

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.

OTHER ANCIENT TOWNS—III.

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

Still shines Mathura town as in the time
When Krishna held imperial righteous sway.
And Gokul and Brindavan yet are gay
With memories of His sweet song and rhyme.
And Agra shines as in her ancient prime
With added glow of Taj where over clay
Of frame love's marble shines with deathless ray
And kingly love outlives the kingly crime.
There shrines Triveni's fair God-plaited braid
With interwoven heavenly holiness
Of Ganga, Jumna and Saraswathi.
There shines Gaya her pure feet overlaid
With two religious' wreathe'd tenderness
And guides the speeding soul to ecstasy.

Great Thoughts.

In worldly matters we in no point yield to them, but in spiritual matters they get the advantage of us, and are the first to seize the prize, and soar higher like so many eagles, whilst we, like jackdaws, are ever living in the steam and smoke. Harken about the women of old; they were great characters, great women and admirable; such were Sarah, Rebekah, Rachel, Deborah and Hannah; and such-like there were also in the days of Christ. Yet did they in no case outstrip the men, but occupied the second rank. But now it is the very contrary; women outstrip and eclipse us. What a shame is this! We are ordained to rule over them—to rule by excelling in virtue; but if we are surpassed by them, we can no longer be rulers over them.

Inquire of him that is grown old, and when you have reminded him of sumptuous banqueting which he hath enjoyed, and of glory and honour, and of good works he hath done, ask in which he exults the more; and you will see him for the first ashamed and covering his face, but for these latter soaring and leaping with joy.

So great is the strength of custom that it hath oftentimes prevailed over the commands of God; nay, over His choicest blessings. The Hebrews, when they were divinely fed with manna in the desert, required the garlic of Egypt; when enjoying full liberty under the leadership of Moses, they were continually extolling their experience of Egypt, and longing for a repetition of it.

There are some just persons who, albeit they live virtuous lives and keep themselves from things unlawful, yet never work any great deeds of good. There are others also who at first have lived worldly and criminal lives, but who afterward return unto their heart, considering with themselves that they have acted wrongful; these, pricked with grief, are inflamed with love to God, practise themselves in great virtues, seek out the posts of peril in the holy contest, and forsake all the allurements of the world, and because they perceive that they have wandered away from God, make up for their former losses by ensuring gains.

Every day is a fresh beginning.

A Garland of Quiet Thoughts.

Events of the Week.

Sir John Woodroffe who is retiring from the Bench of the Calcutta High Court was presented with a farewell address by the members of the Vakils' Association at the High Court on Thursday. At eleven o'clock all the Judges assembled in the Chief Justice's Court which was packed with members of the various branches of the legal profession and the public.

Babu Basanta Coomar Bose, President of the Vakils' Association, read the address which was printed on country made "tulat" paper with a backing of Murshidabad silk and was decorated with a border of Indian gold embroidery. The casket in which the address was enclosed was of solid silver with gold inscriptions. On its sides were representations in relief of the High Court, a cow being milked, the "muladhar" (the seed of the Tantras) and a pandit reading the Sastras in 'tal' leaves. On the lid was the Balance of Justice while at the bottom was a farmer with a plough.

The address was as follows:—

My Lord, It is with feelings of the deepest regret that we, the Vakils of this Hon'ble Court, approach your Lordship to bid you farewell on the eve of your retirement from the Bench. During your connection with this Court, first as an Advocate for 15 years and then as a Judge for 18 years, you have, by your suavity of manners your attainments and, above all your sympathy with the people of this country, earned the esteem and gratitude of all who came in contact with you. Strong common sense and thorough knowledge of the principles of law, combined with your unflinching courtesy, strict impartiality, and an earnest desire to do justice, made you an exemplary Judge. Your retirement will be a decided loss to the High Court of Calcutta, nay to the whole country. Amidst your arduous duties on the Bench you have also found time to enrich legal literature by many valuable contributions, both as commentaries and as original works. We cannot on this occasion omit to express our grateful appreciation of the good work done by you to our country in other spheres of action. The Indian Society of Oriental Art, which has recently secured the recognition of the Government, will bear testimony to your solicitude in the cause of the neglected arts and crafts of the East and Indian painting and sculpture. In the domain of religious philosophy, your labours have removed the ignorant obloquy from the Brahmanic Scriptures known under the name of the 'Tantras,' and the erudition and scholarship you have brought to bear upon your exposition of this abstruse subject cannot fail to excite wonder and admiration even of those outside the Brahmanic fold. It is not possible to enumerate here all that you have done, but we, cannot help mentioning one other matter, viz., the fearless impartiality with which you replied the aspersions cast on the civilisation of India, with its historic past, and the thoroughness with which you have done it. In conclusion, we beg to assure you that your large heart and even temper have earned for you the name of Ajata-Shatru. We heartily wish you a long, happy and brilliant future—a future in which, we doubt not, you will make further contributions to the advancement of Truth and to the welfare of India.

Mr. S. R. Das, Advocate-General, on behalf of the Bar associated himself with all that was stated in the address.

Babu Mohini Mohan Chatterji, President of the Incorporated Law Society, felt it a privilege and honour to be associated with all that had been said.

Sir John Woodroffe said:—I thank you for the address with which you have honoured me, I am indeed sorry to leave a country in which I have lived the greater part of my life, that is for some thirty-three years and which is for this and other reasons a second home to me. Though circumstances compel me to retire, I am glad that I do see with a knowledge that my work as a judge has satisfied you and that for these and other reasons I have your good wishes. If I have been able to carry on my judicial work it is because you have been my collaborators. I thank you for your help and courtesy. What I have done is with your assistance, for the relation of Bench and Bar is that of co-operators in the work of justice. You have also spoken of my work in the

propagation of a right understanding of the great civilisation of India. This is also a work of justice though in another sphere I have been moved to undertake it by reason of my affection for the country as also because of my great debt to it both material and intellectual. This is to use a Sanskrit term my "Arsha Rina." Justice is here also correct judgment, that is the discrimination of what is true and false, of what is worthy of praise or reprobation with complete impartiality and freedom from all racial, national and credal prejudice. What I owe to India cannot be fully expressed here. I thank you for your good wishes for my future which wishes I heartily reciprocate, trusting also that I am not today saying a last farewell to you and your country, but that I may see both in some neighbouring years. If unhappily this be not so, I will say good bye and with it I ask you to accept my good wishes and my thanks.

One of the large department stores of Boston has successfully tried a form of self-government patterned much on the order of the U. S. Government. Employees elect members of the House by ballot. Department executives form the Senate. Four high executives form the cabinet, and the President of the company is the chief executive. Under this plan, the employees practically regulate their own working conditions, and the system has led to a valuable exchange of ideas, the founding of welfare organizations, and a substantial increase in the business.

Pope Pius XI has ex-communicated from the company of his domestic servants a cook who had been with him during his tenure of office in Bologna, Milan, and at the Vatican. Pius XI, whose simple domestic habits are discussed by the Roman Press, is in the habit of paying for each meal as he takes it, just as he would do in a restaurant, thus facilitating the keeping of his household accounts. Recently, on the bill presented to him by the faithful cook, was an item for a chicken priced at 20 lire, of this the Pope had eaten only one-half. He, therefore, gave instructions that the remaining half be served up as chicken croquettes at dinner. But on the dinner bill being presented to him, the same "chicken" appeared at the price—again 20 lire. At this the papal sense of decency was greatly shocked, and the cook was sent for and dismissed.

The *Nation and Athenium* writes:—The Prime Minister's Wednesday speech on India, together with the accompanying debate, is open to an unfortunate construction. Manifestly it does not imply any retreat from, or any weakening in, the reform policy, the lines and aims of which are settled. It did, however, contain a declaration as to the permanence of the British public services, "the steel frame of the whole structure," which was needlessly sharp in tone. Outside the ranks of the ultra Nationalists, no party in India contemplates the removal of British authority or the withdrawal of the British official and Mr. George should have been able to put the right emphasis upon a declaration in itself not open to challenge. The real fault of the Prime Minister's speech, and of the Under-Secretary's was that neither of them dealt with the situation which Sir Samuel Hoare's motion was designed to open up; namely, the genuine grievances of the services, complicated as they are by the financial difficulties in India. These are connected with the grave outlook for the Budget, the fall of the rupee, the vast military expenditure, the heavy cost of the reforms with their many new posts and salaries, and other factors. Sir Donald Maclean suggested a commission of inquiry, and an inquiry of some sort would seem to be urgent.

A deputation including Mr. Seshagiri Iyer and Dr. Annie Besant waited on the Railway Board at Simla and after some conversation, the Board states that some of the matters mentioned were under consideration and that others would receive their attention. The Board was sincerely anxious to improve the conditions of the third class passengers as rapidly as possible and pointed out that much had already been done.



The Hindu Message

Dharma and Life—XIV.

Political Power and Political Authority.

Political power alone can belong to the people, —not political authority. This is true even of modern democracies, where numbers are invested at least in theory, with a sanctity which is thought justifiable to an extent not attaching to an individual or a few. "The voice of the people is the voice of God," and the voice of the majority represents the voice of the people. Hence, votes are given to all people who possess certain qualifications, and counted at the polling-booths in order to find out who is to represent the people and their interests and views in the assembly. It is this assembly and those who guide it or carry out its mandates that exercise political authority in the name of the state and people, whether in internal affairs or foreign relations.

This system of government by the people is essentially faulty, even though invented by the genius of the Anglo Saxon race which is now paramount in its influence over the destinies of mankind. Numbers—the mere consulting of majorities and counting votes to gain a majority—can never enable us to attain to the highest standards of state policy. Numbers can only bring strength—not justice or humanity, or any real excellence of any kind—to a state in pursuing its aims or even in setting its standards of public policy. We have already said that in modern democracies, each man—i.e., each voter, "counts for one, and none for more than one." Under such a system, we find that state policy and state affairs tend to be guided by men who care only for power, prestige, and for "progress" in the exploitation of the world's territory and resources. The so-called "experts" in politics are mere adventurers who rise to a brief tenure of office and authority by flattering the lowest instincts of mobs and majorities—their instincts of "earth-hunger," their love of pomp and prestige, and their vulgar passion for ascendancy

over all rival groups and communities. It was expected that the disasters and ruin caused to mankind by the late barbarous world-war had produced a love of peace, justice, and humanity among "civilised" men in the West and would lead to fair dealing between nations in the future determination of all international and inter-state relations. Such an expectation has, been altogether falsified by what has taken place in the Genoa and Hague Conferences, and also by the *impasse* reached at the recent Conference of even the "Allied" states of Western Europe in London. Moreover, even within the British Empire itself, we witness the rise of a "new school of constitutionalists" in the so-called *Dominions* of the Empire. "They are all for 'equal status' in the Empire and for separate representations of the Dominions at International Conferences" (vide *The Nineteenth Century and After* for July 1922—Article, "Canada and the Empire"). They hold that the Dominions should have an "equal status" with the United Kingdom (or Great Britain) in determining the foreign policy of the Empire. They challenge Mr. Lloyd-George's demand that "the British Foreign Office must be the instrument of the foreign policy of the Empire." They demand not only complete autonomy in internal affairs and full power to amend their own constitutions, but that they should deal with foreign nations as a sovereign power, settle questions of peace and war for themselves, and appoint their own ambassadors to foreign states with a status equal to that of those who represent the "Mother-country" (so-called). The secret story of the Washington Conference has not been revealed to the world. But we should not be surprised to be told that the hand of Great Britain was to a large extent forced by the persistence with which Canada favoured "from the first" the American policy and proposals for Disarmament. We are also told that, at the last Imperial Conference, the Canadian representative, Mr. Meighen, "insisted upon the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese treaty without regard for the interests and preferences of Australia and New Zealand." and that Mr. Smuts (of South Africa) "discovered a grievance in the failure of the United States to invite representatives of the Dominions to the Disarmament Conference," and was warmly seconded by influential public men and Journals in Canada. When these Dominions secure powers of independent action in regulating their relations with foreign countries and a separate representation in the League of Nations without consultation with the British Cabinet in London, it will

surely become difficult to maintain the diplomatic unity of the Empire. If the tendencies towards self-assertion, now faintly or in their merely incipient stages of formulation or demand, develop in the future, even the internal unity and strength of the Empire will become a matter of concern to its leaders, even if we do not go so far as to say that they will be imperilled so as to bring on something like the state of affairs which led to the secession and independence of the United States in the Eighteenth Century.

A democracy constituted by the merely numerical strength of its "qualified" voters so-called, can never be trusted to be governed in its public aims or policy by other than the vulgar considerations already mentioned, and this must result ultimately in strife and disruption. We have given abundant reasons for this view above, and we can see how reasonable and well-founded is the view expressed by a living American author Mr. Powers—that "*no popularly elected body can ever be a body of experts.*" The "experts," so-called, who figure prominently in world-politics at the present day are seen never to care for the lasting welfare and interests of the race, but only to stir the passions of the mob and procure the satisfaction arising from the attainment of military triumphs and extended dominion abroad. Ancient India, on the other hand, never wanted such *elected experts*—elected that is through the counting of votes and the obtaining of mere majorities. The people—i.e., such of the people as had a knowledge of the distinction between good and evil and could subordinate the lesser for the larger good and even the good of their own community for the good of mankind as a whole, the men who had true faith in *Dharma* as revealed by the sages—alone expressed their views in popular assemblies (*or Sabhas*) and led public opinion so as to influence the public policy of the ruler and his ministers. There was no electioneering caucus campaign, or tactics, and there was no ballot-box for casting the people's votes. Public opinion was formed on a basis of practical reason and divinely-revealed (and not merely conventional) maxims of eternal morality, and so became invested with an irresistible power and sanctity in the views of all who exercised authority in the state, including the council of the ministers. The Council of Ministers, too, were chosen by the monarch as *representing* enlightened (and Dharmic) public opinion among all sections of the community, but *not elected by a majority of votes* thrown into the ballot-box. It is *not numbers, but character*, that had weight

in determining the trend of public opinion or of the public policy which obtained its support. The Cabinet of Ministers and the members of the consultative assembly were all men who had gained the respect and confidence of the several section of the communities and knowledge.

The Mahabharata lays down the composition of the consultative assembly in the following terms:—"Four *Brahmins*, learned, full of strong common sense, self-restrained and pure; *eighteen Kshatriyas* endowed with strength of will and body and trained in the art of war (the use of arms); *twenty-one Vaisyas*, owning abundant wealth; *three Sudras*, of disciplined and decorous demeanour and established honesty of purpose; and one *Suta* (charioteer in caste) of 50 years of age, well versed in the Veda, *dharma-sastra* and Puranas, possessing strength and resource to meet emergencies, &c." (*Rajadharma*, Chap. 85). Thus the assembly contained 47 members *truly representative* of all that is best in the differentiating qualities of the men of the various castes and nothing like the unwieldy, noisy quarrelsome crowd *often* totally impervious to all steadiness in principle and even sense of decorum which modern legislative assemblies prove to be under the influence of excitement or the rankling sense of communal injustice or hatred. The same authority, in the same context, also mentions a cabinet of *eight ministers only* over whom the king is to preside when taking secret counsel in all state affairs. The ideal of the state is always "to protect the (true) interests of the people in accordance with the divine will (*Dharma*) as revealed in the Veda and other Vedic sources. It must be added that the Cabinet of Ministers, too must be composed of men of various castes,—for the commentaries point out an ancient tradition that it must contain 4 Brahmins, 3 Sudras, and 1 Suta, thus making up the number 8 already mentioned. The insistence, times without number, of the importance of a complete knowledge of *Dharma* in all ministers and members of the consultative assembly, and of the practical realisation of the principles of *Dharma* as the aim of all state policy shows that nothing was more distant in the minds of the men and rulers of Ancient India than the exploitation of groups of men within or of communities abroad. Besides, ancient Indian states never tolerated the modern state-ideal of allowing the rich to become richer and the poor to become poorer. While the king as representing the power and majesty of the state was never permitted to

indulge in whimsical and thoughtless acts of tyranny he could always *legally* appropriate any superfluous accumulation or enormous store of individual wealth for the commonweal, thus destroying all great undue inequality of possessions among his subjects. Enormous inequalities of wealth can only generate ill-will and hatred among the people. The state must or may appropriate any prodigious amounts of property owned by individuals, but must not retain it for advancing its own power or authority at the expense of the people and even in violation of the precepts of Dharma, as it will feel tempted to do when it becomes possessed of immense extra resources and possessions. The state must never be actuated by merely "possessive impulses," but must always aim at raising the ideals and standards of popular life by promoting virtue, knowledge, art, and good-will among them and enabling them to share equally in all the elements of greatness and happiness essential to the national welfare. Professor Bertrand Russell says truly:—"Political institutions have a very great influence upon the dispositions of men and women, and should be such as to promote creativeness at the expense of possessiveness." Exploitation abroad and prestige within are the aims of the modern state in maintaining its power and status in the world, whereas the ancient Indian state framed its institutions and its policy solely with a view to promote the lasting interests and stable conditions of popular well-being in accordance with the divine will as revealed in the *Dharma-sastras*.

Literary and Educational.

Motilal Ghose.

A GREAT CAREER.

Srijat Motilal Ghose whose death on the 5th instant formed the subject of a note in these columns last week was born on the 28th October 1845 and was 77 years old at the time of his death. The following sketch of his career appears in his paper:—

Babu Motilal Ghose of the "Amrita Bazar Patrika," was born in 1845 in the village of Amrita Bazar, ten miles from the town of Jessore. He and his brother, the late Babu Shishir Kumar Ghose, published their paper at first, 54 years ago, in their native village. They began with a wooden printing press, and a few founts of second hand types, issuing their paper weekly in Bengali. They set the type, printed the paper, made the ink and wrote the copy all by themselves. It was at the time a weekly paper and enjoyed a circulation of 500. Its fearless tone and exposure of official abuses, however offended the local authorities, and it found itself involved in a prosecution within four months of its birth. An action for criminal libel was brought by an English Deputy Magistrate in consequence of some sharp criticism of

him in its columns but after eight months of weary and costly litigation, the brothers emerged victorious but with an exchequer swept completely bare.

The brothers then struck out for Calcutta and in February 1872 brought out their first issue of the "Amrita Bazar Patrika" as a metropolitan journal, both in English and Vernacular. It preached the gospel of Indian nationalism with an ardent patriotism expressed with vigour, originality and humour and rapidly took the front rank in Indian journalism. The "Amrita Bazar Patrika" and a few other vernacular papers incurred the serious displeasure of the Government for their unsparing criticism and it determined to control them by a law. This was the origin of Lord Lytton's Vernacular Press Act which was specially aimed at the 'Patrika' but it escaped from its grip by a very remarkable feat of journalism which created a great sensation at the time.

THE PATRIKA'S GREAT FEAT

This incident is worth recording in some detail. The "A. B. Patrika" incurred the serious displeasure of Sir Ashley Eden, who was appointed Lieutenant Governor of Bengal in 1877, for its independent tone. This was further enhanced—when His Honour failed in his attempt to persuade Babu Shishir Kumar to convert his paper into an official organ, and the latter replied that there ought to be at least one honest Journal in Bengal. In his foreword to "A step in the Steamer" containing the speeches of Lokamanya Tilak, published by Messrs. Tulzaparkar and Patwardhan, Babu Motilal thus describes this tussle between Sir Ashley and Babu Shishir Kumar in his usual felicitous way:—

"An autocrat of autocrats, Sir Ashley sought to rule Bengal with an iron hand. The 'Amrita Bazar Patrika' was, however, a thorn in his side. He, therefore, conceived the idea of winning over Babu Shishir Kumar partly by kindness and partly by threats. He had managed to make Babu Kristo Das Pal, Editor of 'Hindoo Patriot,' his ardent admirer and his next move was to entrap and muzzle Shishir Kumar Ghose. So Sir Ashley sent for him one day, gave him a cordial reception when he came and offered him a 'share of the Government' if he would follow his advice. Here is the purport of what His Honour proposed:—

"Let us three, I, you and Kristo Das govern the province. Kristo Das has agreed to conduct his paper according to my directions. You will have to do the same thing. I shall contribute to your paper as I do to the 'Hindoo Patriot.' And when you write an article criticising the Government, you will have to submit the manuscript to me before publication. In return the Government will subscribe to a considerable number of your paper, and I shall consult you as Kristo Das in carrying on the administration of the Province."

"Babu Shishir Kumar was at the time a poor man. His position in Calcutta society was not high. The tempting offer came from the ruler of the province. Many another man in his circumstances would have succumbed to this temptation. But he was made of a different stuff. He resisted and did something more. He thanked His Honour for his generous offer but also quietly remarked, "Your Honour, there ought to be at least one honest journalist in the land." The expected result followed. Sir Ashley flew into an unconquerable rage. With scathing sarcasm he told Babu Shishir Kumar that he had forgotten to whom he was speaking; that as the supreme authority in the province he could put him in jail any day he liked for seditious writings in his paper; and that he would drive him back to Jessore bag and baggage from

where he came in six months. It was not a vain threat. The Vernacular Press Act owed its origin to this incident. It was to take his revenge on Babu Shishir Kumar that Sir Ashley Eden persuaded Lord Lytton to pass this monstrous measure at one sitting. The blow was aimed mainly at the "A. B. Patrika" which was then an Anglo-Vernacular paper and fell within the scope of the Act. But Babu Kumar and his brothers were too clever for Sir Ashley. Before the Act was put in force they brought out their paper in a wholly English garb and thus circumvented the Act and snapped their fingers at the Lieutenant Governor, for a journal conducted in the English language was beyond the jurisdiction of Lord Lytton's Vernacular Press Act. Sir Ashley was a very outspoken man and he did not conceal his chagrin and bitter disappointment at the escape of the 'Patrika' from several of his Bengali friends. He told them that if there had been only one week's delay on the part of the proprietors to convert the 'Patrika' into English, he would have dealt a deadly blow at it by demanding a heavy bail-bond from them."

The above incident was published in the following form in the 'Phoenix' of Karachi in August 1889:

"When Sir Ashley Eden came to Belvedere he wanted to reign like a Sultan. The 'Amrita Bazar Patrika' then as now was the special horror of the bureaucracy. Sir Ashley Eden sent for the Editor, and began taxing him with bringing the administration into discredit and undermining the prestige of the Government. After some further parley Sir Ashley Eden offered to take the Editor into his confidence and to make personal inquiries into any complaints which might be brought to his notice provided the Editor gave him information before taking things up in his paper. No distinct understanding was arrived at and the Editor had the honesty and courage not to be won over by the Lieutenant Governor on the spot. Afterwards the Editor found that it was all moonshine and so he went his way as before. This irritated Sir Ashley Eden beyond measure and as the boon companion of Lord Lytton he had great influence over that Viceroy and had no difficulty in persuading him that the licence of the Native Press should be curbed. Lord Lytton was intolerably unpopular by this time and fell in readily with Sir Ashley Eden's views. At this time the 'Amrita Bazar' was a bi-glott paper. It is noteworthy that among the passages produced at the Council not one passage was produced from the 'Amrita Bazar Patrika.'"

It is not clear how the Karachi paper came to get hold of the story which was known only to a select few. We believe the paper was at the time under the management of the able and well known journalist, Mr. N. Gupta.

THE VERNACULAR PRESS BILL.

The 'Patrika' was at the time an Anglo Bengalee paper and was published every Thursday morning. On March 15, 1878 a short official notice was published in the daily papers to the effect that a Bill for the better control of papers conducted in oriental languages would be introduced in the Supreme Council that day and passed immediately. Babu Moti Lal attended the Council meeting and found Sir Ashley Eden taking the lead in the matter. In his speech he said that he was wholly responsible for the measures, that the Native Press, unless controlled, would sap the foundation of the Empire and that the Bill should become law without a moment's delay.

The full significance of Sir Ashley Eden's threat to Babu Shishir Kumar that he would drive him back to Jessore, was now fully realised by the brothers. They were, however, not dismayed, but sat down to

devise means to avert the impending fate of the "Patrika." They saw that the only way out of the difficulty was to make their paper wholly English. This seemed to be an almost impossible task for them as the time at their disposal was so short. They had not only to secure a sufficient quantity of English types for which they had no money but they had to write half a dozen leading articles in English, besides leaderettes and the "Patrika" must appear on the following Thursday. A friend had, however, a printing press and a quantity of extra English types. These were accepted. The same friend also lent the services of his compositors. The articles and leaderettes were ready, and lo! on following Thursday morning the 'Patrika' punctually came out entirely in an English garb! The feat naturally created a great sensation not only in Calcutta or Bengal, but throughout India, for the 'Patrika' was even then an all-India paper, its English portion which was published in a separate sheet under the name of 'overland edition', having had a large circulation in all the Indian provinces. If the 'Patrika' had delayed only one week in coming out in its new garb, it would have been pounced upon and crushed as Sir Ashley Eden said to many of his friends.

MOTI LAL'S POLITICAL GURU.

Babu Motilal Ghose learnt journalism and politics at the feet of his illustrious brother, Babu Shishir Kumar Ghose. Him he loved and revered next to his God. The late Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee was often heard to say that no Indian, after Raja Ram Mohan Roy was so great as Shishir Kumar. The latter was also the political Guru of Mr. Bonnerjee himself as also of many other eminent men of his time and it was at his instance that he (Mr. Bonnerjee) entered into politics. Babu Shishir Kumar held certain principles which he followed religiously to the end of his life. One of these was that a public man should efface his self as far as possible. Hence he would never take a prominent part in any public movement, though he might be its originator. For this reason, except a number of selected friends and disciples holding foremost positions in society, the general public had no opportunity of coming across him. He practically lived the life of a recluse. They however, knew him by his writings in the 'Patrika' and through his voluminous literary works on religious and various other subjects, each of which shows what a versatile genius he was. His six volumes on the life of Sree Gauranga or Chaitanya and his poem "Kalachand Gita" hold a unique place in Bengalee literature and will immortalise him as long as the Bengali language exists. Babu Moti Lal thus acknowledges his deep gratitude to his brother in a foreword to "Indian Sketches" by Shishir Kumar Ghose, which was edited by the late Mr. W. S. Cain Caine, M. P.

"At the earnest request of such distinguished friends as Babus Ananda Mohon Bose, Gurusasad Sen and others and impelled by a deep sense, of gratitude towards my revered brother and spiritual guide, to whom, under God, I owe all the little that I know, I have been led to collect and give to the world, in the form of a book, some of his articles, which appeared in the 'Amrita Bazar Patrika.'"

BABU SHISHIR KUMAR'S GREAT SERVICES.

Few have done more in building up the Indian nation than Babu Shishir Kumar Ghose. It was the "Patrika" under his charge during the seventies and eighties of the last century that first awakened a feeling of all-India nationality in the minds of the people of the Indian provinces. It paved the way for the inauguration of the Indian National Congress. It was Babu Shishir Kumar who first planted the germ

of local Self-Government in India by securing the elective system for the Calcutta Municipality from Sir Richard Temple over whom he had great influence. He was also the first Indian who showed the way to Lord Ripon how his famous Local Self-Government measure could be made a success. He was held in high esteem by Lord Ripon who always sought his advice in administering the affairs of India.

MOTILAL'S FIRST PUBLIC PROMINENCE.

It was his evidence before the Public Service Commission of 1889 that first brought Moti Babu into public prominence. Babu Motilal selected the Post Office to expose the thoroughness of this ostracism. When all special departments of the state were taken possession of by the Europeans there was left for the people only one—the Postal Department. This was done for a very good reason. It was found after repeated experiments, that the Postal Department could not be organised and its work carried on satisfactorily without the help of the native of the soil. That the Europeans may not deprive the later of even this one, the Government took special care to provide against their inroads by an order of the Secretary of State of India.

MOTILAL'S FIRST PUBLIC PROMINENCE.

This order was passed in 1879. It laid down that all uncovenanted posts carrying Rs. 200 and upwards per mensem under certain conditions, should be made over to the natives of the soil. It was also embodied in the Postal Office Manual of 1881. It was laid down in rule 732 of this Manual that "no person other than a native can be appointed to any office in the Post Office Department." Moti Babu pointed out before the Commission that this distinct rule had been most outrageously violated, and the natives of the soil expelled even from this one Department. He showed by incontrovertible facts that not only was the department a family preserve of the heads of departments but jobberies of every kind were practised in it. In short, the department had been filled by the sons, sons-in-law, brothers and cousins of some of the Chief Officers, all Europeans, though they had no right to be in the department as they were not the "Natives of India." The exposure created such a scandal that the matter formed the subject of an interpellation in Parliament by Mr. Bradlaugh with the result that Sir E. Hogg, the then head of the Post Office was compelled to resign. The evidence of Moti Babu did not go in vain. It secured many of the high offices in the department for the people from which they had been shut out and which had been the sole monopoly of European interlopers.

(To be continued.)

Historical and Scientific.

Ancient India.

By PROF. S. LEVI.

GLORIES OF INDIAN CIVILISATION.

The following is the lecture delivered at Calcutta by Prof. Sylvain Levi, D. Lit, on the 15th August, 1922 and which appears in the 'Calcutta Review' for September:—

My first words must be words of thanks to the University of Calcutta, which has been so good as to confer on me the degree of Doctor, and—in association with the Visva-Bharati of Santiniketan—to summon me from a distant country as a visitor, a guest, and a colleague among colleagues. I deem it one of the

highest privileges of my life that these two invitations were extended to me through the instrumentality of Sir Asutosh Mukherjee and Rabindranath Tagore, the two most efficient makers of this new India which no one could foresee when I first came here, one quarter of a century ago. It has been said that countries abroad are an anticipation of posterity; then I have some right to state that the names of these two great men, united in the same work, will live in the memory of men—whatever may be their other merits—as two 'Sakaktris' starters of a new era full of hope and promise.

Now 39 years have elapsed since I devoted myself to the study of the past of India; I have given to these researches with an enthusiasm which has never diminished, the best of my time and my endeavours; in the solitude of the study I have wrestled to save names, deeds, joys, sorrows from the oblivion threatening to overcome them; I have shared sincerely with the men of times gone by those vicissitudes of grandeur and suffering which have been, in all the course of time, the lot of the human race. I had but one ambition; to serve science, and by serving science to serve the truth. The chair at the College de France to which I was called by the Republic had seemed to me the finest and loftiest reward. I had never dared to hope that I might come some day, at the express invitation of two Indian Universities, to address an audience of Indian students about questions of Indian history. Still I had read in one of your poets:

Dweepad anyasmaadapi maddhyadapi jalanidher
disopyanthath I

Aaneeya jhatithi ghatayathi vidhir abhimukhee-
bhoothah II

Ratnavali, I, Prolog.

"Even from another continent, even from the midst of the ocean, even from the end of the world, suddenly the kindness of destiny brings you your happiness."

FORERUNNERS OF WORLD UNITY.

The poets are prophets. But the poet Harsha from whom I have borrowed this verse—a verse as elegant as it is judicious,—was not a mere dreamer. Sovereign of a great empire that extended over the whole of Hindustan, concerned in the political life of all Asia, he knew the realities of life and his wisdom came to him by experience. Engaged in a conflict with a redoubtable adversary, King Pulikesin who had barred his way to the Dakkhan, he had welcomed joyfully to his court the ambassadors of China as heralds of an alliance that was to secure his triumph. Beyond the barriers of India, he had had a glimpse of those manifold links which crossing one another from country to country, establish the deep-lying unity of the human race. It is this unity which our more accustomed eyes perceive clearly now-a-days in the whole domain of history, and of this unity even my presence here is, in its humble way, a symbol.

It is not simply from the need of idle amusement that there arises between men separated in appearance, by language, customs, beliefs, institutions, the need to know, understand, to draw nearer to one another. It was possible for a philosopher in the throes of pessimism to declare once: "Man is a wolf to man." Nature, it is true, more cruel than man, seems to delight in apportioning her gifts with capricious inequality, in sowing far and wide the seeds of hatred and causes of enmity. But man is great and noble enough to rise up against nature and bend to the service of good those very forces which seemed destined to work evil. The war that looses the fury of the present time brings about the fruitful 'approachments' of the time to come. The Median invasions in which Greece at one

moment believed that she must perish with her civilisation, her arts and her liberties, opened out to Hellenic activity a widened world. Alexander's campaign in the Punjab welded India finally together with the whole mass of countries which were soon to be covered by the one name "Roman." The history of wars, that may seem, only too easily, to sum up the whole of human history, does but mark the violent phases of a process by which humanity has come together. In the rear of the slaughtering army have come the trader, the missionary, the 'savant', the inquirer, all those agents whose anonymous work is lost to history, obscure fashioners working sometimes unwillingly and often unwittingly for a better future.

It is true that a childish prejudice tends to represent each people as the exclusive author of its own civilisation and each single civilisation as the exclusive work of one people. Too many minds, lingering behind their time, halting at the stage of old-world humanity, believe that the barbarian countries begin at the frontier of their own native land. Think of these rudimentary maps which around the special country represented, have cast a blank space, without names or signs. As if the national honour would have to suffer, should the least share of influence be accorded to neighbouring nations! The love of country, like the love of God, can degenerate into stupid fanaticism. Nothing will satisfy those afflicted with the mania of Chauvinism, but the belief that all arts, sciences, discoveries and inventions have sprung from the privileged soil that has the honour to bear them. Reality protests against this childish conception. Civilisation is a collective work in which each one labours for the advantage of all.

THE GLORY OF GREECE.

To go on further back in the annals of the past, which science in our days is busy in deciphering, let us glance at Greece, benefactress of the world, dispenser of beauty, wisdom and truth. There is not a people on all the face of the earth that is not her debtor. But as for her, from whom did she not borrow? She herself has admitted that she received writing from the Phoenicians, philosophy from the Egyptians, and we, whose knowledge of her past is greater than hers, have now penetrated beneath classic Greece to come upon an Aegean civilisation steeped in Oriental influences. The doctrine of spontaneous generation thrust out from the biological sciences by the experiments of Pasteur cannot hope to find a refuge in the historical sciences.

Let no one refute this truth by the argument that we know little with certainty of the distant past; the times nearer to our own reveal this same truth to us very clearly. I will content myself with one example: French literature. In the sixteenth century it was the study of Greek and Latin models that inspired the masterpieces of the Renaissance; a little later, it was Italy that impressed upon French mind her own taste with its subtlety and affection; next, Spain triumphed in the nervous and grandiose art of Corneille; then the work of Racine devoutly brings together Euripides and the Bible. England, mother of political liberty, takes the lead with us in the 18th century: after the Revolution follows the German romantic movement. And quite recently the Scandinavian drama and the Russian novel have left their impress on the French mind. Does that mean that a national genius does not exist! Far from it! On the contrary it is in this process of absorption that it manifests all its power. What indeed is national genius if it is not the harmonious blending of the tastes and tendencies of the various groups which taken all together form the nation, selecting in them those features which are most permanent, most universally humane, debarring them of their narrow local or temporary fashions? To bring a nation into existence, it is not enough to make the frontiers

of territories touch one another, to subdue them to the sole authority of a common ruler; a brutal conqueror may found an empire by such means; his ephemeral work disappears with him. In order that a multitude of men may come together in that higher unity that constitutes a nation, that multitude must by triumphs and by losses, have grown conscious of a profound "raison d'être" which is the sum of its experiences, its hopes and its aspirations. There is no question here of a mystical unity, but of an actual fact. Amid all those chance groupings that the caprice of history has attempted a national consciousness has caused only those unions to endure which were real unions, sincere, normal and deep. The temporary separations, brought about by violence, only intensify, by that very trial of suffering, the clear and vivid sentiment of national unity. The mutilated country feels the blow struck at the necessary balance of its living forces. Within an organism so powerfully constituted, a common stock of thought is soon formed by the very play of the forces of life. As occasion arises and doctrines of works are submitted to the test of public opinion, agreement or disagreement finds expression and reveals a residue of general preferences which take final shape in a choice of works or ideas established thenceforward as "classic."

NATIONALISM AND INTERNATIONALISM.

Thus the function of a national genius is essentially that of criticism; creation must remain the privilege of exceptionally gifted personalities. Still, we must recognise that even in this domain of creations, society exercises its influence in some degree, since the preferences that it expresses tend to prepare beforehand a certain framework within which creative invention shall work.

Thus vanishes the antinomy that some have attempted to assert, between national genius and foreign contributions. In that perpetual movement of exchanges by which all products of human activity pass into circulation, national genius selects with the sure judgment born of experience, that part which it deems useful to assimilate and it eliminates the rest. It enriches its own store without alteration of its character, at least so long as it remains free to act according to its own proper taste; bound up as it is with the existence of the nation, its fate must be to disappear with the nation to which it has given self-expression. Greece conquered had been able—according to the celebrated phrase of the poet Horace—"conquer her fierce conqueror" (*Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit*), but the Greek genius did not long survive the independence of Greece. Yet, if its productive force had vanished, a fecundating power so to speak, persisted even its lifeless body. And when rediscovered by the Christian West after centuries of oblivion, Greece gave her the Renaissance and changed the course of history.

INDIA'S SEEMING ISOLATION.

India however, to all seeming, has escaped the general law. Her traditions, preserved in the immense literature of the Brahmans, hold no precise knowledge of the world around her. Nature herself seems to have delighted in marking round about her a frontier of splendid isolation. An unbroken line of colossal mountains bars the way on the North; to the East and West a perilous Ocean bathes the inhospitable coast; between the sea and the mountains, a desert of moving land serves as a defence of the threshold lying open along the course of the Indus. One might say that some malicious divinity had wished to attempt here, in ideally favourable conditions, some experiment on humanity in a hermetically sealed vessel. Society, for its part, has set itself to aid nature in her work. It would be difficult to find elsewhere a system of institutions so resolutely planned to exclude the stranger. I

need not lay stress on the originality of the caste-system. One may extol the services that it has rendered to India or pass judgment on its grave drawbacks; whatever opinion one may hold on the subject, it must be admitted that, in principle, it has raised round India an impassable barrier. Elsewhere it is possible to aspire to the 'droit de cite,' to naturalisation: here you must resign yourself to remaining for ever outside, if chance has not automatically thrown open the door to you by right of birth. These singular conditions combined to effect the production of a type of humanity unique in its composition, and which we scarcely know how to define. India is not a unity in the ethnological sense. There is not a people that reveals so clearly as India extra-ordinary diversity of origin. India, is not a unity in the linguistic sense, the languages of India are even more numerous than races. And yet India is not a mere geographical expression devoid of human value, determined only by the nature of the ground, by elevations and depressions.

To be continued.

Reviews.

Terence Macswiney.*

This is another handy volume brought out by the Talbot Press, Dublin. The author is one who has intimately moved with Mr. Macswiney, and the Memoir is largely based, as he himself says, on his own personal recollections of the great leader. In the memoir, we have the modern history of Ireland, and it is an interesting reading from the beginning to the end. This book should be specially interesting to us who are struggling for our liberty. The conduct of the bureaucracy in Ireland and its relations with the leaders like Macswiney are exactly parallel to those in India. Macswiney was a nationalist by birth. He took life seriously from the beginning. His first political venturing was the forming of the Young-Ireland Society—the beginning of Sinn-Fein. Then he founded the Cork Celtic Literary Society in which he was a preacher of uncompromising faith in Irish nationality and independence. There is a special chapter on the literary career of Macswiney who was also a great writer. The author gives us interesting quotations from his verses. Thus Macswiney says in his "Music of Freedom," "God made us, and He gave us liberty." His assurance given expression to in his drama, the 'Revolutionist' that the setting up of Home Rule in Ireland would not mean the end of all things, has after all proved correct. His words, "This contest of ours is not on our side a rivalry of vengeance but one of endurance. It is not they who can inflict most, but those who can suffer most will conquer" are exactly similar to those of our leader. His assurance to the Irish nation that, if the rulers of earth fail us, we have yet some succour in the Ruler of Heaven" may as well be taken as an assurance to us. There is a very interesting sketch of the national volunteer movement in Ireland, which those interested in the similar movement here may well study. The arrest and trial of Terence Macswiney for sedition present an exact parallel to those of our great leaders. The hunger-strike of the great leader and the pathetic agony and death in the Brixton prison shows us that after all bureaucrats are the same everywhere—be it in Ireland or in India. The book presents to us an ideal of self sacrifice for one's country. It is a very timely publication to us, and we commend it to our brothers and sisters.

*A Short Memoir, by P. S. O'Hegarty. Talbot Press, Dublin, 1922. 2sh. 6d. net.

சுதந்திரன்.

மிரதி பா லுவாரந்தோதும்

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சென்ற 7 வருஷ காலமாய் நம் நாட்டு முன்னேற்றத்திற்கு அடிப்படையான விசயம், கைத்தொழில், வியாபாரம் முதலிய செல்வ விரந்திக்கான விஷயங்களும், மனிதர்களுக்கும், கால்கடைகளுக்கும் அவசியமான சுகாதாரம், கோய் பரிசாரம், மதுவிலக்கு முதலிய விசயங்களுடன் வெளிவந்துகொண்டிருந்த "வார்த்தைத்திரன்" தக்கால போக்கையனுசரித்து "சுதந்திரன்" என்னும் பெயருடன், இராஜ்ய விஷயங்கள், மகாத்மா அவர்களின் உபதேசம், இந்தியர் முன்னேற்ற மார்க்க விவரங்கள் முதலிய விஷயங்களுடன் வெளிவருகின்றது. சுயராஜ்யமடைய கிரும்புவார் ஒவ்வொருவரும் இப்பத்திரிகையை வாங்குமாறு படித்து சுகோதா, சுகோதரி யாவரும் சுயராஜ்யமடைந்து சுதந்திரனாகவேண்டும.

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