

THE Hindu Message

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Great Thoughts.

Friendship hath the skill and observation of the best physician ; the diligence and vigilance of the best nurse ; and the tenderness and patience of the best mother.

The old year is fast slipping back behind us. We cannot stay it if we would. We must go on and leave our past. Let us go forth nobly. Let us go as those whom greater thoughts and greater deeds await beyond.

The only way to regenerate the world is to do the duty which lies nearest to us, and not to hunt after grand, far-fetched ones for ourselves.

If it were expediency that cemented friendships, expediency when changed would dissolve them ; but because one's nature can never change, therefore true friendships are eternal.

A slender acquaintance with the world must convince every man that actions, not words, are the true criterion of the attachment of friends.

Acquaintance, born and nourished in adversity, is worth the cherishing ; 'tis proved steel which one may trust one's life to.

True friends visit us in prosperity only when invited, but in adversity they come without invitation.

A true friend unbosoms freely, advises justly, assists readily, adventures boldly, takes all patiently, defends courageously, and continues a friend unchangeably.

A common friendship—who talks of a common friendship ? There is no such thing in the world. On earth no word is more sublime.

No distance of place or lapse of time can lessen the friendship of those who are thoroughly persuaded of each other's worth.

A Vision of India.

THE INDIAN VILLAGE—I.

BY K. S. RAMASWAMY SASTRI, B.A., B.L.

There nestling 'mid the groves of graceful palm
And broad-leaved plantain's nodding in the breeze,

The village stands with sweet unravished peace,
And in its mood of monumental calm
And with its ancient dower of healing balm
Doth watch in towns the human swarm's increase

And crescent lust and growing dire disease
And passion's dust and war's e'er-gathering storm.
It watches and it waits and hold its way,

A small republic in itself complete,
Self-watchful, self-contained, self-reverent,
Wise in life's lore and naturally gay,
And steadfast in love of His lotus feet,
Erect of soul but in His worship bent.

Events of the Week.

The awful hell that has been perpetrated at Chauri Chaura, following, like its precursors in other parts of the country, the announcement of a no-tax campaign or other forms of aggressive civil disobedience has led to grave searchings of heart in Mr. Gandhi, who had so long remained obdurate and had shut his eyes and ears to the facts and the anxious entreaties of responsible publicists, equally arduous in fighting the good fight. Mr. Gandhi had a conference on Thursday with some of the members of the Bombay Committee and went direct to Bardoli for the Working Committee's meeting, which was attended by a few outsiders as well, including the austere Panditji. As a result the Working Committee resolved that mass civil disobedience contemplated at Bardoli and elsewhere be suspended as also every other preparatory activity of an offensive character. All activities specially designed to court arrest and imprisonment are also to cease forthwith. The whole volunteer organisations are to be overhauled so that there may be a winnowing of the chaff from the wheat. And a new programme, more constructive if less spectacular and entirely innocuous and which must receive the allegiance of all parties has been drawn up. The reader will look to the daily sheets for details of the same. The new programme must not be understood as dictated by craven fear of consequences though they would be horrible enough; it is dictated solely by a desire to bring about a peaceful atmosphere. And though the young intransigents in the Congress camp may feel the wind taken out of their sails, this change in the Congress methods has brought about a new situation and throws corresponding and great responsibilities on the Government. With this aspect of the situation we deal elsewhere.

The resolution of Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas in the Assembly on the Indianisation of the Services, though it was finally battered into an inoffensive form, commanded a good deal of unanimous sympathy in the Assembly. Sir William Vincent who spoke on behalf of the Government referred to the aspersions cast on the sincerity of the government in carrying out that policy and referred, with ironic glee no doubt, to the abundant influence exercised in the councils of the government by the Indian Ministers and Members. Sir William said it must in this connection be remembered that the active proportion of Indians in the Civil Service was 33 rising to 48, in the Police Service it was 33, in the Forest 52, Education 50, Agriculture, Engineering and Civil Veterinary also 50 per cent each and the Medical Service about 40. These figures would illustrate that since the announcement of August 1917 a very great advance—and a real advance—had been made by Government. The Home Member proceeded to quote figures to show what had so far been done by Government to effect the gradual indianisation of services between 1897 to 1918. The total recruitment of Indians, he said, was 66 while others numbered 960 in the Civil Service. The recruitment of Indians between 1917 and 1921 had been 59 against 426 others. But in 1921 there were 37 Indians against 38 others which means practically up to 50 per cent. In the Indian Medical Service the number of Indians admitted during six years between 1913 to 1915 was forty as against 112 and in three years 1919, 1920 and 1921 the figures were 78 Indians against 43 others which gave a proportion of over fifty per cent. All this is very true and nobody wants to grudge the Government any credit therefor. But still we who have to foot the bill may be pardoned for taking a little interest in examining the question now and then. As Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Iyer reminded the Assembly, everything being equal, the sons of the soil should have a preponderating voice in the administration of the country. To which we should add the rider that any inequality, so far as it lies in the province of the Government to do so, should be set right immediately or it will be convicted of callousness.

The debate did not proceed without a splenetic outburst from Sir William. He referred to the "present atmosphere of hostility in which our officers have to work," and when

somebody denied it was so, he wheeled round and asked who had the audacity to say "No." We do not think that Sir William meant anything so strange as that officers should be immune from criticisms in the Press. It must not be forgotten also that a provincial satrap recently lectured to his officers on their slackness in combating the insidious, revolutionary poison of non-co-operation. The lecture was, to say the least, lacking in dignity. Truth to say, we are passing through a stage of transition and in a false atmosphere. It is persistently boomed by the official world that India has got responsible government; when the foolish people, taking them at their word, begin to scrutinise the actions of government officials (who know that they are still the same irresponsible old Guard), all they get for their pains is a grave lecture from the Home Secretary. This surely is rubbing the people the wrong way. It is conceivable that the people who have not all the materials before them for arriving at correct conclusions may go wrong. It is foolish to interpret this as hostility. The officers should unbend and meet the people on their own ground, and give them their confidence, thus disarming distrust and suspicions. The *ma-bap* theory must go, before this is possible.

Another notable contribution to the debate, besides Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Iyer's already noticed, came from Mr. N. M. Samarth, who drew the attention of the House to section 93 (c) which enjoined on the Secretary of State in Council to appoint a Public Service Commission; and said that the Assembly should insist on the appointment of a commission to bring about recruitment in any way they liked in accordance with the rules. A Burma European member was anxious that no Indian official should find his way into Burma; apparently the Burmans had no objection to Europeans. Two amendments about communal interests were negatived.

The Madras Government have now come out with an explanation as to why they did not publish the Death Train enquiry report locally simultaneously with its publication in England; and they adduce a whole string of the best reasons in the world for this neglect in a matter of such importance. The report of the committee on this tragic incident is no exception to government enquiries into all such grave matters. The main responsibility for the catastrophe is of course that of the Railway Company; and as it has neither a soul to be damned nor a body to be kicked, the committee is obliging enough to say that its local representative the Traffic Inspector was guilty in that he failed to see that the conveyance supplied was fit for the purpose intended. That over 2000 prisoners have been conveyed in similar vans on 32 different journeys—with the added information given by *New India* of the transport of pilgrims—effectively exonerates the Railway Company. This finding is not in the report of course. Of the civil and military departments concerned, in the tense atmosphere of this country today, it will not do in any way to lower the prestige of the army. While the Civilian Officer, the same gentleman by the way who presided over this wonderful committee with a majority of non-officials, is mildly rebuked for his failure not to "have brought the system of transport under better regulation." This looks rather ludicrous after all the heroic talk from government benches in the local council about condign punishment irrespective of the guilty party and all such twaddle to please the gaping councillors. But a victim had to be found out, so the sergeant of police in charge of the train has been found guilty of negligence in failing to take note of the condition of the prisoners while on the journey. One of our contemporaries derisively asks, after such severe castigation who will have the hardihood to commit such a negligent act again? An English contemporary on the other hand calls the report a "sickening, shuffling hypocrisy." For ourselves we commiserate the Committee and the Government. That some one has been guilty is beyond doubt; but then would not officers who have to face exceptional circumstances be unnerved if they have no sense of security. So all is well that ends well; and the tax-payer may be satisfied that he has got good value for his money.



The Hindu Message

Japanese Imperialism.

The world is now being flooded with persistent anti-Japanese propaganda. It was pointed out in these columns how even the writer of that small brochure "Non-co-operation in Other Lands" had unthinkingly adopted the anti-Japanese point of view: and we then uttered what seemed to us a very necessary warning against unthinking acceptance of the calumnies against Japan and her imperialistic ambitions set afloat by ambitious and designing enemies. We are convinced that this propaganda is but an incident in that clash between the White and the Coloured races for which we see the ground being prepared everywhere. And Japan, alone among the coloured races, occupies what seems for the moment to be a formidable position. A far-seeing French Professor has written a book on "Le Declin de l'Europe" in the course of which he ascribes to Japan a very high mission. Whether we agree with his forecast or not, Prof. A. Demangeon thinks that the mission of Japan is "directing the advance of the East, and even of civilising the yellow world. The 'White Peril' must be flouted to bring about an Asiatic Union to thwart European influence. Such a great league, of which Japan would be the leader, would comprise the Chinese, Malays, the Annamites, the Siamese, and even the Hindoos; with the slogan "Asia for Asiatics." Here in India we know for certain there is a party, very largely inspired by Sri Aurobindo Ghose, which aims at an Asiatic resurgence. Should Japan rise to the position of a leader of an Asiatic resurgence, the gloomy Dean Inge's prophecies regarding the white race being submerged by the coloured might well come to pass within a measurable distance of time. The rapid rise in all manner of material resources of Japan is therefore an eyesore to the White Races who are bent on the exploitation, if not the extermination of the weaker through

more numerous coloured races, in Asia where alone they still boast of some sort of an independent existence. Hence the campaign against Japan's so-called exploitation of Korea and other dependencies. It is not necessary to enquire into the sources of these persistent calumnies: but we shall in this article see how far they are true to the picture painted of Japan as an imperialistic ogre devouring subject nationalities under her sway.

We shall first take the German territory which has been mandated to Japan. It has been suggested that Japan is fortifying the South Sea Islands: and exaggerated stories are rife about the economic and strategic value of these Pacific Islands of Germany. A Japanese Foreign Office statement categorically denies these statements. The total area of the islands is not more than 950 square miles. The economic value of the islands is scarcely worthy of mention—nor is their strategic value of any importance, since the Japanese Government, true to the spirit of mandatory rule, has disavowed any intention to establish military and naval bases of operation or fortification, as they have declared time and again. It is also denied that there is any attempt on the part of the Japanese authorities to exclude foreign traders or missionaries from these islands.

Let us turn to Korea, which has been the Noodle's standing reproach against Japan. The *Asian Review* in its latest number quotes from a Tokyo foreign paper the remarks of Mr. Richard Ponsonby Fane on Japanese administration in Korea. Among his qualifications for writing on the subject is the fact that he has served in various British colonies and has visited the greater number of others. In one pithy sentence he gives his opinion as follows:—"Great Britain is generally regarded as the most successful European country in colonial administration and has the reputation of treating the native peoples under its dominion with kindness and consideration, yet after careful reflection I have come to the conclusion that I would certainly prefer to be a Korean under Japanese rule, than an Indian under Great Britain or a Zulu or a Kafir under the Union Government of South Africa... There is no longer one law for the Korean and another for the Japanese. (Consider the revelations before the Racial Distinctions Committee here!—Ed. H. M.)" And so on, to the excellence of Japanese colonial government compared with Anglo-Indian administration, of which the writer seems to have first-hand knowledge.

Our next authority shall be Professor Poultney Bigelow, M.A., F.R.G.S., late Professor in the Law department of the Boston University. This gentlemen recently revisited Japan and her dependencies after the lapse of nearly half-a-century: and gave his impressions of Japanese rule in Korea and Formosa, from which we quote a few extracts:—"To me there is but one answer to the question whether Japan is justified or not. When I was out here in 1876, Formosa was looked upon as one of the savage South Sea Islands. People did not go there, and to be ship-wrecked on the coast of the island meant that the natives would serve you as food. Now the country is well-ordered: everywhere I went I saw modern harbours, roads, schools, hospitals and other public enterprises." "America should thank Japan for doing what she is doing with Korea and Formosa and Saghalien. Japan is doing the work and is bearing the expense, while America is reaping the benefits. Everywhere I went in those possessions I saw great numbers of American-made machines in the fields, on the roads and in the industrial plants." And again comes another cryptic observation:—"The United States forced the missionaries on both China and Japan, and the missionaries should conduct themselves as guests of the country they are in, no matter where they are. If they do not like political or other conditions, instead of creating trouble they should get out." Very true.

The Dawn of Wisdom.

Courage in action must distinguish every leader of movements of emancipation. But that action itself must be determined by a calm and impartial consideration of all the factors necessary for a wise decision. It cannot be denied that Mr. Gandhi had before him, time and again, from persons in his own camp and of unquestioned political orthodoxy, clear warnings as to the disastrous results that await any campaign of aggressive civil disobedience. Great tactician as he is, he had no excuse in our opinion for going over the heads of trusted lieutenants and in many cases not consulting of them at all. The result has been that he has been forced in haste to withdraw his threatened mass civil disobedience and all other aggressive activities of the Congress. This is good so far as it goes and we would fain hope that this would teach responsible public men the necessity of circumspection and prudence before launching on ill-digested schemes to reach the goal by a short cut. Unless one wilfully shuts his eyes to the facts of the situation, one cannot have indulged in such bragging, as has led to all the ugly events of the last few weeks. The Working Committee, rather Mr. Gandhi has now

roused himself from the paradise in which he had so long been living, mainly we think owing to the persuasive eloquence of Pandit Malaviya, and the result is to be seen in the new programme of work drawn up by Mr. Gandhi. True, it is not so spectacular as the old one, which breathed fire and brimstone against a Satanic Government, but it has the merit of a wise forethought, of being more constructive and comprehensive, instead of leading us through a series of Pyrrhic victories of the kind which had deluded our stalwarts into believing that the country was ripe for the revolutionary campaign of non-payment of taxes. We hope and trust this new change in policy will rally to the cause of the country all those who were rightly apprehensive of certain features of the non-co-operation movement.

The question naturally arises in this connection as to how the Government propose to meet the new situation: would they state a case like the gesture of peace that they should or persist ostrich-like in hiding their heads in the sands. It will be noticed that Mr. Gandhi's new programme—a climbdown as in certain quarters it has been called, and indicating a lack of prescience in responsible men as we choose to take it—goes beyond the terms of his original offer in connection with the abortive proposals for a round table conference. We may say at once that Mr. Gandhi's ultimatum, as it was called, to the Viceroy was, apart from its merits, extremely uncalled for and wanting in respect towards those esteemable gentlemen who were already engaged in difficult negotiations. All this has been changed by the eleventh hour wisdom of Mr. Gandhi. It is an idle triviality to deplore that it had not dawned on the Working Committee earlier. But as it is, it opens up the way to a solution which we would urge on the Government to seek the best means to bring about.

Much as we deplore the hasty adoption of a policy, with its inevitable results, which the Working Committee has now by implication condemned, it will be wrong to set it down as due to any cowardly or selfish fear of consequences. The surprising alacrity with which men and women have offered themselves to test the legality of technically legal orders and to suffer the consequences of breaking what happens to be the law of the land, in the making of which they had neither part nor lot, is indicative, in how small a degree so-ever, of the willingness of the race to go through the flaming ordeal. The race has become imbued with the idea that this fire of suffering is needed as a purificatory process. There are those who think the goal can be achieved otherwise and that the Gandhian method led into the minds of the masses. The scene of brutality and carnage in parts of the country has for a time allowed these wise counsels of prudence to gain the upper hand. To interpret this as any sign of cowardice, fear of consequen-

ces or disbelief in the righteousness of the cause and to shape government actions accordingly will be the height of unwisdom, and we warn the government accordingly.

Mr. Montagu may talk as grandiloquently as he please about law and order, and the title of the government to the support of all well-disposed Indians. It is no use demanding self-government and at the same time shrink from supporting the Government which gave protection—said he recently at the 1920 Club. Here is evidently a good deal of confusion. It is precisely because there is no real responsible government in this country that you have the awful spectacle of responsible citizens, men who in every way are ornaments of the country, standing aside from law and order. Professorial lectures on good citizenship will not solve the problem: and it will be bankrupt statesmanship which fails to take advantage of the unprecedented wave of repentance that is now passing over the country. The longer you delay in arriving at a just solution, the more you jeopardise the possibilities of Indo-British unity.

Our Bombay contemporary, the *Indian Social Reformer* writes as follows on the East African debate in the Legislative Assembly:—Though Mr. Agnihotri's motion in the Legislative Assembly on Thursday related to the position of Indians in all parts of Africa, it virtually narrowed itself down to a discussion of Mr. Winston Churchill's recent speech to the East African deputation in London. The two remarkable features of the debate were the opposition to the motion, of the two representatives of British Commerce in India in sympathy with their fellow-Whites in East Africa, and the absolute silence of Government as to whether Mr. Churchill spoke for himself or for the Cabinet. Mr. Sarma's speech on behalf of Government does not at all make it clear whether the Government of India itself had been consulted in the matter. Surely there was sufficient time for Government to have ascertained by cable the real inwardness of the Colonial Secretary's pronouncement, and we can hardly imagine that it had not done so. Mr. Sarma's reticence, therefore, leaves on us the uneasy feeling that Mr. Churchill spoke not for himself but as the mouthpiece of the Cabinet. Mr. Sarma's plea that the political situation in India made it difficult for Government to plead the cause of Indians in East Africa, is palpably absurd, considering that in the most peaceful times, representations on behalf of Indians received no better consideration. It is more true to say that the speech of the Colonial Secretary has worsened the political situation in India than that the political situation brought about the speech.

In answer to a question at the last session of the Council of State in regard to the re-opening of the Penal Settlement in the Andamans, the following answer was tabled:—"as announced by the Hon. Sir William Vincent in his speech in the Legislative Assembly on the 11th March 1921, Government have decided to abandon the Andamans as a penal settlement and not to retain it even in the modified form suggested by the Indian Jails Committee. This decision was communicated to local Governments in March 1921 with directions to stop absolutely the transportation of females and to repatriate female convicts already in the Andamans not married locally, also, as far as practicable and as accommodation became available in India, to stop the deportation of fresh male convicts. The transportation of convicts ceased in March 1921. It has, however, always been recognised that the process of closing down the penal settlement must be a lengthy one and must depend upon the rate at which new

jails can be constructed in India. Complete effect cannot be given to the decision to abandon the penal settlement until new jails have been constructed in India to accommodate not only those convicts who are to be repatriated from, but also those who would ordinarily have been transported to, the Andamans. The Government of India have urged local Governments to provide funds for this purpose, but provincial finances allow only of gradual and slow expansion of jail accommodation. The stoppage of transportation to the Andamans has resulted in serious over-crowding in nearly all the provinces, especially the Punjab, where the position is said to be dangerous and where an outbreak recently occurred in the Lahore Central Jail, in the Madras Presidency owing to the influx of prisoners in connection with the Malabar disturbances, and also in the North-West Frontier Province, where the Jail population now exceeds the available accommodation by over 40 per cent. Overcrowding necessarily means deterioration in Jail administration and discipline, and there is besides the grave danger of epidemics on a large scale. For these reasons the Government of India, in consultation with the Secretary of State, have reluctantly come to the conclusion that there is no alternative but temporarily to re-open transportation from those provinces where the position is most serious. This is a purely temporary measure designed merely to relieve the dangerous overcrowding that exists in the prisons of certain provinces. It will be stopped as soon as the necessary additional accommodation can be provided, and effort will be made to ensure that the accommodation needed is provided as soon as possible. It may be explained, however, that transportation will continue to be absolutely prohibited in the case of 1. females, 2. persons convicted of 'political' offences, and 3. prisoners suspected of a tendency to unnatural vice.

At the meeting of the Indian Legislative Assembly on Thursday last, Dr. H. S. Gour's motion for the appointment of a mixed committee to report on the possibility of effecting economy in the various departments of the central government was put and carried without a division. In this connection we may tell the readers that, according to Sir Malcolm Haily's answer to a question in the Assembly, the expenditure on the civil and military administration under the Central Government (excluding Commercial Departments like the Posts and Telegraphs, Railways and Irrigation) is Rs. 99,22,42,000. The details are as follows:—a. Direct demands on the Revenues, Rs. 4,93,51,000; b. Debt Services, Rs. 13,08,61,000; c. Civil Administration, Rs. 8,43,18,000; d. Currency, Mint and Exchange, Rs. 4,18,80,000; e. Buildings, Roads and miscellaneous Public Improvements, Rs. 1,51,11,000; f. Miscellaneous, Rs. 4,24,37,000; g. net military expenditure, Rs. 62,20,00,000; and h. Miscellaneous adjustments between the Central and Provincial Governments, Rs. 62,84,000. Total—Rs. 99,22,42,000.

Literary and Educational.

Mr. Aurobindo Ghose's "Essays on the Gita"—A Criticism.

By K. SUNDARARAMA Aiyar, M.A.

Essay VIII. "The Yoga of the Intelligent Will."

Sri Krishna says (Gita, II. 49) that Karma is far inferior in merit to *buddhi-yoga*. He distinctly means that "the distance" he speaks of is due to the absence in the former, and the presence, in the latter, of *Samatva* (or *Yoga*) spoken of in the previous sloka. *Samatva* is there explained to mean 1. giving up of the idea of the self as the doer and 2. preserving equanimity whether one's activity bears the fruit desired, or fails to do so. It is *Samatva* that makes the essence of *buddhi-yoga*. *Buddhi-Yoga*, as the term is later used in the Gita, means much more than *Samatva*, as it leads to Moksha in its final stage by a process of evolution

through well-recognised stages. That this later process is also part of the significance of *buddhi-yoga* is explained in the very next sloka where Sri Krishna asks Arjuna to remain firmly fixed in the practice of it, for the reason that those who are led into activities by the mere love of fruit remain tied to the unsatisfying and impermanent life of the material world. The Gita calls such as are thus self-deceived and self-injured by the name of *Kripanas*—a technical term in the Vedānta. Sankarācharya suggests what it means by quoting the Brihadāranyaka-passage,—“The Kripāna is he who leaves this world without knowing the Imperishable (Brahman).” Ramanujācharya, too, interprets *Kripanas* similarly to mean “those who are still tied to the life of Samsara (material embodiment).” According to him, *Samatva* of good and bad results is the *āvantara* (proximate) *phala* (fruit), and *moksha* is the *pradhana* (ultimate) *phala*. That the significance of *buddhi-yoga* extends so far is shown by other passages of the Gita. For example, Sri Krishna says:—“To them, freed from all out-going desires and serving me with devotion I give that *buddhi-yoga* by which they realise my true Self (*Samyag-darśana*).” And again:—“Relying on *buddhi-yoga*, do thou ever fix thy mind on me.” In this last passage, *buddhi-yoga* clearly means constant meditation on God (*samadhi*) which is the means to the *samyag-darśanam* previously referred to; and *Karma-yoga* is the means to gain the stage of *Samadhi*, the highest degree of mental concentration. Thus from *Samatva* and through *Samadhi*, to *Samyagdarsanam* is the evolution of soul-life implied in *buddhi-yoga*,—the transition from *avyasaya-buddhi* to *vyasaya-buddhi* (Gita, II. 41).

Let us now turn from the introductory, to the special, topic of Mr. Ghose's present essay (No. VIII of his series)—“The Yoga of the Intelligent Will,” i.e., *Buddhi-Yoga*, and what it really is. Here Mr. Ghose seems to us to labour under three (or more) psychological illusions. We shall deal with them in order as below.

The first of Mr. Ghose's illusions is that Sri Krishna speaks first as “guide and teacher” in order to remove Arjuna's ignorance of his true self, of the nature of the world, and of the springs of his own action—and that only later on he takes up the role of “Friend and Lover of Man” in order to convey his message—“this deep and moving word of God”—to the world; and the first-named teaching is directed to the intellect and the second only to the soul. Now, there is not a shadow of reason for this cut-and-dry division of capacity or function in the Lord-scarer. His teaching is given in parts, indeed; but it follows the natural bent and course of the Disciple's awakening curiosity and impulses towards the light, as well as the natural evolution of the subject-matter. But in Sri Krishna the Teacher himself, there can be no such separation of parts and their assumption by him in order as when the same actor takes up different characters in a drama,—though his Avatara occurred in pursuance of an undertaking and pre-arrangement with the Devas for the benefit and enlightened advance of humanity. Sri Krishna is always the Lover and Friend of Man as much as he is as Teacher and Guide. Sri Krishna himself speaks of himself in his relation to all beings as follows:—“I am the Goal, the supporter, the master, the witness, the substraction to rest on, the asylum for the distressed, the sincere friend and helper” (Gita, IX. 18),—and so he mentions no such hard-and-fast separation, as Mr. Ghose makes out, of the parts which he has to play, in accordance with separate sources or faculties in his nature. Such a separation of faculties and capacities is part of an exploded psychology. The feelings, intellect, and will always have their play conjointly in human nature and life. Mr. Ghose, therefore, is not justified in holding that Sri Krishna first addressed himself to the “intellect”—i.e., the reason of Arjuna, and that later—after removing his ignorance—he appealed to his emotions, or the soul (i.e., his spiritual capacity his power of willing and acting). No doubt, *buddhi* is defined in the Vedānta as—to use Mr. Ghose's language—“discriminating and deciding faculty” (*nishayot-maka*) while *manas* is what Mr. Ghose calls “sense-mind,” purely perceptive, which can seize only the broad outlines of an object (*ishaya*) and so *samsatmaka*. But, after all, these so-called powers, whatever their stage of evolution, are merely material in their content and formation and have no

action or purpose without association with the “chiti-sakti” or the *atman* and its light-giving knowledge.

The understanding of *buddhi* and *manas* as separately existing faculties and parts of the human mind is the second of Mr. Ghose's illusions above referred to, and has been above treated in the manner needed for our purpose here. We pass to the third one. Evolution is doubtless always the process which is carried on from within outwards. But it is not right to hold as Mr. Ghose does, that there is any such order of evolution as *earlier* and *later* in our differentiation of subjective and objective—between internal and external—experience, apart from the functions attaching to the internal organ which is *one* only. There is no difference in constitution or situation in place—but *only in function*—between *buddhi* and *manas*. The organ is the same; the *gunas* (or substances) constituting it are the same, together with their relative proportions. It is the *atman*—its intelligent power of dealing with the form and life of the material object (*ishaya*) to which it has got to stand related in its passage through the material universe—that determines the functions of matter in different degrees of evolution which it utilises as its means and instruments. When Sri Krishna speaks of *buddhi-yoga* and calls on Arjuna to “seek refuge in *buddhi*” (II. 49),—the *buddhi* he speaks of is to be understood as that knowledge of the highest Existence with which the jivatman stands related—not to the merely material substance, heterogeneous in its composition as composed of the three *gunas*.

Fourthly, Mr. Ghose holds that “the subjective first evolves, because soul-consciousness is the first cause and inconscient nature-force only the second and dependent cause.” We do not object to the view that soul-consciousness is the cause, *self-reliant* and *self-moving*, while nature-force is, conversely, cause *dependent* on the former. But there is no ground for holding that there is a distinction of *first* and *second* place in the order in which the cause of evolution operate. Where both of two factors are needed for the production of an effect, it is not right to mark a distinction of this kind; and *really* there is no such order in time as Mr. Ghose imagines. Mr. Ghose combines the organs of perception and action together in his “tertiary” stage of evolution. But they are as much *internal* as *manas* and *buddhi* and form part of the *sukshmasarira* (the finer substratum of the gross material body), and they only depart from the body together when the *prana* (or life-principle) leaves it. We hold that there is a difference between all these principles of faculties in the human body according to their constitution or function and *not according to any time order of evolution*.

We think also that Mr. Ghose is not right in another way in which he distinguishes between *buddhi* and *manas*—the former as “taking the form of intelligence and will,” the latter as “the force which seizes at nature's discriminations by desire and taking the form of the deformations of the will.” All this portion of Mr. Ghose's psychology takes its origin from his primary notion that, in the order of evolution, *buddhi* develops first, and then only comes *manas*. As we have already pointed out, there is only one *padārtha* (category), but named differently according to the function it takes up. *Buddhi* is its name when it *discriminates and decides*; it is called *manas* when it only forms a *sankalpa* (purpose), but does not yet know with the fullness of certainty the nature of the object it is striving for or resolve at once whether to obtain its possession or not. Secondly, Mr. Ghose, we think, errs when he says that while *manas* has “the senses (of perception and of action) for its instruments” and therefore “becomes the deformations of the will,”—*buddhi* takes the form of “the intelligent will” and that its discriminative power is “fixed in the intelligent soul, is concentrated in inner self-knowledge” and so is pure. In the Vedānta, while *buddhi* and *manas* form, as already stated, but one *padārtha* (category) and their functions are respectively *nischaya* (determination) and *sankalpa* mere purpose, while yet its object has not been determined as to its exact nature or capable of being recognised) their purity or impurity is determined according to the *gunas* in the manner expressly taught to Arjuna in the Gita, Chap. XVIII (30-32). Even if the *buddhi* is turned towards a Dharma such is approved in the Vedas

(and even though *samadhi-nishata* is not yet reached), it is yet pure (*Sattvika*) in its guna. We cannot accept Mr. Ghose's view that the *buddhi* is to be regarded as pure only when (or because) "it is fixed in the enlightened soul." It is what Mr. Ghose calls "the confused play of three Gunas of Prakriti" that brings in impurity for the intelligence or the will in more or less degree. The *buddhi* which is *sattvik* is directed towards "peace and self-mastery" (*samadhi*) and must be only pure. From the highest Advaitic stand-point, liberation (or *Moksha*) is itself included in the sphere of the *Prakriti*. In other Vedantic doctrines and systems, the *buddhi*, when it is planted in the direction of its highest objective, and when striving for "peace and self mastery" (*samadhi*) leading to liberation, is pure, even though it may be in various stages of evolution towards its supreme destiny (*vyavasaya*).

Finally, Mr. Ghose is in error when he says that *buddhi* "takes the form of intelligence and will" while *manas* is "the force which seizes at nature's" discriminations by desire." For, not only are they both one and the same inner organ with different functions, but the said three successive stages of knowledge, desire, and will are common to both and have to be gone through for the fulfilment of their functions in full. As the Vedantin puts it, *janati, icchati, karoti*, i.e., knowledge, desire, and will (or resolve) have to follow in the order mentioned; and that order of succession applies to both *buddhi* and *manas*. No action is otherwise possible for man; and hence no step in advance is possible for man in the achievement of his destined aim of liberation from samsara, if he is incapable of following the said order of succession in the laws of his nature and being.

English Literature in the East.

The adoption of English as a *lingua franca* by the various peoples whom we lump together as Indians is not in itself of much concern to the student of English literature. The India of the Mogul emperors evolved, in Urdu—literally, the language of the camp—a *lingua franca* which in four centuries has produced little real literature and no work of world-wide repute. But English is, for the intellectuals of India, a great deal more than the means of enabling the Mohammedan from the Punjab, the Mahratta Brahmin, the Bengali, and the Tamil of Madras to understand each other. It is the one language known to Indians which is adequately equipped for discussion of the modern world; it is the language in which they find most exactly and eloquently stated many of their newer social and political ideals; and it has a literature portions of which appeal very strongly to the Indian mind.

TORU DUTT.

For two generations now English speaking Indians have been seriously attempting the production of literature in our language. Looking back, one can see progress of a sort. The average has been raised, and there is much less slavish imitation of the English eighteenth-century manner. But talent comes into the world capriciously, or according to some law that we cannot discern, and I cannot see that any living Indian writer of English verse has surpassed Toru Dutt, one of the earliest pioneers. It must be nearer fifty years than forty since that graceful Bengali poet was discovered for readers in this country by Mr. Edmund Gosse. Since her day Indian writers of English have come to understand much more generally both how to distinguish the finer from the less fine English models and the necessity of forsaking even the best English models in order to achieve true local colour and to express genuinely Oriental feeling. But, in essentials, so far as poetry is in question, neither Sir Rabindranath Tagore nor Mrs. Sarojini Naidu is Toru Dutt's superior.

TAGORE.

Tagore, to be fair, is known to the English reader only in translations, chiefly by himself of the works he has composed in Bengali. If Landor, translating certain

of his Latin poems into his own mother tongue, occasionally weakened a phrase, the loss with Tagore, translating himself into an adopted language, is probably much greater. Yet when all allowances are made, it is difficult to take Tagore for a poet of any very high order. He has ideas which are rather more novel to us than to his countrymen, and which it may refresh some of us to consider when wearied by the positive energy of much Western literature. Those ideas, however, remain rather vague.

OVERVALUED.

Tagore has had the misfortune of being overvalued on first introduction to the West, and it is necessary now to begin any praise of his real merits as Andrew Lang once began a eulogy of Eliza Gerald's Omar: "Although much admired by the worst judges." All consistent work argues considerable art in the producer, and Tagore's is consistent. The multiplication of translations from his apparently voluminous Bengali poetical works may not have added anything to his reputation, but it has not detracted from it. There is a kind of dignity in his poetical attitude even when his lips are uttering no more than the refined platitudes of Eastern mysticism, a kind of grace in the language. No one poem is likely to remain among the more important of one's literary experiences, but the reading of the whole has been an experience. It is the East made easily comprehensible, one part of the Eastern temperament at any rate, for there are other aspects.

A WOMAN POET.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu has much more of the lyrical cry, and, if politics had not distracted her, might have done a larger quantity of characteristic work. Up to a point she has made the best of both worlds, Eastern and Western. Her weakness is that she proceeds by accumulation of images rather than by development of thought, and that the sequence of the images is sometimes too logical. There is less subtlety in her recent verse than there was in the best pieces in "The Golden Threshold." But she is a true poet, and there are others.

It cannot be doubted that some of them are destined to enrich English literature. The borrowing will not always be one-sided. English poets of the future may find suggestions for new imagery, new metrical effects, in the verse of some of these Indian poets. Indian subjects have already intrigued some English poets, and, rather curiously, it is not Mr. Yeats who has come nearest to the Indian spirit with his "Indian upon God, but Mr. Arthur Symonds in an "Indian Meditation."

John O'London's Weekly.

Economic and Financial.

Local Finances.

An empty exchequer, wrote a contemporary, is a wonderful stimulant to national thoughts on economy and it likened it to a banker's reminder to spendthrift depositors of accounts over-drawn. The Government of Madras does not think what is needed to put its finances in order is economy, the use of the scissors with a determined "Treasury conscience." Madras is now in the position of an unfortunate investor whose dividends have fallen off and whose expenses have increased. The manlier course under these circumstances would be to cut one's losses by a policy of severe retrenchment. Instead we see with regret, not unmixed with dismay, that they have resolved on imposing additional taxation with which to meet the huge deficit that faces them. With this view, drafts of some contemplated legislative measures have been published and are before us. These provide for an additional land cess, increase of court fees and enhancement of the stamp duty. Amending bills

in regard to the above have also been published. It is stated that even these will not do to meet the deficit: and a tax on entertainments and another on betels are also talked about.

One cause of the apprehended deficit has been mentioned to be the fall in the excise revenue. All this we shall discuss as we proceed. We refer to it here only to point out an amusing episode in this connection. The *Hindu* in an unguarded moment put the loss in excise as due to temporary causes: we are sure the editor will not allow himself to be caught napping again. Here was a glorious opportunity to make political capital and the *Mail* was not slow to avail itself of the chance to discredit the Congress propaganda in favour of temperance. What the learned editor of the *Hindu* had in his mind was no doubt, as is clear when one reads through the whole paragraph, that the loss in revenue by temperance propaganda is likely to be only temporary, as a policy of total abstinence will increase the productive and spending capacity of the people and thus ultimately benefit the national finances. As the *Hindu* admits, it might have been better worded; but neither would the *Mail* have been true to its vocation if it let slip this glorious accident.

We do not think much can be said against the amendments to the Court Fees and Stamp Acts, so as to bring in larger revenue to the coffers of the State. It is too much to expect, as one writer wishes, that the ministers should force the government to accept a policy of total prohibition before they ask the legislature to vote for the new taxes. As for the other proposals we hope and trust enough men of sense and independence of judgment will be found even in this Council who will throw out all additional imposts on land. In dealing with the Budget debates last year we pointed out that land is bearing already far too high a share of the financial burden and that it will be suicidal to force it any higher. It must not be forgotten that in this land the incidence of all taxation ultimately falls on the ryot. The other fact again must not be forgotten, which was pointed out by Mr. (as he then was) Todhunter himself. Whatever tends to expand the revenue from land tends also to increase expenditure, namely the resulting high price of rice. In fact, as we then pointed out, this is one of the weightiest arguments for the transfer of land revenue to popularly elected ministers.

Apart from this impost being unsound financially, it is inequitable in the extreme. In discussing the debate on permanent assessment of land revenue in the last session, we examined at length the arguments on the government side and found how they went against the express recommendations of the Joint Committee. Instead of following these wise recommendations, the Government goes on levying a continuously increasing and ruinously high percentage of the produce of land: and the new cesses contemplated are a double iniquity on a patient and long suffering class of people. We shall wait with anxious concern what our august neo-democrats propose to do in the matter of this iniquitous proposal. The argument about village officers being servants of the village is an old fiction, to prick which we will have to go into much unedifying history.

We are therefore thrown back on retrenchment as the only manly expedient. This we have pointed out often. Reference may be made to the tribute to the Government of India of an unconscionably big slice of our revenues, brought about mainly by the foolish parsimony that stinted necessities and rubbed hands in professional glee at accumulating balances. Faced as the Central Government is with a huge deficit of its own, mostly we think owing to its foolish policy of setting the Army house in order out of current revenues, we do not think there is any possibility of the central government being magnanimous towards us in this affair. An excise duty on tobacco, which has been suggested by a contemporary, is also on these accounts not practicable. So we must only unsettle the scandalous accomplished

fact of more appointments for the services, carrying fatter and fatter pay. That is where the axe should be laid. As for a loan to tide over the temporary financial troubles, we doubt very much if it is the part of wisdom to borrow in order to meet a temporary deficit. It is hardly sound finance. We think rather that the axe should be applied wisely but none the less firmly as he says. A loan distributed over a number of years is a betrayal of financial incompetence; while additional imposts on the land is a piece of injustice which we cannot describe. Among the many suggestions towards economy, one that has been passed by a large majority is the reduction in the size of the Madras Cabinet. Its reduction by two members, who are said to retire about the end of next month, would amount to a saving of nearly two lakhs per annum. An Anglo-Indian contemporary, we do not know on what authority, believes that any such suggestion from Lord Willingdon "would meet with the support of the Secretary of State." Other economies might be effected also, not alone in the pompous manner advertised by the Publicity Bureau in the matter of stationery. We shall see how the mock parliament in Madras acquits itself, though we have no reason to believe that in so vital a matter they will abdicate their proper functions.

Short Story.

Doctor Buchan Exposed—To The Public!

(A Detective story.)

By KANHAIYA LALL.

CHAPTER. IV.

On getting to the garden we found that the night was very dark. We took our seats on a bench just facing the window by which the supposed robber or robbers entered.

As you are already aware I had no rest the previous night; for, we had been engaged in detecting a thief; I felt dizzy; it was also due to the Doctor's keeping unusually quiet.

"You are feeling sleepy, Miser?" said the Doctor.

"Yes, I do."

"Cheer up, my good friend."

"How can I be cheerful?" I returned enraged.

"What's the matter, my boy?"

"Why, aren't you confiding today?"

"I'll tell you everything tomorrow."

"Very good. May I retire to my room for an hour? I'm much upset."

"Go."

I noiselessly crept to my room, which was next to that of Miss Ellen Jones'. The one window of the room opened in the garden. I was at once asleep. An hour later, I started up in my bed from a horrible dream. I had seen somebody enter my room by some private door...he perhaps changed his dress here, in my room... the dress was jet black... and, he left the room abruptly and I woke up.

I looked at my watch. "It is now too late," I said, One o'clock in the morning; I must now join Dr. Buchan; he is perhaps following a wroth scent, unless, some extraordinary chance....." And saying this as if to appeal to my good stars, I approached the window, much out of temper, which looked out upon a somewhat dreary part of the garden. Immediately, and as if some evil genius had been at my orders, I perceived returning with stealthy steps, followed by a man who was no less than my friend, Dr. Buchan, a figure in black; and I did not fail

to recognize the figure that had struck my attention in the dream, about half an hour, previously.

"Admirable!" I thought, striking my hands together the mystery will now be over. And I started out along the stair-case hoping, to reach the courtyard in time to recognize the mysterious murder and robber for no other he could be before he could run away. But as I arrived at the door in the little court, I nearly knocked against Dr. Buchan. Unfortunately he was alone. I knew that since I had seen him, not later, than five minutes before, following a man, the man in question could not be far off. Consequently I hardly lost time to salute the Doctor as he drew up, to allow him to pass. He had advanced a few steps with the rapidity of a woman who fears recognition, when I darted into the garden, looked hastily round on every side, and within my glance as much of the horizon as I possibly could. I was just in time; the man who was followed by my friend was still in sight; only he was rapidly hurrying towards one of the wings of the house, behind which he was just on the point of disappearing. There was not a minute to lose; I ran in pursuit of him, prepared to slacken my pace as I approached the unknown; but, in spite of the diligence I used, the unknown had disappeared behind the flight of steps before I approached him.

It was evident, however, that as he whom I pursued was walking quietly, in a very pensive manner, with his head bent down, either under the weight of grief or happiness; when once the angle passed, unless, indeed, the unknown were to enter by some private door or another I could not fail to overtake him. And this certainly would have happened, if at the very moment I turned round the angle, I had not received a stunning blow and fallen senseless,

When I came to my senses I found myself in the room where I had slept. Dr. Buchan sat besides my bed on a chair. He anxiously looked at me and seemed to ask whether I was alright then.

"Who brought me here?" I asked.

"I"

"How?"

"When you left me so abruptly four hours back I could not but follow you, but on account of my bulkiness I could not overtake you." He paused.

"Proceed."

"When you turned at the angle and were out of my sight I....."

"What?"

"I was sorry for you."

"Why?"

"I thought that something was going to happen to you."

"Well?"

"I was correct. On reaching the corner I found you senseless."

"And the robber, the murderer?"

"Gone."

"Gone?"

"He mysteriously disappeared."

"You did not see him then?"

"Not a trace of him was to be found."

"Doctor, you followed him in the garden; I saw you."

"Yes I followed him in the garden; he came towards the landing when I reached it, but, you knocked against me."

"Relate it from the beginning, I'll also tell you something."

"When you left me, I was sitting on the same bench for about an hour and a half when I heard..."

"What did you hear?" I interrupted.

"Stealthy steps."

"Yes, stealthy steps of a man..."

"Dressed in black?"

"Exactly. He was dressed in black and seemed to search something beneath the bench on which we were sitting in the evening. I, being on my alert, stood up on my feet to follow him. He was very busily engaged in his search. I had a mind to go to him and demand an explanation of his mysterious visit; but before I had advanced half a dozen steps towards him, he departed, and I followed him."

Dr. Buchan stopped as if to take breath. I had never seen him so much troubled as on that day, which was due to these unusual circumstances.

"He walked on," he continued, "I followed. But to my surprise he came towards the house to the door where you knocked against me. He had disappeared."

"Well I'll begin now." I proceed, "When I came to my room I was fast asleep after a few minutes. I thought.....I saw a terrible dream." Here I told Dr. Buchan how I had seen somebody enter my room and how he had changed his dress in my room, and how I saw him followed by the Doctor in the garden; and then added, "On hastening down I found you alone, without your prisoner I thought that you had given up the chase because of your fatness; and thinking that he would not be far off I ran to catch him. I was correct. I saw him hastening to the wings over there. He turned at the angle. I also reached it. What happened there you already know."

"The case is getting complicated," admitted Dr. Buchan but showed no signs of defeat.

He had determined to find out the culprit.

To be Continued.

Miscellaneous.

N. S.'s Miscellany.

TRIALS INSIDE JAILS.

This is disgraceful to any judiciary. It shows a weakness on the part of Government that stamps them with unfitness to rule. A Government that cannot face criticism boldly and honestly in the face, a Government that has not the courage to conduct judicial trials in public, does not deserve the name of Government. How is the *Daily News* of London going to reconcile this with the position it rightly wishes Englishmen to adopt, viz., of being in India "as guardians, and not as conquerors?"

CONVICTED FOR A SONG.

For one people to live under another is an obvious and acknowledged anomaly. If, in the name of such an anomalously ruling people, a member of the people so anomalously ruled should have, as part of his struggle to exist, to punish his own brother for expressing that anomaly in the form of a song,—for it is an Indian that is often made to punish us—is it not a little irony of fate? Yet this is what is occurring almost every day and has occurred in a special form in Rajamundry. Such punishments only increase the existing disaffection and hatred towards government. And one cannot better compare the Indian official who helps such prosecutions and punishments than with the coloured sepoy who, for the sake of pay, goes to European countries and helps in the mutual extermination of the white peoples, which is the long and short of the Great War. Of course, it is equally silly for the anomalously ruled nation to think that the anomaly of a foreign rule can be exorcised by a song. Subtle

economic policies on the one side, actively aided by stupendous economic stolidity on the other, accounts for this anomaly in India. Correct the stolidity, repair and restore interdependent national consciousness among all classes of a people—the anomaly disappears. Merely kick against the anomaly in peevish rage, the anomaly grows, and the foreign rule gradually loses what humane and responsible character it possesses, and becomes unable to save the country from chaos.

CAR FESTIVALS.

The car-festival is practically the winding-up ceremony of an *Utsavam* in a Hindu temple. Apart from its value to the worshipper, it is full of lessons to the lay observer. A huge weight, a large number of people working at the long ropes in the form of one continuous pull, brakes to direct the course and to regulate the force, applied by a few anxious and responsible experts, levers behind to start the motion every time the force of the pull abates—and all working in view to one common purpose, the safe and speedy completion of the car's circuit—constitute lessons which workers at the national car may well profit by. The go-aheads, the brakesman or the so-called obstructionists and the leverage givers have all their several parts to play. None should be slighted or scorned, as is sometimes done.

THE OVERSEER.

A car festival, successfully conducted, has the over-se side,—if one may say so. It fills the temple-wardens with a sense of triumph, of duty done. But looking into the inwardness of a temple, one cannot but feel sad at the quality of the priesthood, at the indecorousness of the temple's general atmosphere of noise, disorder, stench and other things unbefitting the house of God, and at the general inefficiency of these institutions for the purposes for which they stand and were intended to stand in the economy of Hindu religion.

SRIRANGAM, AS A REVIVAL CENTRE.

At the Srirangam temple which I had the privilege of visiting the other day, the executive Trustee is a cultured gentleman and a retired officer of an important South India Hindu state. To him and temple-stewards like him, the Hindu public are entitled to look for some new and bold lines of revivalistic activity. Temples must not be allowed to continue the haunts of old men and women, of persons who have still some faith to be exploited. Temples must be the haven and refuge of even the Hindu intelligentsia. The Tamil districts of South India are rich in temples and sacred associations. Will Srirangam, with its central position both physically and figuratively, take the initiative? Other districts will follow the lead.

It is hoped that temple wardens will look into these matters and compare how the churches of Christian nations whose dress, language and social life we copy in the name of up-to-date-ness and social reform are conducted. Propagandism must play a great conduct in the future of Hinduism. Else, Hinduism will soon be wholly dead. Temple and munt heads will stand condemned by posterity if they neglect this.

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The Truth About India.

What is happening in India? Is the British rule near its end? Is Gandbi another De Valera? Are the Congress Volunteers another I. R. A.? Little enough news comes through to us here, and what does arrive, although stating enough, is frequently misleading, self-contradictory, and at the best no basis for a reasoned policy, or even a general opinion.

Take for example, the newspaper stories of the "hartal" (boycott) of the Prince of Wales' visit to Calcutta; here is a plain issue of fact: here at least we might expect a straight account. Well, this is the matter provided. The "Times" announces "Complete Failure of the hartal—cheering crowds and so on. The "Morning Post" partly spills the beans by saying that some 4000 "natives" welcomed the Prince, out of some million and more. And then the "Daily Telegraph" announces that there was a complete boycott and no one attended. If on such a simple and straightforward matter such darkness prevails, how can we expect to be clear on more intricate subjects such as the internal character of the revolutionary movement?

For this reason we are glad to be able to put before our readers the result of serious investigations into the question, and full information supplied to us by Indians well in touch with the Labour and revolutionary movements.

* * * * *

To get an understanding of the Indian situation it is necessary to remember that although the area of India is considerably less than that of Russia its population is nearly three times as great. Of this population 85 per cent. are peasantry; 9 per cent. an industrial proletariat. Only 6 per cent. of the whole of this vast population are literate.

The condition of the toiling mass is worse probably than that of the labouring population anywhere else upon earth. The peasantry, afflicted by the burden of a land tax and by the rapacity of the dealer and the money-lender, which the need to meet this tax makes possible, are tortured by periodical famines, whose growing intensity has been a sinister accompaniment of British rule.

The urban proletariat, recruited periodically from the refugees from the famine areas, are faced with conditions to be paralleled only by the England of the Industrial Revolution period. Town linked up by the rapidly developing transport system are becoming centres of manufacture, and in these towns the workers are herded in conditions that would be incredible were the evidence capable of refutation. Side by side with the warrens into which the workers crowd for their meagre rest after a work-day of 12 hours (for which the average wage is 6d. per day), rise the palaces of the new factory lords grown bloated with dividends of more than 100 per cent.

To repress any discontent with this state of things there are penal laws which enable, the authorities to flog, imprison, and on occasion to bludgeon or shoot, with virtually no redress for the suffering mass except such as may come from disunion among the ranks of the rulers themselves.

To the excessive tyranny of the British administration there is opposed the "Swaraj" (Home Rule) movement headed by Mr. Gandbi, basing itself originally on the old programme of Dadabhai Naoroji, M. P., who stated that there should be exactly six Englishmen in India, no more and no less. The Indian National Congress, which is the centre of the agitation, has been in existence more than a quarter of a century. Originally it was a harmless enough body consisting mostly of self-appointed delegates, following the lead of such a distinguished constitutionalist as Sir Pherozeshab Mehta ("The Indian Parnell"), and discussing in mild terms reforms that they would like to see carried out.

This tradition was broken by the now famous "Congress Volunteers" at the Surat Congress. These Volunteers were students drilled and under a military hierarchy, but completely unarmed, who acted as stewards to the Congress. They were raised in whatever town the Congress met, and had as sole function the "shepherding of the thousands of delegates. But, at the Surat Congress, the Tilakite left wing opposed the Moderate chairman, and had certain resolutions, not of importance for our purpose, to move. A violent scene occurred, in which one of the Tilakites threw his shoe—the last insult—at the platform. Instantly the venerable and bearded Sir Pherozeshah Mehta ordered the Volunteers to expel this turbulent minority. Now the Volunteers were Tilakites. They turned upon the platform and drove it out, and only from outside was heard the faint bleating, "The Congress is dissolved."

So violent a split went right through the Indian movement. The British Government was able to use the alarmed Moderates for its own purposes, including the suppression of the student movement, in which task they had the powerful aid of the late Mr. Gokhale.

The organisation of Volunteers lapsed. On the other hand, from the Surat Congress dates the first grip of the Tilakite Left on the masses, and the rapid, the consumptive decline of the Moderates.

Yet the final constitution of the present Nationalist movement was due almost entirely to Lord Hardinge. Curzon's insolence had forced all ranks of Indians into the Nationalist movement, up to and including the Maharajahs. His racial pride and offensiveness forbade any alliance between the richer Indians and the English. Hardinge, whose actual measures were far more reactionary than Curzon's, broke up the Nationalist bloc by reversing this policy. The utmost courtesy and attention was paid to native rulers. Whereas before no English company had Indian directors, at the end of the Hardinge vice-royalty, very fine English companies were without two or three Indian directors, and most large Indian companies had acquired at least one white director. Decorations and knighthoods were scattered freely.

Hardinge's policy was completely successful. The native rulers including the obnoxious Gaekwar, were all recruited to the Crown. The large landowners, large merchants, and large capitalists became firm supporters of the British. Hence the alignment was now clearly and firmly a class struggle: the Nationalist workers, peasants and small employers fighting the Rajahs, landowners, large capitalists and the British.

Here is the origin and basis of the Nationalist movement. Henceforward we have only to record the growth of its solidarity, overpowering racial, Brahminical and religious cleavage, the inevitable waning and disappearance of "Moderate" opinion, and the growing bitterness of the fight between the British occupation and the Nationalists. Amritsar and the Rowlatt Acts are only the inevitable consequence of the class divisions unfolded by the Hardinge regime. The shoe that hit Sir Pherozeshah Mehta seems to have struck at the root of British dominion in India.

To-day, however, with the culmination of the Gandhi movement, have entered some new factors—the Mahammedan movement, the new Volunteers, the boycott, the Labour organisations.

The Mahammedan movement was brought in en masse by its leaders on the Khilafat question. Its leaders advocate violence at the Congresses, with the acknowledged strength of a disciplined religious community. But inside the Mahammedan group class distinctions are completely obscured, and it is to be feared that if the British Government, reinstated the Sultan and yielded on the Khilafat question, that fully 50% of the Mohammedans would turn against Gandhi at once.

The new Volunteers are a revival of the old with the same organisation. But they are not confined to stu-

dents, being universal in their character. Secondly, they now carry out Congress decisions, such as closing wine shops to injure the revenue. Though they have immense potentialities, they are unarmed and are not an Indian Republican Army, nor are they persecuted as such by the British, but rather as the recruiting ground for Nationalists.

The Policy of the boycott was instituted to injure British manufactures, but has further confused the clear cut class character of the conflict. Only too obviously the boycott benefited some large Indian manufacturers, and a small number of employers have joined in the Gandhi movement, while others have privately sent large subscriptions.

This policy of boycotting all English institutions and products was initiated in 1919. It was argued that a mere passive resistance of the vast Indian population would be sufficient to render the British rulers impotent. Even thus much of an organised resistance to the ruling authority was a big advance on the purely protesting and petitioning movement which had gone before.

It is difficult for a literate movement "to propagate itself among the vast and illiterate country population without much missionary effort, and even then it could be done only on condition that the economic grievances of the agrarian population found expression in the party programme. The boycott of imported goods, too, would be much more effectual if it included within its scope dock and transport workers. But to gain their support in the absence of any organised labour movement was impossible; while to create such a movement involved much more than a boycott of imported goods—it involved an economic struggle against the factory lords, 75 % of whom are European.

Thus the nationalist movement has in recent years been more or less forced into creating an organised Labour movement. Indian Trade Unions were not a spontaneous and irresistible upgrowth. They were a growth carefully cultivated from above. Now that the Indian T. U. C. thanks largely to its peripatetic and energetic secretary, Chaman Lal, an ex-Oxford man, can claim 60,000 members, it is, of course, an independent entity, and no longer a hothouse plant. But just as its original growth was largely due to middle class Nationalist efforts, so it is now completely Gandhiite in its outlook, and conscious chiefly of its solidarity with its peasant and artisan-employer colleagues in the movement. Nor have these seasons, or any sections, of the Gandhi movement developed the anti-proletarian character of the Griffith section of Sinn Fein. Take, for example, the case of Pandit Malaviya, a high caste Brahmin recently connected closely with the Government, who was appointed by the Gandhites to arbitrate in an industrial dispute. It was universally expected that he would decide for the masters. He did not. He decided for the workers, and, further, stating that their claims for the lower paid workers were inadequate, increased the wages of those latter by some 200 and 300 per cent above the demand.

Strictly, it must be remembered, these Trade Unions are illegal, and I note must therefore be taken of the widespread unorganised spontaneous strikes, which involve much wider masses than the Unions touch, and show the Indian worker's remarkable power of sudden and decisive action.

The "no force" character of the movement depends largely upon (a) the personal character of the greatly respected leader, Gandhi; (b) upon the disarmament of the Indians by the Arms Act. The clandestine arming of the Indians would probably defeat both objections, for the basis of the "no force" argument is ultimately the foolishness of meeting machine guns with bare hands.

This, then, is the Communist analysis of India, to-day. The British Government is helpless in front of

the Gandhi movement. It has even tried to create an "Orange" movement among the Parses, so low has it fallen.

At once it becomes clear what is our duty as Communists. We must back up with all our strength the Nationalist movement. As it develops, it will swing to the Left and genuine proletarian elements begin to take control. To this section, as it develops, we must give our support.

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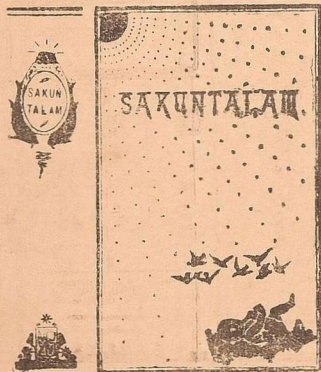
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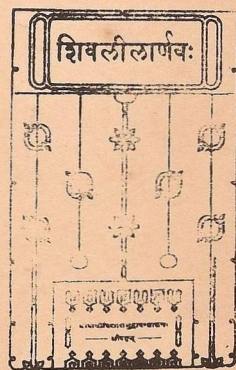
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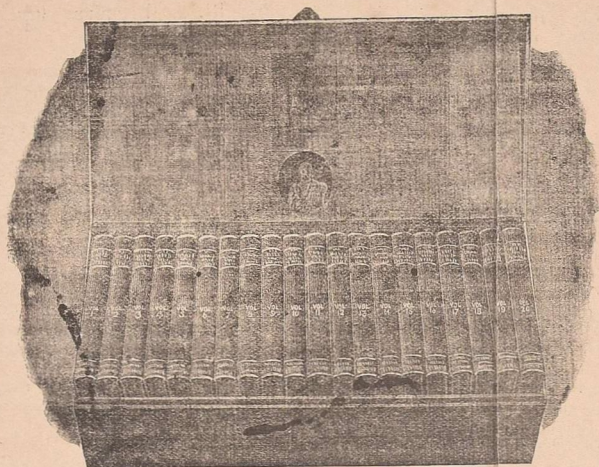
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