

# THE Hindu Message

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from the Hindu Standpoint.

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### THE HINDU MESSAGE stands for

- (1) Self-Government for India within the British Commonwealth,
- (2) Co-operation with the different communities of India without prejudice to Hindu Dharma,
- (3) Education of the Hindus as an integral part of the Indian Nation,
- (4) Advancement of Material Prosperity on a spiritual basis and
- (5) Dissemination of pure Hindu Culture.

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## A Vision of India.

### THE INDIAN VILLAGE—VI.

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

There runs on one side swift a silver stream,  
And channels therefrom through the village go  
The living waters like God's mercy flow  
Beneath the splendour of the solar beam.  
A bit of heaven this village bright doth seem  
With more than earthly beauty doth it glow.  
Is this an outer fact or inner show?  
Is this a living world or poet dream?  
Here beauty wedded is to daily use;  
Here man and nature like linked harmonies  
United are in Godward life and praise.  
No griefs or problems harden or confuse  
The head and heart of man. An utter peace  
Pervades the life of all 'neath cloudless days.

There was no issue of "The Hindu Message"  
last week owing to Telugu New Year holidays.

MANAGER.

## Dreams of the Soul.

BY AN INDIAN DREAMER.

### XCVI.

Every one of these towns is a blot upon God's creation.

Each skyscraper is a tower of silence where  
dead souls are allowed to rot.

The city hurls its smoke at the sky in response  
to sun-light and shower bountifully given to it by  
God.

Forests are felled each day to produce hillocks  
of written and printed waste paper.

Coal and oil are robbed from the bowels of  
the earth to drive engines meant to ruin fellow-men.

The brothers of old have been turned into the  
millionaire fiends and the pauper fiends bent on  
mutual slaughter.

Temples and Churches and Mosques are  
replaced by prisons, asylums, poor-houses, hospitals  
and arsenals.

Is this civilisation? Then I hate it and do not  
want it and wish it dead.



### XCVII.

The world is drunk with the glory of motion.

People rush about in electric cars and fly in  
aeroplanes.

Every man wants to be somewhere-else and in  
all places at the same time.

The only place which he does not like is where  
he is.

Each man has become an ever-restless atom,  
bent upon smashing other atoms into nothingness.





## Events of the Week.



### "COMING EVENTS CAST THEIR SHADOWS BEFORE."

The Government of India have decided, with effect from 24th April 1922, to raise quarter anna inland postcard to half anna, and to abolish the half anna and nine pies rates for inland letters, making the minimum charge one anna for a letter not exceeding  $2\frac{1}{2}$  tols in weight with one anna for every additional  $2\frac{1}{2}$  tolas. Table of charges for these two classes of inland postal articles where the postage is prepaid will thus be as follows:—From 24th April Letters from a weight not exceeding  $2\frac{1}{2}$  tolas 1 anna, for every  $2\frac{1}{2}$  tolas, or fraction thereof, exceeding  $2\frac{1}{2}$  tolas, 1 anna. Postcards, single  $\frac{1}{2}$  anna, reply 1 anna.

The discussions on the Finance Bill have been finished and have ended in a complete victory for the Assembly all along the line. It is due from us who have been unsparing critics of the Assembly as at present constituted to admit as much. The iniquitous increase of salt duty has been rejected; the excise duty on cotton has had the same fate; and the proposed increase of duty on imported piece goods fared no better. The import duty on machinery has also been turned down. The only necessities of the poor man which the Assembly has consented to tax are kerosene and matches. And even here we shall watch with anxiety to see how the hopes held out, that there will be no material enhancement of prices hereby, are going to be justified. The doubling of the postage and the raising of railway fares stand and will work great hardship on the poor. Misleading analogies with foreign countries had led to this regrettable impost being retained in the Finance Bill. The net result has been to run up the Budget deficit to somewhat more than nine crores. And how is this going to be made up? True, indeed, Government can fall back on the certifying powers of the Viceroy. In that case the result will be to exasperate the Assembly, though not the country which will not be surprised at such a course of action. It is well however to note here that, in reply to a question by Sir Sivaswami Iyer, the Finance Member admitted that the Government would take note of the very strong desire that existed among non-officials that no constitutional act should be resorted to against the considered verdict of the House.

To return to the question which we have posited, how is this deficit to be covered. It will easily be seen that except retrenchment all other courses will land the country in bankruptcy, on the verge of which it already stands. With our strong opinion that military expenditure is conceived on erroneous lines altogether, we have no hesitation in subscribing to Sir Sivaswami's strongly expressed opinions on this matter. In the different directions pointed out by him as well as earlier in the speeches of Col. Gidney and Mr. N. M. Samarth, we think there is good scope for reducing the military budget to within manageable limits. There are again possibilities of effecting economies and retrenchment in the various civil departments, most specially in the transferred branches of administration, in the secretariats and in what has been called "the gold lace and frills of administration." In our opinion therefore a policy of severe retrenchment might be given effect to—and there is ample scope for it, even after appeasing the Moloch of Efficiency—; and the result might conceivably lead a surplus. The Assembly might also have adopted a still manlier attitude; but that is a height to which, in its present composition, it can hardly be expected to attain. Meanwhile, we shall be thankful for such poor grace as has been shown to us. Sir Malcolm Hailey, we note, has announced that Government contemplates that the Retrenchment Committee should be asked to examine both the military and the civil expenditure. The stuff of which the Committee is made and its sense of responsibility to the taxpayers will both be apparent shortly.

The Conference on the Turko-Greek conflict has for the moment ended in Lord Curzon succeeding in bringing about an armed Turco-Greek armistice in the Near East for a period of three months. There is no doubt that, in this space of time, His Britannic Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs will leave no stone unturned, so far as circumstances and European political groupings will permit him, to bring about his own "just" settlement. While Lord Curzon may be left to enjoy his own unenviable position, we may recall to the minds of our readers once again the wearisome story. These things are admitted everywhere except in Lord Curzon's and the British Premier's minds. There should be no super-sovereign over Turkey, whence follows that the dignity of the Sultan as Khalifa should be accepted and preserved intact. Secondly Asia Minor, in which is Smyrna included, ought to be preserved inviolate for Turkey. And third and last and most important of all, Turkey should not be crippled in her means of defence, from which it follows that Turkey should be handed over possession of Thrace and the coast line. We note with satisfaction that France and Italy follow substantially these principles.

Yet meagre as has been this performance of the Assembly in regard to the budget and though the country had a right to expect a more stiff-backed action on its part, which professes to be an alert defender of our taxpayers, the London *Times* is angry with the Assembly for presuming to interfere in Government's proposals regarding taxation and goes on in its well-known manner to threaten the country with dire consequences. The burden of its song, which has been wired out by Reuter, is that the Reforms are conditional on good behaviour; that for some time past the various Indian legislatures have not been showing a due sense of responsibility; that, in one word and to speak the awful truth, the Reforms have not been successful and may consequently have to be modified or curtailed. We sympathise with the Thunderer for this awful squeak in its voice. The *Chronicle* has given the defiant answer to this homily. But two things are worth noticing as we go. Firstly the *Times* itself was not less critical of the budget than the Assembly. In fact we remember it as the deadliest critic thereof. Secondly it has yet to be proved as the *Hindu* states that the Assembly's veto have resulted in anything more serious than some inconvenience to the Finance Department and other departmental heads. Thirdly, the Finance member has frankly recognised the facts and the Assembly's position. We therefore think the fears of a contemporary are fully justified when it interprets the change in the weather-cock at Fleet Street as an indication of Tory readiness to throw overboard, at a convenient opportunity, an Indian policy which they heartily detest.





## The Hindu Message

### The Task of the Future.

The arrest and incarceration for an inordinate length of time of the saintliest leader in our political history has brought to a head diverging currents of thought that had often been seeking expression from within the Congress and had as often been forced to a backseat by the dominant and arresting personality of the departed leader. The calmness, the equanimity with which not this country merely but even those portions of India which lie scattered in other parts of the globe have taken this shattering piece of news, has rightly been interpreted as evidence of the popular determination not to lose sight of the main issue in the great struggle in which we are engaged. The country has quietly evinced its determination to press onward the fulfilment of the constructive programme laid down by the great leader. Still it has been forced in on the public mind that a mere programme of non-co-operation, or even the new constructive programme will not by itself meet the very serious crisis which faces the country today.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, with whom we have often had occasion to express our concurrence, has nobly stepped into the breach: and adumbrated the other day a programme of his own. Mr. K. Natarajan, who recently joined the Congress, has written a letter to the Press in which he hints at a similar programme. The conversion of the present system into full responsible government with the least possible delay and dislocation can be carried out only on a definite plan steadily and persistently worked upon. Such a scheme, says Mr. Natarajan as did the Panditji, is being drafted and will shortly be placed before the country; and he bespeaks for it all the support it needs: and it needs a good deal. As for the method, whatever may finally be decided on by the best minds in the country, there is no denying that the present tactic adopted by the Congress, under the magic of the influence of Mr. Gandhi's

name stands and has for long past stood in need of revision. In a series of articles which appeared in these pages about the time of the Ahmedabad Congress, a well-known writer of independent nationalist persuasion pointed out some of the defects in the tactics pursued by the Congress, since its special session at Calcutta. There is no attempt made anywhere to minimise the good the N. C. O. programme has done the country. It was in fact a very necessary movement of protest against the accepted conventions and cant and hypocrisy that had produced an almost emetic atmosphere in our politics. And it did a world of good in that it brought us back to our moorings: and served to teach us the great truth, which was once before preached during the earlier Bengal movement, that nations like the individual Atman must, if they are to attain salvation, seek and find the eternal source of strength in themselves. That mission it has fulfilled more than amply: and to still hug on to it, without making it as ought to have been done the starting point of a new synthesis is to suffer from a grievous lack of understanding of the ultimate issues.

This view has, we must admit, been often pressed forward by a distinct and influential body of opinion in Maharashtra and in our own presidency by the party of independent public men represented, for lack of better organisation, by the *Hindu*. In fact the *Hindu* had often protested against this obscuration of means and ends. And in one of its recent issues, it drew attention to "the deadening paralysis" in our public life whereby good men and true and sincere have been forced to give a mechanical adhesion to the *ipsissima verba* of the N. C. O. programme. It is, as we read it, a plea for some such well-considered programme as both Panditji and Mr. Natarajan have now in view. An Anglo-Indian contemporary which has taken an amorphous shape in a new incarnation quickly smelt in this the agreeable odours of orthodox N. C. O. discomfiture. It is nothing of the kind, so far as we can see. On the other hand, we trust the Congress and other responsible public bodies and publicists will take note of the fact that the ground has very well been prepared by the persistent propaganda of the last two years which renders necessary the evolution of a further comprehensive programme. It is not alone good that the constructive programme at present laid down should be achieved: it is much more important that the national will, organised in this manner, ought to bring its whole weight to bear on the executive. All modern governments are huge and complicated



organisms and are not to be shut up in separate compartments: but, they enter into our life at every point. Hence the necessity of a frontal attack and all along the whole front. The grounds therefor having been well and truly laid by intensive propaganda of these years, it is up to the country now to evolve a further and truly aggressive programme. Such we believe is the scheme the Panditji has in view: and we doubt not the country will accord whole-hearted support to the Panditji, notwithstanding Mr. Vallabhai Patel's support.

### Varna and Asrama.

By. B. V. KAMESWARA AIYAR M. A.

The present state of Indian society has very much simplified the problem of varnasrama-dharma. There were at one time, at any rate in theory, four varnas and four asramas. The first three varnas, the Brahman, the Kshatriya and the Vaisya, are in the Rig Veda comprised under the name aryavarna and contrasted with the term Krishna-tvak (black-skin). The fourth varna, the Sudra, appears originally to have comprised such of the earlier inhabitants of the country as had been accepted into the Aryan scheme of life, though at the foot of it. Now ethnologically speaking, the Brahman alone seems to represent the Aryan varna; all the rest have fused together. This is the view of the distinguished orientalist Dr. Goldstucker who wrote, "The classification of modern Hindu society is very different from the original theory. With the exception of the Brahmans, the pure castes have disappeared and out of the intermixture of others have sprung innumerable classes, many of them unauthorised except by the people themselves." The orthodox test of the Aryan varna, as Sayana has stated, is the privilege of using Vedic texts during the several samskaras. The Brahman alone is at present doing so. He is thus the only representative now of the old varna system. The higher sections of the non-brahman Hindus have to a large extent embraced the Aryan cult and usages; but some of the more enlightened among them seek to disown any Aryan inspiration and trace their culture to their own native genius.

If the varnas have now been practically reduced to a single one, the asramas have all of them almost disappeared. The Vanaprastha hermit life in forest solitudes, which was once reckoned as the third stage of life when old age was coming on—ceased to exist several centuries ago. That of the Sanyasin, the last stage, is, except in a very few cases, only a cloak for other pursuits than spiritual enlightenment. That of the Grihastha—the householder—exists in name but without any of its old ideals; for the culture on which it was once based—that of the Brahmacharya

has been swamped by the system of modern education.

What then now remains of the varnas or the asramas? The latter is all but *non est* and of the former, the Brahman alone exists and even he is one by birth alone, that is, supposing he can in reason claim purity of birth. For let us remember that there are not wanting anthropologists who question the Brahman's purity of descent, though anthropometry, as a science, is still unfledged and the Indian branch of it even more immature.

But unmixed birth alone cannot constitute Brahmanhood. It is only one of the essential requisites. There are two other marks which are equally essential and which Patanjali, author of the *Maha-bhashya*, puts on a higher rank. These are *tapas*, self-denial and *sruta*, Vedic learning. First comes *tapas*—a life of self-control and self-denial. Then comes the study and assimilation of Scriptures, which result in the laying down of these three defining marks of a brahman adds, 'He who has not *tapas* and *Sruta* is a Brahman, by birth, a Brahman in name alone'; and to this category belong almost all the Brahmans of the present day.

Is it worth while preserving this stock of nominal Brahmans from the extinction to which they are themselves hastening? One would think, not. Their *raison d'être* would be that providentially an improved breed might spring out of it with revived ideals of *tapas* and *sruta*. Let us hope so.

### Some Matters of Moment

[We give below extracts from a private letter written by an English friend, who holds a commissioned rank and a responsible appointment in the Indian Army;—Editor, *H. M.*]

I have been more than delighted at the "Indian Defence Problems. They are the first articles by an Indian that I have read which appear to tackle the problem in the right way. The truth of the matter is that the military problem of India is there quite irrespective of the British in India. It should therefore be studied divorced entirely from politics. Not only has this been done, though now and again there is a dig at the Imperialistic ambition of the Britisher, but the main principles involved have been brought out. In so doing I think a signal service has been done to your country.

The clear exposition of the case in the second article must do good. Everybody in the world is more than ready to distrust the motives of others whereas in my opinion most people are genuinely striving for better things. I personally am, as most soldiers are, fully alive to the advantage to be reaped by curtailing unproductive military expenditure and using the money elsewhere. Still in the world as it



is today, and as I personally believe it will always remain, it is essential for nations to be *prepared* to support their existence by force; and for the present at any rate any nation that forgets to do so or fails to make sufficient provision may expect to go under.

I fancy most people agree with the principle, and that differences are mainly confined as to what is sufficient. The expert or, rather, the man who has to undertake the responsibility, will want to be on the safe side and will automatically over-estimate: but this small over-estimate is, I think, probably counter-balanced by the difficulty of filling the money out of the taxpayer.

Personally I think the present members of the Legislative Assembly have been off the mark—their plea is India cannot afford it, which literally means she can't afford to be a nation. To my mind there are certain expenses, of which that on the country's safety is one, that are necessities, others like old age pensions, education, sanitation, eminently desirable without doubt, but luxuries. I think the members would have been sounder in principle to accept the Government's statement as to the size and quality of the army necessary for defence and to question whether there was any need for it to cost as much as it is claimed to. Do you agree? I see they have agreed to a retrenchment committee on military expenditure. This is excellent, though I hope they won't copy the Geddes Committee too slavishly as conditions are not similar. The Home Government can view military reductions at home with a certain amount of equanimity as they have very large potential reserves of trained men and equipment available.

I see the papers say the Expeditionary Force at Home will now be two divisions instead of six. I wonder, is this enough to stave off defeat until the potential reserves can be bought into the fight!!

It must be remembered that India's reserves will have to come from overseas which means an additional three months in transporting a division to India. It will of course always be largely a matter of opinion, but history shows in no uncertain manner the cost of being unprepared. To cut too much may lead to war and *not* to economy.

Enough on military subjects. Now for politics.

It is my honest opinion that, no harm will come of firmness on the part of Government. I take it as a maxim that in all countries Government is done with the aid of a big stick, which is kept in the background in proportion to the political education of the country. An *Indian* Government would have as much need of the big stick as has the British Executive in India, and for many years to come, your folk when you take over will need to use it pretty freely.

So you can say I as a private individual approve the government policy, as I consider the non-cooperation movement is revolutionary and not political, and that of the Government to give in to it would be to betray

the Indians who will later take over the Government

The complaint is made that Indians are looked upon in the Empire as Pariahs. That I deny. Even in the twenty years that I have been in India, Indians have risen to a very high standard and will I take it, in a few years to come have nothing to grumble at as regards treatment. Their admission into other colonies is purely an economic question. The gates are equally barred against all whose standard of living is sufficiently low to enable them to starve out labourers with a higher standard of living. To you whose standard of living is on a par with mine there would be no opposition. The Indians who emigrate are by no means representative of what India can do. The problem is not easy, but I should think a solution could be found if we all cooperate. You won't mind straight talk from me I know, but I think all Indians are inclined to look for rebuffs where none are meant. It is a condition we all tumble into at times both as individuals and nations. Indians are very sensitive at the moment.

### "All Things Considered."

A paragraph in the *Le Matin* is quoted by the *Madras Mail* as an illustration of the saying that you may prove anything by figures. The ex-Kasier, says the *Matin*, was unfortunately born in 1859, succeeded to an embarrassing situation in 1888, reigned with difficulty for thirty years, and ignominiously fled from the father-land at the age of fifty-nine. His dupe, the ex-Emperor Carl, was born in 1887, assumed a brief authority in 1916, reigning for two years only, and abdicated at the age of thirty-one. In each instance the figures given above, when added together, give a total of 3,836, and these figures, divided by two, give 1918, the year of the Armistice!



We agree entirely with the *Hindu's* comments on a recent debate in the local legislature. Says he:—The debate on duty allowances in the Madras Legislative Council last week can scarcely be said to be edifying. Apart from the reckless disregard of rules of procedure which only the determined intervention of the President, unfortunately at a very late stage, prevented from descending into an unseemly wrangle and attempts at log-rolling over the emoluments of the favourites of particular groups inside the Council, is it not odd that non-official members should move and vote for reductions evidently with no principles whatsoever to guide them? More strange perhaps is the conduct of the Leader of the House who, instead of seeking to safeguard the "business reputation of the Council," took advantage of the weakness of a handful of members to advance a course on which he had set his heart, but which earlier the Council had resolutely set its face against.





In his speech in reply to the deputation on the South African Indian question, Lord Reading has made two things absolutely clear. His Excellency was convinced that the Indian case was inherently right and that the obligation lay heavy on the Government of India to seek a just and equitable solution of the whole problem, because, apart from other considerations of pith and moment, the whole problem had arisen primarily owing to the countenance the iniquitous and barbaric policy of indenture received from the Government of India. In the face of these facts it is hard indeed to understand the wobbling and hesitating tone in which his reply is pitched. The problem has quite as great and important an influence on internal conditions in India as on General Smuts' own problems in South Africa. And is unlimited consideration due from us to General Smuts and none from him to us? The Union Government's rights and willingness or otherwise to waive them our behalf has had a very great effect on Lord Reading's mind, while the question of our own Governments' rights and duties in the matter does not seem to have had the weight that ought naturally attach thereto. Otherwise why should the deputation be asked to trust to other men's sense of justice and to time and all the other well-worn platitudes whereby the strong help to keep the weak contented with their lot in life. For a government which has often taken a high and just line in regard to this vexed problem, it is inconceivable that the head thereof should mouth the insulting, if inane, platitude about the Englishman's sense of fair-play provided that Indians "proved" their fitness to exercise citizen rights. We do not envy the members of the deputation their feelings at this affront to their intelligence. To say the least, it was in bad taste. His Excellency's support of the repatriation scheme, in spite of its having been proved a blunder is hardly a point in his favour. Altogether, the cause of South African Indians has not been improved by the Viceroy's stand, except in the opposite direction to the best interests of this country.

The review on educational progress in India for the year 1920—21, though a belated document, is a very interesting one and is in startling and agreeable contrast to the general run of government publications, of which we had something to say in these columns sometime ago. Analysing the psychology underlying the recent student revolt at the call of non-co-operation, the reviewer gives expression to the following illuminating comments. "There was something in the movement that appealed to most diverse types of mind. The call to 'national' service and self-sacrifice found a quick response among the best, unintelligible to those who do not realise the emotional background of student life and the absence of a strong sense of humour. While older men have been seeing visions, the young

men have been dreaming dreams. Imagination has been fired and a spiritual uplift initiated. Something that had long been wanting in our college life had been supplied. To another class of temperament the situation presented possibilities of romance and a venture that irradiated a colourless existence. Picketing and processions were as irresistible to such minds as a bumb-supper and a 'rag' to Oxford undergraduates. Others became for the first time conscious that they were wasting time over a kind of education not suited to their needs and leading them at its best to an office stool."

The Educational Commissioner refers to the many national schools that are still in existence and do enjoy some popularity; and very wisely observes that the movement engendered, as it could not but, much emotional froth, it did undoubtedly call attention to the many serious evils in the existing system of education. We do not know how far it is true to say that the primary duty of the students in these schools is considered to be, not study, but the popularisation of the *Charka*. Still it points to the urgent necessity of vocational instruction, as well as the fact that manual education ought to go side by side with literary education. Further they accentuate the insistent demand for the wide use of the vernacular. Also they draw forcible attention to the deplorable lack of provision in our existing educational institutions for chairs on subjects relating to Indian culture, civilisation etc. Indian education is now at the cross-ways and if the problems are all faced in the spirit of the reviewer we would have gone a great way towards Svaram.

The *Madras Mail* writes:—A non-official member of the Bengal Legislative Council, supporting the expenditure on the Intelligence Department, made the sensational statement that "he had received information that anarchists were out forming secret societies in the East Bengal districts." Coming from a non-official the statement must command the serious attention of all citizens. It emphasises the dangers which confront India as a result of Extremist propaganda, and gives further support to Mr. MONTAGU's reference to Bolshevik activities in India. These anarchists will not confine their attention to Bengal alone, though they may hope to find their most fruitful harvest there. Madras cannot hope to escape their activities, and it behoves us all to be prepared to fight their pernicious propaganda.

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## Economic.

### International Credits.

By SIR DRUMMOND DRUMMOND FRASER,

K. B. E., M. COM.

I am peculiarly pleased that I have been asked to write an article explaining the working out of the ter Meulen Bond scheme for the Peoples' Year Book, because my life, for the last seven years has been one long endeavour to make Chancellors of the Exchequer and other Treasury officials see that the only principle which can completely succeed, either in war or in peace, is the co-operative principle.

At the very beginning of the war, in August, 1914, I was asked by the *Manchester Guardian* to write a series of articles, of which the spirit of them all could be summed up in the final words of one of them, "Give the people a chance?" I tried to make Government see that loans must be issued far less than £100, if the maximum amount of the current savings of the people were to be obtained. But it was only in October, 1917, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer adopted my National War Bonds, on the principle of day by day continuous borrowing direct from the people. And what was the result? During the period that they were on tap the whole of the home money borrowed was raised without disturbing the existing financial machinery. In fact there was a decrease as against a continuous rise in wholesale prices when the Government borrowed half from the rich and half from the Banks.

For the last twenty-eight years I have been the honorary treasurer and chairman of the Co-operative Holiday Association. All the money I have raised during that time for the purchase, building, and furnishing of Guest Houses in the beauty spots of Great Britain and on the continent has been entirely raised, managed, and organised by the people themselves. This has engendered a spirit of *bonne camaraderie* second to none.

Now it is just because the C. W. S. movement is a much larger edition of the C. H. A. movement that my sympathies go out to its organisation more than to any I know. While the C. H. A. provides recreative and educative holidays for the workers of this country at cost price, the C. W. S. provides them with the *essentials* of life of the best, most wholesome and purest, at cost price also. What I want to see more than anything is the extension of this co-operative spirit into an international movement, embracing all the European countries, who, though no fault of their own, are almost starving for want of that which the C. W. S. has the machinery to be able to supply.

Just as the C. W. S. is a large extension of the C. H. A., so did it seem to me that the International Credits scheme of the League of Nations was an international extension of the C. W. S. And it was because of its co-operative principle and its immense co-operative possibilities for the recuperation of distressed Europe, that I accepted the invitation to become its organiser, for one year, ending March, 1922. It was not as a banker. As a banker, however, I first satisfied myself of its financial soundness. It has not had an immediate popularity, because it involves individual sacrifice in the distressed countries for the benefit of the whole community.

#### THE TER MEULEN BOND SCHEME.

Every one now knows that all these countries are suffering from a misuse of credit. This has caused a lack of credit. The ter Meulen bond scheme is

devised to supply this lack. The bond is in the nature of a guarantee and will enable importers to obtain the required credit for the purchase of essential goods. The C. W. S. have gone so far as to say that they are now prepared to grant credits for the shipment of approved goods on receipt of ter meulen bonds.

Although the scheme has already been applied to Austria, other countries (I write in August) are still holding back. The C. W. S. with its far-sighted enlightenment has taken the lead in impressing upon the co-operative societies, in the distressed countries that they should urge their respective governments to apply to me for the issue of the bonds, at Trafalgar House, Waterloo Place, London, S. W. 1.

This International credit scheme is, like the C. W. S. under the control of "picked" men. In the C. W. S. they are called a board of directors. In the ter Meulen scheme they are to be an international commission of bankers and business men, appointed by the League of Nations, who shall have power to determine the gold value of the assets pledged by the Governments of the war-stricken countries. They will issue gold bonds to the value fixed by the commission. The interest and sinking fund of the bonds will be specifically secured by the revenue from these pledged assets. Thus the bonds will only be issued where the country has national assets to pledge; but, because of the present political unrest, the control of the revenue from those assets may have to be placed in the hands of this international commission. There will of course be cases where the countries themselves can control the revenue from their pledged assets. It is this revenue which will enable a good value to be put on the bonds. The bonds will be used by the importers to satisfy exporters that they will be able to pay. These bonds will be financed by banks and where necessary—as for reconstruction purposes, necessitating long-term credits—by holding Companies or Credit Associations (on the principle of the corporations founded under The Edge Bill of America). Those Holding Companies, Corporations or Credit Associations will raise the money from the public direct, in the same way as the C. W. S. raise money. The share and loan capital of the co-operative societies in the United Kingdom is over £100,000,000. This is soundly invested in the land at home and abroad, buildings, factories, stock, with a substantial margin in realisable cash assets. I feel sure that some day there will have to be an international corporation on the lines of C. W. S., backed by the guarantee of the Allied Powers, other Governments, and the Banks, to finance the ter Meulen bonds, when they have become the success I anticipate. This International Credit Association could raise money from the people direct on the bond system, in order to finance exporters with ter Meulen bonds. It would be a further advantage if such an international Credit Association, i.e., a holding Company, were prepared to purchase other desirable foreign securities represented by the bonds, such as German Reparation Bonds, in order to make Germany's export surplus, represented by the bonds, marketable. This would stimulate productivity in every other country, just in the same way as the C. W. S. has stimulated co-operative productivity in England to such extent that it supplies the food-stuffs and clothing of one-fourth of population of the whole country.

#### THE NECESSITY OF FINANCIAL CO-OPERATION

Countries that are prosperous produce. This production increases the capacity of the world's consumption. The capacity of the world's consumption must be increased if the world is to get the maximum benefit of Germany's indemnity to the Allied Powers. Financial co-operation will bring real peace and



prosperity to the democracies of the world that statecraft has failed to do.

When the American delegation were in this country at the World Cotton Conference, they were shown Lancashire cotton mills, idle through the strike. Several of them told me that they were amazed to find how calm and unconcerned was the attitude of the unemployed operatives. But when I explained to them that the mills were practically financed by those operatives on the well-known loan system and that the operatives were also share-holders of the mills, and that many rose to the positions of managers and directors of the mills in which they had worked, they saw the immense advantage of this financial stake of the workers. I informed them that the workers were even interested in the destinations of the goods they made; and that they were also familiar with foreign exchanges. These things secure efficient management. The result is that, when an occasional strike or lock-out occurs, it becomes merely a question as to who can in a few weeks get the best terms from collective bargaining. In my opinion such financial co-operation runs the C. W. S. very close! One has a striking illustration of the reverse side of the shield in the mining industry where there have been frequent hostile prolonged disputes, because there is lack of financial interest on the part of the miners in the mines in which they work.

#### AN INTERNATIONAL CREDIT ASSOCIATION AND ITS BENEFITS.

An International Credit Association would turn the created unproductive money into new, productive money. This would bring about a deflation of the present inflation, due to the misuse of credit and currency by belligerent Governments and speculators in the mad trade boom after the Armistice (clearly indicated on my chart)

Bank deposits of the people before the war enabled the banks to finance the London Sterling Bills of Exchange, through which the overseas trade of the world had financed. To-day, owing to the violent fluctuations in the foreign exchanges due to the mistrust of the new European Governments, the use of the printing press to pay Government expenditure and to the speculation in foreign exchange by the few at the expense of the money, it has become necessary to give a longer credit than bill credit to give time for these countries to recuperate. This is where the ter Meulen bonds step in.

#### A THREEFOLD CO-OPERATION, THROUGH THE TER MEULEN BOND AND OTHER SECURITIES MUST

##### BECOME AN INTERNATIONAL FORCE:—

Before the war, Bills provide the reservoir of credit required by exporters. To-day Bonds must provide this reservoir credit. How can this be done? By finance. But finance is a big word covering many things. Finance is the only thing that can grapple with the problem of this new reservoir. And finance alone cannot do it. It must be backed by a three-fold co-operation, consisting of producers, distributors, consumers. This threefold co-operation must, through the ter Meulen bond and other foreign securities, become a live, international force. It will then multiply production, because the producers will be safeguarded by *pro rata* guarantees of governments and banks in the lending countries and by collateral securities on a gold basis of governments of borrowing countries. It will also multiply consumption through the distribution of goods—by reason of its international character—where they can be most economically and efficiently produced and manufactured. And it will kill monopolies, trusts and rings, because its finance

will be controlled, not by a combination of financiers, but—again by reason of its international character—by all the citizens of the world.

I see as in a vision a "movement which includes this three-fold co-operation, raising money from the people direct, on gold bonds on the one hand; advancing levying against ter Meulen bonds and other satisfactory foreign collateral securities on the other hand. I see this great corporation extending its sphere from national to international service. Where is the machinery to be found to do this unique, organic work? Who has the power in embryo? In my mind there is one movement that has within it all the necessary organisation to embark upon this monumental work. Courage, hard, unremitting labour and sound finance will be needed. And underlying all there must be the Ideal of Universal Brotherhood. Where can all these be found, if not in the C. W. S.?

—The People's Year Book.

## Reviews.

**The People's Year Book, 1922.** Annual of the English and Scottish Wholesale Societies. Published by the Co-operative Wholesale Society Limited, 1 Balloon Street, Manchester. 2s. 6d.; post free 3s. 2d.

We have great pleasure in welcoming this attractively got up year book which will be read and consulted with great interest in this country, where the Co-operative movement is yet in its infancy and has not passed into more fruitful channels than that of credit facilities. The scope and specific character of the volume before us will best be indicated by classifying its contents. The Co-operative movement in all its branches is dealt with as it flourishes in the United Kingdom and foreign countries. Special attention has also been devoted to the international aspect of it. The possibilities of international trading, which are being seriously discussed in most co-operative assemblies, are discussed in short and informing articles. The Labour movement, both in its industrial and political aspects; the price movement and the food supply; fiscal topics such as national revenue and expenditure, and the crown estates; capital and credit; women's outlook and progress and a number of general articles, chief among which we must put down that on "Oil versus Coal; a new industrial force"—will give the readers an idea of the very helpful and thoughtful material that has been brought together in its four hundred odd pages.

The proceedings of Labour and Co-operative Congresses of the year, national and international, are ably summarised and a good deal of careful attention has been devoted to trade, prices, wages, finance, economics, politics and other matters of interest both to the public and to the student of social questions.

The letter-press is on antique paper and a number of intaglio illustrations, of which the most interesting are those of Dante, the signatories to the Irish Peace Treaty, Prince Kropotkin and Sir Horace Plunkett, render the volume attractive and handsome.

**The Chirala-Perala Tragedy.** By G. V. KRISHNA RAO, Ganesh and Co., Madras. Price Rs. 1.

Justice the other day gave a glowing review of the administration report of the Chirala Municipality. Here in the volume before us we are told in a subdued tone and dispassionate a language as possible the whole story of this iniquitous imposition of a Municipality on an unwilling people. The addenda contains the reply of the Andhra Publicity office to the note of the Madras Publicity Bureau. A chapter gives a



sketch of the career of Duggirala Gopalakrishnayya, the leader of the villagers in this struggle. We think, though, the author might have contented himself with pointing out the salient features of the coercive proceedings against the hero. It is not understandable—except on the ground that there is still the glamour of the West on us—why it should be thought necessary to give a picture of the hero in his academic robes and gown.

## Miscellaneous.

### The Idler.

#### Mosquitos and Colours.

It has been scientifically established that the wasp has an eye for colour, and prefers some colours to others. More recently the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine has been making similar experiments with mosquitoes, and finds that that insect, too, has a marked fondness for certain colours, and avoids others. The wasp likes strong contrasts, with a particular preference for yellow and black. The mosquito appears to like navy blue and dark red best, and to dislike quite decidedly pale shades of all colours.

The Liverpool experiment was made as follows:—Boxes lined with cloth of various colours were so arranged that newly-hatched mosquitoes on emerging from the water could enter whichever box most attracted them, care being taken that the boxes only differed in colour, and that no box was desirable than another in the amount of light or shade it offered. At the end of 17 days 108 young mosquitoes had entered the navy-blue box, 90 the dark red, 1 the reddish-brown, 56 the scarlet and 49 the black box.

Then there was a sharp drop to 31 mosquitoes who voted for slate grey, 24 for olive-green, 13 for violet, 17 for leaf-green, and 14 for dull blue. The light-coloured boxes were almost empty. Pearl grey attracted only 9 pale green 4, pale blue, ochre, and white 2. The orange box had one solitary visitor, and the pale yellow box none at all.

If the Liverpool specimens are good samples of the Indian and African families, this experiment should be of interest to dwellers in the tropics. Black-socked men sitting at dinner in the rainy season with towels round their ankles to save their manners have been wont to admire the fortitude of the unprotected (but white-clad) ladies. Now they know that for every mosquito that sought a white ankle 25 were making for their more attractive black. The motto when mosquitoes are about is: "White socks and shoes and no scratching."

#### Lurking Humour.

As examples of humour lurking in all sorts of unexpected corners the following may be cited. One such is found in a speech made by Mr. Massey the New Zealand Premier not long ago in London. "New Zealand is going to become the dairy farm of the Empire," he said, "She has tremendous water-power—" A yell of laughter interrupted this delightful example of unintentional humour. The engagement of Princess Mary led to a funny announcement appearing in the window of an East-end public-house. "To celebrate the engagement of Our Princess. Sausage roll and Glass of Bitter 4d. God Bless Them Both' 'Billiard Tables Upstairs. One Shilling a hundred" runs a notice in the window of a building off the strand. Dozens of people see the notice but only a very small number see the joke.

### "Continued on Page Eight."

The following poem by an exasperated soul appeared recently in "The Madras Mail" and is directed against that paper's habit of breaking off a column of news to be "continued on page eight."

Be the topic small or great  
Secretary (once) of State,  
Mahatma Gandhi's Hymn of Hate  
'Tis continued on page eight.

Be it Royal tete a tete  
India's Princes tout en fete,  
First our interest rouse and bait,  
Then continue on page eight.

Speeches in the Halls of State  
Presaging our country's fate,  
Reuter's specials, stop, or late,  
All continue on page eight.

Since your readers feel irate,  
When your columns so gyrate,  
Do, kind sir, please correlate,  
And conclude without page eight.

Needless to say the editor appreciated the verse but found himself "quite unable" to accept the suggestion.

#### Her "charge."

A woman, who stammered very badly, was charged with some small offence, and, as there was some doubt as to her proper name the court officer said. "What's your name?" She tried to reply, but being nervous in a public court, though perhaps not in a public-house, merely said, "S-S-S-S-S-S," hissing long and loud. "Tell the magistrates your name," rapped out the officer. This made her worse than ever, and a prolonged "hiss" was the only result. "What's she charged with" mildly asked the chairman. Our factious lawyer friend rose from the table and said. "Soda-water, I think, your worship." Her name was Sarah Simpson.

### Votable and Non-votable Heads of Expenditure.

The following extract from the official Report of the Legislative Assembly Debates will, we are sure, interest our readers:—

Mr. F. McCarthy: Sir, with your permission, I beg to ask a question of which I have given the honourable the Finance Member private notice. The question is this: "With reference to the Resolution of the Assembly on the 26th January last, is the honourable the Finance Member in a position to inform the House if the Law Officers in England have given their opinion as to the vote of the powers of the Governor General under section 67. A of the Government of India Act to direct that Non-votable heads of expenditure may be submitted to the vote of the Legislative Assembly?"

Sir Malcolm Hailey: Sir, we have received by telegram a summary of the opinions of the Law Officers of the Crown. In their view, it is not competent for the Governor-General to place on the vote subjects which are by the Statute reserved from that vote.

Mr. P. P. Ginnwala: Have the Law Officers of the Crown stated the grounds on which they have given this opinion, and, if so, will the honourable the Finance Member tell the House what those grounds are.



Sir Malcolm Hailey : As I have said, we have received a summary so far, but in any case the opinions of the Law Officers of the Crown are given subject to the condition that the actual text of these opinions is not published.

Munshi Iswar Saran : Does the Government propose to take steps to give effect to the Resolution passed by this House ?

Sir Malcolm Hailey : That, Sir, would be a matter for consideration.

Mr. P. P. Ginwala : If the Governor General does not follow the advice of the Law Officers of the Crown, is he subject to any pains and penalties ?

Sir Malcolm Hailey : Not, so far as I am aware, under the Act.

Dr. H. S. Gour : May I ask another supplementary question ? Is the Government of India going to exercise their own discretion in the matter, or are they to abide by the decision or opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown ?

Sir Malcolm Hailey : If the honourable member will remember the terms of the Act, he will realise that the matter is not in the discretion of the Government of India but in the discretion of the Governor General.

Munshi Iswar Saran : Has the Law Officer of the Crown in India been consulted—the Law Member ?

Sir Malcolm Hailey : The Law Member is not the Law Officer of the Crown.

Mr. P. P. Ginwala : Who is the Law Officer of the Crown in India ?

Sir Malcolm Hailey : The Advocate General, Bengal.

Mr. P. P. Ginwala : Has his opinion been taken on the point ?

Sir Malcolm Hailey : Not so far as I am aware. This is an English Statute.

Mr. P. P. Ginwala : Do I understand that the Law Officers of the Crown in India are unable to interpret an English Statute ?

Sir Malcolm Hailey : I do not know if the honourable member wishes me to suggest any imputation against the ability (Mr. Ginwala : 'No imputation') of the Law Officers of the Crown in India, but since the discretion lies with the Governor General the Governor-General has sought the advice of the Law Officers of the Crown in England.

Dr. H. S. Gour : Will the honourable the Finance Member inform the House whether he has taken the opinion of so eminent a lawyer as the Law Member of the Governor General in Council, and, if so, will he lay that opinion on the table of the House ?

Sir Malcolm Hailey : The honourable member is probably aware that the opinion of individual members of the Executive Council are not quoted and are not published.

Dr. H. S. Gour : The question has not been answered. Has the opinion of the Law Member been taken ?

Sir Malcolm Hailey : I am not prepared to say whether any individual member of the Executive Council has been consulted on any question. If I were to give that information it would follow by implication that I should have to say what opinion the member in question had given.

Mr. P. P. Ginwala : Is it the usual practice of the Government to consult the Law Officers of the Crown in England rather than the Law Officers of the Crown

in India with reference to the interpretation of statute peculiarly applicable to India ?

Sir Malcolm Hailey : I have already pointed out that the discretion in this case lies by statute with the Governor General, and the Governor General, in the exercise of this discretion, has desired that the Law Officers of the Crown in England should be consulted.

Mr. N. M. Samarth : May I know if the opinion of this Assembly and the debate in this Assembly were placed before the Law Officers of the Crown before their opinion was obtained ?

Sir Malcolm Hailey : No, Sir. We were asking the Law Officers of the Crown to interpret a statute and I do not imagine that, in interpreting a statute, the opinion of the Assembly would weigh with the Law Officers of the Crown.

Mr. N. M. Samarth : Is it not, Sir, the usual practice to place before the Law Officers of the Crown a précis of the opinions for and against a particular view and ask them for their opinion ?

Sir Malcolm Hailey : The procedure we followed in this case was to ask the Secretary of State to consult the Law Officers of the Crown. What exact information was placed before them by the Secretary of State I naturally I cannot say.

Mr. P. P. Ginwala : Will the Governor General in Council have any objection to consult the Law Officers of the Crown in India on this point, apart from the Governor General ?

Sir Malcolm Hailey : The opinion of the Governor General in Council is not binding on the Governor General. As I have pointed out to this House, the discretion is the individual discretion of the Governor General and it is he who has sought the opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown in England and I may point out that he, himself a high legal authority, may perhaps be given the credit of taking the best opinion possible on this question.

Dr. H. S. Gour : Following the usual practice, was the case stated for the opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown ?

Sir Malcolm Hailey : It was no doubt stated by the Secretary of State.

Dr. H. S. Gour : Is the honourable Member prepared to assure us that the case was clearly stated to the Law Officers of the Crown ?

Sir Malcolm Hailey : I imagine that the Law Officers of the Crown would give no decision unless on a case stated. That, I understand, is the usual practice.

Dr. H. S. Gour : Did the Government of India supply any materials for the statement of the case to be submitted to the Law Officers of the Crown ?

Sir Malcolm Hailey : Yes, they did. They supplied a reference to the Act, a reference to the opinion of the Joint Committee, and, I think, a reference to the history of the case.

Dr. H. S. Gour : Was it pointed out by the Government of India that discussion on all subjects mentioned in section 67 A (3) (i) to (v) was open to the late Imperial Legislative Council, and that such discussion was ordinarily allowed to the late Imperial Legislative Council, and that if this section was construed in a narrow spirit the effect of the Reform Act would be to curtail the right of this Assembly to discuss matters which were open to discussion by the late Imperial Legislative Council ?

Sir Malcolm Hailey : No. We did not convey to the Law Officers of the Crown the individual opinions now expressed by Dr. Gour.



Dr. H. S. Gour: Is it not a fact that the late Imperial Legislative Council were free to discuss the matters mentioned in Section 67 A (3) (i) to (v)? I ask the honourable the Finance Member to enlighten the house.

Sir Malcolm Hailey: That is possible. But we are now dealing with the question of voting, not discussion.

Dr. H. S. Gour: I am asking whether this power of discussion was not open to the late Imperial Legislative Council, and whether this power was not intimated to the Law Officers of the Crown with a view to draw their attention to the fact that that section could only deal with voting and not with discussion? I take it that the honourable the Finance Member is not able to reply to this?

Sir Malcolm Hailey: I have this reply to give that, that we are dealing with the Government of India Act, 1919. We are not dealing with any previous Act and its implications on this matter. Naturally we referred only to the Government of India Act.

Dr. H. S. Gour: I think my question has not been replied to. I asked a plain question. Is it not a fact that under the old Act the old Imperial Legislative Council was free to discuss matters mentioned in section 67 A (3) (i) to (v), and is it not a fact that that section could only deal with the power of the Governor General to allow the Assembly to vote upon those items and that the power of discussion could not in any way be curtailed by the present Reform Act?

Sir Malcolm Hailey: As regards the former part of the honourable Member's question, I can reply to it. That is a fact as stated by him. As regards the latter part of the honourable Member's question, that is a matter of opinion.

Mr. P. P. Ginnwala: With reference to the answer given to me just now, will the honourable the Finance Member say whether his opinion that the Governor General in Council is not competent to advise the Governor General is based on any legal advice or on his own interpretation of the Government of India Act?

Sir Malcolm Hailey: If the honourable Member will read the Act, he will see that the Governor General has separate statutory powers from those of the Governor General in Council. It is the Governor General who has decided to take the advice of the Law Officers of the Crown in England and it seems to me that he has acted perfectly within his discretion in doing so.

Dr. H. S. Gour: May I ask if the Law Officers of the Crown have given any opinion on the two heads—the power of this Assembly to vote, subject to the general directions of the Governor General and the power of this Assembly to discuss those items.

Sir Malcolm Hailey: As soon as we receive the full opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown, I shall be able to give the honourable Member, no doubt, somewhat more fully of the purport of their opinion. At present I have only communicated to him what we have received, namely, a brief telegraphic summary. As the House took a great interest in the matter, I thought that that communication should be made to it at the earliest possible moment.

Rao Bahadur T. Rengachariar: May I ask the honourable the Finance Member if there is any objection to give us a copy of that telegram.

Sir Malcolm Hailey: I cannot communicate to the House telegrams from the Secretary of State without his permission.

Dr. H. S. Gour: Who pays for the opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown? Is it a votable item?

Sir Malcolm Hailey: I am afraid I do not know. I will ascertain.

Lala Girdharilal Agarwala: Has the Government any objection to consult our own Law Member in whom we have full confidence?

Sir Malcolm Hailey: I have already pointed out that it is the Governor General who was seeking a legal opinion and not the Government of India.

Mr. N. M. Samarth: May I know who the Law Officers of the Crown are and how many men there are?

Sir Malcolm Hailey: The Attorney General and the Solicitor General.

Mr. N. M. Samarth: Thank you.

Dr. H. S. Gour: May I ask whether these two Law Officers of the Crown are conversant with Indian law and procedure?

Sir Malcolm Hailey: This is an English Statute and these distinguished lawyers are no doubt the best authorities in England on the interpretation of English Statutes.

Rao Bahadur T. Rengachariar: Is Dr. Gour aware that we engage the Attorney General in Indian cases?

## G. B. S. And Parliament.

WHY HE WILL HAVE NONE OF IT.

Mr. George Bernard Shaw has declined, in the following amusing letter, the invitation of the West Edinburgh Labour Party to contest that constituency at the next election:

"Why should I plead with the citizens of West Edinburgh to allow me to waste my time at Westminster for a salary on which I could not live, when I can command a far more eligible position and much larger emoluments as a leading member of my profession?

"If the Labour Party, or any other party, will guarantee me an unopposed election and a salary of £4,000 a year, with a handsome pension, I may at least consider the proposition that I should narrow my audience from civilised mankind to the handful of bewildered commercial gentlemen at Westminster who are now earnestly ruining Europe as the stupidest way of ruining their own country; but my answer would probably be the same—it would be easier and pleasanter to drown myself.

At the same time I am very sensible of and grateful for the esteem which has prompted your invitation. I am well aware that I have a few friends in Edinburgh, as well as even a few thousand, but not enough to win the seat, even if I wished to win it. You may, therefore, relieve the minds of all the foolish people in the county by announcing authoritatively that they have nothing to fear from me at the forthcoming General Election.

I shall stand not for Parliament, but for telling Parliament what I think of it, and incidentally, of the political intelligence of the people who elect it. That is a useful and necessary occupation, but not one that wins votes."

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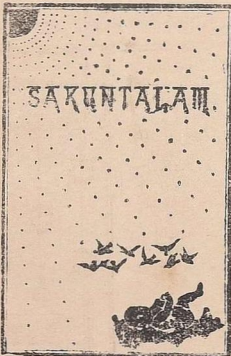
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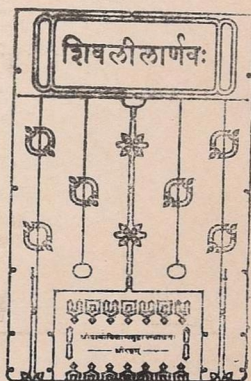
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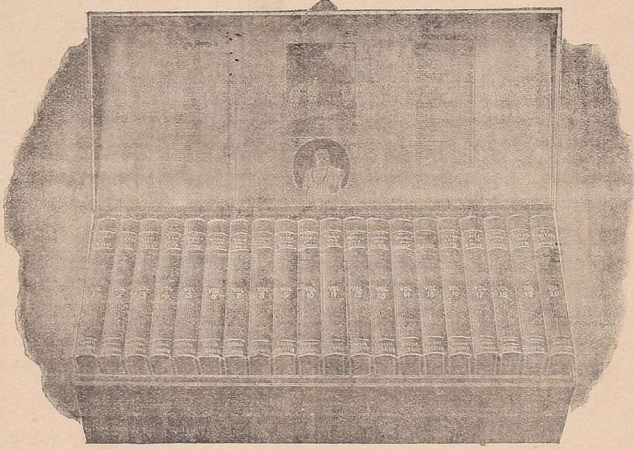
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