government's communal award.

Therefore, on the Prime Minister's own showing, the award will not make for the 'growth of purely political organisations;' or of 'a robust political life' or of 'national political parties,' in India.

We appeal from Philip drunk to Philip sober!

III

All communities seem to be now agreed that the communal award is not acceptable to any. It is the least acceptable to the Hindus whom it hits hardest, whom it does not recognise as a minority, whom it denies any weightage so lavishly bestowed on certain other communities, and even rob of a part of their natural weight in numbers. The award is based on two principles contradicting each other, the principle of number for a particular community, and that of quality for another. The Hindus must however lose on both counts, in both quantity and quality. Quality is the portion of Europeans, as quantity is of Moslems. The Hindus are not to get the benefit of either quantity or quality. By a strange computation beyond ordinary comprehension, the Hindus are taken to rank lower than the Europeans in quantity, in what they contribute to the culture of the country, and the coffers of the State. Their portion is only to bear the burden of the State.

And, lastly, the award introduces a novel principle of protecting minorities for which there is no precedent or parallel in modern history and politics, because it loosens the very bonds which keep together the State. It is the principle of protecting minorities by treating them as so many alien and warring groups, and assigning to each its own isolated sphere in legislature and administration, thus achieving a vivisection not the cohesion, of the body politic. The Government themselves know best that to protect minorities by giving them separate political representation is to split up the legislature into so many independent sections and is against all international law and practice. The German minorities have got no such separate representation in Poland or in Czechoslovakia, nor the Turkish minorities in Greece, or the Greek minorities in Turkey. The reason why no democracy can permit it is that minorities cease to be so in the spheres of legislature and administration, which deal only with the interests that are common to all the citizens of a state. The interests that are not common are religious, linguistic, racial, or cultural, and these are protected by statutory safeguards imposed on the constitution. This scheme, which is now operative as international law, thus recognises only minorities of three classes, religious, linguistic, and racial, and rules out minorities of other descriptions, political minorities, and social minorities, which the Indian communal award seeks to create so liberally.

But the distinguished authors of the Indian communal award have deliberately departed
from the international communal award as being exclusively applicable to democracy, while they did not feel hampered by any such restrictions for India. They were out to make an award without the limiting conditions of democracy, on the basis of a novel political arithmetic of their own creation. Their position in its brutal frankness is that the communal award should precede the constitution, and should fix its framework, its steel-frame. The constitution must suit itself, must bend and twist itself, to the award, and not the award to the constitution! The award gives us the foretaste of the coming constitution which will be a negation of national self-government for which the country stands, a hydra-headed monster, incapable of one voice or unity of action on any topic of government. To accept it would be for India to give away her own case and claim for democracy and to declare herself unfit for it. The award stands for retrogression in the name of reform. It has destroyed the communal equipoise achieved by the Lucknow Congress-League Pact, an agreed and settled solution of the problem, which was even endorsed by the Simon Commission by whose authority the Government had been swearing so long. They have now decided that India should not get even the constitution proposed by the Simon Commission, but something worse, less democratic and more communal.

The Award stamps the followers of Jesus Christ as a communal entity, with distinct political interests of their own, like Moslems or Sikhs or Europeans. The Prime Minister cannot bear any blame for this. Our spokesmen loved to have it so; and I suppose they are glad. That however does not make it the less unfortunate. The religion of Christ is one of the most dynamic factors in the world. It always bursts its boundaries, however strong and rigid those boundaries may be laid. It refuses to be confined to any one race, class or caste. It seeks to embrace all. It is most true to itself when it refuses to be restricted by human fear or prejudice; if it ever becomes partrified and static, it is dead! The inclusion of Christians in "a communal award" is a direct blow to the nature of the Church of Christ.

The Award will be one of the most divisive factors among Christians. We have inherited the divisions of Western Christendom. As it is, the Christians of the Roman Church have nothing in common with those of the non-Roman communions. The elections will aggravate this cleavage. The award will not weld Christians into one community. In most electoral divisions the Roman and the non-Roman candidates and voters will range themselves on opposite sides! As for non-Romans, take the case of the Andhra Districts. These have in the past constituted themselves into a strong non-Roman Indian Christian constituency. Roughly, the Christians are divided into three large, mutually separate groups; the Anglican, the Lutheran and the Baptist. Caste connections too often run along denominational lines. Elections will therefore inevitably lead to intensifying caste and denominational compartments. When a candidate is a Baptist he will appeal to the Baptists on the ground of his Baptist connection and also to Anglican or Lutheran Christians of his old caste relationships! Against him perhaps stands another candidate who will be a Lutheran; and he will appeal to all Lutherans for support; and also those Baptist and

THE COMMUNAL AWARD AND INDIAN CHRISTIANS

By the Rt. Rev. the Bishop of Dornokal.

The Communal Award has come, and I suppose, India must accept it. The inter-communal distrust and jealousies of Indian peoples made the reference to the Prime Minister inevitable; and there is nothing else to do but to bow to it now! However inevitable it may be, the decision is most unfortunate as far as the interests of the Christian religion are concerned. I hope Christians will not fail seriously to take to heart this aspect of the question.
Anglican Christians of his old caste connection. With what result? Christians who through their common religious experience forget these old caste distinctions and grow together in the faith—begin to be sensitive to their old caste affinities or denominational fellowships and range themselves on opposite sides. I am not imagining the impossible; all this has happened before. Peace in many congregations has been wrecked in the past because of the Legislative Council elections. Congregations that had lived in peace and unity under one pastor worshipping in one Church though originally of different caste origins, have been by the elections torn to pieces along caste lines to the great harm of all religion and piety—harm that takes years to mend. Evidently we are to be plunged into all this un-Christian strife again and perhaps for the next decade or two!

There is a further danger here. Most of our Christians have come from Depressed Classes. The Government in recent years has been showing special favours to the non-Christian Depressed Classes—favours which are denied to their brethren who have become Christians. The Award itself affords an illustration of this partiality. The Depressed Class voter (who has not changed his religion) has two votes—one in a special constituency and the other in the general electorate. His Christian brother however must be content with one vote and he must vote for the Christian candidate only. But I ask, must he do so? Why should he not enlist himself as ‘Depressed Class’ and enjoy two votes like his non-Christian brother? The Award puts serious strain on his loyalty to the Christian religion.

One other difficulty has risen of a different character. During the last decade over 25,000 peoples of caste origin have embraced the Christian faith. Most of these will be voters. They have changed their religion, but they have not changed their politics. They have become one Church with Christians of non-Caste origin; but they have not necessarily become one social and political community with them. Their political and national cause is identical with their non-Christian relations who are fellow-farmers or artisans. Are they now to be forced to vote in what is called the Christian constituency rather than in the general constituency? Their problems are those of the farmer and the capitalist, not those of labour! How does the Award affect them?

Lastly, there is the separation that has thus been effected between the Christian Church and the country in general. We have permitted ourselves not to be placed on the side of the whole country or the nation, but on the side of a religious sect—a community which seeks self-protection, for the sake of its own loaves and fishes! These are my musings on reading the Communal Award for Indian Christians. But I want to ask this question: Have I and those who feel with me the liberty of declaring ourselves Christians, pure and simple, and vote in the general, unlabelled, constituency? I am aware of the old arguments urged by Indian Christians in favour of communal treatment. I should have thought that the community’s interests could be amply served by reservation of seats in the general constituency. It was feared that in the event of such an arrangement nationalists and Congressmen might easily capture Indian Christian seats by securing for the Council men who are most in sympathy with their ideals. What then? It will only prove that the leading men in the Indian Christian community are men of that political thought. That danger will be nothing compared with the danger we are in the region of morals and religion.
Broadcasting in India

By

Mr. Shyam N. Shivapuri, M.Sc.

Before long, say wireless enthusiasts, not only will every house have its own electric theatre room with lecture, music, sport-news and stock prices at command, but every room will have its loud-speaker installed as a part of its permanent equipment. The scientific mind is a resolute mind and a relentless mind, and for ever tries to annihilate distance and reduce the "time factor" to a minimum. The tendency of the scientists is to keep people at home, as slaves to their environments. Concert and opera-parties will be out-of-date when every one has in his own house a choice of hundred programmes and plays, through co-operation of microphone and loud-speaker.

It was some 30 years ago Marconi first transmitted through ether some intelligible signals across the Atlantic. Save for a small transmitting apparatus on one side of the mighty ocean and a receiver on the other, there was no direct connection between the two ends—no wires; in fact, practically nothing but air and the all-pervading ether. It was named "Wireless Broadcasting." Since then, broadcasting has caught the public eye, and the wireless receiver has gradually become an household thing in the West. It has to a large extent usurped the place of gramophone, as it is easier and quicker to work. On the gramophone one hears the same 'taunted music' over and over again, while the ether waves bring for us fresh music every time we switch on our receiver to Moscow, Rugby, Eindhoven, Eiffel Tower, in fact, any important place in the world.

The discovery of "photo-electric cells" and the recent popularity of Hollywood "talkies", coupled with the marvellous researches of J. L. Baird and others in "television", have promised the practicability of a "home-cinema". We are treading on virgin soil; the hardships and obstacles in the unexplored way will be numerous. It is to be seen that we stick to our path, undaunted and untrammelled.

What of India? For several years, limited Broadcasting Services were maintained by Radio Clubs in Calcutta, Bombay, Madras Karachi, and Rangoon. The Clubs obtained financial assistance for the Government of India. After a few years the Indian Broadcasting Company was given a license to establish broadcasting services. Two transmitting stations were erected in Bombay and Calcutta, the service in the former being inaugurated by the Viceroy in July, 1927 and in the latter by the Governor of Bengal a month later. A series of huge annual deficits forced the company to go into voluntary liquidation, and the Government of India took over the service from April 1, 1930. Each station was placed in the charge of a Station Director, controlled centrally by the Director of Wireless.

Each year the financial review of the Directors of Bombay and Calcutta stations of the Indian State Broadcasting Service, on the working of the stations, are published as appendices to the appropriation accounts of the Central Government; and invariably they repeat the same sad tale of cuts in expenditure and loss in income. Recently, the Government, with its large fall in income, was faced with the question of closing the service as a retrenchment measure. It is a relief to learn that Sir Abdur Rahim's General Purposes Retrenchment Committee has pointed out that the service need not be suspended or closed.
Final reviews, for the year 1930-31, show that the operation of the service has resulted in a net loss of Rs. 1,65,170 which works out to 37 per cent. of the total capital. Mr. C. B. Sethna, the Bombay Station Director since May 6, 1930, says:—"Since I took charge of the Bombay Station, it has been my chief object to popularise Broadcasting and...........to improve the quality of the items broadcast from the station,.........and although the grant at my disposal for payment of fees to artists was somewhat limited during the year under review, several marked improvements were made in the programmes, both European and Indian, broadcast from this station." He goes on: "The expenditure on all other items was kept down as far as possible and......in spite of the fact that better programmes were broadcast the hours of transmission increased." The Calcutta Station Director defends himself in similar terms. We thus see that the two Station Directors have worked enthusiastically. What is the result? Mr. Sethna answers:—"It would appear that the Service was becoming more popular as the number of listeners' licenses has been increasing from the time that the Government of India took over the Service." Likewise, the Station Director, Calcutta, says that the men of his Department visited "those persons who have failed to renew or have cancelled their licenses, instructing and helping them in the maintenance of their sets, and persuading them to renew their licenses. The number of licences taken out as a result of propaganda persuasion was 403."

It has to be admitted that wireless is not popular among Indian families. In Allahabad, for instance, which has a population of 1,88,000 there are no more than 30 or 40 receivers i.e., one receiver for every 5000 heads. This is no popularity. Compare with this the development of radio in England. The first programmes in England were listened to by only about 20,000 people. To-day 5 million licenses have been issued.

II.

What are the practical and cultural possibilities of wireless in India; and how far are we justified in retaining the Service? The Report of Lord Lothian's Indian Franchise Committee (1932), says:—"Broadcasting will certainly develop because of its use as a means of instructing, informing and amusing the public, both literate and illiterate, in a multitude of ways. The effectiveness of broadcasting is not lessened by illiteracy. It, therefore, makes it possible for political leaders to speak direct to a much larger number of individuals at election times, and between elections, than can be reached by the ordinary speeches or canvassing of the candidates themselves or their agents." (Chap. II., Para 34). Incidentally, it may be mentioned that in Europe, and chiefly in Great Britain and Germany, it is almost a parliamentary custom to address large number of electors on wireless. This solves the problem of distance and number. The Government of India report (1929-30) to the Parliament says:—"Of all the various influences from the outside world which are in process of spreading to the village few have greater potentialities for enlightenment than wireless broadcasting; if provincial Governments, during the next decade or so, can adopt a really strenuous and effective policy for extending broadcasting facilities to rural India, it should prove a wonderful means of overcoming the physical barriers which have hitherto separated its inhabitants from the progressive movements of the rest of humanity and proved such an insuperable obstacle to their intellectual and material development," (page 125).

Broadcasting is by far one of the greatest means of instructing and informing those who can neither read nor write. The Agricultural Departments, as pointed out by the Linlithgow Commission on Agriculture, has a great use in wireless development in India. It can broadcast the latest agricultural reports and bulletins to inform the illiterates and uninformed (or ill-informed) agriculturists about the
great movements in world markets and the trend of trade. This can go far to ameliorate the lot of the Indian peasant.

The development of aviation in India has been remarkable, for it has put India in a position of exceptional strategic importance in the chain of international communication. It has brought India in much closer touch with the rest of the world, and two regular services are being run through India i.e., a French service from Paris to Indo-China, and the other by the Royal Dutch line from Holland to Java. The Imperial Airways run a regular weekly service between London and Karachi, which is extended to Delhi by the co-operation of the Delhi Flying Club. Messrs Tata Company has taken over the monopoly of the service from Karachi to Bombay and Madras. As the civil aviation develops it has to a considerable extent to depend upon weather forecasts issued by the Indian Meteorological Department. The best means for broadcasting such forecasts is by wireless, and, accordingly, with the development of aviation every air station will need a weather forecast broadcaster.

We have to look for safety at the sea. There are five major ports in India, and a number of minor ones. The Government of India has to see that the ships remain safe in Indian waters and coastal shipping is free from dangers. The wireless department is the very centre to broadcast the movement of storms and hurricanes, and to warn ships about their trek beforehand. Suitable direction-finding apparatus equipped on ships and the coast stations can give the bearing of ships with a remarkable degree of precision—an important factor as coastal shipping develops.

When General Nobile and his party on the airship 'Italia' were stranded in the Arctic pole regions, it was a wireless S.O.S. which saved them.

It has a political use too, in times of serious breaches of peace in the country. Considerable use was made of wireless in connection with the troubles in Afghanistan. After the two land lines from India were interrupted in 1928, wireless communication was established between Peshawar and Kabul, and all official and private telegrams were satisfactorily transmitted. Wireless may be used to communicate with the Government centres at times of big communal conflagrations, like those of Cawnpore in April 1931, and Bombay in May-June 1932, when the rioters break down all land communications. In England, the Scotland Yard is trying to provide every policeman with a small portable receiving set to make a speedy and effective round-up of criminals just after any serious crime is committed.

III.

It is thus clear that India cannot do away with its Broadcasting Service unless it is prepared to suffer a serious set-back in the general advancement of the country. By abolishing this Service India will lose much that it has gained now. The Government's first duty is to have a well-laid out programme of popularisation.

The wave-lengths of the Calcutta and Bombay services are 3704 and 3571 metres. These wireless wave-lengths lie in the range of atmospheres. It is sad to think that of the vast range of wave-lengths available the Government of India chose the particular ones which always have the display of atmospheres as their attendant effect. The Government failed to select such large wave-lengths as are used in Russia or such short waves as are popular in Holland and other Continental countries. The very large and the short waves are free from atmospheres and for future development India should change either to the long or the short wave. It is a scientific fact that the energy spent is proportional to the square of wave-length and the greater the wave-length, the greater is the energy spent up and hence the greater is the expenditure. Short wave, therefore, is the cheapest mean for cheap broadcasting.

There are other reasons too. Since both Bombay and Calcutta are very far away from
the heart of the country, most of the receiving sets are of super-heterodyne type requiring 5 or 6 valves each. The battery needed to work them has to be a large one involving troubles in charging and recharging; them at places where there is no electric installation.

To overcome this trouble and to render broadcasting available on two-valve sets in any part of India, the Broadcasting Company investigated the possibility of transmitting simultaneously on long and short wave. It took no action on the results of such investigation. But after its liquidation the Directors at both the stations started simultaneous experimental services on long and short wave, Bombay at 49 metres, and Calcutta at 25,274. The Calcutta Station Director says about these experiments:—"Reception of short wave Transmission from abroad has not, on the whole, proved successful chiefly due to the facts that proper apparatus has not been available and reception from long distances being greatly interfered with by local disturbances." However, further on he goes on to draw a rosy picture:—"It is my opinion that if satisfactory relays from abroad are to be obtained, the best way of accomplishing the end in view would be to erect an independent shortwave Receiving and Relaying Station somewhere in the North Centre of India."

There is another purely scientific reason which bars the future development of wireless in India save on short wave system only. It is admitted that as time advances India will not remain satisfied with her two stations. It may not be utopian to think that time is coming when every province will boast of two or three stations of its own. Then the congestion upon the medium and long wave will hamper development. It is time to explore the possibilities of what are known as short waves, from 15 to 100 metres. The degree of success attained elsewhere is well-known, and India should profit from others' experiences.

IV

When the Government of India took over the responsibilities of broadcasting it was proposed to establish a series of additional stations in different parts of India so as to spread broadcasting receivable on low-powered sets throughout the land. Important proposals with this purpose in view were discussed by the Advisory Committee in Calcutta in December, 1930, but no action seems to have been taken on them.

Now it is to be seen if the two stations at Bombay and Calcutta are sufficient. This point will be cleared by a little geographical study. There are many parts of India which are at a great distance from the two stations, and it would be hard to expect these two stations to satisfy, however efficiently they may work, the listeners—in at such remote places.

The best programme for the Government of India is to establish a small broadcasting station at each of the provincial centres to satisfy the needs of the respective provinces, but that will require a great financial outlay at a time when the country is passing through a financial crisis. The second best arrangement would be to retain the two big stations at Calcutta and Bombay and to install two short wave relaying stations at Allahabad in Northern and Bangalore in Southern India. One in Northern India was also recommended, as mentioned above by the Calcutta Station Director.

Six hundred miles may be taken as a safe distance for efficient transmission from one Station to another and let us see how many cities with over 1,00,000 population lie within this distance from that Station. Bombay has 15 cities and Calcutta 11. Now take a central place e.g., Allahabad. It has 22 cities, which is a much greater number. A station erected at Allahabad will be far more effective and efficient than either of the two present stations.

There is an important reason for erecting a central station at Allahabad. Both the two present stations are backed by seas and half
of the transmitted energy is wasted on the waters where there is hardly anything to pick it up. A station situated in the centre of the country will have every part of the transmitted energy utilised and a very meagre portion wasted.

It is well-known that the Allahabad University gives training in one of many specialised courses in its M.Sc. examination in Physics. One of the specialising courses is Wireless Telegraphy— theoretical and practical. Since a long time it has become a tradition with the University to give a special practical training in transmission and reception. Every year students set up a transmitting apparatus and broadcast programmes. Every year the quality of transmission is improved upon. In 1931 a series of broadcasts were given at Allahabad in the months of March and April. The Pioneer in its issue of March 10, 1931, said:—"The first wireless concert broadcast in Northern India! The event is more important than the bald exclamation suggests; it means that wireless for the homes in India is a big step nearer universality." The practical proof of possibilities of wireless in India, which was made possible by the co-operation of science and the press, received almost astonishingly rapid confirmation in a letter sent almost as soon as the performance was over by Justice Banerjee. "Permit me to offer you my congratulations", he says, "on the excellent wireless concert. ......The reception was so loud and clear that the music was heard all over the house, ......and all my friends who heard it were full of praise". In another message about the University Broadcast in the issue of April 6, 1931, the Pioneer said:—"The broadcast is a distinct feather in the cap of the Physics Department of Allahabad University. ......The Pioneer is very glad to be able to record this new step in the progress of wireless in Northern India, for it is conceived that in the development of broadcasting and all that it implies lie great things for the future of Indian life, not only in commerce, but in education, the arts and the social science."

The reports received by the Physics Department were very encouraging for with a small 30 watt transmitter places so far away as Jindh (430 miles) and Jabulapore (180 miles) could be reached. Compare this the disappointing records of Calcutta and Bombay Stations, both working on 5 kilowatt. This is the record of experiments conducted under the supervision of the physiist Dr. M. N. Saha, F.R.S., head of the Physics Department. Further Allahabad is in the way of trans-Indian air route, and Dutch mail planes actually use it every fortnight. Consequently as the aviation develops, it would be required to broadcast weather reports, to facilitate the progress of regular air liners. Thus the most suitable place for a central broadcasting station is Allahabad. There is a departmental wireless station at Allahabad, and it has now been equipped with apparatus to enable it to function as aeronautical wireless station. With the co-operation of the University it may be converted into a permanent short wave broadcasting and relaying station.

The second short wave relaying station, as suggested above, may be erected in Bangalore. It is in the central place in Southern India. The Electro-technological Department of the Indian Institute of Science is carrying on research work on wireless under the able guidance of Prof. Catterson-Smith. The Government, in collaboration with that department, may very easily start regular service from that place.

Thus far about the future extension; now about the programmes at either station. The Calcutta and Bombay stations should broadcast purely entertainment items—music, lecture, talk etc. They should not deal with things like weather reports; marked prices and stock exchange, advertisements and sponsored programmes. These may be broadcast by the two short wave stations at Allahabad and Bangalore.

A word may be said about the sponsored programmes. The Calcutta Station Director
says:—“Endeavours are being made to popularise sponsored programmes, but so far little progress has been made. Local firms appear reticent to adopt this scheme, and trade depression has caused many of them to retrench on advertising. However, as an inducement arrangements were made to allow firms to broadcast sponsored programmes without charges, provided they paid for the cost of the programmes.” The Royal Broadcasting Systems Incorporated, America, and “The Advertiser” Broadcasting Services, Australia, have been receiving communications offering them facilities at both the Calcutta and Bombay stations to broadcast sponsored programmes sent by them in the shape of gramophone records.

Further, the short-wave stations, besides broadcasting weather reports and market notices, and sponsored programmes, will act as relaying centres. The foreign transmissions are good item for relay; they may be obtained without any payment to the artists. Stations may be allowed to recruit local talent to provide entertainment items, but the expenses should be kept low, and excessive fees should be avoided. Thus enough work will be provided to the two short-wave stations.

VI.

What should be the future policy of the Government of India as regards wireless? After the opening of the two stations, the Government of India should abolish all import duties on wireless materials and should encourage the sale of new sets. If as is reported the Government is contemplating to increase duties on wireless sets, it will be ruinous to the future development of broadcasting.

Then comes the question of Broadcast receiving licenses. They are issued at Head Post Offices at a fee of Rs. 10, per year, and cover the use of receiving sets throughout British India except Baluchistan and the North West Frontier Province. “It is however,” says the Calcutta Director, “considered that at the present time piracy in the mofussil is prevalent.” Piracy is a dead loss to the Government income and it should be checked and deferred. An organised system of inspection should be started and the ‘pirates’ should be seriously dealt with.

The time has come when a move should be made to start Radio clubs at principal broadcasting and other centres of India. We have got Aero clubs in some of the big cities of India and Burma. To each Aero club formed the Government of India gives a grant of Rs. 20,000 besides providing an initial equipment of two aeroplanes, a spare engine and a contribution towards the cost of a hangar where no hangar was already available.

In the same way Radio clubs may be given birth to. The Government should provide two receiving sets, an aerial and a large audience room for all such Radio clubs. The principal aim of the clubs should be to popularise wireless by public broadcast receptions. Instruction in broadcast reception and general advice to the prospective purchaser of a receiving set may be given through these clubs. The control and general co-ordination of the activities should be exercised by the Director of Wireless.

The Government of India should also subsidise the company which may manufacture different parts of a wireless receiving set. The development of wireless would open up a new industry which if properly fostered would very soon be popular. Every nation has its own famous wireless manufacturers; Phillip Glowiamp Works in Holland; the General Electric Company in Scheneclady, U.S.A., and the Telefunken in Germany. Ten years ago there was practically no Radio industry in England, yet there has now grown up several concerns, representing nearly £ 30,000,000 of British capital.

Why should not India have its national wireless industry? Parts for small radio sets could be more cheaply manufactured in this country than they can be imported and such an industry would find the right kind of skilled labour.
in India. This should to some extent mitigate the severe unemployment in labour ranks which is rampant now-a-days.

We may quote here the observations of Sir Alfred Watson, the editor of the Statesman who said on the 5th birthday of Indian Broadcasting on 20th August 1932:

"I congratulate heartily the Indian Broadcasting Company on the celebration of its fifth birthday. In India broadcasting has had to encounter difficulties, both mechanical and financial, which have hampered its development in other countries. These have been faced manfully and the fact that broadcasting has survived its youthful troubles is the finest omen for its future in India. I look forward with confidence to the day when every village in India will be in speaking touch with the world and when the isolation of the East will have ceased to have meaning."

The Moon: Her Past And Present Conditions

By

Mr. C.N. Hangal, M.A.

HER ORIGIN AND PAST HISTORY

Ever since the life has come into existence upon the surface of the earth, we hear that the moon was found circling round the earth. Many astronomers tried to solve the question as to why the moon is so close to the earth, but it is not strange to see that only a few of them succeeded in formulating convincing theories about it. One of the most daring speculations that have ever been made in astronomy regarding the origin of the moon was to believe in the fact that moon was, at some very early period, fractured off from the earth, when the earth was in a soft or plastic condition. At that time the rate of rotation of the earth was only a few hours instead of twenty-four hours, and the moon completed her journey round the primitive earth in exactly the same time as the primitive earth took to rotate round its axis once, hence the two bodies were then constantly face to face.
by the earth on the surface of the moon acted as the brake on the rotation of the latter; consequently the period of rotation of the moon about her axis gradually increased, and now it has approached to the present value.

The outer surface of the moon has now been cooled to such an extent that it is almost in a solid condition, but it may be that the interior of the moon is still hot enough to retain an appreciable departure from solidity. Thus there can hardly be tides on the moon, but there may be tides in the moon. In the latter case, the tidal control would still retain the moon in its grip, but probably the time will come, if it has not come already, when the moon will be cold to the centre—cold as temper of space. If the materials were rigid, there can be no doubt, that the tides could no longer exist and the moon will be free from the tidal control. There would then be no longer any necessary identity between the period of rotation and that of revolution. We know that the time of revolution of the moon is gradually increasing, and so long as the tidal governor could act the time of rotation must increase sympathecically. When the moon will be a rigid body, the tidal control will vanish, and there will be nothing to retard the rotatory motion of the moon, which will then in future remain constant, while the period of revolution will continue to increase.

HER MOTIONS AND DIMENSIONS

The path in which the moon is revolving round the earth has at the present time an average radius of 2,40,000 miles. The inclination of her elliptical path is variable, and the plane of her orbit does not coincide with the plane in which the earth revolves round the sun. Her motion is characterised by many peculiarities. At one time she takes a longer, at another a shorter time in circling round the earth than that average period called the sidereal lunar month. At one time she is in advance of her mean place calculated on the supposition of a simple elliptical orbit, at another time she is behind her mean place.

The moon turns once upon her axis as she completes the circuit of her orbit. The velocity with which it runs along her orbit is 2900 miles per hour. The inclination of the moon's axis to her orbit in which she travels round the sun is nearly 25°, and with this inclination there can be no appreciable seasonal changes. Thus there are no lunar seasons. As the moon's axis is not at right angles to the plane of her orbit, she never turns always the same face towards the earth, consequently we are able to see somewhat more than one-half of her total surface.

The earth's equatorial diameter exceeds that of the moon in the proportion of about 3670 to 1000, and assuming the moon's shape to be globular and earth's compression 1/300, it follows that the earth's surface exceeds that of the moon in the proportion of about 13,435 to 1000. Lastly on the same assumption as to the moon's shape, the earth's volume exceeds that of the moon in the proportion of about 49,441 to 1000. Roughly we may take the moon's diameter as 2/7th, her surface as 2/27th, and her volume as 2/99th of those of the earth. By calculation it has been found out that the total surface of the moon is the same as the areas of Europe and Africa put together (excluding the islands usually included with these continents). By the help of the most complicated astronomical calculations it has been found out that the mass of the moon is 1/81st of that of the earth. Hence it follows that the density of the moon is 3.5 with respect to water.

HER SURFACE

Ancient philosophers of different nationalities theorised much about the moon's physical constitution. Some regarded the moon as an inhabited world full of mountains and valleys; some thought it as smooth, crystalline body, having power of reflecting light like a mirror, and it was supposed that the spots upon her disc were nothing but the reflected images of the oceans and continents of the earth. It
was only after the invention of the telescope that just ideas began to be formed about the condition of her surface.

Galileo, the great mathematician, directed towards the moon his first telescope of his own construction magnifying only thirty times. He saw that the moon's surface is covered with irregularities consisting of mountains, valleys, etc. According to him the lunar mountains are for the most part circular in shape forming rings around the depressed regions, and in some respects resembling the mountain-chains which surround Bohemia. He also recognised a number of volcanic craters on the moon's surface. He perceived bright spots of light sharply separated by the dark spaces on the moon's surface. He explained the fact by saying that these points are the tops of mountains illuminated by sunlight, while surrounding valleys are in darkness. He also succeeded in measuring the heights of some lunar mountains, and was led to believe that some of them are nearly five miles high. By the help of powerful telescopes, it has been discovered that the moon has a rugged surface which testifies to the existence of intense volcanic activity in former times. These volcanoes are now silent and the internal fire in the moon seems to have become exhausted. From the photographs of the moon it was also concluded that her surface is far from smooth, or as it is called a "Mare surface".

LUNAR ILLUMINATION

The brilliancy of the moon arises solely from the light of the sun which falls on the dark, or not self-luminous substance of the moon. Out of the vast flood of light which the sun pours forth into space, the dark body of the moon intercepts a little, and of that little it reflects a small fraction to illuminate the earth. The moon sheds so much light and appears to be so bright that it is often difficult at night to remember that the moon has no light of its own except what falls upon it from the sun. The light of the full moon is about $1/6180000$th part of the sun's light. Experiments are carried out to calculate the amount of heat received from the moon and it was found that on a mountain top it amounts to 750 millionth of a Centigrade degree. The effective temperature of the moon was found to be 500°F.

LUNAR ATMOSPHERE AND HABITATION

Big modern telescopes have been used to discover the traces of water on the moon's surface. Closer inspections by the telescopes show no seas, no oceans, no lakes, and no rivers. Were there any large tracts of water, the tremendous heat to which the moon is subjected during the course of a long lunar day (lasting a fortnight of our time) would certainly cause an enormous quantity of water to evaporate, and not only this process of evaporation be recognisable in the telescope, but the spectroscope would exhibit in an unmistakable manner the presence of aqueous vapour thus formed. No clouds are seen on the moon; there are not even the mists or vapours which invariably arise where water is present, consequently the grandeur of the moon's scenery is never impaired by the clouds over her surface. Under these conditions the astronomers are led to believe that the moon is a sterile and waterless desert.

Our globe is surrounded with a deep clothing of air resting on its surface and extending above our heads, up to the height of about 200 to 300 miles. After careful experiments, it has been shown that there is no appreciable atmosphere in the moon. The most conclusive proof for the above is "Occultation" of a star. If sometimes happens that the moon comes directly between the earth and a star, and the temporary extinction of the star is extremely remarkable. If the moon had a copious atmosphere, the gradual interposition of this atmosphere by the movement of the moon would produce a gradual extinction of the star and not the sudden phenomenon usually observed. Evidence of spectroscope confirms the above idea, as nobody has been able to detect a sign of the existence of any lunar atmosphere, though
Mars and Jupiter, so much further from us, have afforded distinct evidence respecting the atmospheres which surround them.

The absence of air and water from the moon explains the peculiar and weird ruggedness of the lunar scenery. We know that on the earth the action of wind, of rain, of frost, and of snow is constantly tending to wear down our mountains and reduce their heights, but no such agents are at work on the moon. Volcanoes sculptured the moon into her present condition and though the volcanoes have been silent for ages, the traces of their hand-work are seen nearly as fresh to-day as they were when the mighty volcanic fires were extinguished. Lofty buildings have but a brief career on the earth. It is chiefly the incessant action of wind and water that makes them vanish like anything. On the moon these causes of disintegration and of decay are all absent, though perhaps the changes of temperature in the transition from lunar day to lunar night would be attended with expansion and contraction that might deteriorate the lofty structures. Therefore, it seems probable that a building on the moon would remain century after century just as it was left by the builders. There need be no glass in the windows, for there is no wind and no rain to keep out. There need not be fire places in the rooms, for fuel cannot burn without air. Dwellers (if any) in a city in the moon would find that no dust can rise, no odours can be perceived, no sounds be heard.

We are led by the revelations of the spectroscope respecting the solar system to believe that all the bodies within that system are in a general sense similarly constituted, and if this be so, there must once have been oceans and air upon the moon. What has become of the moon’s atmosphere and of her oceans?

This question has been answered in several ways. Two theories are worth knowing in this connection. The first one states that the oceans and air have been withdrawn into the cavities within the moon’s substance, and the other says that lunar seas and air have been changed by the intensity of cold into the solid form. But the former has the stronger evidences in its favour.

Now let us investigate whether under the present circumstances, can any life exist in the moon? We know that life, as it exists on the surface of the earth can survive only in the very narrow and limited circumstances. For the maintenance of life, water is an indispensable thing. Unless, therefore, water is present in the moon we are bound to conclude that life, as we know it, cannot exist there. Air is equally necessary for life. But it is found that both water and air are absent from the moon. Consequently it is inferred that no life, as we know it, can exist on the moon.

We find our earth full of life in every part of its surface. We find the life under the most varied conditions that can be conceived. We have life under the burning heat of tropics; we have life in the ever-lasting frost at the poles. We have life in the caves; we have life in the depths of oceans under the pressure of several tons per square inch. Whatever be the external circumstances, some form of life generally exists to which those particular circumstances are congenial. Man can live on the earth because his constitution is specially adapted to the particular circumstances of the earth. Hence, regarding the habitation in the moon, we are not justified in asserting persistently that no life exists in the moon. If we could obtain a clear view of the moon, it will be found that she, too, is full of life specially adapted to the existing environments on the moon—life in forms strange and weird, life far stranger to us than that has ever been seen on the earth.

GRAVITATION ON MOON

As the mass of the moon is 1/81st of that of the earth, the gravitational force acting upon a body lying upon the surface of the moon will be about 1/81st of that acting on the same body when placed on the surface of
the earth. Thus it would be easier to lift heavier weights on the moon than those on the earth. If we suppose that moon is inhabited by the people of our type, then the strength of their bones, especially their legs, will be just enough to bear their corresponding weights on the moon. If they are transferred to the earth, the bones of their legs will not be able to bear their increased weights due to the earth, which will be about eighty-one times greater than those due to the moon, consequently, when they are standing, the bones of their legs will be fractured under their new weights. The same event will be experienced by us if we are transferred to Jupiter which is more massive than the earth. In case we are transferred to the moon's surface, our weight there will be 1/81st of that at the earth, consequently we will be able to jump higher and longer than we do on the earth. If we fall from a height upon the surface of the moon, our rate of fall will be slower than that on the earth. Hence it is concluded that we can throw a cricket ball up to a greater height than what can be attained on the earth.

EFFECT OF THE MOON ON THE EARTH

Every one knows that the surface of the sea is affected by the occurrence of tides. The credit for the explanation of this phenomenon goes to Sir Isaac Newton who propounded the theory of Universal Law of Gravitation. He proved that the tides are caused by the moon. When overhead, she draws water up, as it were into a heap underneath, and gives rise to a high tide. The water on the opposite side of the earth is also affected in a way that might not be at first anticipated. The moon attracts the solid body of the earth with greater intensity than it attracts the water on the other side which lies more distant from it. The earth is thus drawn away from water which accordingly exhibits a high tide as well, on the side of the earth away from the moon, as on that towards the moon. The low tides occupy the intermediate positions. The sun also excites tides on the earth, but owing to the greater distance of the sun, the difference of its attraction on the sea and on the earth is not so appreciable. The solar tides are thus much less than lunar tides. When the two conspire, they cause Spring tides, and when they are opposed we have Neap tides.

The tides which the moon raises on the earth act as a brake on the rotation of the latter. They constantly tend to bring the period of rotation of the earth to coincide with that of the moon. As the moon revolves once in twenty-seven days, the earth is at present going too fast, consequently the tidal control at the present moment endeavours to retard the rotation of the earth. As the tides occur constantly, they never for an instant relax the effort to control, and they are gradually tending to render the duration of the day and the month coincident, though the process is a very slow one. The solar tides will also retard the rotation of the earth. If, therefore, follows that after the days and months have become equal in duration, a still further retardation awaits the length of the day. We thus see that in remote future the moon will revolve round the earth in a shorter time than that takes by the earth to rotate round its axis once. Hence it is concluded that the privilege of seeing the other side of the moon which has been withheld from us will in the distant future be granted to our successors.

JOURNEY TO MOON

Modern scientists with a view to confirm their ideas about the moon are hunting for the easier method to go there. To do it, they must provide themselves with some kind of machine to carry them across the space lying between the earth and the moon. In this connection, it should be pointed out, that, fortunately, the journey will be very much facilitated by the help of the universal law of Gravitation. It is seen, that as we go higher up the force of attraction upon a body towards the centre of the earth gradually decreases until at a certain distance it is
practically reduced to zero. Similarly at a certain distance from the moon, its gravitational force upon a body becomes zero. If the earth and the moon are taken into consideration, there will be a certain point on the line joining the centres of the two celestial bodies, where the forces of attraction due to the two will just balance each other. If a body is placed at this neutral point, it will remain in equilibrium without moving on either side. If the body crosses that point into the moon's region it will fall on the moon, otherwise if it is in the earth's region it will come down to the earth. Thus, if we somehow go beyond this neutral point into the moon's attracting zone we will automatically go down to the surface of the moon by the action of her gravity. Therefore, now this is our problem, i.e., to cross the neutral point.

Naturally all of us will consider an aeroplane to suit our purpose. It is seen that an aeroplane travels across the space from one continent to another, and it is quite apparent that if it goes on flying higher and higher until it crosses the point, it will ultimately reach the moon. But in this expedition some practical difficulties come in our way. First chief difficulty is about the limitation of the atmosphere. As we go higher up, the air becomes thinner and thinner until after a certain height it is so rare that for practical purposes it may be said that no atmosphere exists at that height. This height can be taken to be about fifty miles above the earth's surface.

An aeroplane can fly only in those places where air is present. The denser the air is, the better it will fly. Thus if an aeroplane goes up the atmosphere, it will be found that after a certain height, owing to thinness of air, the aeroplane will not rise any further, and it will be compelled to come back. To overcome this trouble the aeroplane is fitted with rockets by the help of which it can travel into space free from air.

The principle upon which the rocket-plane works depends upon the law of action and reaction. It is seen that when a gun is fired, the bullet rushes forward, and simultaneously the gun recoils with the same force by virtue of the law of action and reaction. The greater the force with which the bullet comes out the more powerful the recoil is. Thus a gun is fitted at the back of an aeroplane with its mouth pointing towards the tail of the aeroplane. Like a machine-gun it is provided with an arrangement by means of which loaded cartridges are fired from the gun automatically at regular intervals. Unlike the common cartridges, the cartridges used in this machine-gun are not supplied with bullets, but in their places pressed cotton-pads are tightly fitted. The amount of powder inside the cartridges should be so adjusted that the recoil of the gun may have a sufficient force to move the aeroplane forward. Thus if the gun is fired at regular intervals, the recoil of the gun backward will move the aeroplane forward with a sufficient speed. These cartridges fired from the gun are known as "Rockets".

Secondly, air is the most essential thing for the maintenance of life. At higher altitudes, owing to want of air, the honourable members of the expedition will be suffocated to death. To overcome this trouble, it has been proposed that in the aeroplane bound for the moon, there should be a cabin provided with glass-windows and completely sealed from all sides. In other words, it should be perfectly air tight. Inside the cabin all the members of the expedition will remain throughout the journey. Food, water, and other necessary things for the upkeep of life will be provided there. Diluted oxygen will be stored in steel cylinders for breathing purposes. Apparatus for absorbing carbon-dioxide exhaled by the passengers will be provided inside the cabin. All the controls of the aeroplane including that of firing rockets will be adjusted by the passengers from the inside of the cabin.

At high altitudes, temperature is very low, and above fifty miles it is so low that all the metallic parts of the aeroplane will contract.
and may get jammed up. To avoid the occurrence of this mishap, materials of the machinery should have as low a contracting power as possible. At this temperature life cannot exist under any circumstances. To save the lives of the passengers inside the cabin from being affected by the fall of temperature outside the aeroplane, it is necessary that the cabin walls should be thick and made up of perfectly non-conducting material, so that heat may not be conducted away into the space outside. To avoid the loss of heat from cabin by radiation, it will be desirable to polish both the outer and the inner sides of the walls of the cabin, as is done in case of a thermos-flask.

Since there is no air in the moon, the members of the expedition will have to remain inside the cabin, and examine the condition of the moon from there. With this equipment, the members of the expedition will start on their journey by starting the aeroplane which will carry them up to a particular height, say five miles. Beyond this it will not go; then the rockets will be fired automatically at the required intervals, and the aeroplane will then go on moving forward and forward, as stated before. At higher altitudes in the absence of air, the motion of aeroplane will no longer meet any oppositional force due to friction of air, etc., and consequently it will attain a maximum speed depending upon the forces of the rockets fired. It has been calculated that when the rockets are working at their maximum efficiency, a speed of 3000 miles per hour can be very easily attained. The neutral point between the earth and the moon is only 2,100,000 miles away from the surface of the earth; so to cover this distance it will take only 72 hours, i.e., three full days. Thus, if the new position of the moon, with respect to the earth, where it will be after an interval of three days, is initially determined, and the aeroplane flies in the same direction, it will ultimately cross the neutral point after three days, when it will be easily let down to the surface of the moon by the action of her gravity.

On reaching the surface of the moon, the aeroplane will have to be moved from one place to another by firing the rockets, with a view to examine the different parts of her surface. After a close inspection of the moon, the expedition will come back by crossing the neutral point which is only 24,000 miles away from the surface of the moon. As soon as the aeroplane will reach the denser part of the earthly atmosphere, firing of rockets will be stopped, and once more the propellers of the aeroplane will be started to work, and as usual all the passengers inside the cabin will safely land upon the earth.

Unfortunately, while in the moon, the passengers will not be able to communicate with the persons on the earth by wireless telegraphy or telephony, as the radio waves cannot penetrate into the atmosphere beyond a certain height.
Old Indian Bachelors
An Anglo-Indian Domestic Sketch

By
Mr. S. C. Sanial, M.A.

The difference between the stage Indian uncle and the real man is so very striking, so very ridiculous, and so very grotesque that I sometimes wonder that stock characters can keep "the boards" in plays and novels of the period. The fictitious man is so much an agglomeration of gout, generosity and grunts, that it is truly surprising how any one can have patience to read his humps, attribute his bursts of passion to a concealed but ardent affection for the nephew and nieces he had never beheld in the flesh in his life, and wring pathos from his untimely demise in the bosom of a restored, but not restorative, family wherein he dies attired in mankins and drab shorts. The real man is so very different. As I know him, his gout is a myth, his passion confined to his servants, his generosity to self and his grunts to any one who happens to consider the world large enough for two persons to move about in. The real old Indian bachelor is, allowing for exceptions to a rule, about the most selfish consequential type of mankind in the world, and though novelists and playwrights may find it to their purpose to hang negative and even positive virtues about his person, the truth is that his selfishness is not recognised as monstrous only because it is not exposed sufficiently well.

An old bachelor of the London pattern, to whom married sisters pay court with a view to his money, is a very different man from the celebate of Anglo-Indian life. His rough points are softened by the woman he is constantly meeting in the world or in society, and even the most determined misogynist of the London clubs will pay some attention to his dress and his manners when he enters circles where he has to meet women respectable or the reverse. He is never a bear, or a dirty old man dressed in "country" cloth; take him at his worst, and he is often a greater dandy with a more courtly address than many of the married men one meets among Benedicts; but an old Indian bachelor he who resides for years and years in the mofussil, framing an estimate of mankind on the viragos and scandal-mongers he occasionally meets there, is neither a bear or a pleasant mannered man: he is more frequently, despite his pretensions to anything better, a mixture of Captain Costigan and Elwes the Miser.

It is only natural perhaps that the old Indian bachelor, deprived of the refining influence of female society of the best kind, should fall into ways not very creditable to himself or his surroundings. He becomes a Major Pendennis, without the Major's redeeming quality of mixing only with the best people, before he knows where he is; but he has this resemblance to old Pendennis, that he is complete subject in valet, khansama or cook, without having the Major's courage ever to rid himself of the incubus. Most of the bachelors I have met with in this country, have been poor creatures under the domination of some one or other—dressing boy, cook or khansama; and though the celebate might retort on the married man
that it does not signify two straws whether the oppressor is a wife or a butler, there is an
unfmitness of things in the spectacle of an old gentleman of Anglo-Saxon blood timorous
of his servants, and fearful to entertain his friends unless he has first propitiated his factotum
with who can say what creatures and promises in prospective. Such old gentlemen, as I
describe, never weary over their card tables, of running down women as the most pestilent
beings in creation and are never tired of pointing to their own state of single blessedness as
a remarkable proof of their sagacity; but even while they do discourse, the brandy bottle they
ask for will sometimes appear drained three-fourths of its contents by the drunken butler,
and there will be no more candles or comfort that night for the guests of the celebate apostle
of freedom.

A bad trait of the old Indian bachelor's
character is, that he seems to occupy the
inevitable position in India of the old maid
at home. Old maids are rare in the East. The
tabby is almost unknown. If spinster do not
marry, they return from whence they came,
and perhaps join the army of women's right,
but they are not messed. The old bachelor,
the creature of habit, the anxious student of
what he believes is his comfort, is always
ready to step into the vacant pattens, and to
tattle-tale over brandy and water, if not tea,
just as vigorously as any Tatitila of cot. Half
the ridiculous and scandalous stories that
circulate in Indian stations have, I dare say,
their real source in the quarters of some old
bachelor intensely imbued with Indian habits.
It is all very well to put the blame on the
ladies, but I am rather inclined to think that it
is the old bachelors described put in there. I
have known some of them to keep cats, to peep
out of venetians on the sly, to encourage the
servants of their neighbours to bring them
"gup" and to behave generally in a manner
more accordant with the ways of old women
than old men. Nevertheless, the old Indian
bachelor passes mostly as old this or old that,
and as not half a bad fellow, on the principle,
I suppose, that what may be an old woman's
poison, may be an old man's meat.

It is among those things not generally
known, what becomes of the old bachelors,
when, after much plotting and cunning, they
succeed in giving the slip to their native
domestic tyrants, and betake themselves, like
old ganders, to the water. Many are to be met
with on the homeward bound steamers
certainly often enough, where they at first try
to introduce the customs and habits of Guipland
to life afloat, but they soon collapse before a
platox of well-dressed women, who appeal
them, and their rout is completed by irreverent
boys too much disposed to draw the old Indian
bachelor, like a badger. Some of them curse
the fate of "the poor old man which was driven
to drinkin' by ingratitude", but what becomes
of the rest, unless they are married by lodging-
house landladies, and turn to the mangle, I
am at a loss to imagine. The best Indian old
bachelors, those who are of much the same
type as those of London, soon get merged in
club life, and live as other English celebates
do; but the Indian old bachelor, who has a
distinct individuality of his own, is as much a
mystery as the moribund donkey who dis-
appears from the view of mankind, it is said, to
die in peace and quietness.

It is odd, though quite in accordance with
human nature, that the old Indian bachelor—
a man who rails at women—should invariably
have, or pretend to have, a tenessee. I have
never known one yet, who, in convenient
moments, or to speak more correctly, moments
following on conversability, did not say or hint
that he loved once unwisely but alas too well.
She is a mystery, an enigma; but there is
always a she somewhere. If any one should be
rash enough to credit an old bachelor when he
gets upon sentiment, he would have him to
believe that all the virtues and vices of the
bachelor and man are inextricably involved in
that she. If it was not for she, he would not
be as bad as he is, or as good as he was; or,
as he sometimes puts it in such confidences,
for variety perhaps, as bad as he was, and as good as he is. He has her picture somewhere in a trunk; but it is seldom seen, never I believe except in one instance, when it turned out to be a cutting from the "Illustrated News". But even the rogue bachelor—if I may use an elephantine simile—lives in hope of meeting she again. I once heard one of them hint that it could not be long before she was a widow.

On the whole, old bachelors are much to be pitied in India. Their sorrows are of a different kind from those of the man who marries a mountaineer and has himself to reside on the plains, but they are very real nevertheless. It is bad to find one's warmest welcome in a regimental mess, and one's sunniest smiles in the bars of an intoxicated khansama. It is dull to hear the music of children's voices only in the stables; and there must be very bitter moments in every old bachelor's life when he has to ask himself the question, is it not too late to gain a woman's love, which some account the greatest prize in existence? For my own part, I have the same compassion for a "rogue" bachelor, as for a maiden aunt in her grey old age. Either appears to me as one gods have spited, and for whom allowances must be made, in extenuation of the faults for which neither he or she is directly responsible.

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Hindu-Muslim Fellowship Of Thought

By

Atulananda Chakrabarty

ANXIETY FOR COMRADESHIP

So no buddha sabhaya sanyunakta—'May He unite us in fellowship and righteousness'—thus the sage of the Upanishad (1) prayed. And what had been the spring of such a hope? The prayer ran—'God is one, above all colours, and with manifold powers. He dispenses the inherent needs of all peoples and all times.' The great Prophet of Islam played on the same tune of universal fellowship. O-aj Kuru ne'ma-ta llahi alikum (2)—'Remember God's love on you'. How His love had worked? The Prophet continued—'When ye were enemies He by His love so bound all your hearts that from then ye became all brothers to each other'. In rousing his followers to become friendly with their neighbours the prophet enjoined (3)—'Say thou: ye people of the Book, come to a proper understanding between us and you'. With a view to a practical realization of his ideal he planned the formation of a band of self-less workers(4) 'who call to the good, and command what is just, and forbid what is evil'. In his yearning that the growth of a liberal comrade ship might not be prejudiced he solemnly warned (5)—'Be ye not like those who make a division and become sectaries'. To the
minds thus born and grown up in the music of mutual understanding, dislike of division is no strange emotion. Now that the followers of Islam have got another group of neighbours in the people of the Vedas and both happen to have formed a vital attachment and have beautified the land of Asoka and Akbar with wonderful works of arts and crafts, the moral as well as the material needs of these two heirs of a mighty past demand a relation of superb harmony. The Vedas (6) pray: “Harmony for us with our own men, harmony with strangers—harmony of Asvins, do ye here confirm in us. May we be harmonious with mind, with knowledge, may we not fight with the mind of gods, let not noises arise in case of much destruction.” “If one were to turn,” observes the Prime Minister, “to any great philosophy or any great system of thought upon which could be built up a harmony between races, a harmony between conflicting thoughts, where could one go to find it more readily than to the great philosophies of India itself? Those philosophies where brotherhood is inculcated, where peace and harmony and co-operation are enjoined; those philosophies which look at the world not in a mere abstract way but as something essentially composed of differences, and yet essentially calling for a harmony of difference rather than a mere uniformity of thought or of action.” (7). Prophet Mohammed also wished his disciples should realise that the differences we find on the surface were designed by the Creator with a meaning and the game lay in each doing his own best. The Quran (8) points out—‘If God pleased, He would have made you one people, but He would try you in what He has given you. Strive then to excel each other in good works: to God is your return altogether; then He will tell you that concerning which you now disagree.’ Love for all and for good works in the name of God are texts of innumerable verses in the Upanishads. The Gita (9) teaches—‘O Arjun, he who undertakes My works, who considers Me his highest and desires nothing else, whose heart is open to all, to him I am available’. To the immense bliss of humanity the Quran (10) declares—“Our God and your God is One God, and after Him we strive.” It fits in so marvellously well with what the Upanishad speaks of God—“This is the Divine Being, the world-worker, who is the Great Soul ever dwelling in the hearts of all people.”

UNIVERSAL TRUTHS

The Quran sends out a gracious invitation: “Let us all go upwards and arrive at truths and laws which are common to us.” Fortunately, one has not to painfully strain his imagination for recognising the palpable parallelism of thought between the people of these two religions, millions of whom express their faith in

Tat tvamasi.......That art thou.

and

Ana ‘L-Haqq..........I am God.

A delightful mass of well-matched flowers of resembling ideas can be plucked from the Aryan and Islamic religious lores for stringing them together in a garland of victory to adorn the universal human soul. An endless stream of parallel passages is accessible. They shed a flood of light on the deep-seated similarities in the two religious systems which a reverent enquirer will find extremely pleasant and profitable. Yet nice touches of distinctive originality (11) do not go without being felt. These arise from direct emotion of the honest seekers of joy and truth. Such a kinship of ideas is just the divine brotherhood of truth which is all the while alive with the breath of race-genius. A subtle and yet always observable peculiarity in the structure and style of thinking baffles any cheap criticism for search of plagiarism. One may do well in remembering, as an acknowledged authority (12) very precisely observes: “It is only natural that Islam should have flashed across the consciousness of a simple people untouched by any ancient cultures”.

SOME SALIENT FEATURES

Let us then devoutly proceed to compare the philosophy as well as the theology of these two great races. The findings, we hope, will, as an earnest thinker (13) says, "open the eyes of the several denominational communities to the utterly common essentials of their own and others' religions and go far to bring about the so-much-to-be-desired peace between the creeds." Relating to the Minority question in our politics it has been very cogently remarked: "Far too much has been heard of differences on details of minor importance, and too little of the broad general principles which must be applied if there is to be any satisfactory solution of this perplexing problem." (14).

ONE RELIGION: It is no mere philosophical speculation when the great masters of the Aryan as well as the Islamic religion emphasised on the existence of One God for all people. The Qur'an (15) speaks—"Men were of one religion and One God". The Vedanta (16) declares—"Verily, all religions pertain to One God." The Qur'an (17) again is heard—Innumal momenta ekhouyatun—"They are all brethren who believe in One God." The Bhagwat has the same utterance—"Previously there was one scripture, one hymn, one God, one sacrifice and one caste."

SECTARIANISM DISCOURAGED: The Qur'an (18) discountenances sectarianism—"As to those who make a division in their religion and become sectaries have nothing to do with them; their affair is with God, and He will tell them what they have done." The Rigveda (19) voices the same truth—"A common purpose do I lay before you, and worship with your general oblations." The saying of the Qur'an (20)—O-a taseuni he bable ilaha jameyut; O-a la tafarrak—"Let all join in strongly holding the rope of divine love; never think of separation"—compares perfectly well with that of the Vedas (21)—Samani prapa Samana bo anna bhagah. Samane yoktre suha bo yunjmi—"Have your drink in one hotel, share equally the same food. I bind you all in one rope of love and unity." Naturally, therefore, the Hindus never think of imposing their religion on any and the Prophet of Islam quietly assures (22)—"There is no compulsion in religion".

MAN'S SPIRITUAL ONENESS WITH THE MAKER

The unity of God and man has been promulgated with equal vehemence in both the creeds. Jami says—"All was One, there was no duality, no pretence of "mine" or "thine". The same note is struck when Sandilya (23) says—"Truly this All is Brahman (God). . . . This my Atman (Soul) in my inmost heart is this Brahman." Again, Hallaj says—"I am He whom I love, and He whom I love is I." The same love-story has been reported when the Yajurveda says "I am God" and when Yajnavalkya (24) says—"Verily, everything is not dear that you may love everything; but that you may love thy self, therefore, everything is dear." Or again, the Dervish poet, Baba Kuki of Shiraj says. "I past away into nothingness, I vanished, and lo: I was the all-living only God I saw." This may be compared to the famous saying of the Atharva Veda—"This my soul is God" and the Vedanta-sara further emphasises—"Creature is no one else than God." About the ultimate unity of Man with God, the Koran (25) declares, "All will return to us." The Vedanta (26) proclaims, "Man returns to God in the end, so the Sastra says".

PSYCHOLOGICAL UNITY OF MANKIND

Human life having a spiritual origin and end, its universal oneness has obtained a clear expression in both the religions. The Brihadaranyak-sa solemnly declares, "In the beginning man-kind had only one class—the Brahmana". The Mahabharata (27) repeats the same idea. Sayana (28) pointedly announces "All have come out of one stock". The great German philosopher Schopenhauser (29) who perform-
ed his devotions in the mantras of the Upanishads very finely observes: "In all the individuals of the world, in whatever endless number they may present themselves, after and beside one another, yet only one and the same, the truly existing Being, present and identical in them all, manifests itself" Of this basic unity of man, the Koran also informs, "We have created you all from one breath of life." And a remark of Sir Iqbal (30) may be taken as a commentary: "The perception of life as an organic unity is a slow movement, and depends for its growth on a people's entry into the main current of the world events. This opportunity was brought to Islam by the rapid development of a vast empire."

WAR—A NECESSARY EVIL

But "the spirit of unity flashed behind the sword of Islam."(31) The Hebidh, the beloved of God, had no love of unprovoked and unnecessary warfares. The Koran speaks: "God likes not any disturbances" (32)...."Commit not disorders in the earth" (33) ...."Fight in the way of God against those who fight against you, but transgress not...Fight not until they attack....but if they attack you, only then you kill them." (34). In the same way, the Gita (35) says, "My devotee is free from bitterness and is full of love and kindness for all" But only when vital necessity spoke, the Aryans felt compelled to take up arms. The great God Vishnu (36) in leading the Aryan migrants into India sings verses with the slogan—'Who shall fight against us, them only we shall slay.' The other Vedas (37) also express the same spirit—'O Indra, Kill him who stands in the way of God.'

LOVE OF PEACE

Yet in spite of so much fighting, the Aryan sages sing forth the sonorous music of universal peace(38): Aum, peace be in the heavenly regions, peace in the middle spaces, peace in the earth, peace in the waters, peace in the plants, peace in the woods. The gods all have peace, God of gods have peace, all creatures have peace; peace—living peace—reign all around. This all-embracing peace-come within me'. Similarly the superb cadence of the Prophet's message rolls on: "Let there be no violence in religion. If they embrace Islam, they are surely directed; but if they turn their backs, verily unto thee belongeth preaching only. To make them walk in the right way is not incumbent on you, but Allah guideth whom He pleases". The Vedas are anxious to deliver the message of universal good: "Make me dear to the gods, make me dear to the Kings, dear to everything that sees, both to Sudra and to Aryan"(39). And again, 'As I now speak out this propitiating Vedic mantra to all humanity, so do ye preach it to Brahmins and Kshatriyas, Vasyas and Sudras, relatives and non-relatives, untouchables and all."(40). Mahatma Gandhi says in a deep anguish, "I would far rather that Hinduism died than that untouchability lived."(41). Tagore very feeling speaks: "In no period of human history has there been such an epidemic of moral perversity, such a universal churning up of jealousy, greed, hatred and mutual suspicion. In this galloping competition of hurtfulness, on the slope of a bottomless pit, no nation dares to stop or slow down.....To-day, more than ever before in history, the aid of spiritual power is needed.....The God of humanity has arrived at the gates of the ruined temple of the tribe. Though he has not yet found his altar, I ask the men of simple faith, wherever they may be in the world, to bring their offering of sacrifice to him, and to believe that it is far better to be wise and worshipful than to be clever and supercilious. I ask them to claim the right of manhood to be friends of men." (42).

FRIENDLINESs AMONG RACES IN EARLY AGES

In earlier times the philosophy of Religion undertook to preach the spiritual oneness of mankind. To-day the task has been accepted by the science of Economics which is making a vigorous propaganda for the material recognition of humanity as one unit. H. G. Wells(43) emphasises on the need of treating history
of mankind as a single whole. History teaches the same lesson and a right way of for all. Prof. Khuda Bux in his Calcutta studying will foster the growth of friendliness for all. Prof. Khuda Bux in his Calcutta University lectures on Islamic History very sincerely hoped: "It will forward the cause so dear to us all—mutual understanding and toleration, the very first necessary step to that higher unity which is at once the dream of the poet, the fervent prayer of the philosopher, the hope of the rising generation and the true restiny of India." Propelled by the vision of the same truth, Pococke (44) says, "I must beg the reader to bear in mind the distinct assertion, which I have already made, of the national unity of Egyptians, Greeks and Indians". The same opinion is voiced by no less an authority than Sir William Jones—"The Hindus had an inmemorial affinity with the old Persians, Ethiopians, Egyptians, Phoenicians, Greeks, and Tuscan and Scythians." Murray notices in his Handbook of Egypt, P 310, that the Indian and Arabian fleet met in comradeship for commercial adventures. Dr. Satish Chandra Vidyabhushan (The Indian World, P. 387) writes, "In all probability the primitive Aryans must have borrowed their alphabetic system from the Semitic people. The Aryans and Semitics were neighbours of each other." On the other hand Pococke(45) informs that "a system of Hindufism pervades the whole Babylonian and Assyrian empires". We may also note that from the close of the 8th century, Baghdad—Dar-al-Salam—the city of peace, was the emporium of learning and luxury and freely utilised the wisdom of the Hindus. In the 11th century, Buddhism vigorously flourished in Balk and that Baghdad of King Haran ar Rasid gave shelter to Buddhism in some corners. But it is interesting as well that during its birth and early childhood in Arabia the Islam kept itself aloof from the rest of the world just as the Islamic rule in India during its period of consolidation and later expansion generally kept itself unconcerned with the rest of the Muslim world.

**SPIRITUAL EFFECTS OF ISLAMIC INVASION OF INDIA**

Let us now briefly pursue the course of events and the effect of meeting of the Islam and the Aryan in the soil of India. While an intense sincerity gives a mark of individuality each of its own, the two great creeds intersect at so many points as to leave no doubt why the benevolent Power in heaven had ordained the two to dwell in harmony in this great land of antiquity. And the result of this meeting had proved true to the best instincts of those concerned. No fresh vigour, no new outlook, no spring of novelty to stir a soulless nation—thus exhausted of its creative genius, India lay in the dust grovelling when the new-born might of Islam appeared to knock at the gates of the Indus territory. The distant din of the followers of *la ilaha illa-illah* at the gates of the Brahmarshidsha and the rediscovery of the vigorous message of *Ekamevadhitam* by the great Samkaracharya of the land of Agastya Rishi were happenings of most surprising concidence in India of the 9th century. And yet another event. Later on, the influx of the Islamic invaders in the Northern India shook the citadels of the orthodox pundits who migrated towards the South (although the Aryanisation of the South is as old as the migration of Agastya and the composition of the Ramayana) carrying with them the Vaisnavism of the Mahabharata and Visnu Puran amalgam. This paved the way to the foundation of a mighty all India religion by the 12th century under the leadership of the great Ramanuja on the ruins of the Vedic and Buddhistic religions by mingling the characters of the Lord of the Kurukshetra and of Both-Gaya in the person of the Vedic Visnu and finishing the whole picture with the colour of the Vedantic doctrine of One God.

**EMOTION REPLACING INTELLECTUALISM**

The emotional melody of the Shruti (46) rasa bai sah (47) is often inaudible in the
calm intellectual yearning for supreme knowledge—tajulan santa upasita (48) "quietly do you worship Him." The emotional voice of the Koran—iii, 29, 'God will love you'—is almost stifled in the sombre warnings, v.3, "And fear God, surely God is severe in punishing!" But the ideal of love and sweetness gradually liberated itself from the rigidity of intellectualism and the fetters of fear. The triumphant note of the Taittiriya Upanisad(49) "Truly, out of joy arise all these beings, by joy they live after they have arisen, and when they pass away they are again absorbed into joy"—came floating down. The Indian Vaisnavism and the Persian Sufism began to acquire a wide expansion and shrill expression of the mystic love of God until the realization of God as Love resounded from one end to the other of the entire Eastern world. Ibn-al-Arabi declares: "I follow the religion of Love". Guru Nanak (50) shouted out—

"He lives who loves God's person;
No other lives."

Haftz sang forth:

"Love is where thy glory falls
Of thy face—on convent walls
Or on tavern floors, the same
Unextinguishable flame."

Rabindas says, "Thou seest me, O Divine Man,
And I see Thee, and our love becomes mutual."
Dadu, Bamananda, Kabir (51) all started
throbbling and pulsating with the music of
love. Sri Chaitanya(52) prayed—"O Lord! bestow on me that all-devouring intense love
with which an unfaithful woman concentrates
on her paramour'. He wept and danced in
ecstasy taking himself to be Radha in
passionate longing for the love of Krishna.

SUPISTIC IMPETUS ON BHAKTI CULT

The Narada Sutra describes the kind of
love of God as—Vraja gopika bat—that of the
damsels and wives of the cowherd people of
Vraja who loved Krisna with a romantic
tenderness and wild emotion. The Koran(53)
ocasionally lays aside its awe for God and
touches the chord of love—"When they hear
what has been revealed to the apostle, thou
seest their eyes overflow with tears at the
truth they find therein". But it is Sufism that
has brought in an immense impetuosity to
this mild feeling of love. And it ruled so
long that even in Raja Ram Mohan and
Maharsi Devendranath its influence appeared
in no uncertain measure. Ibn-al-Arabi spoke
of God as a "tender maid". The soul of
religion was rescued out of the fetters of
ritualism. A Baul says, "At every step I have
my Mecca and Kashi."(54) Just as Sri
Chaitanya smashed the miserable logicians of
his country so long ago Jalaluddin Rumi
scornfully enquired of the scholastic:

"Do you know a name without a thing
answering to it?

Have you ever plucked a rose from

R.O.S.E.?"

The scholastic gloom began to be dispersed
with brilliant sarcasms everywhere. The
Baul poet says to a Vaisnava theologian:

"A goldsmith, methinks, has come to the
flower garden,
He would appraise the lotus, forsooth
By rubbing it on his touchstone! (Prof.
Sen's Trans)

Erotic symbolism broke out in rich profusion.
Jalaluddin Rumi(55) burst out—

"God is Saqi and the Wine:
He knows that manner of love is mine."
The Soma drinking of the Vedas(56) is quite
celebrated:

"By drinking Soma we have become
immortal", Indra is requested to come to the worshipper
in haste—

"Like lover lured by female charms,
Who rushes to his mistress' arms" (Muir's Transl.)

But this is only a likeness, a metaphor but not
the thing-in-itself. In the Bhagat(57) the
note of romance is sounded—"Gopis won
Lord Krisna by desire." But for opulence of
erotic symbolism, for force and simplicity, for pathos and intensity, for sweetness and light, for music and perfection. Sufism has its only parallel in the love romance of the Vaisnava literature of Bengal. The entire East became one vast sea of tumultuous love with the dawn of radiant joy glittering over the wave crests.

LOVE OF HUMANITY

But the high sea of love could not be calm. The tide swelled on higher and wider. The love of God alone could not make it tranquil. The love of man came to be indissolubly mingled with the fervour of love of God. The Islamic suzerainty over India gave the country a new vision of the brotherhood of mankind. In spite of the Vedantic view of equality and oneness of mankind, the popular creed of caste differences was jealously guarded over by the Dharma Sutras which from time to time were readjusted—the early Sutra period represented by Apastamba and Baudhayana group (58), the middle age represented by the Smritis of Manu Yajnavalkya group (59), and the later group of Narada and Brihaspati by the 5th and 6th century A.D. These continued dominating the Hindu religio-social affairs and the Brahmans delighted in the self-complacent thought of attributing an inherent impurity to the lower castes. But the force and splendour of the living faith in the practical unity of human beings promulgated by Islam stirred the depth of religious emotion of a band of great reformers. From the middle of the 15th down to the end of the 18th century the country was blessed with the birth of no less than a dozen of religious sects which enthusiastically appropriated the doctrine of intrinsic value of man as a man and pulled down the rigid walls of race and caste. The barriers of race and class once washed off, Hindus and Muslims, Brahmans and Sudras all were buoyed up on the dancing waves of love. Dedu's chief Muslim disciple, Bajab declared: "All the world is Veda, and all creations, the Koran." Sri Chaitanya shattered to pieces the Brahminic rigours and freely accepted Islamic ideals and followers. "The ineffable mystery of God's love call", says Poet Rabindranath(60) "taking shape in an endless panorama of colours and forms, inspired activities in music that overflowed the restrictions of classical conventionalism. Our Kirtan music of Bengal came to its being like a star flung up by a burning whirlpool of emotion in the heart of a whole people". The great Persian mystic Abu Said ibn Abi al-khayr with amazing realisation of universal brotherhood poured out truths of immense dimension:

"And never will true Mussalman appear
Till faith and infidelity are one".

Chandidas, the saintly Vaisnava poet called out "Listen, O brother man, the truth of man is the highest truth, there is no other truth above it." The later 'mad-cap' Baul poets of Bengal also possessed the same fire and passion—the love of the Infinite and the spiritual unity of all finite beings. They were a sort of Vaisnava-Sullsts(61) and opened their hearts and creeds to all tribes and classes. But their creed was no dogma. It was simply the spirit of abandonment to The Man of the Heart.

"That is why, brother, I become a mad-
cap Baul
No master I obey, nor injunctions, canons
or custom.
Now no men-made distinctions have any
hold on me,
And I revel only in the gladness of my
own-welling love."(62)

MEETING OF THE TWO CIVILIZATIONS

When people meet it is but in the fitness of things that they start a give-and-take game in an imperceptible way even amidst heat and distrust and uncouth dealings. Bitter enmity unconsciously transforms into mutual understanding. A mist of forgetfulness gradually closes on the glare of hatred and a spirit of compromise, toleration and acceptance begins to interweave such a peculiar texture of ideas as to set the curious observers groping for
identification. The Islamic Pir has been introduced and securely placed in the pantheon of Hindu god—heads. Havell (63) tells a tale of similar nature: “The pointed arch and the half-domed porches and windows of Persian mosques were an adaptation of the niched shrines in which Buddhistic images were placed. The Mullahs having satisfied their conscience by destroying the hated images converted Buddhistic temples into mosques and adopted the empty niches as a symbol of the true faith, so that, gradually the niche with the pointed arch became an essential feature in the structure of the new Mahomedan buildings.” Thus when long after a historian reads us a lecture, we nod our assent, get amused at the past horror and feel: immensely thankful to Providence for having despatched the ugly details to oblivion. We become glad that a new era of union is ushered in. Indeed, as Syed Amir Ali (64) says—“Although each community must work out its generation according to its individual genius, yet none can afford to wrap itself in the mantle of a dead past without the fatal certainty of extinction.” The happy interchange of ideas that passed freely, and very often unconsciously, as a result of the contact, had thus been providential scheme of evolution. The exchange of ideas in commercial and political relations as well as of theological ceremonies offered ample opportunities for mutually utilising cultural gifts. The points of resemblance as also of difference both had peculiar contributions for constructing a common good by liberating the creative minds of the old Hindus from the shackles of lifeless imitations and by introducing into the freshness of youthful Muslims the richness of a variegated experience. Goldenweiser (65) very truly remarks: “... historic borrowing is as constant and basic a process as growth from within. The civilizational role of borrowing is fundamental ... Culture contact appears as the veritable yeast of history”.

INTELLECTUAL PURSUITS:

Lights of Hindu wisdom illuminated various walks of the Mohammedan thoughts. In Astronomy, Mathematics, Medicines and Music Islamic mind was touched to a vigorous activity by the golden wand of Hindu civilisation. The pupil turned out a great master to educate all Europe in many branches of learning. Under the patronage of the Khalifs of Bagdad, several ‘Siddhantas’ of the Hindu Jyotish were translated by the Arabs who during the 8th and 9th centuries were close students of the Aryans. Monier-Williams (66) observes—“The name ‘Algebra’, from Arabic *ab jabar* the reduction of parts to a whole or of fractions to integers, shows that Europe received Algebra alike the ten numerical symbols from the Hindus through the Arabs.” Those interested may consult Colebrooke’s well-known article on ‘Algebra of the Hindus’. Weber (67) informs: “At the close of the 8th century A.D. according to Ibn Beithar and Albiruni, the work of Charaka, and, according to Ibn Abi Usaina, the work of Susruta also, were translated into Arabic ... The influence of Hindu medicine upon the Arabs in the first centuries of the Hijra was one of the very highest significance. The Khalifs of Bagdad caused a considerable number of works upon the subject to be translated ... Arabian medicine constituted the chief authority and guiding principle of European physicians down to the seventeenth century.” Later, in the Mughal courts Hindu authors were given much indulgence in their writing lampoons and satires at the expense of the royal courts and other patrons. This surely was the outcome of a nice spirit of mutual appreciation. Another significant achievement was the creation of an all India lingua franca—the Urdu and the Hindusthani—following the establishment of Islamic imperialism. Two causes co-operated. First, among the Mohammedans themselves of that age education in Persian was very rare, in Arabic rarer still. Secondly, the new religious inspirations had to be preached in popular languages. The great Delhi swar, with
an intensely large heart, interested himself in coalescing the Hindu-Muslim civilization in all possible aspects. His work in religion was taken up by his great-grand son, Dara Suko who pursued the enterprise of religious amalgamation with a rapturous devotion. Not only he got Persian translations of fifty Upanisads, Secret Doctrines, as he named them, but also brought about the compilation of an anthology of parallel verses from the Vedanta and Sufism—a grand conception which he entitled—'Majmuya-Ul-Baharain'—the confluence of two seas.

SCULPTURE AND PAINTINGS

Not only in religion and literature but also in the arena of plastic arts and crafts a new life had its career of rejuvenation. A most competent authority on the subject, E. B. Havell notices: "The craftsmen of these Indo-Hindu courts began to revive their finest tradition of Hindustan culture in their wonderful mosques, public gardens, bathing places and palaces to the service of One God whom Brahmans worshipped as Isvara or Narayana or Muhammadans as Allah. This new Islamic culture which began when Mahmud of Ghazni made the royal craftsmen of Mathura and Kanauj build for him the mosque of the "Celestial Bride" is in everything but name a Hindu renaissance. Ahmedabad, the capital of Muhammadan Guzrat, was created by the royal craftsmen of Rajputna; Gaur of Muhammadan Sultans was a new Laknauti; Benares was the mother of Jaipur. The exuberance of life of the conquerors gave new urge to the creative forces of the victims. In the field of other fine arts too, the patronage of the Mughal Court, from Emperor Akbar down to the day of Emperor Aurangzeb's accession to the throne (1658), directly encouraged an intimate collaboration. Painting specially was invested with a new style—the "Indo Saracen"—out of welding of the Indian (Ajanta and Ellora) and the Central Asian (Khursan and Bukhara) traditions, with the Indian element gradually predominating.

AESTHETICS

Music was another very prominent factor of the culture contact. A love of music quivered in dulcet notes throughout the entire range of Sanskrit literature and the early sages as well as the later poets made the sky and the earth, the forest and the rill, the whole atmosphere echo in exquisite tunes. Various musical instruments are referred to in the Vedas. Music along with dance was a special branch of study—the Gandharva Veda, supposed to be an appendix to the Samveda. Gandharvas and Apsaras, celestial musicians were hailed as masters in this art. The Atharva Veda also mentions: "Where cymbals and lutes sound together, thither go away ye Apsaras." (68)—"as of two women dancing about." (69). Seven notes of music are mentioned in the Chhandasstra of Pingala. Weber quotes the authority of Von Bohlen (Das Alte Indien, li. 196) and Benfey (Indien, p. 299) to say that these notions travelled down to the Persians who again taught the Arabs, and that corresponding to the Indian

sā ri ga ma pa dha ni
we have in Persian

da re ni fa sa la be.

Islam, in its turn, after the fall of the Roman Empire and the establishment of the Muslim supremacy in Spain imparted a considerable education in music to whole Europe. In mediaeval India, under the patronage of the Moghul courts, redolent with luxury of all forms and fashions, glowing with a highly developed artistic sense and bursting into a creative vigour in all directions, the Hindus and Mussalmans set together to contribute freely to the extraordinary perfection of music and entered into bold experiments with marvellous success. Tagore (70) observes: "There is an utterance in the Atharvaveda, wherein appears the question as to who it was that gave man his music. Birds repeat their single notes or a very simple combination of them, but man builds his world of music and establishes ever new rhythmic relationship of notes.
These reveal to him a universal mystery of creation which cannot be described. They bring to him the inner rhythm that transmutes facts into rhythm." The Islamic imagination also has a peculiar susceptibility to music. Sings Jalaluddin Rumi, the 'Whirling Sufi.'

Though earth and water have cast their veil upon us.
We retain faint reminiscences of these heavenly songs;
But while we are thus shrouded by gross earthly veils,
How can the tones of the dancing spheres reach us?


(45) India in Greece, p. 178.
(49) III, ii, 6 (50) 1500 A.D. (51) 1440-1518 (52) 1455-1537.
(53) Koran V, 86. (54) Otto Straus [Prof. Carl Clement's 'Religious of the World'] informs that the Hindu refused homage to idols and attendance at shrines. (55) 1228 A.D.
(56) Rv., I, 91.1; iv, 103.3. (57) vili, 159. (58) About the 6th Century B.C.
(63) History of Aryan Rule in India. (64) History of Siraems (65) Introduction—Early Civilization.
(66) Hindu Wisdom (67) History of Indian Literature p. 266-78.
(68) A. V., iv, 57.5. (69) A. V., x, 8.13. (70) The Religion of Man, p. 151-2.
(71) Masnavi—translated by Whitfield.
being totally nude, the friend was naturally taken aback at Millais' reply and so questioned him if it was right for an artist to expose the sanctuaries of bed-room to the vulgar gaze of the world. Millais burst into a loud laughter and replied that he was not aware of having done anything so outrageous or so indecent, though he admitted he stood condemned of having made a faithful study in nude of what he believed to be particularly fine specimen of womanly beauty and grace. The fact that the specimen was his own wife was to him only a matter of accident of which, as an artist, it was incumbent on him not to attach any value. In other words, Millais all unknown to himself was expounding to his friend the great underlying fact about Art, namely, the impersonality of Art. In fact, one of the tests of all great art is that in it even an individual, definitely represented and labelled "Mr. So-and-So," sheds off his social personality and becomes a representative specimen of a particular type of humanity. Take, for instance, Raphael's "Pope Julius II" or Velazquez's "Princess Maria Theresa of Austria," or Reynolds' "Lord Heathfield's" or Whistler's "Portrait of his Mother". Few people know or care to know who pope Julius was or who Princess Maria and Lord Heathfield were, but all art-lovers know and are interested in the characteristic dress and form, the special mode of colouring and execution of those immortal portraits of Whistler and Velazquez, Raphael and Reynolds.

The same is true of all biographies and landscape paintings of a superior order. As instances of representative biography take Dante's "Vita Nuova" and Goethe's "Truth and Poetry". The one is a faithful record of Goethe's early years, as the other is a free expression of Dante's feelings on first realising his love for Beatrice; yet both, as we read on, assume an impersonal aspect and we seem to read in the one the early struggles and experiences of a man of deep feeling and of an inquiring turn of mind as in the other the glowing description of an ideal lover of his first feelings of joy and ecstasy on meeting the woman of his ideals.

Turning to representative landscape paintings, we may consider Rubens's "Rainbow", or Rembrandt's "Mill", or Constable's "Salisbury Cathedral" or any of Turner's Venetian visions. Anyone, who has been to Salisbury, will instantly recognise its famous Cathedral in that picture of Constable's; but, when we have looked at the beautiful building for some little while, the Cathedral seems gradually to lose its particular individuality into a wonderful pile of old ecclesiastical architecture representing a fine specimen of English Gothic; set in a framework of typical English landscape with its soaring elms and leafy lanes. Likewise, in Turner's Venetian pictures one who has been to that great emporium of the Middle Ages recognise without difficulty the different buildings and localities of that city of hundred isles and marble palaces. But as one continues to look at those pictures, the Grand Canal and marble palaces all melt into chromatic visions of soaring towers and luminous skies with gloomy gondolas and bright-tinted sailing-boats setting off the unearthly beauty of that queen city of the Adriatic.

Oscar Wilde says: "To reveal art and conceal the artist is Art's aim." But it would be nearer the truth to say: "To reveal beauty in man and nature and conceal its identity is Art's aim and ambition."
THE HINDUSTAN REVIEW LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

MOTTO.—A reviewer of books is a person with views and opinions of his own about life and literature, science and art, fashion, style and fancy, which he applies ruthlessly or pleasantly, dogmatically or suggestively, ironically or plainly, as his humour prompts or his method dictates, to books written by some body else. The two notes of the critic are sympathy and knowledge. Sympathy and knowledge must go hand in hand in the fields of criticism. As neither sympathy nor knowledge can ever be complete, the perfect critic is an impossibility. It is hard for a reviewer to help being ignorant, but he need never be a hypocrite. Knowledge certainly seems of the very essence of good criticism and yet judging is more than knowing. Taste, delicacy, discrimination—unless the critic has some of these, he is naught. Even knowledge and sympathy must over a master. That master is Sanity. Let Sanity for ever sit enthroned in the critic's urnelchair.—The Rt. Hon'ble Augustus Ritchell M. P., on "The Critical Faculty."

BOOKS OF THE QUARTER.

(a) A French Savant's Study of Oriental Art*

The Civilization of the East, by Mons. Rene Grousset—Conservator of the Musée Guimet, and Lecturer at l'Ecole du Louvre—rendered into English from the French by Catherine Alison Phillips, and issued in four volumes, (headed respectively, The Near and Middle East, India, China and Central Asia, and Japan) is a truly monumental work. It is the first general and comprehensive history of the Asiatic arts available in English, and is written by one of the greatest orientalists of the day. The author presents in it not only a guide to the various schools, styles, and periods—a sort of "Vade Mecum" of oriental artistic evolution, but the historical setting as well. The political, cultural, and literary backgrounds are carefully sketched out, and the history of the arts of Asia is narrated with due relation to general history. It is this succinct sketching of the inter-relations between art, history, religion and nationality which makes the book a notable departure from the numerous histories of European Classical Art, as is so generally available. Written by so highly eminent an authority as Mons. Rene Grousset, The Civilizations of the East is the most authoritative and complete history of Asiatic arts that has ever been written. The keynote of the entire work is development, and the scholarly and learned author traces in it clearly and skilfully the main lines of the evolution of the Eastern art, showing exactly where and how the different tributaries, religious or national, have changed its course. M. Grousset has written his book for the general reader, and not for the specialist. The result, with its numerous excellent illustrations, is a fine and attractive picture book—the like of which is nowhere else to be had—accompanied by a text that explains clearly and interestingly the cultural background and the history that produced these works of art. The whole book has been brought strictly up-to-date, and takes into account the latest discoveries in a field that is unusually rich in archaeological finds and discoveries.

II

The first volume is devoted to the Near and Middle East. It is a general introduction to the study of the arts of Asia. The book opens with a consideration of the prehistoric Art of Western Asia of Neolithic, Egyptian and Chaldeo-Assyrian civilisations. It then proceeds to the pre-Islamic Art of Persia, the Art of Arabia, and the Islamic Arts of Persia and Turkey. The English edition has been extensively revised by the author himself and is, therefore, more up-to-date than the French work, since it includes the latest evidence from Ur of the Chaldees, Kish, and other centres of recent archaeological discovery and research. The second volume deals with India, Farther India, and the Malay Archipelago; the third volume with China and Central Asia; and volume four with Japan and Tibet. The final volume has a considerable amount of bibliographical material, an index of proper names, explanations of technical terms, and definitions of words from the oriental languages; as these have been employed in the work under notice. The numerous, splendid illustrations are from photographic reproductions of the chief works in the fields of architecture, sculpture, and painting in the countries and the periods dealt with.

Apart from an authoritative text, the four volumes offer a comprehensive picture gallery of oriental Art, in which are included a great many masterpieces, to be found so far only in numerous, expensive monographs. On the whole, the attempt is highly successful. Aided by the profuse and superb illustrations, the text of the second volume on India—with which we are concerned, in particular—presents a lucid and readable introduction to Indian and Farther Indian Art, especially sculpture and painting, as an expression of the life and thought of “Greater India.” It is intended for the intelligent layman, and will serve his purpose well. But even the specialist will find not a little to interest him, particularly in the parts dealing with recent French explorations in Afghanistan. Some of the contents of these sections are so new that they have been added since the publication of the French original, which appeared in 1930. The weakest part of the book is the treatment of architecture. In contrast to the abundant reproductions of sculpture and painting, there are only a few pictures of the Indian temples; much too few to make it possible to follow intelligently the account in the text, even if that were complete, which it can hardly be said to be. An index would, also, have added greatly to the usefulness of the work; and a list of the illustrations would have been desirable. But these minor criticisms apart, the work under consideration is a splendid contribution to the study of a great and an important subject and the second volume, in particular, dealing with the Arts of Greater India, should interest all persons of culture in this country, and it should find a place in every library worth the name. The English translation—which is exceedingly well done—will be welcomed by thousands of students unfamiliar with French. The book, as a whole, leaves little to be desired—either in the rendering from French; or in its printing, illustrations and general format; while so far as the letterpress is concerned, it is marked by a rich and rare scholarship of the highest order.

(b) The Cultural Aspects of Modern Germany*

The amount of public spirit and enterprise put forth in popularizing their respective countries, by Europeans and Americans, is beyond the comprehension of the average educated Indian. A splendid example of this phase of western character is *Passing Through Germany*, a capital annual traveller’s companion (in English) to that great country. The edition under notice—the eighth annual publication—deals not only with the scenes and sights of the important cities of Germany, but also with natural scenery, fine arts, politics, aviation, automobilism, city life, ports, industries and scientific studies. Very neatly printed, well got-up, beautifully illustrated and embellished maps, *Passing Through Germany* is an almost ideal supplement to Baedeker’s. The contributor’s “Who’s Who” shows that each annual issue of the book is written by experts; hence it is not only accurate and sound, but also readable and interesting—full of highly useful information for the benefit of English-speaking foreign visitors to Germany, to whom it

*Passing Through Germany. Eighth Edition. (Terra-
mure Office, 22 Wilhelmstrasse 3a, Berlin, S.W. 48) 1931.*
two German countries, as it holds one completely interested by narrating the wondrous tales that hang round the Rhine castles with their massive towers, their great bells that make such fine musical concordance, the characteristic climate that shapes the character of the German people, and has led to a revival of German supremacy in various important spheres of activities, inspite of the great disaster that overtook Germany and Austria consequent upon the result of the great War. Finally it winds up with a detailed description of the various German spas, and of the numerous social amenities which Berlin—the capital—means to the visitors from English-speaking countries.

II

But while dealing with the practical, economic and cultural topics, the book tries its best to do also a little propaganda against the Polish corridor, which is the result of the War, and it exhorts the international powers to “do as you would be done by.” A sketch map shows Poland jutting in between Germany and East Prussia, while three other show the hypothetical effect that would follow in case Canada, Switzerland and Afghanistan ran each a corridor through the United States, France and India respectively. It is not, however, by means of maps alone that the object sought is achieved, for poetry is also laid under requisition for the same purpose. The book contains some good poems, the first of which is called “The Cloud Song,” whilst the last is headed “Above the Clouds.” In it the author expresses the hope that Germany will one day penetrate the heavy clouds overshadowing her and that she will regain the freedom to which she is entitled. It is but natural that a book meant for foreign visitors should also make reference to those purely German territories which were severed, under alien pressure, from the motherland under the “peace” settlement made by “the allies” and handed over to foreign dominion. No

one in Germany, who believes in the much-advertised principle of self-determination, can ever bring oneself to forgive Germany’s opponents in the war for compelling her, at the point of the bayonet, to surrender the greater part of West Prussia to the new Polish State, thus severing the purely German city of Danzig from Germany, and isolating East Prussia from the rest of the country by constituting the so-called “Polish Corridor.” The highly injurious economic effects to Germany of the last-named measure are clearly brought out in the book by means of various diagrams—referred to above—showing how, for example, the United States, France or India would be affected by the drawing of such a corridor across their territory. It may be hoped that this appeal to world opinion, which is already beginning to realize the injustice done to Germany by the so-called peace treaty—will bear fruit, in the fullness of time.

We have but one minor criticism to offer on this otherwise perfect traveller’s companion. As some of the articles are changed, from year to year, it would be as well to indicate in each annual edition those omitted and the new ones introduced. It would be still better if each edition, in future, had a table of the articles omitted, and reference given to the particular issue in which they had appeared. This will be of great assistance to lovers of Germany, who may be lucky to possess a complete set of this highly interesting, greatly instructive and vastly informative work (alike for reference and study) on the realities of life in Germany and Austria. How much we wish that Indian publishing enterprise had been able to offer an equally well-written, well-printed and well-illustrated traveller’s companion to the modern problems and the present-day tendencies of our own great country.
History needs its disciples and finds it in research. The Punjab Government Record Office under the able guidance of its Keeper, Col. H. L. O. Garrett, has for the last few years been offering the students as well as historians most valuable field for research. More than a dozen monographs have already appeared, furnishing useful material on different aspects of the Punjab history. Several of these were but raw productions. Now, however, we have a fairly exhaustive treatise from the pen of a well-known and scholarly Indian historian. Professor Sita Ram Kohli's name is already familiar to the students of Indian history as the author of several erudite historical works. Naturally anything coming from his pen may safely be presumed to bear a label of authority.

The career and the fate of Diwan Mul Raj, with which the present work deals, have been the subject of most diversified historical speculation. The reason for this is not very far to seek. The fate of ill-starred men, who have once moulded the decrees of mighty states, touches the soft impulse of man and fastens around them a body of myth and legend, which has no foundation except in the intrigues of human imagination.

Mul Raj has to thank his father's just and equitable administration for any reputation that he may claimed to have had, since Diwan Sawan Mal's memory and his even-handed justice is venerated even to this day in Multan and the outlying districts, which had experienced his masterful sway. But as luck would have it, it was left to the son to mar all that the father had built up by assiduous toil and patient labour. Diwan Mul Raj was unequal to the task of government even according to the standards of times, which could not have been very high when regard is had to the anarchy, disorder and mistrust which obtained all over the Punjab after the death of Ranjit Singh. He was certainly not made of the stuff of which martyrs and rebels are made. After the unfortunate occurrences at Multan to which he cannot be said to have been privy, he felt all resolution and courage fail him, and behaved as an animal brought to bay or bird caught in a cage and gathered around him all the stigma and blame which should attach to an accessory after the fact.

The story of his trial which Professor Sita Ram Kohli has for the first time given to the public in handy form, details the full circumstances of the case. The British authorities at Lahore gave him a full and impartial trial which constitutes a signal tribute to the canons of British justice. Captain Hamilton put up an able defence for him. He not only tried to expiate him of the charge of being the principal of the first degree, but also offered further extenuating circumstances for him by advancing the plea that judged by purely oriental standards his offence of being accessory after the fact was not quite heinous. The commission, however, after mature deliberation and consideration, found him guilty on all accounts, and while sentencing him to death recommended him to mercy as being the victim of circumstances. The Governor-General exercised his clemency on this recommendation and commuted the sentence to one of life transportation.

Professor Sita Ram has done his work very well indeed and his book will be viewed by all interested in the history of the Punjab as a valuable addition to Indian historical literature. It throws interesting side-light on that period of the Punjab history, which marked the final annihilation of the Sikhs as a political power. The introduction gives a fairly comprehensive sketch of the life of Mul Raj in a simple, vivid and lucid style. The text of the trial itself has been copiously annotated with illuminative foot-notes. Though not a history in the strictest sense, the book furnishes good material for the writing of history and as such is sure to be welcomed by all students of Sikh history, and also by lawyers and administrators interested in the study of Indian State trials. The book—as a whole—redounds to the credit of the spirit of research and scholarship of the author, who is one of the foremost of the younger Punjabe historians.

*Trial of Mulraj (Governor of Multan). By Mr. Sita Ram Kohli, M.A. (Published by the Superintendent, Government Press, Punjab, Lahore). 1922.
The latest issue of the annual publication, *India in 1930-31*, by far the bulkiest of the volumes issued in the series, runs to over 750 pages and contains some new features, including an elaborate index facilitating easy reference. The charge is often levelled against this annual by Indian politicians and journalists that the conclusions formed by the Director of Public Instruction of the Government of India cannot but be challenged by them; but it must be conceded that even in regard to most of the controversial problems, the popular view is given, in the book, as fairly and fully as the official side. The volume before us covers a very wide range of the activities of the year, embracing, as it does, most aspects, not only of Indian administration, but also of Indian life. An interesting account of the political, commercial, agricultural, financial and industrial activities, the developments in the field of education and public health, of communications, road and rail, of arts and sciences, including archaeology, and of the principal topical events throughout India is given, and in fact, every movement in India has found a place in this very useful publication.

As the book is intended to be a review of the period between 1st April, 1930 and 31st March, 1931, the period that covers the beginning and end of the Civil Disobedience Movement, much space is devoted to its progress, the great influence it had on the mass of the people, how the Viceroy’s announcement of May, 13, brought about a change in the political outlook, how after the opening of the Round Table Conference the centre of interest was shifted to London, and how after the Gandhi-Irwin Agreement, the political tension in the country was relaxed. Referring to the Indian national movement, the Director while justifying the policy of the Government in regard to it, has admitted at the same time that Indian nationalism is a force which can no longer be ignored. “Unquestionably, national sentiment has now spread far and deep throughout the whole structure of Indian society”, he writes, “and is capable of stimulating an enthusiasm which cannot but evoke respect”. He goes on to say that its “outstanding characteristics may be said to consist in a passionate desire that Indians may be enabled to control their own destinies and obtain complete equality of status with representatives of other nations and races both at home and abroad, and, in an impatience of every obstacle that may be encountered, in the attainment of the goal (pp. 6-7).

Passing on to a consideration of the relation between the organization of India’s forces of defence and her nationalist aspirations and the demand of the educated classes that the commissioned ranks of the regular Army should be rapidly Indianized, that an endeavour should be made to extend the scope of recruitment by enlisting troops from races other than those which the military authorities have been accustomed to consider “martial”, and that the existing facilities for giving Indians some military training in the Territorial Force should be improved, and the complaint that the expenditure incurred on the defence is at present excessive, the Director has summarised the non-official and official views. An effort is made to show that having regard to the needs of the country, the expenditure on the army is not excessive, and he justifies the grounds for confining the recruitment of the army to the so-called martial races. His defence of the Government attitude in these questions will not find favour with the public. But as giving a clear and succinct account of the epitome of the year, with a mine of useful information, the publication is a valuable one, which is indispensable to all who want to be in touch with the current developments in this country. The utility of the text is enhanced by numerous excellent illustrations, the inclusion of a map of India, coloured charts and descriptive diagrams.

Bird’s-Eye-View Critical Notices.

(1) LATEST WORKS ON HINDUISM AND BUDDHISM


Rai Bahadur Pandit Kashi Nath’s Ideals of Hinduism is interesting, though not always convincing. The author’s standpoint may be briefly indicated as follows: “India is facing a critical period in her history. She is breaking off from her old moorings and is hurriedly venturing on new and uncharted seas. The internal conditions are changing fast. Barriers of caste are tumbling down. Hinduism is treading its path at proselytisation. The sacredness of Brahmans, the worship of Idols, reverence for pilgrimages are all vanishing. Politics a wonderful revolution is taking place. Where is all this to end? Is India working out her destiny with a conscious ideal in view? Have we the moral backbone to strive for the attainment of that ideal? Does Hinduism provide us with any ideal at all, like the other religions, whose presence moulds the emotions and thoughts and transforms even weaklings into heroes and martyrs?” These are only a few among the most important questions discussed by the author in his book, which reveals the fundamental principles of Hindu religion, philosophy, myths and legends, from the point of view of a devoted votary. The result is a work which lucidly explains the great ideals of Hinduism, which have enabled it to survive the vicissitudes and cataclysms of centuries. It is a highly thought-provoking and suggestive work, which is embellished with some beautiful colour plates.

Kabir and His Followers. By F. E. Keay, D. Litt. (Association Press, 5 Russell Street, Calcutta) 1931.

Dr. Keay’s Kabir and His Followers is an excellent addition to the “Religious Life of India” series. The author is not only a Hindi scholar but a master of his subject. He thus gives a very interesting account of a religious teacher of the sixteenth century and of the present condition and beliefs of the sect which followed his teaching. Kabir was a Mahamadshoosian weaver who regarded Islam and Hinduism as equally paths to God. He denounced caste and rejected idolatry. He has been compared to Martin Luther, because of the suggested resemblance between his teaching and that of Jesus. The sect is, however, an interesting one, as it displays all the tendency of Indian religious teaching to revert to and conform with Hinduism, even in those particulars which the original founder of the sect particularly abjured. Howsoever that be, Dr. Keay’s book is an instructive and helpful sketch and study of an important religious movement in Northern India.


In his volume, called Hinduism Invades America, Dr. Wendell Thomas deals with a special aspect of American culture, namely, the impact of Hindu philosophy, especially in the form of organized religion. His main concern is with the Ramakrishna Movement in America, and the Yogoda Satsang Society. He has one chapter devoted entirely to the remarkable work of Vivekananda, as a champion of India in America. Dr. Thomas carried out an investigation into one or two of the Hindu religious movements, as practised in America. The result, so far as the Vedanta movement is concerned, is of interest. The book should appeal to all interested in the expansion and development of Hinduism in foreign lands. Though there is much in the book which a Hindu will take exception to, there is nevertheless much in it which is equally interesting and instructive.


Mr. D. V. Athalye’s Neo-Hinduism—though but a commentary on Swami Vivekananda’s conception of Vedantism—is an excellent work of its class and kind. After giving a brief biographical sketch of the Swami, Mr. Athalye summarizes his views on Hinduism, pointing out how he adjusted the old religion
to the requirements of the day, and how its revival meant to him all the best and noblest elements of a Hindu renaissance. The author studies the Swami's views regarding the various forms of Yoga. "Is Vedant partial? Can it be practised in modern society?" is discussed next in the light of quotations from the Swami's speeches. Perhaps this is the most interesting part of the book, which is not only instructive but suggestive and inspiring.

The Ramayana of Tulsidas. By J. A. Macle, Ph.D. (T. & T. Clark; 38 George Street, Glasgow) 1931.

Dr. Macle's Ramayana of Tulsidas is an excellent exposition of that great epic in Hindi, and one of the most inspiring religious books of the north Indian Hindus. The book is to be found in every village of Northern India. Though Tulsidas, a great poet and religious reformer, died more than three hundred years ago, his moral and spiritual fervour still exercise a unique influence over the minds of the Hindus of Northern India. There is probably no other book in existence which gives such a complete and vivid picture of what the average Hindu at his best believes, and Dr. Macle's highly interesting exposition, with copious translations from the original, will open the door to all anxious to understand the mind of Hindu India.


The Guide contains short readable essays on such subjects as Catholicity of Hinduism, relation between God and Man and others equally interesting. In the essay on caste, it is said that "it ought to find no place either in religion or in society and our merit should be determined by worth and not by birth." Parallel quotations from the Bible and references to Mr. Gandhi's view of Sanatana Dharma enhance the value of the book. The concluding chapter emphasises the need of social service and presents the pantheistic view of life. "All souls are parts of one—the Allsoul—who is God". Altogether an edifying little booklet, which is thought-provoking.


Captain Ellam, a Buddhist of many years' standing and wide experience points out, in his Navayana, how admirably the philosophical basis of Buddhism lends itself to adaptation to the requirements of modern thought. It is a striking monograph, which brings home a conviction of the soundness of the foundations of the only religion in the world which has never provoked wars. While we commend the book as an excellent elementary exposition of the tenets of Southern Buddhism, we cannot bring ourselves to approve of the polemical spirit underlying it, which is foreign to the religion propounded by the Buddha.

A Primer of Hinduism. By D. S. Sarma. (Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 276 Hornby Road, Bombay) 1931.

Cast in the form of questions and answers of the simplest type, the main principles of Hinduism are beautifully set out in Professor Sarma's Primer of Hinduism. The questions are skilfully arranged, so that the learner is led from one point to another in an easy way. The ideas underlying Hindu religious principles are lucidly explained, and in the end the differences between the various schools of the Vedanta are set forth clearly. The appendix is useful for following up the study of the subject. On the whole, the book is a highly meritorious production.

The Brahma Samaj. By M. C. Parekh. (Oriental Christ House, Rajkot, Kathiawad) 1931.

Mr. Manilal Parekh's Brahma Samaj is a short history of a movement of importance in the religious and social and consequently national, reconstruction of new Hindustan. The writing of the book has been a labour of love with the author, for he has devoted some of the best years of his life to the Brahma Samaj. In it he offers to the public, a book which will be appreciatively received as a reliable and sound historical sketch of the Brahma Samaj movement.


This is a life of Ek Nath—a famous Bhakti poet-saint of Maharashtra of the 16th century. Born in a family, possessed of great poetical genius, Ek Nath had very early begun to show marked religious tendencies. Soon afterwards acting on an impulse, he undertook
pilgrimages, and, on his return, devoted himself seriously to the writing of religious poetry. And finally he emerged as a religious teacher. Dr. Deining’s sketch is highly interesting.

(2) NEATEST GUIDE-BOOKS AND TOURISTS’ HANDBOOKS.


We welcome the appearance of the first guidebook to Persia, in English. Though it has the defects of a pioneer work (including the preposition "on", in its name, for "to"), it has none-the-less notable merits. The want of a comprehensive and handy traveller’s handbook to Persia has been felt for years past, and its need has become particularly acute since the accession to the throne of Reza Shah Pahlavi, in 1925. At last the want has been removed fairly satisfactorily by the publication of the work under review, which is a book of about 300 pages of useful text, nineteen excellent photographic illustrations and four well-drawn sketch maps. The information brought together deals fully with the history, geography, trade and customs of the country and the facilities for travel which exist at present within its borders. The first part contains interesting notes on the government, education, finance, trade, currency, weights and measures, while the second consists of a series of well-planned routes and itineraries, covering practically the entire country. The total distance of each route is indicated in kilometres and useful, practical and descriptive notes are also included. It would be easy to point out the many obvious defects of the book under notice, but it has to be dealt with leniently, as a pioneer work. Viewed in this light, it deserves great commendation, and it will be of great utility to English-knowing travellers in Persia—even with its present limitations.


Though Herr Otto Martens’ and Dr. O. Karstedt’s African Handbook and Traveller’s Guide is the first book of its class and kind, yet alike in its comprehensive range and wonderful accuracy, it carries the palm in tourist literature. The English rendering is well done and reads like original. This practical handbook deals with the whole of Africa, although only West, South-West, South and East Africa are treated in detail. After an introductory section giving particulars of travelling facilities, the various countries are dealt with, their topography, flora, fauna, history, population, administration, education, finance, trade, etc., all being discussed. Thus it is not only a guidebook for travellers, of the best type, but also a well-written economic survey of the various States and countries of Africa. It will thus be indispensable to residents and travellers in Africa, as apart from the highly informative letter-press, it contains about two dozen maps and plans, mostly in colour, which materially enhance its value and usefulness.

Czecho-Slovakia: The Land and its People. By Clive Holland. (Herbert Jenkins, Ltd., 3 York Street, St. James’s, London S.W.1).

Czecho-Slovakia, Its Land and People, by Mr. Clive Holland is a well-designed, well-executed and fully illustrated guidebook. Here is a welcome addition to the steadily growing literature of one of Europe’s most charming countries, and the author is well qualified to write on Czech lands, which for beauty (historical and architectural) and scenic interest may justly claim a high position among what are commonly known as “tourist” countries. Mr. Holland is justly enthusiastic in his praises of Prague, whose charm, brightness and beauty give it an atmosphere quite its own. We are assured by him that sport is plentiful in rivers, lakes and forests of that country. “The welcome given to visitors,” says Mr. Holland, “is most cordial and charming”. Needless to say, it is impossible to cover every inch of the Czecho-Slovakian territory in a small volume, but what the author does offer he serves up very well, and the attractiveness of his book is enhanced greatly by the many excellent illustrations and a folding map of the country in colours. It is by far and away the best guide to Czecho-Slovakia.

The Twentieth Century Health and Pleasure Resorts of Europe. (Anglo-Continental and International Offices, Editorial Department; 3 Boulevard De Grammont, Lausanne, Switzerland) 1932.

The XXth Century Health and Pleasure Resorts of Europe contains, in addition to particulars regarding over one thousand resorts, lists of hotels and pensions, medical establishments and schools (the majority with illustrations), and comprehensive articles on the League of Nations and International
Labour Organisation. Though in no sense a guidebook, it offers travellers on the Continent information as to what each important place has to offer, how it is reached, and a list of suitable accommodation for them, and the tariff rates. It is essentially a book for the reference room. For a handy work covering the same ground, in a condensed form, we recommended in the last issue of the Hindustan Review the annual edition of The Traveller's Pocket-Reference and Notebook, which is small, serviceable and highly informative, and is issued by the same publishers. Both the volumes can be had in India of Messrs. Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay.


The Queen Travel-Book (now in its twenty-fourth edition) is a dictionary of important tourist centres in Europe and other parts of the world, giving brief but accurate information about their scenes and sights, climate and details of accommodation, as also a comprehensive bibliography, and a lot of miscellaneous data of great utility. There is a liberal sprinkling of well-drawn maps and excellent photographs throughout; the various resorts under each country are dealt with alphabetically; thus facilitating reference. A highly useful feature is the synopses of air routes. The book deals with about three thousand spas, health resorts and sport centres and gives their social attractions. Altogether, it is a valuable compendium of geographical and topographical information and a traveller's handy companion.


The second edition of Messrs. Cook's Handbook to Holland has been extensively revised, and no effort has been spared to make its contents as up-to-date and complete as possible, covering all developments of importance to the traveller. The text now numbers more than 240 pages, including a bibliography and vocabulary and the folding map in colours and the various town plans (especially prepared by Messrs. John Bartholomew and Son) are very well-drawn. There are also chapters on the history and the art of Holland, and practical details are supplied, designed to assist the intending visitor. The book in its present form will thus be indispensable to travellers in Holland.


The hints in Mr. S. G. Hedges's book are for those who have a willingness to adventure, as they show how for a few pounds one may see Europe. It might be called "a first book of travel," for it is packed with the practical knowledge required by one who has not been abroad before. The author tells us how to see France, Switzerland, Germany, Italy, Belgium and Holland—and especially how to see them cheaply. Thus this "pocket book" for every economical traveller is very welcome, and Seeing Europe Cheaply should be slipped by all travellers on the Continent, into their kit-bag.


Mr. Harvey's brand-new guide—with forty maps and plans especially drawn—is based on road routes and carefully planned road tours, but the interests of the traveller by railway and by steamer have not been overlooked, and the most attractive hill paths are also described. The greatest care has been given to the preparation of the information regarding hotels and other practical details. It is compact, handy and fully up-to-date, and it will prove exceedingly helpful to the traveller in Scotland, while its wealth of historical and literary information renders it all the more attractive.


The Westminster Cathedral, London, is the metropolitan church of the Roman Catholics, and is one of the most remarkable sacred edifices in Christendom. The book, Westminster Cathedral, is an illustrated guide to it, with notes upon its history, architecture, liturgy, music and organisation. The book is well put together, and is a useful contribution to the topographical literature of the public buildings of London.

(3) CURRENT WORKS OF REFERENCE.

FOREIGN.


The League of Nations' first World Economic Survey gives a comprehensive review of the development of the world economic depression
up to the middle of July 1932. This is the first volume of an annual series to be published by the League. Its chief value is that it provides in a single, readable volume a bird's-eye-view of economic developments in the world, as a whole. The main body of the Survey consists of an analysis of the development of the depression in its various aspects. A final chapter surveys the position that existed in July 1932, and the various international measures under consideration as a means of escape from the crisis. The Survey is illustrated by a considerable number of maps and diagrams, including a series showing the growth of the world's population, and illustrating the course of the economic depression quarter by quarter in thirty-five different countries. While statistics are sparingly used to illustrate the argument, the Survey contains a great many considered statistical estimates, not available elsewhere. Thus the World Economic Survey is a systematic compendium of valuable information.


The Official Year-Book of the Union of South Africa is a most valuable compendium of statistical data, and facts and figures, relating to the South Africa Commonwealth and the adjoining British Protectorates, and is a model book of reference. The new issue supplies information on history and description of the various states, their constitution and government, laws, population, vital statistics, public health and hospital, education, labour and industrial development, prices and cost of living, social condition, administration of justice, police and protection, electorate, "native affairs", land survey, tenure and occupation, irrigation and water supply, agriculture and fisheries, mines, manufactures, commerce, harbours and shipping, railways and land transport, posts, telegraphs and telephones, finance and local government. Altogether The Official Year-Book of the Union of South Africa—which includes in its scope also Basutoland, Bechuanaland Protectorate and Swaziland—is a work of reference of which the Government of that Dominion may well be proud, as it is a reference annual of the greatest utility.


Each year the Statesman's Year-Book attempts to mirror the political and economic condition of all the States, as at March 31, showing how they are governed and giving the latest figures of area and population, education and finance, defence, agriculture and trade and commerce, etc. The book is divided into three parts, the first dealing with the countries constituting the British Commonwealth, the second with the United States of America and the third with the "Other Countries". Historical and statistical information about each country (and about each State or province of the Federal Commonwealths or Republics, and the Indian Empire) is given under most of the heads relating to administration, commerce, finance and political affairs. A useful, select bibliography, carefully revised, supplements the account of each State, and well-drawn maps add to the usefulness of the letter-press. The book, now in its sevenienth edition, is justly regarded as an absolutely indispensable handbook for statesmen, politicians, journalists, businessmen and students of public affairs.


The League Year-Book completely fills the need of a reference annual to the League of Nations. It contains a fully documented description of the work of the League up to the present time, and a précis of all the recent deliberations and resolutions. This annual reference book, which has been produced in order to meet the increasing demand for a volume (in English) containing a fully documented description of the organisation of the League of Nations, the International Labour Organisation and the Permanent Court of International Justice, together with a survey of the principal activities of the League during the past year, will be found indispensable to politicians, journalists, teachers and businessmen concerned with the international political and economic problems of the modern world, and the relation to these problems of the institutions mentioned above. There is a full list of the personalities at Geneva, and a bibliography. This volume, which will be produced annually, is an indispensable book of reference for everyone interested in public international affairs.


Webster's Royal Red Book is the only reference work of importance which is issued
regularly twice a year, in January and May. It is the oldest work of its kind, the May (1932) issue being the 286th edition. Its main features are the London street directory, followed by a classified list of prominent London professional and business houses. An alphabetical list, with addresses of the residents in London, an almanac for the current year, the lists of the members of the Houses of Parliament, the Government Offices, clubs, public societies and institutions, hotels, and the plans of the London theatres, etc., form other features of this publication. The Royal Red Book is thus a valuable reference work which visitors to, and residents in, London cannot do without, as a highly useful guide to London society.


Mr. Harold Herd’s Fleet Street Annual, the third edition of which (for the current year) is greatly improved, is an excellent annual review of British journalism. It is par excellence the year-book for all journalists in the British Commonwealth, as it deals systematically with the newspaper events of the year. Its “Literary Market Guide” will prove a helpful feature to writers—the free-lance writer, as well as the working journalist. Its scope being comprehensive it deals with almost all aspects of modern journalism. We have only one criticism to offer. Its list of Indian periodicals (p.98) should be carefully revised by an expert, as it is incomplete and does not contain even such names as the Hindustan Review and the Modern Review.


Founded in 1897 by Messrs. Thomas Greenwood and James Duff Brown, the Libraries, Museums and Art Galleries Year-Book has hitherto appeared, from time to time, but it is to be published as an annual hereafter. It is a comprehensive and compendious list of the various kinds of institutions enumerated in the title of this highly useful reference work. Though it deals mainly with those of the British Isles; it also contains a wide selection from those of the British Empire, and even foreign countries. Students of Art, Science and Research will find this annual a valuable repertory of information about the learned institutions of Britain, in particular, and the other countries, in general.


The number of British official publications issued during each year is so large that the average seeker after information is apt to get bewildered at their range and immensity. A guide to them—such as is now rendered available in the book under notice—was badly needed. A reference to its pages shows at a glance the subject-matter of the publications issued during the course of the year. It will be found to be of considerable help to those seeking after official data and statistics. As a systematic survey of official statistics, it will be found highly useful in looking for authoritative and accurate data and figures, which are available in official publications alone. It is priced cheaply at one shilling, and is a marvellous shillingworth of official information.


This book will be a boon to all readers of the literature of the world, embodied in “Everyman’s Library.” The famous series is here indexed, not only under the author’s name, but under title and subject-heading as well, and the work has been done by no less an authority than a sometime Keeper of Printed Books at the British Museum. Thus it is a key volume, combining the advantages of a catalogue, an index, and a guide to reading. It is in fact an annotated and analytical guide to the first 888 volumes of the series. This useful volume, which is a sort of annotated dictionary of the series, has an interesting Introduction by the editor Mr. Ernest Rhys, which is informative, instructive and wholly interesting.


Mr. F. J. Camm’s Motor Cyclist’s Reference Year-Book, the only reference work of its class and kind, is a veritable encyclopaedia on all matters relating to motor cycles. Embellished with hundreds of illustrations, its pages are packed with highly useful matter, which hitherto has been hard to find, when wanted. A useful index enables the reader to turn up the piece of information, he wants, immediately. Encyclopedic in its scope, it
deserves a wide circulation amongst motorists, as it provides them with as complete and comprehensive a hand-book as is available for other branches of the motor industry and equipment.


The Railway Year-Book justly claims to be "the Whitaker of the Railway World." It is comprehensive in its scope, and deals with the railway systems of all the continents, giving full particulars, and almost exhaustive data about their administration and working. It is replete with highly useful information of great value to railwaymen and all others interested in the railways, and it is an indispensable work of reference of its class and kind.


The Annual Bulletin of Historical Literature is a valuable contribution to bibliographical literature relating to history. It is very carefully edited and is a useful index and guide to the historical literature of the year it deals with. No student of current historical literature can do without this excellent guide and handbook, which is compiled by and issued for the Historical Association, London.


Everyone who cares for books should possess the useful, compact pocket diary called the Book Lover's Diary. It contains much valuable information about books, publishers, authors, libraries, book-sellers and the making of books, and the whole makes a most interesting reference and note-book. It should be carried about in the vest pocket by all lovers of books and literature.


The Catholic Mission Literature Handlist is the third in the "Catholic Bibliographical Series." It deals with the subject in great detail, and the books printed under each subhead are carefully selected. It will be found useful and helpful to all students of the literature of Catholic missions.

II

INDIAN.

The India Office List, 1932. (Harrison and Sons, Ltd., 44, St. Martin's Lane, London, W.C. 2) 1932.

Perhaps the most useful reference work about Indian official matters is the India Office List, which is prepared annually by the India Office. Its usual contents comprise the India Office staff, the Indian Civil Service and all other holders of civil appointments with a substantive pay of not less than Rs. 500 a month (in classified lists under the various provinces), the Royal Indian Marine, chronological lists of heads of administration in India, and in London (going back to 1600), the Indian orders and lists of members of the Indian services holding British honours, the various regulations for appointment to the Indian services, extracts from civil and military regulations, an instructive article entitled "India", statistical tables, a record of British and Indian public servants, and the casualties of the past year. To the general reader the most interesting portion of the book is the article on "India", which gives in some forty pages the quintessence of the four volumes called the Indian Empire. The index contains nearly 10,000 names. Thus the India Office List is full of sound and useful information about official India, such as is not available elsewhere.

The Indian Year-Book, 1932. (Times of India Press, Bombay) 1932.

We welcome the nineteenth edition of the Indian Year-Book, which has justly come to be regarded as an indispensable work of reference for all connected with Indian public affairs, as it concentrates all the essential information and the statistics of the Indian Empire in one handy column. In the current edition, all those characteristic features, which have made it the standard reference annual on things Indian, are retained and developed. The Indian Year-Book is something more than a dry-as-dust record of statistics; in every section there is an attempt not only to give facts, but to see the forces which are behind the facts. This makes it a valuable and useful reference work to every one interested in Indian affairs. It covers a very wide range of subjects and while comprehensive it is also, on the whole, commendably accurate. The current edition contains all the latest information. A table of contents prefixed to the book would add to its usefulness.

This handbook has been compiled for the International Student Service by Mr. P. D. Ranganathan, who, by experience, has acquired a wide knowledge of educational conditions abroad. The book must go a long way in saving Indian students from many pitfalls, as it gives us an account of conditions of study in each of the major Universities of Europe and America, and of the places where the Indian students can secure accommodation. In the first part of the book, the compiler stresses the need for those only to go abroad who have arrived at the age of discretion and who have definite objects in view. In the second part he describes the educational facilities in the chief western countries. In the third he furnishes useful information relating to holidays, travel, helpful addresses, etc. The book thus deserves wide publicity among Indian students desirous of prosecuting their studies in the West.

Buy Indian Directory. (The Buy Indian League, Armenian Street, Madras) 1932.

Mr. Shiva Rao, Secretary of the Madras Buy Indian League, deserves heartiest felicitation from all lovers of Swadeshi on his praise-worthy enterprise in compiling this well-informed treatise, which furnishes one with all the necessary information of Swadeshi industries, in a small compass. It will be of immense value to all those associated with the Swadeshi movement and, therefore, deserves a wide circulation throughout the length and breadth of India. We suggest that the subsequent editions be carefully revised and enlarged.


Students of history will find Sir Wolseley Haig's Comparative Tables of Muhammadan and Christian Dates highly useful in translating easily the Hijra dates into their equivalents in the Christian calendar. The plan of the book is such as will facilitate reference and students who have to consult original authorities (in Persian and Arabic), will be materially assisted by it in their research. The book will thus remove a long-felt want.


Though not so comprehensive as Dr. Birdwood's Practical Bazar Medicines, Dr. Chandra Chakraborty's Home Medicine is a simple and practical guide for dispensing prescriptions made up from cheap Indian drugs available in the market. This book will be of great service to medical practitioners in towns and villages.


We welcome the sixth annual edition of The Madras States Directory, which is a pictorial reference annual of statistical, historical and commercial information regarding the South Indian States of Travancore, Cochin, Pudukottai, Sandur andBanganapalle, containing fairly exhaustive information regarding them. The Directory reflects great credit on the publishers that they have been able to compile such a comprehensive work, devoting a separate section to each State. It is well illustrated. There is a "Who's Who" section wherein biographical sketches of prominent men and women are given, interspersed with fine half-tone reproductions. Much valuable information is given relating to the trade and commerce of these States. The get-up and the illustrations leave nothing to be desired, and the publication deserves the patronage of the public, especially in the States. The Madras States Directory is thus a notable Indian enterprise and deserves encouragement, and the edition, under notice, is a great improvement on its previous issues.

(4) THE LITERATURE OF GASTRONOMY.

I.


2. The Pleasures of the Table.—By Sir Francis Colchester-Wemyss. (Christophers, 22 Berners Street, London, W. 1) 1932.


II.


III.

7. The Surrey Cookery Book.—Compiled by Adeline Maclean. (Surrey County Federation of Women’s Institutes, 112 High Street, Guildford, England) 1932.


IV.


The English edition of Mons. Alain Lambrunex's book, The Happy Glutton, will be welcome to all gourmets interested in good living and gay thinking. Here are recipes and epigrams, menus and good stories, all seasoned with Gallic wit. It is as useful in the drawing-room as in the kitchen, and removes greediness from the list of sins, while putting the appreciation of cooking among the finer arts. The illustrations, containing quaint and humorous designs, are as unusual as the text itself. The talented author, besides being a master in the art of letters, is by nature a cook, and has practised in the kitchen what he preaches in this book, which is a gem of culinary literature.

Sir Francis Colchester-Wemyss's book, The Pleasures of the Table, is one of the most interesting contributions to the literature of the culinary art. It is useful withal. Sir Francis's is a man's cookery book; and it is a most whimsical and delightful expression of individual good taste in the choice of food and wine. It is not a cookery book which legislates for every possible and conceivable meal, but a comfortable, hospitable account of the excellence which a connoisseur enjoys and appreciates. The Pleasures of the Table, is thus a cookery book that is different from the rest, and should make a wide appeal to lovers of gastronomy.

Mr. A. B. Macdougall’s book, The Gourmet’s Almanac, is a notable addition to gastronomical literature. In it are set down, month by month, recipes for strange and exotic dishes with divers considerations anent the cooking and the eating thereof, together with the feast days and fast days and also proverbs from many lands, as also the words and music of such old-fashioned songs as should be sung by all proud and lusty fellows. To all this is appended a garland for gourmets, tressed with many quaint fancies and literary blossoms, and culled from the most notable writers of all the ages, with illustrations by several artists of note and talent. To lovers of gastronomy it will be highly serviceable and interesting.

Ruth Lowinsky's Lovely Food is an ideal book for the gastronomer, dealing as it does with the various aspects and requirements of the preparation of the choicest viands and dainties, and also with the art of table decoration, as invented and drawn by Thomas Lowinsky. Lovely Food is thus a capital guide to gastronomy, and it deserves careful attention at the hands of all students of the subject, and all lovers of dainty and toothsome food.

II.

Mildred Blakelock’s Old English Cookery traces the history of the culinary art in England and suggests methods for producing it in these days. It gives many of the excellent old recipes and shows how they are still suitable for modern requirements, alike for private houses and public establishments. It should make a wide appeal to gourmets interested in old English cookery, which has long since been neglected in favour of the French and Italian systems, which are responsible for elaborate but unwholesome food.

Good Things in England is a unique work on English cookery. Miss Florence White has gathered in it a collection of excellent recipes.
dating from the 13th century, and brought them up-to-date in order to suit modern marketing and cooking, since many of them were invented in more spacious times than ours. The book is an encyclopaedia of English cookery—old and new—and should interest lovers of simple but wholesome food, in all households, large and small.

III.

The Surrey Cookery Book, compiled by Adeline Maclean contains recipes (and some remedies) contributed a number of Women’s Institutes, besides many practical and useful recipes of to-day. The book contains a few old recipes, chosen not for their practical utility but for their quaint interest. The book will appeal to lovers of good fare, and it will be a useful addition to the household library, as it contains practical household hints.

Though the literature of vegetarianism is already extensive, Creative Cookery, by Margaret Starr would nevertheless be useful to many as an introduction to a meatless diet. It will be welcomed as an essentially practical book—not faddy. It contains many original recipes and gives sound information which will assist vegetarians in obtaining simple, plain but wholesome and nourishing diet—free from the many inherent disadvantages of a meat diet.

IV.

In Attractive Meals without Meat, the recipes are given in detail and are the result of long experience. Space is given in turn to soups, butters, “refreshers”, soups, vegetables, vegetable pasties, salads, cheese dishes, egg dishes, nut dishes, mushroom dishes, puddings and sweets—also bread, cakes and pastry. The book will be found highly useful to non-meat eaters, as it is clear and comprehensive.

Oxford Night Caps is an excellent little collection of recipes for making various delicious beverages as used in that world-famous university. The book originally appeared so far back as 1847. In the present reprint new recipes have been added, which has enhanced the utility of the text. It will be highly useful to makers of cups and cocktails.

Mr. Edouard Pomiano’s Good Fare Le Code de la Bonne Chere is primarily a book on the technique of cooking, which applies simple scientific principles to the familiar processes which are too often followed without real understanding. But it is no less a book of serviceable recipes, drawn from the wide field of the author’s experience as cook, and as demonstrator and teacher of the art and science of cookery. Here are collected many hundred recipes, answering every requirement of the housewife and student of cookery—simple, economical and clearly set down, providing varied and appetizing menus for every occasion. The text has been revised for the English edition by a thoroughly experienced English hostess.

(5) BOOKS ON EUROPEAN HISTORY.


Mr. Ramsay Muir, the well-known historian, has attempted in his British History a survey of British history from the earliest times to the present day. The process of empire-building and the history of the outlying parts of the Empire down to our own times are worked into the main texture of the story. The treatment of more recent events is quite full and perhaps as fair. But the author of a book with so practical an aim might have used his adjectives with more discretion; for instance, in calling Mir Kasim ‘the rebellious Nawab’ (p. 436), Amritsar ‘the turbulent city’ (p. 748), or the Egyptian nationalist movement ‘a furious agitation’ led by ‘an able but impracticable enthusiast, Zaghlul Pasha’ (p. 750). Very candid, on the other hand, is the admission: “The troubles in India and Egypt have afforded evidence of the difficulty of adapting Western ideas and methods of government to the needs of Oriental peoples. It cannot be said that in either country a working solution of the problem has yet been found”. The brief and critical bibliographies at the end of each chapter, the genealogical tables and the chronological summary at the end, together with the full index and over fifty maps and plans add greatly to the usefulness of the volume.

Mr. Trevelyan the author of England Under Queen Anne: Blenheim is not only profoundly
learned but he also possesses the power to make the past glow vividly through his books. It is over two hundred years since England was able to dictate to all Europe by her military and naval power. Those were the spacious days not of Elizabeth but of Anne, a queen now chiefly remembered for a style of domestic architecture. That epulent period of English history has been chosen by Mr. Trevelyan for treatment in the work under review. The present book centres on the battle of Blenheim and the brilliant achievements of the Duke of Marlborough.

To survey the history of the world and to select therefrom those incidents and periods which formed its chief turning points, requires courage—and that the author possessed to an impudent degree—for it is unlikely that any such selection would be allowed to pass unchallenged or undebated. Lord Birkenhead in his Turning Points in History discussed such events. His vast experience in many spheres of life and mind, made astute through a triumphantly successful period at the Bar, did not necessarily fit him for the role of a historian. But the book is also interesting as throwing some light on the author's character. The events treated range from the "Conversion of St. Paul" to the "problem of the Dantzic Corridor", and from the "Navigations of Columbus" to the "coming of the Bolshevist".

II


The Corridors of Time—of which the first two books of this group form Vols. V & VI—deal with the investigation of causes which moulded history and helped or hindered the growth of human institutions. The Steppe and the Sown describes the first raids on a large scale of the peaceful grain-growers by pastoral nomads. Such raids, the author contends used to destroy civilization for a time—as happened in the case of the old Kingdom of Egypt. These raids occurred at one period simultaneously in greater magnitude in many parts of the Near East, because, it is believed by some, that a prolonged drought led to a diminished supply of grass in the steppes and deserts, but the author suggests that there was an alternative or additional cause: the taming of the horse. The book under notice is of absorbing interest.

The Way of the Sea continues the story from the time when the previous volume left off. When the disturbances of the XXX Century B.C. began to abate, there was great mobility and an awakening of intense life. This volume is mainly concerned with the intercourse by sea and land of the folk in the Mediterranean basin, and the resultant numerous changes in culture. Contemporary life of the East is also briefly recounted. The period under consideration in this book forms the transition from the truly ancient times to the dawn of the modern epoch. The format paper and letter-press of this volume is excellent.

Mr. Upendra Nath Ball in his book Europe Since Waterloo has given an outline of the political history of Modern Europe since the downfall of Napoleon. There are not a very large number of books that give a connected account of the development of European politics as a whole. It should serve admirably as an introduction for the students to a more serious study of European history.

III


The Modern World by Mr. F. S. Marvin contains the general political history of Europe from the French Revolution to the League of
Nations. Being a European continental history it deals mostly with Germany, France and Italy, England being introduced only when necessary in connection with the others. It is a fine though rapid sketch of the changes in thought and the advance in knowledge and in economic and social organisations which have become prominent in the period under survey. It has a helpful index and should form a useful handbook to the student of political history.

Caroline Trevelyan has written *William the Third and the Defence of Holland 1672-4* covering a ground of history that till now been neglected by English historians. She tells the significant and dramatic story of Louis XIV’s conquest of a third of the Dutch Republic; of the transformation of the peace-loving, mercantile Dutch State into a warrior nation with a large standing army; of the desperate resort to inundations to save the province of Holland from destruction; and the part played in these events by William, Prince of Orange, then but a youth of twenty-two. The book is well got-up and the 3 maps given are very helpful.

The sad and tragic *Story of the Jews* written by Lewis Browne has now been reprinted in the Travellers Library. It was but right that this history—more absorbing than any fiction—of a very influential community of the world has been added to this excellent, attractive and handy series to which we have often referred in terms of highest praise.

*Islam in Spain*, by the Rev. Canon Sell is written in the style of a school text-book, containing brief chronicles of the various rulers and dynasties. In the history of Islam perhaps no period is more interesting than that of the conquest of Islam. The writer of the book under review sets out to write a brief account of it, but we are afraid he finds it rather difficult to get above his Christian prejudices. However, the book is interesting.

No enlargement of human knowledge of recent years has been more rapid than the dramatic extension of our view backwards over the beginnings of civilized life in the Ancient East. Discoveries at Badari and in the Fayum have opened a completely new chapter in Egyptian pre-history. The spectacular results of the excavations of Ur and Kish have revolutionized our view of the early Babylonian civilization, and India has suddenly entered the stage as a new cultural province in contact with oldest Sumer. In *The Most Ancient East* Professor Childe presents the new facts in the position assigned to them by the results of the last thirty years’ work, and we come to recognize Oriental culture about B.C. 3000 as an organic unity in which Egypt, Sumer, and India were truly linked together. The pre-historic cultures of Europe were largely mere emanations of this Oriental civilization. Accordingly the new discoveries in the Ancient East have a direct bearing upon European pre-history; the author has given the sub-title *The Oriental Prelude to European Pre-history* to the book under review.

(6) BOOKS ON ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY


Mr. Amarnath Das’s *India and the Jambu Island* is a learned work, though it is not always convincing. The book summarises the results of researches carried on by the author in ancient literatures of various countries in the light of science, and his conclusion is that the India of to-day has come into existence in the wake of a series of tremendous, physical changes. While assenting to that proposition, it may be demurred to that not all the author’s conclusions are convincing. The book, however, deserves careful attention for its freshness and originality. It merits careful attention as a pioneer work on an important subject.

Gaya and Buddha Gaya. By Benimadhob Barua, M.A., D.Litt. (London) (Chuckervertty, Chatterjee and Co., Ltd. 15 College Square, Calcutta) 1931.

Dr. Benimadhob Barua’s *Gaya and Buddha-Gaya* is an excellent historical treatise. Based upon the results of the author’s personal visits to the locality he deals with, his book is an account of the holy land of the Hindus and the Buddhists, and it is heavily documented and scholarly. It contains an account of Gaya in Sanskrit and Buddhistic literatures, a description of Gaya from the Hindu point of view, and of Bodh-Gaya from Hindu and Buddhist stand-points, and of Gaya as meeting place of Hinduism and Buddhism. It is a work of great scholarship and should prove useful to students of ancient Indian history.

Political History of Ancient India. By Dr. Hemchandra Raychaudhuri (Calcutta University, Senate House, Calcutta). 1932.
A very cordial welcome should be extended to the third (revised and enlarged) edition of Dr. Hemchandra Raychaudhuri's *Political History of Ancient India*, the scope of which extends from the accession of Parikshit to the extinction of the Gupta dynasty. It is learned and luminous, and is a scientific treatise based on the results of research into the records and materials of ancient Indian history, of which it is a sound and an accurate digest, interestingly put together. It is about the best text-book of the subject it deals with.


From a study of the Buddhist remains in Andhradesha (Telugu land) Mr. K. R. Subramaniam's book—called *Buddhist Remains in Andhra*—has reconstructed an interesting record of the history of that part of the country. The first part of the book is more suited to the requirements of the specialist but the second part, which deals with the history of Andhra from 225 to 610 of the Christian era, is an excellent sketch of considerable interest. The book, as a whole, is of great value as it throws a good deal of light on a glorious period of Andhra history.

(7) BOOKS ON MEDIEVAL INDIAN HISTORY.


2. *Beginnings of Vijayanagar History.*—By the Rev. H. Heras. (B. X. Furtado and Sons, Kalkadevi Road, Bombay) 1930.


There is need for research in connection with the inner working of the Moghul administration in India and the elucidation of the general principles on which it was based. This want is partly supplied by the publication of *Mughal Rule in India* by Mr. S. M. Edwards and Mr. H. L. O. Garrett, who have presented to the general reader in a short compass the main results of modern research into the subject. The work is divided into two parts, the first part dealing with the historical background of the rise and decline of the empire, and the second with its administrative system—its social and economic features, its art and architecture (the two latter embellished by excellent illustrations). It ought to prove useful not only to students of Indian history but also to general readers who will find embodied in it the critical studies of first-hand modern authorities on Mughal history.

*Beginnings of Vijayanagar History* by Rev. H. Heras consists of two "extension" lectures delivered at the University of Mysore during the Dasera Holidays of 1928. As befits the presiding genius of the Indian Historical Research Institute of Bombay, these lectures are models of what painstaking, meticulous and historical research ought to be. Naturally they do not provide exciting or even interesting reading because of the examination of traditions in parallel columns, lists of names and dates also in parallel columns, numerous footnotes, and other concomitants of historical research. But this cannot be helped where the grim, unromantic and dry-as-dust muse of historical research is to be faithfully served. There is a full and faithful index at the end. It is a book of deep interest to the student of historical research.

*The Maratha Rajas of Tanjore* is a very short but complete book. The history of the Maratha kings, beginning from 1670 and ending in 1835 has been told interestingly by the author, Mr. Subramaniam, who has collected a lot of interesting information. Before beginning the Maratha history proper of the period, the author has given a brief general survey of the previous history. The book is brought to a close with general remarks on the administration, and the economic conditions of the Maratha kingdom in the South. The author has described Tanjore as the 'granary of the South', 'the abode of learning', 'the home of music', 'the mother of intellectual and intelligent sons and daughters,' where "for the past two hundred years Maratha Rajas have kept up the age-long Indian ideal of rulers who were scholars and patron of scholars, artists and patrons of artists first, and statesmen and soldiers next" says Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar in his Foreword to the book.

II.


analyses the principal events that have characterized the threefold aspects of their life—social, political and religious. Mr. Scott holds that the Sikhs first came into contact with British troops and military officers during the first Afghan War at 1839-42. Some attempt has also been made to explain the religion of the Sikhs. But the real purpose of the book is political propaganda for all through its pages the author reveals extreme bureaucratic mentality and wishes to emphasise two propositions. First that the Sikhs should keep themselves away from all political movements of the times, and second that there could be no greater boon for the Sikhs than the continuance of the British Raj in India. That the book is a part of anti-nationalist propaganda is obvious and the arguments used are most unconvincing and at times even bizzare.

European Adventurers of Northern India tells the story of the various European adventurers who, it is well-known, had their part in that tragic yet glamorous epoch; and not a few romances have been written based on the career of one or another of the better known of these adventurers. This is a most valuable and entertaining book; valuable because it throws a sidelight on an important period of history, and enthralling because it treats of the careers of adventurers who would be kings. It supplements the story of Compton, who dealt with similar adventurers in other parts of India, but is more complete and authoritative, being based on the Records of Government and on contemporary writings. We find only one small inaccuracy: the eighteenth century adventurer Bristol is stated to have served under Eyre Coote instead of under Colonel Forde. The adventurers who found their way to the North-West of India, most of them to serve under Ranjit Singh and the Khalsas, were a very mixed lot, from the comparatively respectable and well born Napoleonic officers of French and Italian origin to the deserters who came from the British armies. The author's most remarkable achievement, however, is the unmasking of that wonderful old reprobate, Alexander Gardiner whose story was sufficiently plausible to take in even such authorities as Sir Henry Durand and Sir Richard Temple. In reality he was an Irish deserter. This book is a valuable contribution to Indian historical research.

The first number of the Rangoon University publication is Early English Intercourse With Burma (1587-1673) by D. G. E. Hall who is a
professor of history at that University. It could hardly have started its series of publications better, or more appropriately, than it has done with this excellent monograph on a subject on which very little research work had previously been done. Professor Hall has explored the archives of the India Office and Madras Record Office for fresh light upon the almost unknown subject of early English enterprise in Burma. Beginning with the visit of Ralph Fitch, the first recorded Englishman to reach Burma, the book traces the successive attempts of the East India Company and its servants to establish trade with the country until the destruction of the old factory at Siam by the Talaings in 1743. Light is thrown upon conditions of trade in the Bay of Bengal during the period dealt with, and especially upon the Company's relations with the private traders, who became the chief exploiters of the extensive trade between the Coromandel Coast and the “land of peacocks and pagodas”. Professor Hall's work is an eminent scholarly one and is a thoroughly readable account of early English intercourse with Burma. It fills an existing void in Burma’s chronicles and as such ought to be welcomed by every student of history.

III.


Sir Edward Maclagan's The Jesuits and the Great Moghul is a valuable contribution to India historical literature. The Jesuits were always fond of adventure, and their greatest adventure was the serious attempt made by them to convert the Moghul Kings of India. The full story of their effort in this matter is now told for the first time; the scene is laid chiefly in Agra, Lahore and Delhi; and many interesting incidents and characters connected with the Jesuit missions are passed in review. A special chapter is devoted to the Persian books composed by the Fathers; another to the subject-hitherto little explored—of their influence on Moghul painting; and another the story of a wonderful mission established by them in the Tibetan Himalayas. The book is thus equally interesting and instructive. It should be a cherished possession of every student of the Moghul period of Indian history.

Mr. K. M. Panikkar's Malabar and the Dutch sustains the author's high reputation as a sound historian of modern India, and his excellent treatise will repay perusal. The author deals with the period when the great province of Kerala came to be split up into Travancore, Cochin and British Malabar. Beginning with 1662, the Dutch connection ended ingloriously after a century and a half later. They have left no permanent impress on the political life of the country. The story of Malabar is in line with the general history of India. The industrial rivalry of the Dutch, the Portuguese and the British thrived on the political rivalry of Cochin, Travancore and Malabar. Finally the most astute among the foreign powers—the British—drove both the Portuguese and the Dutch from the field, and became sole masters.

(8) BOOKS ON MODERN INDIAN HISTORY.


Mr. K. N. Venkatasubba Sastri's The Administration of Mysore under Sir Mark Cubbon (1834-61) is a valuable contribution to the history of that model Indian State. Sir Mark Cubbon was Commissioner of Mysore from 1834 to 1861. This book is a biographical account of his life and work there, from materials, obtained in India and in the India Office in London, and is written with great ability. Being written from the Indian standpoint, this book should be of considerable interest at the present time. Cubbon administered a territory of 27,000 square miles with complete success, and as the author discusses the details of his successful administration there is much that is worth attention at the present time, in his book. Mr. Sastri seems to believe that there might with advantage be more administrators of Cubbon's type to-day. The author does full justice to the great work done by Cubbon in Mysore.


Sir John Marriott's The English in India (why not the appropriate title, "The British in India") is not a history of India, but of British connection and British rule. It begins with an analysis of the constitutional problem, now confronting the British in India, and then deals at length with the historical background of that problem: the pre-European conquests; the
A History of India Part III. By C. S. Srinivasachari and M. S. Ramaswamy Aiyangar, (M. Srinivas Vardachari and Co., 190 Mount Road, Madras) 1932.

Professors Srinivasachari and Ramaswamy Aiyangar, by the publication of the third part of their book, dealing with British India, have completed their History of India. The first two parts—dealing respectively with the pre-Muslin and the Muslim periods—were appreciatively noticed in the Hindustan Review. The third part fully maintains the high standard of the authors, and the book, as a whole, forms a most suitable text-book of Indian history for our students, amongst whom it deserves wide circulation and a genuine appreciation of its merits.


Though an official publication, Mr. Jamini Mohan Ghosh's Sanyasi and Fakir Raiders in Bengal is an excellent historical work, which presents an interesting sketch of the activities of the bands of Sanyasis and Fakirs, who infested many parts of Bengal during the latter half of the eighteenth century. Based on official sources, the treatment of the subject is reliable, and the results summarized are sound and accurate. It is an instructive contribution to the study of the history of modern Bengal, under early British rule.

When a profound darkness brooded over Europe, an active cultural life was being carried on in the East. Central Asia, India, and China had then created an intense political, intellectual, religious, and artistic life. Buddhism, by bringing them into contact with each other, had enabled a vast current of humanism to flow from Ceylon to the farthest islands of the Japanese archipelago. After a thousand years of meditation, Buddhist mysticism had attained to an undreamed-of psychic state, and Indian aesthetics had received fresh inspiration therefrom. China was hospitable to new ideas, and allowed itself to be softened by the new influence. Here then in the seventh century, the human spirit lived a privileged hour, worthy of Periclean Athens or Elizabethan England. It was the time of the Chinese epic in Central Asia and of the great pilgrimages to the holy land of the Ganges, the time of Mahayana idealism and the plastic art of the Gupta dynasty. It is this period of high culture which is so brilliantly re-created for us by the author of this volume. He sketches the portraits of its great characters, from the founders of Chinese imperialism and of the Tang dynasty to the pious pilgrims of the Gobi desert and the Pamir plateau, and to the thinkers and sages whose speculations attained the greatest profundity. And, for setting, there is the whole of Buddhist art in its flowering time. Thus it is an altogether fascinating volume.


At the present time when the future constitution of India is on the anvil, and is taking a federal turn, Mr. Brij Mohan Sharma's Federal Polity will be found useful on account of the valuable information supplied on this rather intricate subject. The author, besides explaining the scope and method of federalism, gives a history of the system of federal government, which makes it abundantly clear that different countries, in different ages of history, adopted federal forms of government for different reasons. The account of the distribution of powers in a Federal State, such as the Federal Legislature, the Federal Executive and the Federal Judiciary, as is prevalent in the several units composing the British Commonwealth, is very instructive. The book has useful appendices giving the constitution of the United States of America, with various amendments; the Federal constitution of the Swiss Confederation of 1874 as revised up to the end of June 1921, and
extracts from the German constitution. As Mr. A. Rangaswamy Iyengar, the Editor of the Hindu who has written an introduction to the volume, has rightly pointed out, the book will be found useful to the scholar and publicist as well.


Mr. Emil Lengyel’s Hitler is a book of absorbing interest. In this age of strong men, none commands more attention than Adolf Hitler. Who is Hitler? What does he stand for? Whither will he lead Germany if he gets the chance? Such questions have become of the first importance. In his book Emil Lengyel tells us the truth, and gives us not merely an appraisal of the man and his movement, but of the probable effect of his success on Germany and the rest of the world. The author’s acute analysis shows how Hitler has built up his party-machine by coupling his own innate audacity with the use of high-pressure advertising methods, and an uncanny knowledge of mass psychology. Such is the man whose dramatic career is now thrilling and perhaps imperilling the world. In him the German people see the German Everyman, the ideal of Germany. Every chapter in the book is excellent. Fiction could not be more entertaining and exciting. While the author never allows his central figure to get out of sight, he sketches the all-important figures of the German people with effective, and sometimes devastating, exactness.


Dr. C. Collin Davies’s The Problem of the North-West Frontier is a highly useful and instructive work. This volume, which opens with the search for the best possible strategic frontier upon the north-western borders of India, traces the growth of the Russian menace throughout the nineteenth century, until in 1907 the increasing danger from Germany forced Britain and Russia to compose their differences in Central Asia. The advantages and disadvantages of the four possible lines of resistance are dealt with in considerable detail. The chapter on the frontier in the nineties shows how the forward policy produced its natural result, the tribal conflagration of 1897. Separate chapters are devoted to the problem of tribal control and the methods adopted by the British; the policy of Lord Curzon and the formation of the Frontier Province; the arms traffic in the Persian Gulf, the causes of tribal unrest, and the beneficent influence of British party politics upon important problems of imperial defence. The book is a serious contribution to the study of an important subject.


In Fifty Years Memories and Contrasts is presented the whole, quiet, ruthless revolution of the last half-century, in Britain, by twenty-seven contributors to the Times, each of whom has had a personal part in the history of the period. The collection illuminates the differences which sharply separate the beginning of that brief era from the end. The essays brought together do not comment or philosophize so much as illustrate by anecdote and personal reminiscence. All the principal fields of life, in work and in play, are reviewed, and the everyday beliefs, the current ideas, the conventions—and the convictions that went with the conventions—are set forth by the writers as to stir the memory of their contemporaries and the imagination of their juniors in a most vivid manner. The post-war age may here see the past age through the eyes of those who made it, lived in it and loved it; and the many illustrations from old photographs serve to enhance the value of the letter-press.

The Land of ‘Ranjit’ and ‘Duleep’. By Charles A. Kincade. (William Blackwood and Sons Ltd., 45 George Street, Edinburgh) 1931.

In Mr. C. A. Kincade’s The Land of Ranjit and Duleep the romantic history of the State of Nawanagar, and of its present ruler, the Maharaja Jam Sahib, is here recorded for the first time, by one who writes with equal knowledge and enthusiasm. To its accuracy the Jam Sahib himself bears witness, in the course of an introductory note. The history is an eventful and varied one, full of heroism and intrigue, and the prosperity and modern development of the little state begin only in 1907, when the Jam Sahib, after much tribulation, succeeded to the throne. The name of RanjitSingh is associated forever with the history of the greatest British game. The book is an enthusiastic tribute to a great sportsman, and a loyal laudatory of the British Crown.
(10) RECENT LEGAL LITERATURE.

From Punishment to Prevention. By P. K. Sen (Oxford University Press, Nicol Road, Fort, Bombay) 1932.

The scientific study of Penology has been developed further on the Continent and in America than in this country and a general survey of the whole subject is, therefore, welcome. The author, a distinguished Indian penologist, and a former Judge of the High Court, is well fitted to make it. A notable feature of the book is a long section dealing with ancient Hindu views on punishment. "Present day prison methods", says Mr. Sen, "vary merely in degrees of imperfection in the different countries of the world". In his book From Punishment to Prevention are traced the various theories of the function of criminal law; of these the most favoured view is that the penal law is intended not only to punish, but also to reform the offender. In this book we see the various ways in which attempts are being made to re-establish the offender, and, at the same time, to protect society. This is a learned book and starts by giving a long and interesting statement of the affinities between ancient Hindu and European law. The book is a valuable contribution to the study of Penology.


We welcome the publication of Mr. Rajagopalachari's Law of Partnership, as it is the only Indian text-book on the subject. The learned author enunciates in it the principles of the law, he deals with, in a lucid and comprehensive manner, supported by about three thousand English and Indian cases. His treatment of the subject is sound, being analytical. The new partnership Act (IX of 1932), the English Partnership Act, the reports of the special and select committees, and the cognate enactments bearing on the law of partnership, are all given at the end of the book. The decisions are brought down to July 1932, and the index and the table of cases are very helpful features. Thus the book is the best treatise on the present law of partnership in British India, and it should find a large circulation amongst the judiciary and the lawyers.

The Law and Obscenity. By Dr. F. Hallis (Desmond Harmsworth, 44 Great Russell Street, London, W.C. 1) 1932.

In his Law and Obscenity Dr. Hallis attempts a reasoned, constructive criticism, with particular reference to several recent cases for publishing alleged obscene libels. He quotes the amazing opinions expressed by contemporary magistrates in support of the law, administered in England, at present, and points out the inevitable reductio ad absurdum to which the faithful application of the law would lead, and suggests how serious a matter it is for the law to conflict with a large body of public opinion. His contention that the law has only right to restrain and interfere with the author and artist when the work complained of causes or threatens to cause a breach of the peace seems to us well-founded. The book merits serious attention.


We welcome the third edition of Mr. G. K. Roy's Copyright Act Manual, which contains the Registration of Books Act, XXV of 1867, (with the rules framed under it by the Government of India), the Indian Copyright Act, XI of 1914, the English Copyright Act, the Copyright Regulations 1914, and the Government of India resolution of November 1926, with a table of cases and an index. It is the only work on the subject, and is now brought up-to-date with a digest of important judicial decisions. This edition of the manual is an improvement on the earlier editions and has been carefully edited. We commend this highly useful text-book to the members of the legal profession and also to authors, publishers and proprietors of printing presses, who will find it of great utility.


Mr. N. N. Ghose's Indian Constitution is a marvel of condensation. Within the compass of 120 pages, he has presented in a lucid manner a history of the growth of Indian constitution. The book is divided into two parts—(1) under the East Indian Company, and (2) under the Crown. In the chapter headed the “Birth of the Indian constitution: The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms”, the author gives—to quote him—"the true significance of the Government of India Act, 1919, which led us ahead by a stage on to the road of 'constitutional government' by giving us a small measure of 'responsible government' in the provinces." The book—or rather the text-

In the last issue of the Hindustan Review, we noticed two editions of the Indian Partnership Act, which (except for one section, 69) came into force on the 1st October last. Being a new enactment, it has naturally elicited several commentaries. The one under notice is distinctly good—being elucidative, clear and precise. There being no rulings yet on the Act, the commentators have drawn upon the resources of the English law on the subject. The book is well put together, and Messrs. Iyer’s edition of the Indian Partnership Act will be welcomed as an excellent edition of a rather difficult piece of legislation.


Dr. Arnold McNair’s The Law of the Air comprises the Tagore Law Lectures 1931. Though not breaking quite new ground, the subject is quite new so far as Anglo-Indian legal literature is concerned, and the publication of this book is, therefore, doubly welcomed. The lecturer is evidently a master of his subject, and his treatment is scholarly and comprehensive. India is likely to have in the near future a great expansion in air traffic, and it was, therefore, desirable to have some such lucid exposition of the law of the air as is now rendered available by the publication of Dr. McNair’s highly useful work.


Mr. Khan’s Law of Confessions is one of his “Civil and Criminal Law Series”, some of which we have noticed in terms of appreciation. It contains clear commentaries on all the relevant provisions of the law, with comprehensive and illuminating explanations, as also extracts from the Police rules and the High Court circulars on the subject. Though it is compiled with special reference to the law as judicially interpreted in the Punjab, the scope of the work is sufficiently comprehensive, and it will, therefore, be found useful by the police, the magistracy and the criminal court practitioners throughout the country.


The Layman’s Law Guide is a very commendable effort. The volume supplies legal information to the lay citizen in everyday life. There can be found perhaps no one who is altogether free from the necessity of a knowledge of law, and the author, as a judicial officer of long experience, has succeeded in writing an almost ideal text-book for laymen. The book is written in a simple and lucid style, and contains a large amount of valuable information. As it is the first work of its kind in India, it should be judged as a pioneer work. We commend it to the notice of the public as a work that will remove a long-felt want.

On Bail in Criminal Matters. By M. M. Kotasthane. (65-7 Kalbadevi Road, Bombay) 1932.

Mr. Kotasthane’s On Bail is the first book of its kind, and a good one for a pioneer work. Freedom or restraint of the accused is a matter of paramount importance. This book deals with the question in all its aspects, and is a useful commentary on the law relating to bail. Difficulties that often arise as to the question of bail in non-bailable cases and the subject of remand and further remand are treated in detail. The case law, both foreign and Indian, has been judiciously cited. The busy lawyer should find this book helpful, no less than the judge, and the magistrate.


An up-to-date edition of text and commentaries on the Court Fees and the Suits Valuation Acts—such as is now offered to the legal public through the labours of Mr. Viswanatha Aiyar—was certainly called for, and we welcome this work. The book is marked by systematic arrangement and lucidity, combined with conciseness. The result is an excellent work, which deserves a large circulation.

(11) ANTHOLOGIES AND COLLECTIONS; REPRINTS AND TRANSLATIONS.

ANTHOLOGIES AND COLLECTIONS.

Readings from Modern Science, edited by W. J. Branson (George G. Harrap and Co., Ltd., 39-41 Parker Street, Kingsway, London, W. C. 2) is an anthology of long passages from popular scientific writers, intended to give an introduction to the present stage of science.
It is very well done and brings together a collection of highly interesting and instructive passages from eminent writers on scientific subjects. It would form an excellent introduction to the study of science.

Mr. G. R. Hammond's *Great Characters in English Literature* (George G. Harrap and Co., Ltd., 39-41 Parker Street, Kingsway, London, W. C. 2) comprises excellent selections from the English classics—Addison, Dickens, Pepys, George Eliot, Scott, Shakespeare and Sheridan—portraying their famous imaginary characters. It is an anthology that should interest a large circle of readers.

Mr. F. J. Tickner's edition of the *Earlier English Drama* (Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 35 and 36 Paternoster Row, London, E. C. 4) is a good, compendious treatise, dealing with the subject "from Robin Hood to Everyman". The extracts embodied in it are well chosen, while the commentaries are alike interesting and instructive. It thus forms an excellent handbook of the subject it deals with.

*A Short Bible*, in the authorized version (Basil Blackwell, 40 Broad Street, Oxford) is an excellent selection, made by scholars, for the benefit of young students. The accounts given in the first three gospels have been combined into a single narrative. This edition is a handy condensed text of one of the greatest books of the world, and should obtain a large circle.

Almost every great adventure in the history of travel is to be found in *Great Tarvel Stories of All Nations*, edited by Elizabeth D'Oylye (George G. Harrap & Co., Ltd., 39-41 Parker Street, Kingsway, London, W. C. 2). It is a substantial volume and runs to more than a thousand pages; but it is printed on excellent paper and is easy to handle. It is impossible in small space to give an adequate idea of the contents of this remarkable book. The editor's selection ranges from the days of Ancient Egypt down to the present day; it covers every quarter of the globe, and over a hundred authors are quoted. Whenever possible first-hand narratives are given, and some of them are of quaint interest, while others are still stirring stories of adventure and hardship. This is a book to keep—a travel library in itself.

Mr. C. E. Eekersley's selection from standard authors called *England and the English* (Longmans, Green and Co., 53 Nicol Road, Bombay) is an excellent book, especially for foreign students. The collection covers a very wide range on the various aspects of England and the English, and a careful study of it will familiarize the student with that country and its people, as depicted by eminent writers in prose and verse.

II.

TRANSLATIONS.

The Twelve Principal *Upanishads* (Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras) issued in three volumes, with text in Devanagari and translation with notes in English from the commentaries of Sri Sankaracharya, and the gloss of Anandagiri, will be cordially welcomed. Prof. M. N. Dwivedi has contributed an able and scholarly preface to the edition, and Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, (Professor of Sanskrit, Madras University) has gone through the proofs and brought the transliteration up-to-date. Each *Upanishad* begins with an introduction in English, which gives in a succinct form its central idea. The text is then given, followed by an English translation. The notes elucidate difficult points in the text. The translation has been exceedingly well done, and is thoroughly sound. The set-up is good and the printing neat. Altogether, it is a very desirable edition of the *Upanishads*.

The *Lankavatara Sutra*, by Mr. D. T. Suzuki (George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., Broadway House, 68-74 Carter Lane, London, E. C.) is a valuable addition to Buddhist studies. Mr. Suzuki's translation (from the Sanskrit) of the *Lankavatara Sutra* would be especially welcomed by students of Mahayana Buddhism. Its study has not made much advance as compared with the Hinayana. The Mahayana offers some obstacles in the mastery of its teaching. Instead of being scientific, logical, or philosophical, it dives deeply into the spiritual realm of inconceivabilities, where meditation and intuition are the surer and safer guides than analysis and intellection. In the *Lankavatara* religious conceptions of the deepest significance are presented in a way peculiar to Oriental psychology, and the book under notice is an invaluable contribution to the study of the subject.

The *Life of Buddha*, (in his own words), translated from the Pali by the Rev. Narada Thero (Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras) is a highly instructive work.
The author, Narada Thero, a Buddhist monk of Ceylon, enables the reader to get a real insight into the life and teachings of the Master. This booklet gives a running account of the life of the Buddha, the story of his inward evolution and the whole gamut of his deep spiritual experience. It has a telling brevity which is its striking feature. This booklet will be welcomed by all interested in Buddhist culture, as a brief but absorbing sketch 'in his own words' of the Buddha's life. A study of it is in itself a liberal education.

The *Vedantasara* with introduction, text, English translation and comments by Swami Nikhilananda (Adwaita Ashrama, 4 Wellington Lane, Calcutta) is a very useful publication. *The Vedantasara* is one of the best epitomes of the philosophy embodied in the Upanishads (according to Shankaracharya), and this is really the essence of the Vedanta. The book is an introduction to the larger and more comprehensive works on the Vedanta. The present book contains valuable references, which should be of great use to students of the Vedanta, and brings into relief the special features of the several excellent commentaries. The copious notes supply all the information required, and give full assistance in understanding the more or less abstruse text.

*Stotaramala* and *Takaram*, translated by J. E. Abbott (Scottish Mission Industries Co., Ltd., East Street, Poona) make interesting reading in Hindu theology. The above two volumes are numbers 6 and 7 in the "Poet-Saints of Maharashtra" series, rendered from Marathi into English prose by a well-known American missionary. The *Stotaramala* is a garland of prayers of the Mahattra Poet-saints, while *Takaram* is a translation of certain chapters of Mahipati's *Bhaktiwallamrita*. The books in this series will be of great help and utility to students of the Hinduism of the Maharashtras.

Poems by Mr. Humayun Kabir (Basil Blackwell, 49 Broad Street, Oxford) is an interesting booklet. Mr. Kabir has made his name in Bengali literature, as a poet of note. His Poems is an admirable venture in literature, in as much as the writer aims to perform two difficult tasks at the same time. The poems are a translation (with one exception) from Bengali into English. As regards the translation part of his work, it is admirably done. Thus Poems is a highly meritorious piece of work—so to say, an original translation.

Some excellent translations and adaptations of the Greek classics have lately come to hand by way of reprints. Of these the notable ones are Mr. J. J. Chapman's *Lucian, Plate and Greek Morals* (Basil Blackwell, Ltd., Oxford)—a capital introduction to the study of Lucian—and Mr. J. T. Sheppard's highly skilful renderings of the *Helen and the Cyclops* of Euripides (Cambridge University Press, 122 Ely Place, Cambridge, 1. C. 1.4),

First printed in 1896, the translation into English of the nine chief *Upanisads*, by Messrs. G. H. F. Mead and J. C. Chattopadhyaya (Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras) now reprinted, should continue to appeal to a large circle of cultured readers and students of Indian philosophy. The rendering is excellent.

III. REPRINTS.

Professor Radhakrishnan's *Heart of Hinduism* (G. A. Natesan and Co., George Town, Madras) is now issued in a second edition, with one new paper on "The Hindu Idea of God", and the omission of the biographical sketch of the author, which may usefully be restored in the next edition. Dr. Radhakrishnan, in the essays comprised in this volume, has touched upon a variety of subjects of profound interest to the student of Hindu religion and philosophy. In the words of Principal Jacks, Dr. Radhakrishnan is not only a great living master of Eastern thought but of the Western as well, and as such his interpretation of Hindu thoughts and ideals, which is at once scholarly and inspiring, will be widely welcomed by readers in India.

In their "Broadway Travellers" series, (Messrs. George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., 68-74 Carter Lane, London, E.C. 2) have lately added two standard works of travel—*The Travels of Marco Polo* (in an authorized edition, superseding all previous English versions, with a luminous Introduction by Sir Denison Ross) and Captain Basil Hall's *Travels in India Ceylon and Burma*, edited by Professor H. G. Rawlinson. Both books are excellent editions of highly interesting works of travel.

Among the latest additions to the Everymans Library (J. M. Dent and Sons, Ltd., Aldine House, Bedford Street, London) are excellent editions of two great classics—Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* (in three volumes) and of Richardson's *Clarissa* (in four volumes)—carefully printed, and well-edited. They will long remain the standard editions of these classics.
The "World's Classics" (Oxford University Press, Nicol Road, Post Box 31, Bombay) are forging ahead. Among their latest additions are Henry Kingsley's novel, Austin Elliot, and Dr. A. B. Keith's Speeches and Documents of the British Dominions (1918-31), which is a highly useful compilation of the speeches and writings on the subject of "from self-government to national sovereignty" in the dominions of the British Commonwealth, and is well-compiled alike for the purposes of study and reference.

Broken Earth, by Mr. Maurice Hindus, first issued in 1926, now appears in a revised and corrected edition (Jonathan Cape, Ltd., 30 Bedford Square, London, W. C. 1). This is a very human book. It deals with one of the most exciting periods in the history of the Russian village. Like Red Bread, the scene in Broken Earth is laid in the author's native village. It is written in the narrative style, and with that warmth and intimacy which impart to Mr. Hindus' writings on Russian a charm all their own.

We welcome Casanova's Life and Adventures, translated by Arthur Machen (Joiner and Steele, 18 Torks Court, London, E. C. 3), journalist, diplomatist, priest, spy, traveller, lover, man of fortune. Casanova gives us an unsurpassed picture of eighteenth-century European morals and manners. This volume contains nearly a third of the Memoirs, admirably translated, selected, and prepared by Mr. Machen. It contains the best of Casanova's adventures in one handy volume and in a compact form.

The third edition of Mr. M. L. Darling's The Punjab Peasant in Prosperity and Debt (Oxford University Press, Nicol Road, Post Box 31, Bombay) is, indeed, welcome. It is a standard work on the rural economics in the Punjab, and the new edition—which appears carefully revised—is fully up-to-date, being abreast of the latest changes. It should continue to command a wide appreciation, as heretofore.

(12) ON THE EDITOR'S TABLE:
MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE.

Messrs S. K. Lahiri and B. Banerjea's Introduction to the Principles of Civics (Book Company, Ltd., 4/3 College Square, Calcutta) has been written for students of politics in our Universities, as a short and easy introduction to the fundamental problems of the institution of government, the theory of the State, discussed from the Indian standpoint, in a non-controversial manner as possible, and every statement has been carefully authenticated. The first three chapters deal with the evolution and nature of the modern State, then follow five on government and governmental forms. From chapter IX is discussed the rights and duties of citizens in a modern democracy. In the last two chapters are discussed matters of crucial importance to a proper development of citizenship in India. The book should form a suitable text-book of civics in our universities.

An Introduction to the Comparative Philology of Indo-Aryan Languages, by Prof. R. V. Jahagirdar (The Oriental Book Agency, Poona) is a useful work on philology which is much above the average. It deals not only with the general principles of comparative philology, but traces the development of Indo-Aryan languages in India. Students of Sanskrit will find this book particularly useful. It will serve a timely purpose, since Dr. Gunther's Introduction to Comparative Philology has been long out of print. Its interest is greater, since the author has utilized in his book the latest materials obtained by research. The book would form a suitable text-book for our students.

A Ceylon Commentary, by Mr. P. E. Smythe (Williams and Norgate, Ltd., 38 Great Ormond Street, London, W. C. 1), by an Englishman, who spent about two years in Ceylon, shows a disarming method of discussing controversial subjects. In the first chapter on "Colour," for instance, he smooths the brow of the colour-prejudiced man, he then offers, with bland, good-humoured yet forceful logic, his views upon such questions as self-rule, mixed marriage, imperialism, missionary work and drink in the East. Thus A Ceylon Commentary is an extremely presonal and incisive account of Ceylon. The criticism is trenchant and direct and the picture drawn from life, if impressionist, is none the less illuminating.

In the Biological Tragedy of Woman by Auton Nemilov (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 40 Museum Street, London), the author attacks the problem of woman's place in the social scheme from a wholly fresh view-point. He makes no assumptions about woman's inherent inferiority or superiority to man, but points out that women enter the struggle with a terrible physical handicap that can never be
wholly overcome, and to which too little attention has been paid in the past. The translation has been made from the fifth (completely revised) Russian edition, and it should be welcomed as a valuable contribution to the study of a highly important problem.

Mr. C. Denis Pegge’s Bombay Riots (The Scholartis Press, 30 Museum Street, London) is a film poem, of interest alike for subject and form closely connected with the nationalist movement in India. The author uses a Bombay riot, during the Civil Disobedience movement in India of 1930, as a central episode. He builds upon this episode in such a way that the whole tragedy of the internal struggle in India becomes manifest to the reader through it. This universal tragedy may truly be counted the theme of the film poem. It is an extraordinarily graphic delineation of the Bombay riots of 1930.

A Few Pre-historic Relics and the Rock-Paintings of Singanpur, Raigarh State, by Mr. Amarnath Datta (Rajkumar College, Raipur, C. P.) is a good pioneer work on the subject. The author has rendered a distinct service to students of pre-historic India, by offering an interesting account of the rock-paintings of Singanpur, a small village lying about three miles away from Nacharpali, a station on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway, within the jurisdiction of the Raigarh State, Central Provinces. The paintings on the hills have been very graphically described with explanatory illustrations and the sketch makes instructive reading. The book deserves better get-up, however.

A lakh and thirty thousand copies of Dr. Besant’s Bhagavadgita have been printed so far by Messrs G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras. It has many distinctive advantages over other editions. In the first place, as a pocket book it is an invaluable companion. Then Dr. Besant’s translation is at once crisp and accurate. The text in Devanagari and the easy and elegant English-rendering, have made the book very popular. And then it is priced annas four only, so as to be within reach of the whole English-knowing public.

Two Albums by Mr. Kani Desai (D. B. Taraporevala and Sons and Co., Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay) are delightful volumes, containing sketches in pencil and brush, the one revealing (in a most artistic way) Mr. Gandhi in various poses and attitude, and the other some Indian scenes and incidents. These books are distinctly works of art, some of the pictures displaying highly artistic imagination and ability. The Gandhi album has an introductory essay by Father Elwin, which gives an interesting view of the Mahatma’s elusive personality, and both volumes will make excellent souvenirs, and are suitable for drawing-rooms.

Scrutinies (vols. 1 and 2) being selected papers of the literary circle of the Lahore Government College, (Ramakrishna and Sons, Anarkali, Lahore) contain several interesting essays on the works of prominent writers. The Professors of the Government College, Lahore, deserve felicitation on the high level of excellence of several of these essays, written by their students, which give evidence of a wide, yet discriminating, study. The scope of the collections is comprehensive and they cover a wide field in literature—ancient and modern, and eastern and western. We shall watch the progress of Scrutinies with a sympathetic interest.

Soura—the Tale of a Rajput Maid, by Mr. D. M. Gorwalla (Kaiser Chambers, Town Hall Road, Fort, Bombay) is a love story, typical of Rajasthan. Mr. Gorwalla has in his little volume rendered in verse the story of a Rajput maid and her lover. The ballad form, which the author has adopted as his vehicle of expression, is certainly well chosen. The author possesses a certain facility of expression, which has helped him to produce a book of verses free from serious faults, and we have much pleasure in commending it to lovers of romantic literature.

The Indo-Ceylon Connection, by V. V. Rajaratnam (Sagothy Press Hatton, Ceylon) is an interesting booklet. The writer has collected in it a number of articles, which constitute a strong plea for the abolition of all restrictions on Indo-Ceylon trade. He visualises both Ceylon and India as units in a big political federation and propounds the view that there should be no control of trade and social intercourse between the peoples of the two countries. Whatever view one may take of this proposal, it deserves careful consideration.

In How to Prevent Cancer by Dr. H. V. Knuagas, (The C.W. Daniel Company, 46 Bernard Street, London, W.C.1), the author brings to his aid, in the compilation of his book, long experience of clinical work, devoted chiefly to dietetics, spinal therapy and research work
connected with the blood. Thus equipped, he tells plainly the story of Cancer, how it begins and develops, and how its incidence may be avoided. Altogether, it is a very useful little book.

Mr. A. J. Worral's English Idioms for Foreign Students, (Longmans, Green & Co., Paternoster Row, London and 53 Nicol Road, Bombay) is a book of every-day English. Though many of the phrases are colloquial and should be avoided in composition, it would be as well for our students to be familiar with them. The book is carefully compiled and will be found useful by foreign students of English.

A Catalogue of Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit Books. (The Oriental Book Agency, 15 Shukrawar, Poona) contains over five thousand titles, with descriptive details of the contents. The Agency undertakes to supply any book dealing with Indian antiquity (published in India, Europe or America) and their Catalogue is a useful contribution to bibliography.

The Oxford Pictorial Atlas of Indian History (Oxford University Press, Nicol Road, Bombay) is an excellent collection of maps, with outlines and time-charts, depicting the course of the history of India. The maps are well-drawn and the illustrations are good and numerous. The Atlas will be found a useful accompaniment to the teaching of Indian history.

Two booklets—Diet of the Indians and Care of the Eyes—are the titles of publications compiled by "Experience" (J. C. Basak, 363, Upper Chitpur Road, Calcutta). Though compilations they are nonetheless useful and should be studied by all desirous of enjoying good health, for they contain sound, practical advice on the subjects they deal with.

Some Aspects of the Indian Problem by the Rt. Hon. Lord Irwin (Oxford University Press, Nicol Road, Post Box 31, Bombay) is the Inaugural Massey Lecture, delivered at Toronto by the late Viceroy, in April 1932. It summarises the development of legislation towards representative government in India. The ex-Viceroy also explains the present policy of the British Government in Indian affairs. To a reader in India, the lecture contains little new. But as a presentation of the Indian situation to Canadians, the lecture is a succinct summary, which is sound in its expositions, from the British point of view—though not necessarily from the Indian.

A Broken Flute: A Book of Prose—Poems. By Dr. Vera Grassis. Illustrated by Miss Jayanti Parekh. (The Examiner Press, Bombay) is a remarkable collection, in which we detect a work of wonderful charm and sincerity. The simple, sensuous and passionate prose-poems in "A Broken Flute" are a revelation of what poetry at its best can be. These prose-lyrics are of delicate texture in which the authorless deals with love—as she conceives it. Their real and artistic beauty lies in the "insistent and inescapable rhythm," which she has so carefully studied. Her drawings, too, are of an urbane which can only be appreciated by a careful study of them. Miss Jayanti Parekh's drawings are delightful, and add to the interest and charm of the text.

Messrs George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., Missen Street, London, have issued a cheap and popular edition of the History of Political Thought by Br. Raymond G. Gettell, Professor of Political Science in the University of California. The first edition which appeared in 1924, was very well received by the public and the press. In the present edition is included a rather extended bibliography which the reader will find to his advantage. It is a valuable publication which should find a place in all public libraries as well as in those of the universities and colleges.

Mangalashaktika by Kanu Desai (Messrs D. B. Taraporevada Sons and Co., "Kitab Mahal," Hornby Road, Bombay) is a book, in pictures, of love, life and marriage. The pictures given are symbolic of the benefictory stanzas, invoking the blessings of the deities sung at the time of the marriage ceremony. The portraiture represents various phases and is given very vividly through the realm of Art. The book will serve very well as a Christmas gift.
EDITORIALS AND MISCELLANEOUS

Sir Ali Imam: An Appreciation.

The professional and public activities of Sir Ali Imam had been so vast and varied that it is well-nigh impossible to condense or summarise them, in the course of a short sketch in the *Hindustan Review*. But we shall make the effort in the hope that a survey of them, ever so short, will interest a large circle of readers, and especially the members of the great profession in which he had been a leading and distinguished figure for years past. Born at Neorah (in the Patna district) on the 11th February 1869—the elder son of Shams-ul-ulama Nawab Sayed Imad Imam Sahib, who, in his 83rd year, is enjoying good age—he received his early education mainly in the Zilla School at Arrah, from which he matriculated in 1887. Later, he joined the Patna College, but after studying only for a few months, in the first year class, he left for England in September, 1887, and was called to the English Bar by the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple in the June term of 1890. It is interesting to recall that in the same term there were called to the Bar two of Sir Ali's old friends, namely, Sir Abdur Rahim, long a distinguished judge of the Madras High Court, and the late Mr. Justice Shah Din of the Punjab Chief Court. Before his return home, Mr. Ali Imam took a prominent part in pleading the cause of India before the British public, along with the first deputation sent to England, in that year, by the Indian National Congress, of which the late Messrs. George Yule, Surendranath Banerji, Mudholkar, and Eardley Norton, and Sir Morpanth Joshi were the members. Sir Morpanth is, fortunately, still alive.

On his coming back to India, Mr. Ali Imam was enrolled in November, 1890, as an Advocate of the Calcutta High Court, and began his practice at the Patna Bar. He soon made his mark as a very able and exceedingly clever lawyer—skilful in cross-examination, masterful in marshalling facts and helpful to court in analysing evidence to the advantage of his clients, with the result that within a couple of years or so his joining the profession, he had the satisfaction of finding himself justly regarded as one of the leading

figures in the legal world of Bihar. He continued to enjoy a large and lucrative practice during the nearly twenty years that he practised at Patna, before his appointment (in 1909), in the Calcutta High Court, as the Standing Counsel to the Government of India. It may be safely said of him that during these two decades there was not one sensational or important criminal case in any part of the Province, in which he did not appear for the accused, whom he invariably succeeded in getting off, so to say, by the skin of their teeth. Mr. Imam could then justly say of himself with the Judge (in Gilbert's "Trial by Jury") while the latter was practising at the Bar:

"All thieves who could my fees afford
Relied on my opinions.
And many a murderer I have restored
To his friends and his relations."

As Standing Counsel, Mr. Ali Imam's services were retained by the Local Government to conduct (on behalf of the Court of Wards) the defence in that now well-known civil case, that of the Dumraon Raj Adoption, which lasted quite a long time, at Arrah, during the years 1909-10. It was in this case that the late Mr. C. R. Das made his mark in Bihar, as an Advocate of the first water. Before, however, he had served his full term, Mr. Ali Imam was appointed Law Member of the Government of India in Lord Minto's administration, towards the end of 1910. He held this exalted office for a period of a little over five years and retired in December, 1915. The administrator's work, be it ever so great or exalted, is of a more or less ephemeral character, and so, of the many administrative measures associated with Sir Ali Imam's name as Law Member, perhaps the only two which may now be recalled with interest are the separation of Bihar and Orissa, from Bengal, and their constitution into a separate province (in 1912), and the passing over by Lord Hardinge of the claims of Sir Reginald Craddock, the then Home Member, to be appointed as the Lieutenant-Governor of Bihar and Orissa and his being shunted away to Burma.

On retirement from office Sir Ali paid a short visit to England and returned in April,
1916, to resume his practice in the then newly-established Patna High Court, which had been opened but a few weeks before. Here he easily regained his large practice, but in September, 1917, he accepted an offer of a permanent judgeship on the Bench of the Patna High Court. His career in that capacity, till August, 1918, was of too short a duration to enable him to leave an impress on the work of the Court. On the retirement of the late Mr. Sharutfuddin from the Executive Council of this Province, in 1918, Sir Ali Imam was appointed as his successor, and he served for a little over a year in that capacity, till he was called (in August, 1919) by His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad to work as his Chief Minister. In this capacity Sir Ali spent over two years at Hyderabad. The work there was onerous, in all conscience—it was a veritable Augean Stable to be cleared—and Sir Ali was not the man to spare himself. He retired two years before his full term was over, and came back to Patna where he had practised since, mainly in the High Court. While administering the affairs of that State, he was nominated, in 1920, as the first Indian representative to sit at the first meeting of the League of Nations, in the autumn of that year—a high official honour, in all conscience.

II

This brief record of Sir Ali Imam’s professional and administrative career will bring home to the reader his versatility, his broad mental outlook and his large experience of public affairs. His public career began when he presided over the first session of the Bihar Provincial Conference, held at Patna, in 1908. Towards the end of the same year, he presided over a famous session of the Muslim League, held at Amritsar. His presidential address on that occasion attracted considerable attention and was bracketed with that of the late Dr. Rash Behary Ghosh’s inaugural address at the Madras session of the National Congress, held at the same time. The “Quarterly Review”—the most famous periodical in the English-knowing world—in the course of an article, reviewing the sessions of the National Congress and the Muslim League, paid Mr. Ali Imam the following handsome compliment:—“He had the courage to show the way to his community and to urge it to abandon the narrow sectarian view of their responsibilities to India. Hitherto, the Indian Mussulmans have been too prone to speak of themselves as aliens sojourning in a foreign country. That view, so prejudicial to Indian unity, Mr. Ali Imam put resolutely aside. ‘We, the educated Mussulmans of India,’ he said, ‘have no less love for the land of our birth than the members of the other communities inhabiting the country; we are tied to her by the sacred associations of ages. We yield to none in our veneration and affection for our motherland.’ After quoting these passages the ‘Quarterly Review’ went on to say: ‘Perhaps few British readers will perceive what an epoch is marked by the last sentence. The Indian Mussulman not only accepts but claims an Indian nationality; this is a step towards unity, the significance and importance of which it is impossible to over-estimate.’ Thus, although Sir Ali Imam had been charged with being a communist, from time to time, by people whose own sense of nationalism is not very clear, one can easily understand the position of Sir Ali as a staunch Nationalist during the long years of his public career. More recently he had been prominently associated with the scheme propounded in the Nehru Report, and of late years he was rightly regarded as one of the greatest Nationalist leaders, particularly among the Muslims. His presidential address at the Nationalist Muslims’ Conference, held at Lucknow in April 1931, marked an epoch in the growth and development of Muslim Nationalism in this country, which has already become a factor to be reckoned with in Indian political affairs.

III

Those who had the privilege of knowing Sir Ali Imam intimately, rightly declare that his was a charming personality. In private life he was the warmest of friends. He never allowed differences, political or religious, to interfere with his social and friendly relations. His sociability and geniality always appealed to a very large circle of his friends, of all classes and communities. Whatever he took up he did with a zeal and an earnestness which many of the younger generation may well envy. Though he had lived to celebrate the sixty-second anniversary of his birthday, yet his stalwart, robust and well-built constitution was a typical example of a healthy mind in a healthy body. Endowed with a rich, sonorous and powerful voice, he was an accomplished public speaker. His morale was in unison with his physique, for
his temper was gentle, his temperament
taenful, while his habits were extremely
simple and abstentious. Latterly he had been
spending much of his well-earned leisure at
Ranchi, where he had built a palatial resi-
dence. Providence had blessed him with a
large family, and he has left (by his first
wife) five sons, all of whom are highly
educated and accomplished, and are all
members of the English Bar.

Thus Sir Ali's public career was one of
which not only he might justly be proud, but
it is also a source of satisfaction and pride
to all educated Belarasis, while his profes-
sional record is replete with lessons of endur-
ance, hard work, careful study and tact, which
junior practitioners may well take to heart,
and profit by, as a healthy study in emulation
at the Bar. It is to Sir Ali Imam, more
deservedly perhaps than to any one else in
Belar that one could justly record at the end of
a survey of a great and distinguished
career, the Byronic salutation

"Be thou the rainbow in the storms of life!
And shine to-morrow with prophetic ray."

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**Necrology Of The Quarter**

**MR. ROSHAN LAL.**

Mr. Roshan Lal was a distinguished mem-
er of the band of workers who promoted
the religious, social and educational activities
of the Arya Samaj in Upper India, and
worked for the uplift of the people for well-
nigh half a century. Born at Faridpur, in
the Bareilly district of the then North-West
Provinces, in 1858, in a respectable family of
landed proprietors, young Roshan Lal was
educated in the traditional style in Persian,
and he became proficient in it at the early
age of fourteen. He received his collegiate
education at Aligarh, where he was granted
a scholarship by the late Sir Syed Ahmad
Khan. It was during this period that he became a devotee of the Arya Samaj.
From his earliest days, he was of a religious
bent of mind. He had many occasions of
hearing the speeches of Swami Dayananda
and attending famous discussions between
him and his opponents, and so greatly was
he impressed by the personality and the
learning of that great Rishi that he became a
life-long follower of his. From Aligarh he
removed to the Punjab where he joined the
Government College, Lahore, and he belonged
to the first batch of graduates of the Punjab
University, in 1882. He went to England in
1884, and was called to the Bar, early in 1887.
He was one of the earliest batch of the
members of his community to undertake
foreign travel—a step which was not free-
from risk in those days of orthodoxy. On
his return, however, he was welcomed by his
friends and relations and received numerous
addresses in several important towns of
Northern India. He commenced his practice
in the Allahabad High Court in 1887 and soon
attained eminence in the profession.

In 1890, Mr. Roshan Lal married the late
Srimati Hardevi Ji, the widowed daughter of
His Bahadur Kanbha Lal—the famous Lahore
engineer—who was an enlightened and
public-spirited lady, and an author of great
repute in Hindi. This step evoked a great
deal of opposition in the community, though
it was not long after that the turmoil settled
down. In 1899, Mr. Roshan Lal settled down
at Lahore, because the climate of Allahabad
did not suit Mrs. Roshan Lal, and commenced
his practice in the Chief Court. He continued
to take a very zealous interest in the Arya
Samaj, at Lahore, and was for several years
its President. He was a member of the
Paropkari Sabha, and took a leading part in
promoting the various activities of the Arya
Samaj, namely, the foundation of the Gurukul
at Kangri, the building of the Gurudutt Bhawan, at Lahore, the defence of the Arya Samaj in the Patiala case, etc. In fact, his multifarious activities for over thirty years at Lahore are too numerous to mention. Verily, their name is legion. In 1926 he retired from practice. From that time, up to the time of his death, last September, at the age of 75, he spent his time mostly in Solon during summer, where through his efforts a fine building for the local Arya Samaj was constructed. He was an enthusiastic worker of the Arya Samaj, and devoted the whole of his life to the great cause of religious reform and social and educational progress it stands for. In his death the Arya Samaj, in particular, and the reform movement, in general, has sustained an irreparable loss in Upper India.

**SIR B. NARASIMHESWARA SARMA.**

In the death of Sir B. Narasimheswara Sarma at the age of 65 the public has lost a conscientious publicist and patriot who rendered distinguished service to the country. The late Sir B. N. Sarma was born at Vizagapatam in 1867 and graduated from the Government Arts College, Bajahumundry. In 1892 he took the B.L. degree and after practising for nine years at Vizagapatam he enrolled himself as a High Court Yakkil at Madras and rose to the top of the profession. For several successive terms he was elected to the Madras Legislative Council where with his knowledge of Local Fund Administration and of revenue and other problems, he proved himself a very useful member. In 1914 he went to England as a representative of the Madras Presidency in the deputation that waited on the Secretary of State for India in connection with the India Council Bill. While in England he had interviews with prominent Members of Parliament on Indian problems and grievances. During the Minto-Morley regime he was elected to the Imperial Legislative Council, where also he came to prominence by his strenuous work. He was one of those responsible for the Memorandum of the Nineteen which placed in unmistakable terms the ideal of self-government within the Empire before the Government. While in the Council he played a considerable part in public life. He was the President of the first Andhra Conference and presided over several district Conference and over the Madras Provincial Conference, held at Nellore. He led the deputation of the Mahajana Sabha of Madras and the Andhra Provincial Con-

gress Committee before the Southborough as well as the Feetham Committees. He was a Member of the Viceroy’s Executive Council from 1920 to 1925, and after retirement from the Council he was appointed in 1926 Chairman of the Railway Rates Committee which office he held till the time of his death. Sir Narasimheswara was in his early years as a public worker identified himself with the Congress, and took a prominent part in its deliberations. By his death, the country has lost an able and experienced public worker and publicist.

**MR. JUSTICE LALIT MOHAN BANERJI.**

The late Mr. Justice Lalit Mohan Banerji, a great and prominent figure in Allahabad, belonged to a family which produced eminent judges and lawyers. He was the oldest son of the late Sir Pramoda Charan Banerji, who had risen to the High Court bench from the provincial judicial service, and was an honoured judge for about thirty years. The late Mr. Justice Banerji was born at Benares on October 18, 1875, where his father, was then the munsif. He was a distinguished alumnus of Allahabad University where he took his M.A. and LL.B. degrees. He joined the bar in 1899 when he was still a young man of 24 years and after a successful career was appointed Government pleader on May 1, 1913. He was created a Raj Bahadur on January 1, 1921, in the new year honours of that year, officiated as Government advocate between 1921 and 1924 and was confirmed in that post in September, 1924, on the retirement of Mr. Wallach. In March, 1925, he became an officiating puisne judge of the High Court and was subsequently appointed an additional judge. He became a permanent judge of the High Court when Rai Bahadur Pandit Kunhaiya Lal retired in 1926. From November, 1923, to February, 1924, the services of Mr. Banerji were placed at the disposal of the Government of India in the Home department as a member of the Indian Bar Committee. Like his distinguished father Mr. Justice Banerji was very charitably disposed and quite a number of institutions and individuals stood to benefit a good deal by his munificence and generosity. He was for many years the premier motorist of Allahabad and the President of the U. P. Automobile Association. His personality was genial, urbane and charming, and his premature death is a great loss alike to the Allahabad High Court and to Allahabad society.
MR. B. DE.

In the death of Mr. B. De, M.A., L.C.S. (retired), who rose to be a Commissioner, Bengal has lost a distinguished public servant, Calcutta, an eminent citizen, and India the last of that group of the old generation of Indian Civil Servants who have left their mark in various spheres of public life. Mr. De was a brilliant graduate of the Calcutta University. He proceeded to England in the seventies of the last century to compete for the Civil Service examination, and came out successful in six months' time. While he was there, he got himself admitted into the Oxford University, where he gave evidence of great knowledge of Sanskrit by securing the Boden Sanskrit scholarship. Mr. De was also a profound scholar in Persian. Of his works his metric translation of Vikromarjuna and Manichadabodana, his editing and translation of the Tabaqat-Akbari of Khwaja Nikamuddin Ahmed under the auspices of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and his editing of an English-Bengali dictionary, may be mentioned. After he retired from service Mr. De continued to take an active interest in the welfare of the people. For some time he was actively connected with the work of the Calcutta Improvement Trust, and he took an effective part in the economic development of Bengal and devoted his spare time in historical researches connected with the history of Mahomedan period in this country. Altogether, his death is a distinct loss to scholarship and research in Bengal.

SIR RONALD ROSS.

In the death of Sir Ronald Ross, the world has lost one of her greatest benefactors, one, who in the words of the Prince of Wales, "made a third of the globe habitable." Sir Ronald, the conqueror of malaria, saved millions of lives by his discovery that the mosquito was a malaria carrier. Dr. Ross was born in India, in May, 1857 and after studying medicine at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, London, he entered the Indian Medical Service, in 1881, and later began the special study of malaria. Convinced that mosquitoes and not marshes were the cause of malaria, he worked for years to verify his theory, his researches being carried out in various malarial regions. At last he secured confirmation of his view at Secunderabad, on August, 26, 1897, after having examined hundreds of mosquitoes. His final researches were made in Sierra Leone to which he was sent by the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine. He then extended his sphere of activities in Malay, and took part in several expeditions to tropical climates, which led to valuable discoveries in regard to sleeping sickness and elephantiasis. In 1925 he went to Ceylon to investigate the malaria problem there. In 1910, Sir Ronald was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society and in 1902 he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Medicine. Sir Ronald was also a literary man as well as a scientist. His death is a great loss to humanity.

PANDIT SHYAM SUNDER CHAKRAVARTY.

The death of Pandit Shyam Sunder Chakravarty has removed from the political horizon of Bengal one of those prominent personalities whose life is associated with different phases of Indian nationalism and who, though belonging to the old school of thought, are not slow to respond to the political upheaval of later days, through which the country has been passing. Shyam Sunder, the great non-co-operation leader, journalist and an erudite scholar, was 63 years old at the time of his death. He was born in 1869. After passing his F.A. examination, he joined a Paharia school as a teacher and then came to Calcutta and joined the Anglo-Vedic School in the same capacity. From his early life he showed natural aptitude for journalism and in 1896 he joined the editorial staff of (the English) Bande Mataram started by Mr. Atrebindu Ghose and soon became the life and soul of the paper. He threw himself whole-heartedly into the Bengal anti-partition and Swadeshi agitations, and was one of those who were deported, at that time, under Regulation III of 1818. After his release in 1910, he joined the Bengal and he was again interned at Kurusong in 1917, under the Defence of India Act. When Mahatma Gandhi started his non-co-operation movement, he was the first in Bengal to join it. Later, he founded Servant which was an exponent of non-co-operation. After its collapse, he was (for a brief period) editor of the English Basumati, after which he practically lived a retired life. Pandit Shyam Sunder was well-known for his intense religiousness. The last years of his life were spent in reading Indian philosophy and Vaishnav literature. His last work, "My Mother's Picture", is a thought-provoking book, full of religious thought and philosophy. In him, Bengal has lost a great publicist and public worker.
BABU GOLAPLAL GHOSE.

With the death of Babu Golaplal Ghoose passed away the last of the surviving brothers who had, in the last sixties, founded the Amrita Bazar Patrika. In the year 1871 when he was 11 years old, Babu Golaplal, with his elder brothers Babu Hemanta Kumar, Siisir Kumar and Motilal, came to Calcutta from his village Polua Magura, in Jessore, when the Ghoose brothers issued the Calcutta issue of the Patrika. In 1873 he was admitted into the Metropolitan Institution and just before he had to appear for the B.A. examination, the Patrika became so important an organ, that at the instance of his elder brothers, he had to give up his studies and join the paper as an active member of the staff. He received considerable political training from his brothers, and during the protracted illness of Babu Motilal Ghoose he was in sole charge of the paper and ably conducted it. After Motilal's death he became the editor of the Patrika. For forty years he was the Manager of the paper with multifarious work and responsibilities. With patience and sound judgment Golaplal weathered many a storm and raised the paper to the leading position it holds to-day not only in Bengal but throughout India. His wife's death in 1923 followed by a series of domestic bereavements was a great shock to him. With the breakdown in his health, Babu Golaplal Ghoose retired to take rest, but could not dissociate himself from work till the last moment of his life. He will justly be remembered as one of the greatest Indian journalists.

DR. YOUNAN.

Dr. W. Younan, the Dean of the Calcutta Homeopathic College, ex-President of the Homeopathic Hospital Society and President of the All-India Homeopathic Conference of 1932 held at Calcutta was 78 years of age at the time of his death. He took his medical degree from the Edinburgh University in 1882, and on his return to Calcutta he fell under the influence of an uncle of his by marriage, who was a well-known amateur homeopath. He soon raised in Dr. Younan an interest in homeopathy. Dr. Younan began his practice in Calcutta and rose to the top of the profession by dint of his abilities, knowledge and experience. He was strictly Halenmunian in his practice and did some wonderful cures. He has left a few followers of his methods but there are numerous friends who really loved and admired him not only as a physician, but also as an individual. Homeopathists and homeopathy were dear to the heart of Dr. Younan and he contributed a good deal to the literature on homeopathy. His death has created a void in the ranks of homeopathic practitioners in Calcutta.

MAHARANI SUNITY DEVI.

Her Highness Dowager Maharani Sunity Devi, who has died at the age of 66, was the eldest daughter of the late Keshab Chandra Sen, the Brahmo leader, and widow of the late Maharaja Narayan Bhup Bahadur of Cooch Behar. The deceased was a well-known social reformer. Her marriage was the centre of great controversy, and involved a number of difficulties, for she was the daughter of the leader of the Brahmo Samaj, while the Cooch Behar family was an orthodox one. By giving his consent to marry his daughter at the age of 13, Keshab Chandra Sen sustained some injury to his reputation, as he had been a life-long advocate of girls after the age of 14. The Maharani accompanied her husband and made their first trip to England in 1887, and probably she was the first Maharani to discard purdah and go to England and mix in society. She wrote her autobiography in 1921, which makes a light and pleasant reading with plenty of interesting anecdotes.
In the Public Eye.

DR. GANGANATHA JHA.

The long series of popular demonstrations in connection with the retirement from office of Dr. Gangamall Jha have marked him out as a highly successful educationist and Vice-Chancellor. Dr. Jha, who has just retired from the Vice-Chancellorship of the Allahabad University after holding this office successively for three terms, is a distinguished educationist and a great scholar in Sanskrit. He was born on September 25, 1872, and was educated by Sir Lakshminarayana Singh, late Maharaja of Darbhanga. He passed the B.A. examination with honours in Philosophy of the Allahabad University in 1896, securing the first place in the University and the M.A. examination of the same University in Sanskrit in 1892. He was appointed Librarian in the Darbhanga Raj School in the same year, and during his stay at Darbhanga for a decade he improved the Library considerably and utilised his leisure for carrying on his studies and doing literary work. During this period he studied the more important treatises on Mimamsa and published his English translations of Sankhyadatta Karmadhy, Yogasara Sangraha, Kavyapaksha, Yogabhasya, Shlokavartika and Tantravartika, the last two being published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. He also wrote original commentaries in Sanskrit on Sandilya's Bhaktisutra and on Prasannaraghu. In 1902 he was appointed Professor of Sanskrit at the Muiir Central College, Allahabad, under the principaship of Dr. Thibaut.

From 1902 to 1918 Dr. Jha remained at the Muiir College, and during this time he published the translations of Prashastapada Bhaya with Kandali, Khandanakhandadaughter, Nyagastra-bhasya-Vartika, Tarkabhsha, Kavyadanasarutra, the last four being published in the quarterly journal, Indian Thought, which Dr. Jha and Dr. Thibaut had started in 1907. In 1909 he secured the degree of Doctor of Letters of the Allahabad University through his thesis on Prakharkara School of Purva Mimamsa, which he had to write in English and in Sanskrit; as his examiners were Dr. Thibaut, Mahanahopadhyaya Pandit Shivakumar Mishra and Mahanahopadhyaya Pandit Gangadhuran Shastri, the two latter of whom did not know English.

About 1917, Dr. Jha was requested by the Calcutta University to translate for it the oldest commentary on Manusmriti, Medhatithi's Manubhasya. This monumental work took Dr. Jha nearly five years to finish and it ran into eight volumes—more than 4000 pages in all. In 1916 he was member of the Committee that went to Simla to discuss with the Government of India the details of the Hindu University Constitution, the other members being Sir Sunder Lal, Pandit Adityaram, B. Bhagwandas, Pandit Malaviya and the late Maharaja of Darbhanga. He was also a member of the Patna University Committee, Lucknow and Allahabad University Reorganisation Committees.

In 1918, Dr. Jha was transferred to Benares, as Principal of the Sanskrit College and Superintendent of Sanskrit Studies. While at Benares Dr. Jha wrote an original commentary in Sanskrit on Mandana Mishra's Mimamsamukho-Manika, and also a similar commentary on the Najubhasya. In 1920-21, he was nominated to the newly constituted Council of State as the official representative of the U. P. Government; and was also promoted to the Indian Educational Service. He served on the Select Committee on the Delhi University Bill. This Councillorship he resigned in 1923 when he was elected Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University. Twice again, in 1926 and in 1929, he was re-elected, and the University conferred upon him the honorary degree of "Doctor of Laws". He has just completed his third term of office. He has presided over the Madras Session of the Oriental Congress, and Benares Session of the Philosophical Congress. He has delivered the Kanana Lectures at the Calcutta University and the Ramdeeo Lecture at the Patna University. He has been invited to deliver the Jubilee Lecture by the Gaekwald of Baroda.