

THE Hindu Message

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from the Hindu Standpoint.

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THE HINDU MESSAGE stands for

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A Vision of India.

THE INDIAN VILLAGE—V.

By K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI, B.A. B.L.,

The morning wakes the men to radiant peace,
And they to labour in the fields depart.
They know no painful searchings of the heart,
Nor do they grow by unperceived degrees
More coarse as in the towns until they cease.
To love their fellowmen and God, and play a part
Of selfish fraud in crowded open mart
They live a simple life which God doth please.
The women in their restful homes rejoice
And do not give to decorations and to dress
The love meant for their children and the Lord.
And gay and happy are their girls and boys
Whom God with long and healthy life doth bless.
To sing such life what rapture to the bard ?

Dreams of the Soul.

BY AN INDIAN DREAMER.

XCIV.

What is money ?

It is the stolen life of the poor changed by the magic of human hate and domination into silver and gold.

It is wet with the sweat of the joyless worker and the blood of the whipped slave.

It is reeking with the stench of immoral and diseased life and the evil smell of liquor.

It is come from the depth of the darkness of desperate slums.

I shudder to touch it as I see it as it really is.



XCv.

I am living in a palace of art.

I was in love with it before. It was and is full of elegance and beauty and grandeur. I was clad in splendour and tasted but sweetness all day long.

But now I feel that my food is contaminated by the sweat and blood of the poor.

My clothes are like poisoned garments that burn my very soul.

All this beauty was brought into existence by men who laid down their lives to create it bit by bit and could not enjoy their handiwork.

I live by the labour of others and yet do not feel a passion of overflowing love for them.

What a sinner I am !



Events of the Week.

It will be remembered that, in moving his resolution on "votable" and "non-votable" items in the budget, the chief Whip of the Democratic Party said that if the House is not taken into its confidence by the Government, it would not be surprising "if the members of this House consider themselves justified in exercising the powers that have been conferred upon them by statute." This foreshadowed a tough fight on the budget when it was to be presented: and the fact that the present deficit budget is the third of the series, added to the enormous military burden and the unwillingness of the government to take the Assembly into its confidence, has put up the back of the Democratic Party. The result the readers will have seen in the daily sheets. Though a five percent cut has no attraction for us or for anybody else and may not bring about the desired ease and comfort to the tax payer, yet as an indication of the way in which the Assembly will set to work, it is to be welcomed. The Democratic Party scored a number of victories against the Government, and they and the new National party combined together.

One of the advantages of this method adopted by the Democratic party is that it will give the Retrenchment Committee an indication of the temper of the Assembly and a much-needed impetus towards bringing about further drastic reductions. It is therefore one can hardly appreciate the point of view from which government members likened this to putting the cart before the horse. On the contrary it is the other way about, and much more logical than the course the government will have the Assembly adopt. Again, the Government had been forced to answer certain inconvenient questions and to make certain concessions which no wild horse of a Committee—would have forced them to. For example the differentiation between the academic qualifications in the case of Indians and Anglo-Indians for entrance into the telegraphic department was admitted as requiring explanation. Again the Finance member promised to place before the Standing Finance Committee in future the votable items of the Railway budget.

In moving for a reduction of Rs 100 intended for travelling and contingencies of the Executive Council, Mr. P. P. Ginwalla was pulled up by the President for indulging in general criticisms by way of reviewing their conduct. Then occurred a passage at arms, which we reproduce from the Associated Press Messages, and will be read with interest:—

Mr. Ginwalla: If essential discussion on essential matters connected with the Government administration cannot be allowed, what other clearer argument can be advanced to show that reforms have been a failure. We are brought here and are told that we have come to co-operate with the Government of India. If we want to criticise them, they take shelter behind the rules framed by themselves.

Sir Malcolm Hailey: Is the Hon'ble Member justified in saying that the Government of India is taking shelter behind your (President's) rulings, Sir?

Mr. Ginwalla: Please do not mis-understand me. I entirely submit to the opinion of the President. The constitution is worked in such a way that it is possible for the President to give the ruling, that he has given just now, that we are not here to discuss any question of general policy, that we must submit to whatever Government allows us to discuss. If this is the kind of treatment then the reforms have been a total failure, and it is of no use discussing and merely examining figures here and there. If we are not at liberty to discuss the principles which underlie these figures, resolutions are of no use, in discussing great questions of policy. They are mere recommendations to the Government, and they carry little weight. The Executive Council has allowed itself to be dictated to by the Military authorities. It has accepted from Army people, principles to which the people of this country legitimately object. Are we not to discuss on the floor of this House and point out what people

think about the principles which you have blindly accepted from the Military authorities.

The President: I have been very reluctant to interrupt the Hon'ble Member, but he has been persistently ignoring the ruling given from the chair. The Hon'ble Member knows that an opportunity for the discussion of the matter he is raising has previously arisen and can arise and will arise in future.

Mr. Ginwalla: If you will not now allow us to discuss the general question of policy, you will drive us to methods which will not expedite the business of this House.

That the ministry of Mr. Lloyd George is in its last gasps was evidenced by a parenthetical statement in Mr. Montagu's Cambridge speech. None but he, with his political adroitness and quick-change artistry, could have kept together such a piebald group. Yet there has been revolt, as the reader has long known. Serious differences exist in the Unionist wing of the Coalition, not merely on the Irish issue, but also in many others, the most important cause of dissatisfaction being in the distribution of seats. And the political situation is not to be saved by the response, hearty as it was, of the leaders to Mr. George's letter threatening resignation if he lacked loyal support. The Conservative party machine, under Sir George Younger's clever direction, has set its face against any renewal of the present unnatural coalition, the group of rich "paying guests in the Tory palace" taking themselves for the host as well. The very effective way in which the various spending departments have deflected the Geddes axe has got a little intensified the feeling that this combination has outlived its usefulness. Topping all these came the revelations in the Montagu debate recently which shows the rickety nature of the Coalition. In weighty words of stringing reproof, Mr. Asquith gave expression to what is the real sentiment of the country. He twitted the government on having suddenly discovered that there was such a thing as collective cabinet responsibility. The record of the Government showed otherwise, and the whole incident was merely an illustration of the impossibility of attempting to govern by a Coalition which had no common cement of principle or policy.

The sequel to the resignation of Mr. Montagu has not been without its humorous side. As the *Times of India* says, though the Coalition Government had got rid of Mr. Montagu, it is doubtful if Mr. Montagu had not got the better of the exchanges. His frank revelations in his Cambridge speech do not lack in the phrase and the idiom that bites and cuts. There is almost a touch of genius when he hits off the Premier as one "whose contributions to the well-being of the world and Britain are well-advertised; but who demands as the price of his achievements the total disappearance of the doctrine of Cabinet responsibility." There is no need for us to dot the i's and cross the t's in his reference to "the disgruntled persons connected with India and lugubrious governors of inconspicuous and inglorious careers." The description of Lord Curzon's letter is inimitable, "one of those plaintive, hectoring, bullying and complaining letters which are so familiar to his colleagues and friends." It is no wonder that Lord Curzon's reply in the Lords was uttered by "a voice shaking with indignation." Yet curiously Mr. Austin Chamberlain in the Commons described the same letter as one Cabinet Minister usually wrote another. This sheds a strange light on the amenities of the Georgian Cabinet. We must however remember that it did not seem to Lord Crewe to deserve the particular epithets Mr. Montagu had applied to it.

Announcement has been made of the appointment of the Secretary and Under-Secretary of State for India. Viscount Peel, eldest son of the late Speaker Peel, fulfils the conditions known to have been guiding the Cabinet in their choice of Mr. Montagu's successor:—those of being a Unionist and a Peers. He is highly accomplished. He made a reputation as a debater, when in the House of Commons, where he was known as "Never Merry Peel." Earl Winterton has been appointed Under-Secretary.



The Hindu Message

The Collapse of Law and Order.

Mr. Gandhi, whom the reverent affection of a very large section of his countrymen has dubbed Mahatma, was sentenced to six years' simple imprisonment by the District and Sessions Judge at Ahmedabad on the 18th instant. It is worth noting as we go that it is a tribute to the excellence of the campaign he had been conducting unceasingly these late years that the country should have received the news with such equanimity. This is not the occasion, nor is there any need, to stress in the manner of pompous non-entities our differences with him on some of his vital tenets as well as in regard to his strategy. We cannot, do what we may, altogether drive away the suspicions in our mind, amounting almost to a certainty, that the Lokamanya to whom more than one reference was made in the course of the trial would not have adopted the political strategy of this great and shining successor of his. There is this difference however in the government attitude towards these two leaders. While the Lokamanya inspired in the minds of the powers that be, till after the close of his glorious life, a spirit of vindictive revenge, Mr. Gandhi has inspired quite the opposite feelings. The result to the country in either case has not been different. That the course of governmental policy should require the secret for six long years of a person of the Mahatma's transparent sincerity of motive, unstinted devotion to the cause of Truth as he understood it, his splendid optimism, unselfishness and fearless pursuit of a clear and definite programme, who has always inspired reverence, respect or esteem in the minds of whoso came into contact with him—this evidences to our mind conclusively the collapse of law and order in the country to-day. The steersman of the Indian state has lost his control over the steering wheel. That must be the verdict of all impartial observers.

The tone of judge and prosecutor—for in substance in trials of this nature both functions are the same—was admirable. The personality of the accused, his resounding fame and simple dignity, must have overawed the spectators and the other actors; of this we have evidence in the Associated Press messages. The statement of Mr. Gandhi is in striking and agreeable contrast to the storm and fierce passion betrayed by the Alis at their trial.

That statement will go down in history as a classic. Another leader of incomparable parts threw the challenge boldly at the face of the judge nearly two decades ago, and with fervour declared that it was the will of Providence to further the cause through his incarceration. And it came true. The present ringing statement maintains the sacred right of the individual to revolt against a system of Government as in present-day India. The danger in this line of argument is easily seen and there is no need to stress it. Souls like these are the despair of the politician and the "grey shade" constitutionalist. That not Mr. Gandhi alone, a leader of transcendent eminence, but a whole host of men and women of all ages and varying degrees of endowment, natural or acquired, should be ready to spring forth fully armed to fling this challenge down is a sign of a grave disease in the body politic and indicates the collapse of that law and order, of which under other and happier circumstances these very persons would have been the stoutest defenders. As the shades of the prison-house close on Mr. Gandhi, he leaves behind for the government to face and solve at their peril a stupendous problem. The slow-footed but sure Fates are advancing upon the country and we seem to detect in the air the ironic laughter of the Gods at the complacent, futile vanity of men in authority. The country and the government are on the brink of the awfullest tragedy in our history; and we would earnestly pray that the authorities may not resemble those rustics whom, with the pride of learning, Horace describes as (what no rustic ever did or will do) sitting on the bank till the flood subsides, which all the while is advancing to swallow them.

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The Prince of Wales.

After a four months' tour in India, His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales left these shores last Friday. We are not wrong when we say that the affection and god wishes of all India follows him on his voyage home, as will always abide in their hearts—the more so because those feelings could not find dignified outward manifestation owing to the suspicious engendered by the actions of the bureaucracy here and the Georgian Cabinet in England. While welcoming the Prince to this land we referred to the genuine fear that the Government of India intend to exploit the visit of His Royal Highness as a means of disguising from the British public and the world the real feelings and attitude of the Indian people on political questions. And we then said, "in these circumstances it is impossible to evoke any very great enthusiasm over the visit and there is no denying the glaring fact that even those who have not joined the boycott movement, being swayed by their innate sense of loyalty, doubt the wisdom" of the course adopted by the Government. We also pointed out that the whole visit should not end as a mere pageantry, but should fulfil some noble purpose.

But constructive imagination has never had a place in Mr. Lloyd George's scheme of things,—Mr. Lloyd George whose knowledge of India is only geographical as Mr. Montagu said the other day. As for the Government of India it is still the wooden thing it was some years ago described to be. And though Lord Reading promptly and emphatically disclaimed all intention on the part of government to make political capital out of the Royal visit, still enough has happened if not to justify at least to emphasise the suspicions of the people. From the government point of view therefore the visit must be put down as a great failure. Such triumph as there was, was due to the Prince's charming personality and it is one of the ironies of the situation that it was not a much grander thing than it was. The heart of India went out to the Prince as still it does, but the voices were dumb and the faces turned aside.

Nevertheless as the *Times* has pointed out it is a great advantage that he has gained a first hand knowledge of the difficulties of governing India in the old way. We remember how his illustrious father on return from a similar visit pleaded for the infusion of greater sympathy in Britain's rule over India. We doubt not that the observant mind of the young Prince, who has had the further advantage of having served in the Great War as a comrade of his fellow-nationals, will have seen both deep and far into the Indian malady. He would have seen through the pretensions and the hush-hush methods of the governing classes. And we are hopeful of the future.

Indian Defence Problems—III.

The Forward Policy.

By S. P. THIAGA RAJAN.

Almost every speaker, in either house of the Central Legislative, who criticised the military budget pointed out that the Forward Policy was in some manner responsible for it. If only the Government will abandon that policy and revert to the Indus line, there will be a considerable reduction in our military expenditure. Such seems to be the impression not merely in the minds of our politicians, but also of the *London Times*. That there are great possibilities of effecting much needed economy and retrenchment and of releasing funds which are required above all for the reform of our fighting forces, have often been pointed out. I propose to refer here to the misconceptions on which current criticisms of our frontier policy are based.

The retreat to the Indus line is no new thing in our military criticism. A competent military critic has pointed out that it was thought of as long ago as immediately after the second Sikh War of 1848. Dr. H. S. Gour asked a question more than a year ago in the Assembly regarding a proposal to make the Indus our boundary. An article enlarging on this theme appeared not long ago in the columns of the *Pioneer* from the pen of a disgruntled military officer and was replied to in a humorous skit by a litterateur who is also a military critic. The question was also indirectly raised in the Assembly last year over Sir Sivaswami Iyer's resolution on the Administration of the North-West Frontier Province. But the argument in these speeches was, from the military point of view, very poor, as none of the speakers seemed to know anything of the subject on which they were talking. To put it frankly, no independent non-official critic has ever, so far as I know, attempted to view the question of a strategic frontier for India in the light of military science and history.

The state of modern war and the perfection of modern armaments demand that all defence should be distributed in depth from front to rear in zones. Behind the forward or "outpost" zone, in which the enemy is delayed or our movements screened from him, lies the "battle zone" or the actual line of defence: and this again must be supported by the "rear zone," which serves as a rallying point in case the battle zone is pierced, and a defence further in the rear is necessary. Each or any of these zones may be protected by an obstacle. The frontier of a country, however, is not the "outpost zone," but the outer edge of it: and this has got to be held by troops whose resistance will be sufficiently strong to allow of the organisation of the battle zone behind it. The delaying influence is the important service rendered by a strategic frontier. Natural obstacles, such as rivers, seas, deserts and mountains,

may and ought to be availed of in fixing frontiers, as they strengthen this delaying influence. And again, if defence is to be successful, it must not be merely passive. Some time or other in the course of a campaign, the defenders must assume the offensive and be in a position to inflict a defeat on their aggressors and destroy their forces on the field. A frontier should be so chosen that, in addition to providing obstacles to the onrush of an aggressor, it will also permit of the defender passing from the defensive to the aggressive at such time as may be necessary. Another consideration, which is quite often overlooked because it is so axiomatic, is that one's battle ought to be fought, so far as one may choose in so uncertain a matter, forward of the ground or object defended.

Judged by the above tests, the Indus line will not stand a moment's examination. A river line is, from the view-point of military strategy and tactic, the flimsiest of all protection against an invader hurling his armed forces on to a neighbouring state. Rivers have often been crossed, as we know, with ease against apparently insurmountable obstacles. And the Indus could be crossed with impunity at almost any point unless the country is prepared to vote far larger men than are now required to guard the North-West Frontier. I am afraid there will be no limit possible to set in that case to the strength of our fighting forces. This surely is a penny-wise and pound-foolish policy. What again has been our historic experience? The North-West Frontier in spite of its great physical obstacles has been invaded many times. As a soldier-critic has well said, it is in Delhi itself—twenty miles to the north whereof lie the plains of Panipat—that the Indus line stands condemned. There in the plains of Panipat and at Karnal, as he says, the answer to the problem can be seen, crushing and effective. The conclusion is therefore irresistible that our present North-West Frontier is the best we could choose. Were we to retire to an Indus frontier, we should bring the entire border about our heels and be unable for long to assume the offensive.

The reader will not grudge a description of the Frontier, as it at present stands, a target to the military critic. The "Durand Line" as it is called is the actual boundary of Afghanistan, and though the delimitation of the line was commenced by Durand, Udney, Macmahon and Maffey have all had a share in the work. The "Administrative Border" is the boundary of the districts of the North-West Frontier Province in which a land settlement has been made. In Baluchistan our territory is administered right up to the Durand Line and a similar condition exists in the Kurram Valley. Between the Durand Line and the Administrative border live the independent Pathan tribes. These are under the more or less shadowy control of the Political Agents whose authority they obey to a varying extent. To the north of the line of

hills which bound the Peshawar plain, the influence of the great chiefs who rule between the Indus and the Kunar greatly facilitates the dealings of the Indian Government with the trans-border tribes. These stretch in an almost unbroken line and the principal are the Nawab of Amb, the Mian Gul of Swat, the Nawab of Dir, the Khan of Khar, the Khan of Nawagai and the Chief of Chitral. South of Bajaur however the Pathan becomes more democratic and eclectic in his form of government, increasing in individualism the further south we go until we get to Waziristan where each man is a law unto himself. From Gilgit to Baluchistan the geographical characteristics over a line of a thousand miles or so are the same, of which the southern end is only less difficult than the rest; and where in military operations the odds are always in favour of the hill-men.

A comparison of the conditions in Baluchistan, where the Durand Line and the Administrative border are the same, with the conditions in Waziristan and the North provides the strongest argument in favour of the Forward policy, as it is called, and which is only a plea for India to undertake the administration of the country right up to her frontiers with the neighbouring States. Baluchistan is the practical demonstration of the good results flowing from determined penetration upto the limits assigned by the Durand Line. Progress there was somewhat easier, though the Baluchi tribes were in no whit inferior as men to any one north of them, because of their less effective armament. The tribes on the North-West Frontier are magnificent fighters, hardy and tireless to a degree, courageous, relentless, often fanatical. Every year that passes witnesses the improvement of their armament. Today they fight with weapons their fathers, never dreamt of. It is not difficult to explain how the tribes came to be armed with the latest rifles. There is, firstly, the fact that many of the militia deserted during the late Afghan War and took their rifles with them; secondly, in the numerous raids that they carry out against our troops, rifles are continually being captured by them. Owing to the nature of the country and the type of fighting such raids must always have a certain degree of success and little that we can do would prevent it. Of course at the moment these raids are more successful, since our present day troops are only moderately trained, but this of course time will remedy as the troops gain experience of work on the North-West Frontier. Thirdly, during the great war there were thousands of rifles left on the battle fields of Mesopotamia after big fights and many of these were taken by Arabs and have found their way in the course of normal trade to the North-West Frontier. Fourthly, arms are imported from Russia. The present unsettled state of the world is due, in our opinion, in some measure to the fact that so many people are now armed with rifles and it is difficult therefore for Governments to maintain authority.

Nothing could be done to prevent the tribes from obtaining arms and thus increasing their efficiency, without respite, except by actually and actively taking over and administering the country. We must go fully forward to the Durand line and establish ourselves firmly and permanently to the West of the tribesmen. That is the only logical goal possible for us. It is not suggested that this should be done at once, but as the necessity arises for us to despatch expeditions into tribal territory that these expeditions should remain and occupy the country. Steps could then be taken to disarm the tribesmen, and by improving irrigation and exploiting the mineral wealth of the country, provide them with another mode of living than raiding. The military authorities of course urge this procedure, and they consider it would lead in due course to a peaceful settlement of the country and a corresponding decrease in military expenditure. But in addition to the money spent on the expedition, a good lot of money will have to be expended on roads and railways and there would be no definite decrease in expenditure for some five to ten years. The reader will no doubt have noticed in the press in the terms which were some months ago granted to the Mahsuds and Wazirs that they are establishing a Khassadar scheme, whereby they make the local peoples responsible for the maintenance of law and order within their own territory. It is hoped this will result in a better state of affairs than has been the case up-to-date. It is not a question of arming one set of tribesmen against another, but of giving status and power to the Maliks so that they can insure the maintenance of order within their own boundaries. To raise a militia from the settled districts, as is contended by some, would in reality be same as raising additional Indian troops and would be expensive. There is no doubt that Indian troops are more useful than British troops on the North-West Frontier; but, the army view is that British troops are a stiffener which the Indian troops themselves appreciate.

Whatever may be the right view in regard to this last point, to the careful reader of the above lines there cannot be any manner of doubt as to the essential correctness of the present Forward Policy. What is wrong with military expenditure at the present day is not this policy or that, but the erroneous and wasteful financial system under which the army now lives, and under which it does not get good value for its expenditure. But that is a different question altogether.

According to the Special Correspondent of the *Hindu* the members of the Fiscal Commission who are now in Delhi will take at the end of this month oral evidence there from a few more witnesses mostly from Indian States of Northern India and then leave for the cool heights of Simla to prepare their report. The bulk of the evidence so far received by them is stated to have been mostly in favour of protection. Young industries have received the support of almost all witnesses, except of course the die-hard

free traders, the standard bearers of the shattered flag of the Cobdenites. The fire-eating protectionists on the other hand have also received a little support from the mass of witnesses. That there was universal condemnation of a system under which the fiscal policy of India has been guided by the Parliament for the benefit of Lancashire was a foregone conclusion. Imperial preference, the counterpart of dyarchy in the Fiscal region had a measure of support from many Indian and English witnesses, but the majority are said to have been of the opinion that that should involve no economic sacrifice to India. It is too early to forecast as to how the report of this Commission will shape itself, but that there will be a majority report is fairly assumed, the majority consisting of moderate protectionists and the minority of free traders, conceding the necessity for the protection of key industries. The appointment of a permanent tariff commission is said to have been fairly agreed to as a necessity on all hands.

Literary and Educational.

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

By K. SUNDARARAMA Aiyar, M.A.

Essay IX. "Works and Sacrifice." 2.

Mr. Ghose attempts, in this *second* part of his Essay IX, to explain, defend and establish his view regarding what he calls "The Gita's theory of sacrifice." He holds that the theory is "stated in two separate passages,"—III (10—16 and 19—20) and IV (20 or 22-33). He Says of them:—"The first gives the theory in language which might, taken by itself, seem to be speaking only of ceremonial sacrifice; the second interprets it in the sense of a large philosophical symbolism, at once transforms its whole significance, and raises it to a plane of high psychological and spiritual truth."

Mr. Ghose says that, if we take the first passage in its "seeming" sense, then it states the "Vedist ideal," (i.e.) slokas (10—16). The "Vedantist ideal"—which asserts "the superiority of the spiritual man to works"—is stated in slokas 17 and 18. Slokas 19 and 20 "create a ground for the reconciliation of the two extremes,"—and "the secret is not inaction as soon as one turns towards the higher truth, but disinterested action before and after it is reached. The liberated man has nothing to gain by action, but nothing also to gain by inaction, and it is not at all for any personal object that he has to make his choice but for *loka-sangraha*,"—"for the sake of the world." Mr. Ghose adds:—"There are three kinds of works, that done without sacrifice for personal enjoyment which is entirely selfish and egoistic and misses the true law and aim and utility of life, *mogham partha sa jivati*"; that done with desire but with sacrifice, and the enjoyment only as a result of sacrifice; and that done without desire or attachment of any kind. It is the last which brings the soul of man to the highest, *param apnoti purusha*."

Mr. Ghose says that "the whole sense and drift of this teaching turns upon the interpretation we are to give to the (three) words, *yajna*, *karma*, *brahman*, sacrifice, work, Brahman." All three words occur in III 14-15. Mr. Ghose himself has given us his translation of them:—"From food creatures come into being; from rain is the birth of food, from sacrifice comes into being the rain, sacrifice is born of work. Work (Karma) know to be born of Brahman; Brahman is born of the Immutable (Akshara); therefore is the all pervading Brahman established in the sacrifice." Then Mr. Ghose comments as

follows:—"If the *sacrifice* is simply the vedic sacrifice, if the *work* from which it is born is the Vedic rule of works, and if the Brahman from which the work itself is born is the *Shabda-Brahman*, the letter of the Veda, then all the positions of the Vedist dogma are conceded and there is nothing more." Mr. Ghose clearly speaks with some sneer here of the current orthodox interpretation of these words (and of the passage itself in which they occur) when he uses the expressions, "the letter of the Veda" and "Vedist dogma." He then goes on to give his own opinion,—*viz.*, "this cannot be the meaning of the Gita."

His objection is based on two considerations, first let us take the concluding statement of the passage, "therefore is the all-pervading Brahman established in the sacrifice." Mr. Ghose says that "the connecting logic of the word, *therefore*, and the repetition of the word, Brahman, are significant." We reply that the word "Brahman" is *not repeated*,—for we have "sarvagatah-brahman" and, therefore, cannot be taken to mean Veda. It previously occurs twice, but without any qualifying word, and therefore can be taken to mean Veda, if we have the sanction of usage and if we have the support of reason. We go on to prove the same, as our next point—"Secondly, this use of the word 'Brahman'—when it occurs by itself—to mean the Veda is not confined to this sloka of the Gita, but suits also the Gita IV. 32, where again it occurs without any qualifying word. Thirdly we also find the word used in the same sense in Manu-Smriti, II 69, 70, and 71. The reference there is to the rules of discipline to be observed by the student who, after undergoing the ceremony of Upanayana, has to learn to recite the Veda, following the Guru's repetition of the same with the necessary intonations. One of these rules is for the student to go through the process of "Brahmanjali,"—prostration to the Guru. Sloka 71 prescribes that it must be done, both "when beginning and closing the recitation of the Veda,"—*brahmanambhe-arasanecha*." In this connection, we may also state the fact that modern research holds that Manu belongs to the same age as the Mahabharata and, therefore, of the Gita. Our readers will remember that, in a previous context, we have quoted the opinion of the great Indian Scholar—the late lamented K. T. T'long—recognising it as a well-established fact that the Gita is in its proper place in the Mahabharata, as it is now placed. Fourthly, how can the "Brahman from which work is born"—if it is understood, as Mr. Ghose wants us to understand it, in "a symbolical sense in which it is identical with the all-pervading Brahman, Eternal, the one Self present in all existences, *Sarvabhuteshu*, and present in all the working existence"—be born from "Akshara," as stated in III. 15? Mr. Ghose says that it, too, is "eternal" like Akshara and "identical with the all-pervading Brahman." The entire interpretation becomes impossible and reduces itself to an absurdity. Fifthly, Mr. Ghose says—"the Brahman from which work is born has to be understood with an eye both to the current Vedic teaching in which it means the Veda and to a symbolical sense *etc.*" This amounts to a practical abandonment of his position that the current and orthodox interpretation of "Brahman" (in the place where it first occurs in III. 15) to mean Veda is wrong.

We shall now deal with Mr. Ghose's objection to the current interpretation, drawn from what he calls "the connecting logic of the *therefore*" (*tasmad*), occurring in III. 15. Mr. Ghose is evidently serious about it, as he puts it *first*,—even earlier than the "repetition of the word *brahman*" which has been already taken up and overthrown by us above at

length. This objection, too, is not at all valid. The word "therefore" only points out the conclusion to be drawn from the teaching given in the two slokas, III. 14 and 15,—*viz.*, that even *yajna*, ceremonial sacrifice as an injunction of the Veda (and, therefore, of Isvara), will *finally* lead to the goal of liberation, if done without attachment to the ego and without desire of fruit, as it then loses its "binding" effect on the Jiva (III. 31). This is the "Yogah—*Karmasu-Kausalam*" (II. 50.) Doing *Karma* without attachment and love of fruit, gives it "a magic power" which leads us on, by various steps following it, finally to liberation. Mr. Ghose thinks that "all sacrifice is a way towards the attainment of the highest." To this view, we cannot agree, as the Gita is opposed to it. Work—prescribed in the Veda and done as Karma-Yoga—is only the *first* step. The Gita gives another step in VI. 3; and another still in IV. 34; and a still further one—*bhakti*—is treated in Chap. XII. Others are stated in other parts of the Gita and in the Upanishads. Even the *guni* (who has attained to the realisation of the Atman) is required to work for *loka-sangraha*,—*i. e.*, with the aim of preventing the men and society, around him from resorting to sinful and forbidden activities. The examples of Janaka and others—given in the same sloka of the Gita which speaks of *loka-sangraha*—is not to be understood as laying down that by Karma alone they gained final liberation. Their "*samsiddhi*"—if it is understood, as, Mr. Ghose understands it, to mean "spiritual perfection and liberation"—must also be understood as having been attained after all the necessary steps just mentioned had been gone through.

Mr. Ghose further says here that "the Brahman is both *akshara* and *kshara*,"—both "the immobile omnipresent soul of things and the principle of the mobile working of things; Purusha poised in himself, and Purusha poised in Prakriti." He then proceeds to identify the *akshara* and *kshara* which he has just mentioned with the *akshara* and *kshara* of Chap. XV. 16, and says,—"In both of these aspects, the Divine Being, Purushottama (XV. 17) manifests himself in the universe." If this identification is correct, we get into further difficulties. For the *kshara* of the latter context is explained as "*sarvanibhatani*" (XV. 16),—all the "becomings" (of the Supreme Being) (as Mr. Ghose translates the word, *bhutani*) and therefore, the phenomena, of the manifested universe. The '*akshara*' of the same sloka is explained in it as "*Kutastha*," the immutable and therefore cannot have a "becoming." Mr. Ghose himself says that "the Akshara" is "the immutable, above all qualities (*Gunas*)"—and the "*saman brahma*" of V. 19. He says also that it is only "from the Brahman with qualities proceed all the works of the universal energy, *Karma*, in man and in all existences." Hence the '*akshara*' cannot produce either the '*Brahman*' with qualities (as stated in III. 15) or "the works of universal energy, *Karma*, in man and in all existences" which proceed from it. Moreover, the Purushottama, "having pervaded the three worlds, sustains them" (XV. 17.) So, he must be identical with the "Brahman with qualities." How, then, can he "pervade and sustain the 'Akshara,'"—the Brahman who is immutable," and therefore without qualities? What, again, does Mr. Ghose mean when he speaks of "the works of *karma*," the energy which is universal in all beings and in men? The Gita speaks of *one karma only* in III. 15, and there is no such meaningless category spoken of in it as Mr. Ghose mentions, *viz.*, "the work (*karma*) of *karma*."

Further, Mr. Ghose says:—"Form that work proceeds the principle of sacrifice." Mr. Ghose explains himself as follows:—"For, all the working

of Prakriti is in its true nature a sacrifice, *yajna*, with the divine Being as the enjoyer of all energisms and works and sacrifices and the great Lord of all existences, *bhoktaram yajna tapasam sarvabhuta mahesvaram* (V. 29); and to know this Divine all-pervading and established in sacrifice, *sarvagatam yajne pratishthitam*, (III. 15) is the true, the Vedic Knowledge." This clearly amounts to saying that, because Sri Krishna says that he, as Isvara, is "the enjoyer of *yajna* and *tapas*," therefore karma-yoga (or karma) "in man and in all existences" is a "sacrifice" intended to secure to him "enjoyments," and that "therefore is the all-pervading Brahman established in the sacrifice." But Mr. Ghose forgets that Sri Krishna has already said, "I have, O Partha, no work to do, and nothing to attain which I have not already got, in the three worlds, yet I continue in action" (III. 24). He continues in action—as he explains, in V. 29—because he is "the friend of all beings," helping them to attain all their desires even up to final liberation from samsara, and also as he is "the Lord (ruler) of all worlds" and has the power to help all, and especially the unique power of love towards all his creatures ever impelling him to render them help. If so, why does he call himself the "enjoyer (*bhokta*) of *yajna* and *tapas*," when he wants nothing which he has not got already?

The Gita itself gives us the clue to the right interpretation why he is the "enjoyer of all energisms and works and sacrifices." Chap VII. (20—22) state as follows:—"Those whose wisdom has been lost by (their pursuit of) desires, devote themselves to other gods, practise this or that prescribed rite, impelled by their inherent (karmic) tendencies. Whatever form (Deva) a devotee seeks to worship with shradda (faith) that faith of his do I make unwavering. Possessing only that faith, engaged in the worship of such (deva), and from it he obtains his desires, but these are verily dispensed by me only"—i.e., by my ultimate and supreme decree. The enjoyment, therefore, also of sacrificial offerings by the Devas may be *spoken of* as the enjoyment of Isvara, even as the fruits of the worship and sacrifice of a devotee, though decreed and dispensed by Isvara, are granted through the Devas. Nor are the Devas different from Isvara. Mr. Ghose himself speaks of "the one all-pervading Divine of whom the Gods are inferior forms and powers." Moreover, the Gita (IX. 10) declares:—"By me, as the supervising Being (for the dispensing of the fruits of karma), Prakriti produces (all) the moving and unmoving (creatures)." Hence, as the creator (or efficient cause) of the universe, he may be said to do and to enjoy what all others (who, but for his supreme will, would never have come into being) work for and enjoy as the benefits resulting from their work.—

Thus the unheard-of fabric of Gita interpretation which we owe to Mr. Ghose's originality falls like a house of cards, and it is altogether unwarranted and grotesque.

(To be continued.)

Shakespeare's Letters.

Miss Ellen Terry writes in the *Windsor Magazine*:—

Some years ago, when I was asked to lecture on Shakespeare's heroines, in the light of the knowledge which I gained through impersonating them on the stage, I wondered if it were possible to find anything to say which had not been said before. "If nothing is that has not been before, how are our brains beguiled!" However, I found out, when I applied myself to the task, that even Shakespeare—about whom

hundreds of books have been written—has a little of the unknown. For years it was my trade to find out, not what he had been to others, but what he was to me, and to make that visible in my acting.

In the course of this study for my lectures on the women in Shakespeare, I was struck by the fact that the letters have never received much separate comment. Little volumes of songs from the plays have been published, jewels of wit and wisdom have been taken out of their setting, and rest in birthday books, calendars, and handy books of quotation, but never, so far as I know, have the letters been collected in separate volumes.

These letters in the plays number thirty in all, and all good ones, and there is all the more reason for giving them our attention because they are the only letters written by Shakespeare which have survived.

I have always felt repugnance of reading the private letters of a celebrated individual. How merciless is cold print to many such letters, apart from one's natural hesitation of prying on the life and heart they reveal? Print is so impertinent—flinging open the door of a little room where, perhaps two lovers are communing, and saying to the public, "Have a look at them—these great people in love? You see they are just as silly as little people." Ought the Browning letters ever to have been published? The "Sonnets from the Portuguese" gave us the picture of a great love; the letters were like an anatomical dissection of it.

Now, the letters in Shakespeare's plays were meant for the public ear—invented to please it. Yet none the less they are true to life. We can learn from them how the man of action writes a letter, how the poet writes a letter. We can learn that when people are in love they use the same language; whether they are stupid or clever they employ the same phrases; the man of genius and the fool both write—"I love you."

Miscellaneous.

The Idler.

The following letter written by George Eglisham to King Charles I proves that Kings too sometimes hear the truth. Eglisham was physician to King James and must have been a courageous man. "I would to God," he writes, "Your Majesty would well consider what I have often said to my later Master King James. The greatest pollicye is honesty... What greater or more royall occasion could be offered to you Majesty to show your impartiall disposicion to justice, at the first entrance of your reigne, than this which I offer against Buckingham by whom your Majesty suffereth yourself to be led so farre, that your best subjects are in doubt, whether he is your King or you his."

Extravagance in dress.

Shameful extravagance in dress is an old folly. In the reign of Richard II. dress was sumptuous beyond belief. Sir John Arundel had no fewer than fifty-two new suits of cloth of gold tissue. The prelates indulged in all the ostentatious luxury of dress. Chaucer says they had "chaunge of clothing everie daie." Brantome records of Elizabeth, Queen of Philip II. of Spain, that she never wore a gown twice; this was told him by her majesty's own *tailleur*, who from a poor man

soon became as rich as anyone he knew. The English queen Elizabeth too left no fewer than three thousand different habits in her wardrobe when she died. One of our late queens also, it is said never appeared in the public twice in the same gown.

Keeping a secret.

"My dear Murphy!" said an Irishman to his friend, "why did you betray the secret I told you?" "Is it betraying you call it? Sure when I found I wasn't able to keep it myself, didn't I do well to tell it to somebody that could?" The feats of Archibald Forbes, the brilliant war correspondent provide one of the bright pages in the romance of journalism. Once during the Franco-Prussian War, he witnessed a great battle. The telegraph office was thirty miles away. Forbes knew that whoever got there first and held the line would be the first to get the news through. Mounting his horse he galloped off, but when he arrived at the telegraph office he had not a line of his "copy" written. Any moment one of his rivals might appear, so, tearing a page out of his Bible, Forbes gave it to the operator to send over the wire until he had his message written. One can imagine the editor's surprise when instead of a brilliant war despatch the message began with the first verse of the Genesis and continued through the whole chapter. But when the "wire" switched on to a brilliant description of the battle, the editor understood the clever device to which his correspondent had resorted.

The donkey and Marie Antoinette.

The Bois de Boulogne has been favourite place for many a royalty. Mr. Nevill says "It was here that Marie Antoinette, having taken a fancy to donkey riding, was thrown by a refractory Neddy seized with a desire to roll. The Queen, quite unhurt, remained seated on the ground, laughing immoderately. As soon as she could command her countenance, she assumed a mock gravity, and without attempting to rise from her lowly position, commanded that the grand mistress of ceremonies should at once be brought to her side; and when the lady thus summoned stood, in no good temper but with dignified aspect, before her, she looked up and said: 'Madame, I have sent for you that you may inform me as to the etiquette to be observed when a Queen of France and her donkey have both fallen—which of them is to get up first?'"

Tennysons Peerage.

Mr. Clement Shorter is writing his reminiscences, and the first attractive chapter is devoted to George Meredith. "Meredith," writes Mr. Shorter, "thought Tennyson intrinsically small-minded. 'See him manoeuvring for a peerage,' said Meredith. 'See him seated at a table where there are two Cabinet Ministers. They have made—a peer. Why cannot they make me a peer? I make so many thousands annually.'"

Mr. Shorter tells us that, when he was getting up an address congratulating Meredith on his eightieth birthday, Mr. Asquith and Lord Rosebery refused to sign, "both, I understand, having strong views on Meredith's style." Mr. Lloyd George, like Mr. Balfour, signed without hesitation. Watts-Dunton was very angry because his signature was not placed high in the list next to Swinburne's. "Mr. Swinburne, indeed, had docilely requested that this should be done."

The word 'trash' originally meant fine brushwood or twigs. Sellers of faggots for firewood frequently filled in the centre of the bundle of sticks with this small, useless stuff, so as to make the faggot seem bigger. This practice was written against with so much vigour that the word 'trash' came to mean anything worthless.

A Calculated Insult.

According to the report of Lord Curzon's reply to Mr. Montagu in the House of Lords, he has thought less of directly answering the Cambridge speech of the ex-Secretary of State for India than of exhibiting his own wounded vanity. In one respect at least Lord Curzon is radically mistaken. The dispatch which has caused the trouble was not an attempt to dictate the policy of the British Government. The Government of India merely desired to place the views of Indian Moslems before the Home Government, and the publication of the dispatch was deemed necessary in order that Indian Moslems should know what was being done. The dispatch stated: "We feel it our imperative duty to lay before His Majesty's Government the intensity of feeling in India regarding the necessity for a revision of the Treaty of Sevres.....We are conscious that it may be impossible to satisfy India's expectations in their entirety but we urge.....three points.....of the first importance." None can find any possible attempt at dictation in these words, yet Lord Curzon describes them as "intolerable" and the entire document as an "unfortunate pronouncement." The statement made by Lord Curzon that he fails to understand the part played by the Government of India will not be well received in this country. Considering that the Government of India rules seventy million Moslems, surely it is entitled to keep the Home Government informed of what their Moslems are thinking: Lord Curzon refers to British policy in the Near East as though it were his own sole concern. It is the concern of the British people as a whole, and who is Lord Curzon to say that the British people do not desire to hear Indian Moslems' views? He does not put this in so many words, but the implication runs through the whole of his speech. There is one passage in Lord Curzon's letter, however, which will arouse the strongest feelings of resentment amongst all shades of opinion in this country. It is scarcely credible that an ex-Viceroy should himself refer to the Government of India as "a subordinate branch of the British Government six thousand miles away," and only Lord Curzon would use such language. The Prime Minister will be lacking in his duty if he fails sharply to reprove Lord Curzon for the use in public of an expression derogatory to the dignity of the Viceroy and of the Government of India. If anyone in Parliament had presumed to refer to Lord Curzon during his period of office in such terms his indignation can be better imagined than described. The Lord Curzon of to-day has changed from the Lord Curzon of ten years ago. His speech is full of pomposity, vanity, and affectation, and has sadly diminished his former great reputation. The calculated insult to Lord Reading—for it is nothing less—must be apologised for, unless Lord Curzon deliberately desires the Viceroy's resignation. If the latter be the case, Lord Curzon has entirely lost touch with India, for the forced resignation of Lord Reading would justly be interpreted in the worst possible manner in this country. Lord Reading enjoys unlimited confidence from India's sanest elements, and to attempt to force him out of his position would be the height of folly.

—The Advocate of India.

Our Urgent duty.

AN APPEAL.

Mr. N. Subrahmanya Iyer writes to us:—

In my letter to the *Hindu* on the situation created by Mahatma Gandhi's arrest and imprisonment, I had urged the necessity of making a fresh examination of the Congress programme as otherwise disappointments and failures of the kind we have been meeting with, till now, and which it is both vain and dangerous to disguise, must be expected to recur with relentless certainty. That the "destructive" programme has been ordered to be given up and that the "constructive" programme is going to be taken up with special earnestness and with greater intensity seems to have afforded general satisfaction. But what was the "destructive" programme? And what is the "constructive" programme now proposed? Are the two programmes distinct and mutually exclusive? If they were not so before, are they to be so hereafter? If they are to be, what is the construction that we are going to take up? And is it really and solely construction? These are points on which, to be candid, the public mind is still hazy, and which therefore have to be made more clear if vigorous and concerted action on the part of the nation as a whole is really wished.

The main issues.

For the present, however, let us place before ourselves the broad issues. They are:—Is our "constructive" programme really and wholly a constructive one: according to which it is first sought to construct and thereafter control the Government and obtain Swaraj? Or, is it still intended to paralyse the Government in the first instance and thereby secure swaraj and afterwards construct the nation on efficient lines?

To take the latter question first, let us ask ourselves what are the conditions under which the paralysing or destructive programme has to be worked. Are the conditions favourable to its being successfully worked? If they are favourable and have been so all along, how comes it that it was not worked successfully till now with sufficient intensity and over a sufficiently large area? For reasons which I hope to be able to explain at length on another occasion, I hold that the conditions are not favourable and that paralysing programmes are impossible, especially when even a person of the determined will and magnetic power of Mahatma Gandhi has failed. Now let us consider, therefore, what is our constructive programme?

Khaddar as a Constructive Programme.

Khaddar is now accepted as the chief if not almost the sole item of the constructive programme. But was not the khaddar programme, (included originally under the head of the "constructive" programme) really intended by Mahatma Gandhi to serve the purpose of paralysation? Could anyone imagine that a nation could be constructed out of one industry without relation to other industries and that, in repairing and stabilising a once well-organised nation now in the process of disrepair, we could ever take up one organ after another—a treatment which not even a fifth rate physician would think of adopting. Mahatma Gandhi's idea, it is a well-known fact, was to take possession of the Government function by paralysing its machinery—which taking over is by itself no construction—and then proceed to the real work of constructing ourselves into a nation, his reason for the change of Government being that a foreign Government especially under modern competitive connection can ordinarily be expected to hinder and not help in our constructive work. And he naturally thought that non-co-operation and paralysation which are common in Western countries though not always unaccompanied by violence were the means. He believed that if all the 330 million neglect giving help to the Government for one or two months, maintaining strict non-violence all the time, our wish to get Swaraj can be realised. And we without seeing the force of that "if" and in our innate simplicity also expected

that the whole population would stand by us, at latest within one year, if only we went on preaching to them. This was an indirect fight or non-violent civil war with the Government that we put up. In this indirect fight as in direct fight a great deal of sacrifice is of course called for on the part of the nation. But we were determined to make that sacrifice and attain our goal at any cost hoping to recoup all the loss after we had once succeeded in getting swaraj. Now after a lot of anxious waiting we have not only failed in our purpose, incurred great losses of men, money and material, but even in the leader to whom our whole national mentality has been subordinated is removed from our midst. While parting however he has left his word of advice to us to give up the idea with which he himself started, viz., of paralysing Government first and then constructing ourselves into a nation. He has told us clearly to take up constructive work first and assured us that Swaraj would follow as sure as night the day, and that soon. Construction alone will place the nation in a position where we can have the option either to "co-operate" or to non-co-operate with the Government and other nations safely and successfully. Khaddar then could by itself neither paralyse Government nor construct the nation. When with Mahatma Gandhi directing and controlling in person we have failed to paralyse, and that with a whole programme he could not have intended that we could succeed with a portion of his programme whatever it may be and that in his absence. His parting injunction undoubtedly is construction, and it may be for ultimate paralysation of Government but it is not paralysation first and construction next thus making imperative on our part to tread on opposite path to the one we have trod till now.

The question will however arise "when our programme of direct paralysation met with so much opposition not only from Government and other nations but even from our own people, will there not be the same opposition when we start a programme of construction which is little to be used for the purpose of paralysation?" I say, "No." Because through a programme of real construction we shall earn more, enable ourselves to pay more to Government as revenue and exchange more with other nations through commerce and shall be able to freely and easily employ our present disemployed and unemployed people. Why then expect opposition or harm in any way or from any source under these conditions?

What is construction? Now what does "construction" mean. Does construction mean construction on western lines? Or is it to be on the lines which our nation once established and to which, we cannot deny, we owe our continued existence even such as it is when all the other ancient nations are passing away one after another leaving no human relic behind? It is because Mahatma Gandhi recognised this disintegration of nations built on Western lines that he reminded us of the necessity to revert to the Eastern ideal—an ideal from which we have unconsciously slid through blind and indiscriminate imitation. Again, are we going to construct a nation for the first time out of the savage state—when every man lives for himself with a few wants—in which case alone would the policy of developing one industry after another be a sane one? (And certainly we are no savages). Or are we going to repair and restore the nation now in the process of disintegration? It is certainly the latter. In that case is not the idea of taking up one organ of the national organism after another, when every organ is more or less diseased and feeble, absurd? Is it not therefore necessary to prescribe and carry out a scheme which will go direct towards correcting the fundament and thus enable every organ to simultaneously get well and grow strong though gradually and at proportionate speed? And what is that scheme? In fact what are the Eastern and what are the Western lines of nation building? What about the establishment of hand labour and of Indian languages in our own land which Mahatma Gandhi had so much at heart?

The need for a leisurely discussion reaffirmed.

These are some of the most important questions which one would like to see discussed leisurely and patiently and in a discussion of which, not merely office-bearers under the Congress, but all interested in the object for which the Congress stands, may have the fullest opportunity. My esteemed friend and distinguished countryman, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has entered into the subject with his characteristic whole-heartedness, and promises to give out a scheme for future working.

Mr. K. Nana Rajan of Bombay writing to the *Bombay Chronicle* the other day agrees in the need for reconsidering the programme.

"The Line They Applaud."

"In a certain play now being performed with great success, there is a line which never fails to evoke enthusiastic applause," says the "Morning Post." "As all actors know, it is difficult, if not impossible, to foresee what will be the effect of any given passage upon an audience, however skilfully it may be delivered. Each audience, moreover, differs somewhat from the other; and one will appreciate what another will miss.

"Again, the effect of a play depends very often upon the mood and sentiment of the time at which it is produced; so that applause is itself an indication of public feeling. A tactful topical allusion, for instance, is sure to please the audience of a music hall. But the legitimate drama is another affair, and the invariable reception of the line in question is significant.

"It is quite a simple statement: 'Politics are a dirty business.' Very likely the playwright, when he wrote the line, was thinking neither of his audience nor of politics, but of the requirements of his piece. As a part of the play, twenty years ago the assertion might have been accepted; but we take leave to doubt very much if it would have been applauded. Today it is cheered on every occasion. A large and a mixed electorate perhaps need fifteen or twenty years in which to appreciate what is sometimes obvious to the few; especially if the new idea conflict with an existing belief. And it has long been the fond and proud belief of the British public that the men who are entrusted with the conduct of public affairs, although they work under conditions which make inevitable a measure of compromise, are honestly bent upon serving the State to the best of their ability.

"Now, it appears, the public are beginning to take another view of the matter. We wonder how many millions among the population today find their entire political convictions expressed in the simple formula, 'Politics are a dirty business'?

"Ever since the Marconi affair, by the common consent of the politicians, was huddled out of sight—though not out of mind—the decline of political probity has been continuous and manifest. The great principle of hushing things up has been followed with

an admirable consistency. 'The House of Commons,' said Viscount Grey the other day, 'has allowed any apparent scandal, however great, to remain unexposed.' There must come a time when, to quote the Turkish proverb, the fish begins to be odorous about the head and the moment seems to have arrived. When it arrives, not all the perfumes of Araby will avail to disguise the scent of corruption."

Mr. Gandhi-A "Puzzle."

Mr. Gandhi's confession on the Chauri Chaura tragedy will puzzle many a European student of politics. Its sublime humility almost Christian in its self debasement and penance coupled with a fierce determination to redress the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs, to enlist a crore of "volunteers" and carry out the Congress programme, forms a bewildering mixture. A European so humble would leave politics alone: a European so fiercely national would leave humility alone, but Mr. Gandhi joins the two, and the contrast constitutes the real puzzle. Hence the number of opinions about him. Some say he is a schemer who, under the cloak of religion and non-violence, is directly aiming at driving the country to open revolution and Bolshevism. We have tried to prejudice our mind in this direction so as to read his writings in a new light, but on this assumption we find his writings too clever, even for an Indian.

Others say he is a sincere visionary but a political bungler, who makes colossal mistakes because he does not know his own countrymen and owns up because he has got religion in him but all the more dangerous as he is so sincere in his religion and so clumsy in his politics.

Others again, without carving him up into definite and well-defined joints, credit him, in both religion and politics with an ill-defined mixture of sincerity, shrewdness and weakness. He sincerely believes in non-violence, first because it is the religious law of "Ahimsa," and second because the British guns are too strong. He believes in fasting, first because it strengthens the will, and second because it frightens his wayward friends; he believes in Khaddar, first because it realises the dignity of manual work and second because it kills Manchester, he believes in water, first because it promotes health, and second because it kills the Excise; he believes in touchability, first because it is fair to the lower castes, and second, because it increases his following; he believes in the Shastras to secure the support of heaven, and in the Koran to secure the support of Mahomedans.

That is what people think of him. What we think of him we have said already; besides it would worry the readers.

—The Catholic Herald of India.

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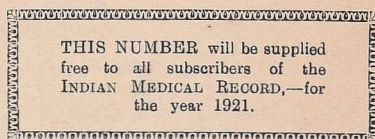
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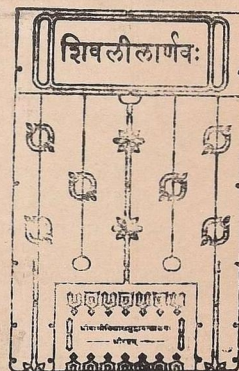


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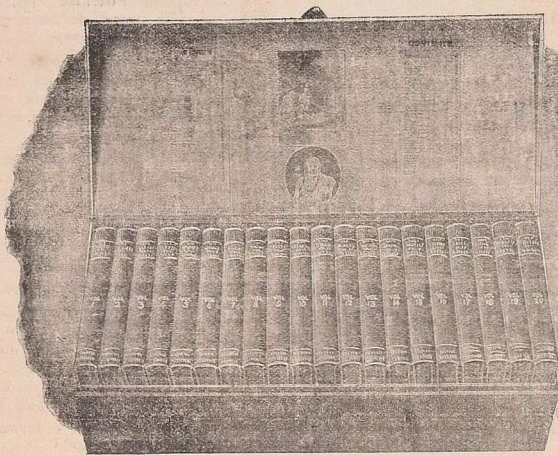
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