

# 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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## The Vedantin's Song of Triumph.

(From SRI VIDYARANJA SWAMY.)

By K. G. SESHU IYER.

With self-experience of the soul  
Has true wealth come to me.  
And bliss supreme wherein is drowned  
Life's poignant misery!  
No further need for toil have I!  
I've gained all I require!  
Naught else has power to satisfy  
My innermost desire,  
As self-realisation can!  
My soul it has illumined  
With true Vedantic wisdom's light,  
And darkness old consumed!  
What wealth immense of bliss is mine!  
Thrice blest, indeed, am I!  
For with the godhead now stands out  
My souls' identity!

## Great Thoughts.

He who is full of faith and modesty, who shrinks from sin, and is full of learning, who is diligent, unremiss, and full of understanding—the being replete with these seven things is esteemed a wise man.

Increase in goodness as long as thou art here, that when thou departest in that thou mayest still be joyful. According to our words and deeds in this life, will be the remembrance of us in the world.

In this world, however little happiness may have been our portion, yet have we no desire to die. Whether he can speak of life as cheerful and delicate, or as full of pain, anxiety, and sorrow, never yet have I seen one who wished to die.

Like an earthen pot, a bad man is easily broken and cannot readily be restored to his former situation; but a virtuous man, like a vase of gold, is broken with difficulty, and easily repaired.

If our inward griefs were written on our brows, how many who are envied now would be pitied. It would seem that they had their deadliest foe in their own breast, and their whole happiness would be reduced to mere seeming.

Above all other subjects study thine own self, for he who is thoroughly acquainted with himself hath attained to a more valuable sort of learning than if the course and position of the stars, the virtues of plants, and the nature of all sorts of animals had employed his thoughts.

A pleasant sight is the whitening sea when a steady calm possesses it; pleasant, too, when gentle breezes roughen its surface, and impart to it a purple colour or a blue, when it smites not its neighbour land with violence, but salutes it, as it were, with a gentle embrace.

Seek thou not for outward beauty in a wife, but for beauty of soul. Outward beauty is full of conceit, and disease may prematurely spoil the whole. Seek then, for a wife full of affection, modesty, gentleness: these are the precious characteristics of true beauty. How many husbands after living with beautiful wives have ended their lives pitifully, and many husbands who have lived with wives of no great beauty have run on to extreme old age with great enjoyment. Let us wipe off the spot that is within; let us smooth the wrinkles on the soul; such is the beauty God requires, and the wife will then be fair in His sight, if not thine also.

A Garland of Quiet Thoughts.



## Events of the Week.

The *Indian Social Reformer* writes:—A Simla correspondent, to whose information our contemporary evidently attaches special importance, writing last week in the *Tribune* of Lahore, refers to a rumour that Lord Reading is leaving India next month and that Lord Willingdon is to act as Viceroy till a permanent successor arrives in this country. The reasons mentioned for His Excellency's resignation relate to health and differences with the Secretary of State on matters of importance. When Mr. Montagu resigned, we said that the Viceroy's position had become untenable. Mr. Lloyd George's speech in the House of Commons did not improve the position, and the polite refusal of the country to accept Lord Reading's explanation of it, voiced in the resolution of the Legislative Assembly, amounted to a formal expression of want of confidence in His Excellency's stewardship. The certification of the princes' Protection Bill by a Viceroy who had refused to use his certification powers on the much more important matter of the Budget proposals of his Government, has accentuated this sentiment, and Lord Reading might well think that his further continuance, in office would serve no useful purpose. The *Tribune* correspondent states that Sir Malcolm Hailey, the present Finance Member, will take the Home portfolio on Sir William Vincent's retirement, Mr. Howard who was lately Financial Secretary, relieving him of a charge which he has held with conspicuous ill-success. The correspondent also states that the Law Membership, in succession to Dr. Sapru, was offered and refused by Sir Binode Mitter, and that Sir Chimanlal Setalvad is probably the most likely selection. With regard to the last, a categorical statement was made in a message from Poona in Wednesday's *Advocate of India* to the effect that Sir Chimanlal has been appointed to the post and that he will leave Bombay on the 15th instant to assume charge of it. This was contradicted in Friday's *Times of India*. Apparently somebody in Poona will be glad to see Sir Chimanlal promoted out of his present place.

The *Rangoon Mail*, writes:—The chief anti-Turk in the British Cabinet is said to be Lord Curzon, who had inherited the mantle of Gladstone on this subject and is a bag and baggage man. It is astonishing how wrong our Indian statesmen go on these things. It was Lord Hardinge who became so friendly with Russia that he made the Persian sphere of influence agreement which ended in such an entente with Russia that we were dragged into the war. In fact, the two most sinister figures in the recent history of India have been Lord Curzon and Lord Hardinge. Lord Hardinge alienated the Mahomedans of India by his pro-Russian Persian policy and Lord Curzon is putting the finishing touch by his Turkish hatred. And yet these are people we put up statues to in India. Why, in fact, call any one a benefactor till he is dead?

With the introduction of the Madras Elementary Education Act 1920, and the creation of the District Educational Councils, the Government considered it desirable to withdraw as far as possible from the direct control of elementary schools an exception being however made in the case of schools in the Agency tracts, the model schools attached to training institutions and such of the girls' schools as are likely to be converted into secondary schools or to form model sections of new training schools. Agreeably to this statement of policy, local bodies were asked if they would agree to take over the management of the elementary schools in their jurisdiction on condition that they were given a subsidy approximately equal to the annual recurring cost of maintenance of such schools which is now incurred from Provincial funds. In the case of 150 elementary girls' schools the local bodies concerned have agreed to the transfer of the institutions to their control, and the Government now direct that such transfer take effect from the 1st September 1922.

The furniture, the library and the buildings if any, constructed by Government will be placed at the disposal of the

local bodies concerned, on condition that the local bodies keep the buildings in good repair and restore them together with the furniture and library to Government, should they cease to be employed for purposes of general education.

The Prince of Wales received at York House Sir William Meyer and the Indian Trade and Exhibition Commissioners, Mr. H. Noyce and Dewan Bahadur T. V. Achariyar. The Prince expressed keen interest in the proposed designs for the Indian pavilion at Wembley Park and expressed his admiration for them. He said that he was confident that India would be magnificently represented and hoped that when Mr. Achariyar, who is leaving for India on the 5th, returned next summer he would see him again and hear what progress had been achieved in India for the Exhibition. Mr. Achariyar was given a dinner by Sir W. Meyer and members to the Indian Exhibition at the Trocadero in the evening.

The Government have accepted the resolution of the Municipal Council, Erode that elementary education shall be compulsory within the whole of the local area under its jurisdiction for all children of school age excepting Muhammadan girls. The provisions of sections 47 to 52 of the Madras Elementary Education Act shall come into force within that area from the 1st November 1922. This is the first instance where compulsory education for girls is proposed.

The London Correspondent of the *Hindu* writing on August 31, says:—There is good reason for saying that the Prime Minister is rather sore with the India office for having briefed him as they did for his speech in the House of Commons on August 2. Lord Peel and his underlings seem to have persuaded the head of the Government that nothing but direct and emphatic assurances from himself could prevent the Indian Civil Service from going on strike. Mr. Lloyd George himself knew practically nothing about the matter, but in pursuance of the necessity which now compels him to humour the reactionary wing of his combination at every turn, he was induced to make himself the mouthpiece of statements which have confounded the Indian Moderates and multiplied the grey hairs of the Viceroy. So Mouth-pieces beware!

The *Hindu* writes:—The phrase "German atrocity" has certainly been among the effective munitions of war in England but it seems to have other wonderful possibilities as well. An elderly woman of fifty-two with her daughter of eighteen had recently engaged a booth at Barnet Fair. Outside the booth the following notice was put up:—First German atrocity shown in England. See what a mother will suffer for her children." Inside the booth was another notice:—"Because this Belgian woman would not tell where she had hidden her two daughters she was arrested as a spy, and for the sport of two German officers a young French artist was forced to tattoo her from head to foot." In a corner of the booth the elder defendant was lying in a box, wearing a black mask. Part of her body tattooed with various designs, was exposed. A Police-Sergeant, however, happened to have keen eyes and got her to confess that she was a London woman and had never been in Belgium. For her troubles, the police court awarded her a fine of 20s. for obtaining money by false pretences and her daughter was bound over for twelve months. The poor souls perhaps were unaware that the phrase ceased to pay after the Treaty of Versailles.





## The Hindu Message

### Dharma and Life—XVI.

#### Popular Representation in Assemblies.

In Ancient India, there were popular assemblies for village administration: also, popular assemblies for the administration of groups of villages, ten, twenty, thirty, one hundred, and even one thousand in number. The authorities engaged in administering these villages and groups of villages were responsible to their several assemblies, and at the same time subject to vigilant supervision from those officers of the central (and supreme) government who controlled the villages and groups of villages. Each assembly and its officers, too,—it is superfluous to say—were subject to supervision and control from the assembly, and officers immediately above it. The central administration had its own (*i.e.*, the central or supreme) assembly and was responsible to it for the work done by its officials and authorities of all grades (*vide* Mahabharata, Rajadharma Chap. 87). The existence of assemblies and their control over officials is an undoubted fact, and one can only pity the ignorance or vanity which Indian modernism breeds in those of its votaries who, under Western influence are led to suppose that ancient India was ruled by tyrants and therefore was an utter stranger, to the conception of political freedom. It is also equally absurd to suppose that the ancient Indian state was, like the mediæval state in Europe, an organised collection and association of the several classes, conditions or orders of men forming our castes and sub-castes, each recognised as having certain political powers. For all classes, conditions, and castes in the Indian state had their own powers and opportunities of self-expression in the several assemblies above mentioned—and thus there was self-government in ancient India in its essence and fulness. If there was nothing like representation in the sense of casting votes in a ballot-box, and finding the representatives of the people by a pure majority

of votes, it was because the Indian aim in all state-organisation was not only to fulfil the present aims of the people, but to go beyond their present purview and to keep before their assembled representatives the true aim of the Indian state, *viz.*, the preservation of Dharma in its ideal completeness. The masses of the people were not permitted to settle their ultimate destiny,—that is, a mere chance or temporary majority of them was not given the credit of being able to direct the ultimate destinies of the state and even its immediate and passing aims or policies. For, ancient India differed from the modern state in a matter of the first importance. To the modern mind, there is no possibility of accomplishing or even planning an *ideally* best form of government—or even of discovering the supreme and final aim of all state-organisation. We are often in these days told that every nation gets the form of government it deserves to have,—the best and the most suitable for its traditions and present stage of development and for its general situation or status as a whole, physical, racial, and educational. In India, on the other hand, Dharma settled the form and the aims of the state according to a permanent standard and fitted for all time to come. Hence, there were no revolutions in the Indian state from time to time, and it preserved certain permanent forms or institutions during all the time it lasted. If it was overthrown by accidental or destructive agencies at any time, it had still left a sufficient amount surviving of the essentials needed to speedily restore its integrity and strength. It was only the introduction of aggressive European commercialism and state-craft in a hundred forms that, coming in before its promise of revival after the Moslem decline had been fully worked out, finally led to its disappearance. It was Western intrigue and cunning—not Western force, that settled its fate and fortune for ever without a chance of revival.

In Europe, people care neither for permanence nor even fairness and justice. All are agreed that representative government is a mere working device or mechanism for carrying on the state and enabling it to fulfil its aims from moment to moment in the perpetual struggle for existence among states and peoples. Revolutions are as natural and necessary for the latter as normal conditions of life—they are only intended to serve human societies in the same way as storms and shipwrecks in ocean-voyages. A Western writer says:—“*It remains for our political thinkers and statesmen in the legislature to evolve a scheme of representation which should*



*be fair and just.*" It will remain, we fear, till *Domesday unevolved*. No people, West or East,—we mean the masses at large—can ever be fitted to evolve a true and lasting political ideal or the machinery of government, which is truly perfect. In India, Dharma settled both for us, and hence both had an *unexampled* vitality and duration. The masses of the people must certainly be helped to find out their true representatives for carrying on the government according to their *true* interests and requirements. But those who represent them in this sense cannot be selected by means of the system of casting votes in a ballot-box now prevailing in the West. We agree with Bluntschli when he says that "in most large towns and even in some parts of the country the rank weeds threaten to choke the nobler growths of the past" and that "the real interests of the proletariat proper demand patrons rather than representatives, which it cannot find in its own ranks." It is only because the representative system now prevailing is a thorough failure that in America "the business of government in the nation and the states is generally managed without skill and often without honesty;" that "many of our evils come from the servility of politicians to that part of the public that is most insistent and most noisy"; that "our politicians court the power that rules the country by bowing to its impulses, its idle fancies, its crude passions, its first impressions," &c. What is true of America is true, also, of Europe and even of Great Britain. It is necessary only to *serve and protect* the real interests of the people. Hence an executive (or even a legislature) worth the name can never *represent* the people,—the masses of the community in a state. The executive must *give the lead* to a people more often than to *take it* from them. The voice of the people can only be helped to point to those whom it can trust to guard its true aims and interests, and we can certainly in this sense agree with the late eminent British statesman, W. E. Gladstone, that "the popular judgment in politics is better than that of the highest orders." But we can never hold that the so-called representatives chosen by counting the votes cast in a ballot-box can ever be fitted to determine the true aims of the state or the true interests of the people of a state, composed, as they always are, of different and incoherent groups, aims, and interests. We find, as a matter of fact, that these representatives *in name only* often forget or neglect their original principles when they have got themselves elected, and they refuse to carry out

the mandates or guard the interests of the people. Frequent elections can only lessen their opportunities for mischief; and those who take their places are also elected on the same system and hence there is no possibility of an improvement except by altering the system itself. Nor is there a likelihood of improving the present state of things by simply educating the people—by giving them "free" and "compulsory" education—through the "Three R's" or even by an educational system with still higher aims. For, the truth is that all men are unequal, *not* equal. Most men are only fit to receive guidance and influence from those who are more enlightened than themselves and therefore competent to form an opinion and give free expression of views regarding the measures needed for their benefit. However, it is right that the state should grant or guarantee equal opportunities and possibilities for all to help it in finding out the men whom public opinion truly points to as the best fitted for fulfilling the trust it places in them as the representative of the people. In all assemblies, also, the very best men available should have the predominant influence, and no one class or section of the people. The system of selection must be such that the best men of all classes must be brought together for deliberating on and deciding the steps to be taken in pursuit of the aims and policy of the state. The late British Prime Minister W. E. Gladstone, once declared that the principle of Liberalism was "trust in the people qualified by prudence." Government is the highest and most difficult of all arts; and so only the most capable and high-minded men—those citizens alone in whom the *Sattvic* element in human nature predominates over the *Rajasic* or the *Tamasic* or both—must be chosen as members of the assemblies of all kinds in the state. This is equally true of the Council of Ministers and the officials who constitute the executive. It is only thus that we can prevent the men who now predominate in councils and assemblies of European or other states from usurping the powers which they now exercise to perform functions and achieve aims which can only bring disintegration, disturbance, and discomfiture to the state or Empire in the future. Our Ministers and statesmen so-called often meddle with affairs of which they know nothing or little. They often reap the rewards they deserve and have often to seek refuge in silence or blatant and impudent self-assertion which can only ultimately land them in dismissal and disgrace or what is perhaps even worse. But for the moment they achieve a disagreeable notoriety and even



pose as heaven-sent messengers of a divine dispensation. India, however, has proved the ruin of many great reputations. India can never tolerate the utilisation or neglect of her true interest and destiny for the advantage or glory of those who do not comprehend either or possess any genuine sympathy for her in her present unhappiness and decline. If as a living writer says, it is true in the West that "the state has been usurping functions which do not belong to it,—so much so that politicians now meddle with the whole social life, which is handicapped in spiritual affairs," this is still more true of India today, when she has no *truly* democratic system of government and her so-called representatives are *mostly* egotistic individuals or communalists whose sole aim is to harm individuals or groups to whom they bear a grudge and to advance the interests of other individuals or groups who have helped their own advancement. The system of popular representation that now obtains in India is doomed to an early extinction. It represents neither numbers, nor merit, nor the true aims of the Indian people, and already it is beginning to be found out. As J. S. Mill rightly pointed out:—"The opinion, the judgment of the higher moral and intellectual being is worth more than that of the inferior; if the institutions of the country virtually assert that they are of the same value, they assert that which is not." Such institutions of so-called democracy as are now at work in India can only lead to individual corruption and sectional advancement, and already they have begun to bear fruit in these directions.

## Social and Religious.

### The Bhagavad Gita.

With an English Exposition

By K. S. Ramaswamy Sastri B. A. B. L.

(The substance of the lectures delivered at the Students' Sanatana Dharma Sabha, Trichinopoly.)

#### CHAPTER IX.

(concluded)

अपि चेत्सुदुराचारो भजते मामनन्यभाक् ।

साधुरेव स मन्तव्यः सम्यग्भवति तो हि सः ॥ ३० ॥

Even if one who is of evil ways worships Me with undivided devotion, he must be regarded as a good man, for he is of auspicious resolution and endeavour.

#### NOTES

1. The Lord shows the transforming and transmuting and transcendent power of Devotion unto Him. The touch of such love changes the lead of sin and selfishness into the gold of purity and selflessness.

2. By Prayasohita we can get rid of involuntary sins. It cannot nullify the force of voluntary sins. It can only cancel social unfitness in the case of voluntary sins and it will make such sinner free from being a source of social contamination. Thus in the case of voluntary sin expiation cancels only its social results but not its individual results in future births. But love of God attacks the root of sin and cancels both the social results and the individual results.

3. The following well-known verses may well be remembered in this connection,

सम्यग्दर्शनसंपन्नः कर्मसिनः निबध्यते ।

दर्शनेन विहीनस्तु संस्कारं प्रतिपद्यते ॥

प्रायश्चित्तं ब्रह्मविदो यतेस्तु ब्रह्मवेदनम् ।

दोषप्रसक्तावन्यत्र शास्त्रदृष्टं विधीयते ॥

अतिपापप्रसक्तोऽपि ध्यायन्नियममन्युतम् ।

भूयस्तपस्वी भवति पंक्तिपावनपावनः ॥

प्रायश्चित्तान्यशेषाणि तपः कर्मात्मकानि वै ।

यानि तेषामशेषाणां कृष्णानुस्मरणं परम् ॥

यदि कुर्यात्प्रमादेन योगी कर्म विगर्हितम् ।

योगेन दहेद्दहो नान्यत्तत्र कदाचन ॥

स्वे स्वेऽधिकारे या निष्ठ सागुणः परिकर्तितः ।

विपरीतस्तु दोषः स्यादुभयोरेव निश्चयः ॥

4. Love of God grows and takes the mind away from sin and selfishness. सा श्रद्धानस्य विवर्धमाना विरक्तिमन्यत्र करोति पुंसम् ।

5. Love of God will grow with knowledge of God and knowledge of God will grow with Love of God.

विना ज्ञानं कुतो भक्तिः कुतो भक्तिर्विना च तत् ॥

6. The Bhagavata says well that love of God, realisation in the soul and renunciation come into being at the same time.

भक्तिः परे साधुभवे विरक्तिरन्यत्र चैतन्निक्रमेककालम् ॥

क्षिप्रं भवति धर्मात्मा शश्वच्छान्तिं निगच्छति ।

कौन्तेय प्रतिजानीहि न मे भक्तः प्रणश्यति ॥ ३१ ॥

He soon becomes a righteous man and attains perfect peace. O son of Kunthi, proclaim this vow before all that no devotee of mine ever perisheth.

#### NOTES:

1. He asks his supreme devotee to proclaim His vow to us lesser devotees and sinful men so that the vow might go into our hearts and turn us unto Him.

मां हि पापे व्यापयिष्य येऽपि स्युः पापयोनयः ।

स्त्रियो वैश्यास्तथा शूद्रास्तेऽपि यान्ति परां गतिम् ॥

O Partha, even those who are of sinful birth, women, Vaisyas and Sudras by taking refuge in Me, attain the highest realisation.

#### Notes:

1. The word पापयोनयः is generally interpreted as an adjective to women, vaisyas and sudras. It may be taken also to be a noun referring to lower births like those of Gajendra and others. I am venturing this suggestion for what it is worth.

2. All human birth is due to mixture of पुण्य and पाप. No human birth is due to पाप (sin) alone. Beings of inferior birth have fewer *sādhana*s. But the supreme *sādhana* i.e., Sri Krishna is available for them and hence they can attain liberation as well as those of superior birth who have access to more *Sādhana*s.



किं पुनर्ब्रह्मिणाः पुण्या भक्ता राजर्षयस्तथा ।

अनित्यमुखं लोकमिदं प्राप्य भजस्व माम् ॥ ३३ ॥

All the more certain is the attainment of the highest realisation by holy and devoted Brahmins and saintly kings. Having come into this transient and joyless world, worship me.

ममना भव भक्तो मयाजी नमो नमस्कुरु ।

मामेवैष्यसि युक्तैवैवमात्मानं मत्परायणः ॥ ३४ ॥

Fix thy mind on Me, be devoted to me, sacrifice unto me. Bow down to me. Having become steadfast in mind and seeking me as the Supreme Realisation, thou shalt come unto me.

#### NOTES

1. Sri Ramanujacharya breaks forth in his *bhashya* on this stanza into a passionate, beautiful, rapturous prose lyric of devotion.

2. The Sruti says:

यथा नयः स्यन्दमानाः समुद्रेऽस्तंगच्छन्ति तामरूपे विहाय ।

तथा विद्वान्नामरूपान्निमुक्तः परात्परं पुरुषमुपैति दिव्यम् ॥

## Literary and Educational.

### Natural Activity.

By R. KRISHNASWAMI Aiyar, M.A., B.L.

The exact relation of activity to knowledge is a matter very difficult to determine but only so long as our conceptions of what is activity and what is knowledge remain lax. When we speak of an individual being active, we do not care to stop and consider whether the individual that we speak of is a single or a composite entity. If he is a composite entity, what are the elements which make up that entity and which of those elements are active and which not? These questions rarely trouble us but the Divine Teacher of the Gita cannot leave them unanswered. According to Him, the "doer" or the subjective element in every activity is a composite entity made up of his "self" and his "nature." The activity is really due to the "nature," the "self" remaining essentially ever non-active

प्रकृतैव च कर्माणि क्रियमाणानि सर्वशः ।

यः पश्यति तथात्मानमकर्तारं स पश्यति ॥

He alone is a knower who realises that all activities are done by the nature alone and that the Self is non-active."

Whenever therefore anybody is conceived of as active there is an antecedent confusion of the "self" and the "nature." He has no idea that his "nature" is something different from his "self." Without seeking to analyse himself, he identifies his "self" with his "nature." This mistaken sense of "I" in something which is essentially distinct from himself is the prime cause of appropriating to himself the function of "doing" which really appertains only to the "nature" with which he is confusing himself.

प्रकृतेः क्रियमाणानि गुणैः कर्माणि सर्वशः ।

अहंकारविमूढात्मा कर्ताहमिति मन्यते ॥ III, 27.

"Confused by the sense of "I" he thinks himself the "doer" of activities which are all really done by the qualities of "nature."

The ultimate knowledge consisting as it does of the absolute freedom from this confusion cannot possibly co-exist with activities which depend for their existence on the sense of "doership," a creature of that confusion. Similarly so long as activities and the antecedent sense of "doership" continue it is impossible to concede true knowledge to that doer for knowledge presupposes the annihilation of the "doership" and the consequent activities. There cannot therefore be any sort of co-ordination nor even of subordination as between activity and knowledge for either of them assumes the possibility of co-existence. This does not mean that activities are useless to a would-be knower for a would-be knower is not a knower yet and is still not free therefore from the sense of "doership." In fact, activities are very useful to him and really form a necessary stage in his progress towards the realisation of the non-active ideal. Activities are two-fold, those which help the aspirant on towards that ideal and those which take him away from it.

In other words, the sense of "doership" is co-eval with the sense of "I" and it will be a physical impossibility to do away with the former so long as the latter subsists. The latter will disappear only when the Self who is inherent in the "I" realises his transcendence over the nature which gave him the false conception of "I." Until that stage, none can cease to be a doer. The only question therefore for all who have not yet realised that transcendence is, what are the activities in which they are to engage themselves? They cannot remain non-active so long as the sense of "I" is present in them.

न हि कश्चित्क्षणमपि जातु तिष्ठत्यकर्मकृत् । III, 5.

न हि देहभूता शक्यं त्यक्तुं कर्मण्यशेषतः । XVIII, 11.

"None can remain inactive even for a moment— It is impossible for the embodied to give up all activities."

(1) Are they then to allow themselves to be merely at the mercy of the nature and permit it to sway them as it likes or (2) Are they to confine themselves to such activities as are agreeable to the nature itself while at the same time helping to reduce its potency or (3) Are they to engage in activities which aim directly to suppress and annihilate that nature.

It will be clear from a consideration of these three alternatives that the first can never be recommended to an aspirant who desires to rise above his nature and that the last is a very difficult process which requires great capacity of will-power and endurance. The easiest method therefore for the aspirant to progress is along the lines of the second alternative, viz., that of activity consistent with one's own nature but calculated at the same time to reduce the latter's binding force. Sri Krishna prescribes both the latter two alternatives in His Gita but in view of the practical difficulties in the way of the third alternative generally prefers the second for the ordinary aspirant

संन्यासः कर्मयोगश्च निःश्रेयसकारुणो भौ ।

तयोस्तु कर्मसंन्यासात्कर्मयोगो विशिष्यते ॥ V, 2.

संन्यास्तु महाबाहो दुःखमाप्त्ययोगतः ।

योगयुक्तो मुनिर्ब्रह्म न चिरेणाधिगच्छति ॥ V, 6.

"Both Samnyasa and Karma yoga lead to liberation. But of them, Karma yoga is preferable to Karma Samnyasa.....Samnyasa is difficult to attain without yoga. The sage who follows yoga reaches Brahman before long."

To be continued.



## Historical and Scientific.

### Lectures on Indian Music.

By M. S. RAMASWAMI Aiyar, B.A., B.L., L.T.,

#### Lecture I.

##### INTRODUCTION.

1. Indian Music has had its ebb and fall during the long course of its history, from the time of Samaganam right up to the present day. The Gupta Kings patronised Hindu Music; the Muhammadan Kings patronised Hindustani Music; Akbar patronised both; Aurangzeb snubbed them down and was even prone to "call the harmless art a crime." From this unsympathetic Emperor, the Goddess of Music disappeared and took shelter in the palace of many a prince in India. Not long after the advent of the Europeans, she had to jump from the palace into the open street where—

"scorn'd and poor,

She begged her bread from door to door  
And turned, to please a peasant's ear,  
The harp a king had loved to hear."

2. The musicians thereupon had perforce to pick up the trick of pandering to the tastes of streetwallas who cared a jot for the science of music and would full fain put the ill-guiding ear-pleasure, over and above the well-guiding mind-pleasure, thereof. A few worn-out ragas, some jaw-breaking pallavis, disproportionate swaras, a few stale krithis minus their sentiments, a few lascivious javalis plus their temptations, karnatised Hindustani songs giving the Gavayis enough materials for laughter, Mahrata songs which the Maharatas will be ashamed to hear,—these, Sir, these are the ways wherewith most of the South Indian musicians have now been getting on.

3. As for the North Indian musicians, I shall let my friend Mr. V. N. Bhatkhande speak. Observes he:—"The standard high class music of North India is no other than that which the Muhammadan professional artists have introduced into the Hindu system. Our own Sanskrit granthas are scarcely looked upon as binding authorities because the practical music in use now contravenes their directions on some of the most important points. Our granthas having thus become inapplicable to the current practice, we naturally have come to be thrown on the mercy of our illiterate, ignorant, and narrow-minded professionals."

4. In the matter of singing songs, one should—properly speaking—first learn what phase, temper, circumstance or condition of life those songs illustrate; the subject of the songs must be felt and sympathised with; and the tone of the voice as well as the play of the countenance must be in keeping therewith. But what do you see all round India? Both the Northern and Southern musicians do not so much as even care to learn the purport of the songs he sings and the psychology of the notes he uses. War songs, therefore, they sing plaintively; devotional songs heroically; love songs indignantly; cradle songs boisterously; and boat songs saucily. To make the matter worse, to songs that are calculated to excite pathos and kindred emotions, the South Indian singer proceeds to add his accursed swaram-gymnastics. I am not, however, opposed to append swaras or *sofya passages* to songs. Indeed such an appendage enhances the attractiveness of the style and enriches the effect of music. The change from words to *sofya*s is peculiarly relished in South India; and this taste has, for aught I know, gone even up to North India.† In many of

his krithis, the celebrated Thiagier successfully employed swaras, for he knew when and how to introduce them. Indeed his employment of swaras looks like well-cut diamonds sparkling in the ears of a naturally charming lass; while the modern singer's employment of the same looks like old broken tins appended to the shabby tail of a lame ass.

5. What wonder is there if the Europeans shrug their shoulders on hearing our music? Abbe Dubois wrote "What the Hindus like is plenty of noise and plenty of shrill piercing sounds. Their vocal music is not a whit more pleasing to European ears than their instrumental." A European Inspector of Schools recently observed: "The usual singing of (Indian) children is one of the pains and penalties of an Inspector's life: it is raucous, lacking a common pitch and hence both unmelodious and unharmonious. Our schools are largely western in conception, organization and teaching. Only on the artistic side—perhaps I should say the musical side—have we left things where they were, given no guidance to teachers, allowed them to beat the air blindly and even to Inspectors have not shown any escape from the present intolerable ear-splitting noise." Hence the same Inspector suggests: "the indigenous order and methods of training must be (mark!) thrown overboard" evidently in favour of European methods of training.

6. Into the secrets of European methods of training, let us now pry and try to find out how far they had been successful in creating a musical taste in Europe itself. There is yet another reason why we should have a peep into European music. On account of the dark picture I drew of Indian music, I fear you are likely to feel alarmed that Indian music alone has fallen down. No, no; survey from China to Peru; and you will see that music, all over the world, has gone down to the freezing point. The reason is not far to seek. Music, be it noted, is a seed that sprouts out of the fertile soil of religion and wants a deal of the rain of wealth for its luxuriant growth. In the case of rich nations, the plentiful rain of wealth falls unfortunately on the sterile rocks of irreligion and materialism and hence music does not flourish; while, in the case of poor nations, like India, there is no doubt the fertile soil of religion; but the rain of wealth failing, the famine of music reigns supreme. Thus irreligion, materialism and poverty have, jointly and severally, contributed to the dearth of music from one end of the earth to the other.

7. Take English music for example. The English themselves admit their real music began with Purcell who lived from 1658 to 1695. What was the state of English music sixteen years after the death of that "greatest English musical genius"? Addison answers† "At present, our notions of music are so very uncertain that we do not know what it is we like; only in general, we are transported with anything that is not English. Our English music is quite rooted out and nothing yet planted in its stead." In 1714, the Elector of Hanover sat on the throne of England as George I. His court-musician, Handel, naturally followed him to England. Hence Oliver Cromwell fondly attributed§ the foundership of the English School of music to this German musician, Handel. What was the legacy that Handel left behind? A critic of 1865 wrote‡: "Music Party in England is an organised hypocrisy. A trembling damsel begins a water-ballad. To compensate for her wretched performance, two young sisters come to sing a duet and display a remarkable unanimity in singing out of tune and are, in consequence, complimented by a bold

\* In his "Short Historical Survey of the Music of Upper India."

† In the All India Music Conference of Baroda in 1916, I noted some North Indian singers added *sofya*s to their songs; I made a similar observation at Aligarh too.

‡ In his "Hindu Customs and Manners"

§ In his "Spectator" dated 21st March 1711.

¶ In his "Essay on Schools of Music."

‡ In "Saturday Review."



hypocrite on the family likeness in the equality of their voices. A bashful curate or an unbashful civilian walks up to the piano and other instrumentalists follow him. All together make such a noise as to remind us that the earth has risen in revolt with other planets. Young ladies are ill-taught and young men are not taught at all. Yet both the sexes are audacious enough to meet an audience. The root of the evil is that these amateurs learn music, not as an art, but for show and display. Music concert is one of the best means for marriage-contract. Young men are warbled into matrimony before they know what they are about; and young ladies fancy that the well-dressed listeners would prove their constant lovers." Later on, Sir Hugh Allen, Principal of the Royal College of music, London, complained, "Music tends to go to the baser side. The deterioration is due to the performer's weakness for (premature) fame and profit (matrimony included). Commercialism has driven the musicians to adjust their arts to suit the taste of the largest numbers." Even so recently as 1914, Mr. Fox Strangways confessed: "It is rare to hear the best music in India as it is in Europe." Coming to the year 1922, we learn that, in the month of June, the Leeds Choral Union went to London to sing Elgar's 'The Apostles,' in aid of Westminster Abbey Restoration Fund. One would have expected a crowded Queen's Hall. But the fact remains that the hall was almost empty. A remark was then made that London was an unmusical place. Mr. Bernard Shaw led the attack in a long letter of which the following is a summary: "It would be an exaggeration to say that I was the only person present. My wife was there. Other couples were visible at intervals. One of the couples consisted of the Princess Mary and Viscount Lascelles who just saved the situation as far as the credit of the Crown is concerned as it very deeply is. I distinctly saw six people in the stalls probably with complimentary tickets. In the cheaper seats a faithful band stood for England's culture. The occasion was infinitely more important than the Derby, than Goodwood, than the Cup finals, than the Carpenter Fights, than any of the occasions on which the official leaders of society are photographed and cinematographed, laboriously shaking hands with persons in whom Moliere's patron, Louis XIV or Bach's patron, Frederick the Great, would not have condescended to wipe their boots. I apologise to posterity for living in a country where the capacity and tastes of schoolboys and sporting aestheticians form the measure of metropolitan culture."

8. I dealt with the English Music at some length, not in a carping spirit, but with a view to enable you to return to any unsympathetic English critic of Indian music—"Sir, living in a glass house, do not throw stones at others."

9. Let us now direct our attention to setting our own house in order. What is the cause of the downfall of Indian music? It is threefold, viz,

1. the Jainic Puritanism, in ancient times,
2. the Islamic Puritanism, in medieval times,
- and 3. the Puritanic Sterility, in modern times.

10. The first two cruises were shortlived; and when they were removed, music resumed its usual course, though not with its pristine glory. But when the modern times gave us, as though permanently, a most unnatural system of education, calculated to manufacture westernised and overfed aristocracy on the one hand and hybrid and underfed middle class on the other; chill perjury was made to stare in the face

of famished masses. In the case of most of the landed aristocracy, false ideals and false tastes led—rather misled—them to have recourse to French palaces with American fittings, gorgeous gramophones or mechanical pianofortes, all under the presidency of Colonial ladies. The whole of their conversation now generally runs upon "high life with pictures, shakespeare and the musical glasses." Never does it occur to them that the Roman music as such did not show its head up, because the luxury-loving Romans were easily satisfied with the music of the Greek slaves. Mommsen, for instance, observes: "Music passed over from Hellas to Rome, only to enhance the decoration of luxury." Gibbon is more precise when he writes: "The libraries were secluded, like dreary sepulchres, from the light of day; but the harmony of vocal and instrumental music was incessantly repeated in the palaces of Rome, where the sound was preferred to the sense and the care of the body to that of the mind."

11. The fatal taste for everything western has infected the hybrid-underfed middle class too. Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy graphically described the position thus: "Speak to the ordinary graduate of an Indian University of the ideals of the Mahabharata—he will hasten to display his knowledge of Shakespeare; talk to him of religious philosophy—you find that he is an atheist of the crude type common in Europe a generation ago; talk to him of Indian music—he will produce a gramophone or a harmonium and inflict upon you one or both; talk to him of Indian dress or jewelry—he will tell you that they are uncivilised and barbaric; talk to him of Indian art—it is news to him that such a thing exists; ask him to translate for you a letter written in his own mother-tongue—he does not know it. He is indeed a stranger in his own land and (what is worse!) feels proud to be hidebound in that impervious skin of self-satisfaction which enabled that most pompous and self-important philistine, Lord Macaulay, to believe that a single shelf of a good European Library was worth all the literature of India, Arabia and Persia,"—an ill-conceived judgment happily reversed to-day by the appellate Court of Fact. The remarks of the Doctor on Music, if not on others, are—I emphatically assert—of universal application throughout India.

12. Our present mania for the European gramophones, pianos and harmoniums, even Europeans, not to speak of our own kith and kin, deeply lament for. Mr. Clements of the Bombay Civil Service, who has made a special study of Indian music, entertains no clemency whatsoever for piano or harmonium but positively hates them and observes: "Whoever advocates the use of tempered instruments is quite unaware of their utter inadequacy to give any idea of Indian intonation." Another careful European student of Indian music, Mr. Fox Strangways, was struck with the strange ways wherein the Indians admired and adopted the western instruments and indignantly remarked: "If the Rulers of Native States realised what a death-blow they were dealing at their own art by supporting or even allowing a brass band; if the clerk in a Government Office, understood the indignity he was putting on a song by buying the gramophone which grinds it out to him after his day's labour; if the Muhammadan singer knew that the harmonium with which he accompanies was ruining his chief asset, his musical ear; if the girl who learns the pianoforte could see that all the progress she made was a sure step towards her own denationalisation;—they would pause before they laid such sacrilegious hands on Saraswathi."

† I noted this complaint in a Madras Daily—"The Hindu."

‡ In his "Music of Hindostan."

§ I noted this point in a Bombay Journal—"The Times of India."

¶ Published in an English Journal—"The Daily News."

1. In his "Essays in National Idealism."

2. In his "Introduction to the study of Indian Music."

3. Such as the piano or the harmonium doubtless is.

4. In his "Music of Hindostan."

5. And for that matter the Karanatic singer too.



13. It is interesting to note that our much-lamented mania for western instruments has a historic parallel in the English more-lamented mania for Continental music. From after the time of Charles I, the unfortunately beheaded king, a fashion arose in England that every educated gentleman must tour round the Continent to give a sort of 'finish' to his education. The result was that the English tourists, when they returned to England, were found as much contaminated with foreign things as the "England-returned" Indians are to-day. Confining our attention to the subject of our discourse, we find that from the time of Purcell down to our own day, the music of England has been essentially foreign—Italian, German, Russian, Hungarian but not English. There seems to be a good deal of truth in what the Rev. Haweis observed<sup>1</sup>: "We can imagine all other nations of the world passing before us, each representing a national form of music. Germany comes with a band of singers followed by a band of men playing on all kinds of musical instruments. France comes fresh from the woods with her cornemuse. Italy issues from the mountains with that tuneful and fascinating goat-skin and pipe. Spain comes with a bandoline? Scotland with its bagpipes: Ireland and Wales with harps of well-known national form and proportion. Even Russia sings a good bass tune and blows a horn well. But (alas!) England brings up the rear with a policeman requiring an organ-grinder to move on." Ye! my Indian Brethren! Whoever you are, to whichever community you may belong—if you, not content with our own musical system, imagine happiness in foreign music and dream that gramophones, pianoforte, and harmonium can feed the appetite of novelty with perpetual gratification, then, survey England and confess your folly.

14. Digression apart, the aristocracy and the middle-class of India have, with honorable exceptions here and there, been drifting themselves into the present wretched predicament of finding themselves perfect strangers in their own native region of Indian music; while the appalling poverty of India has been all along repressing the noble rage of the masses and freezing the genial current of their soul—so much so that almost all their attention is now-a-days mainly, if not solely, rivetted upon the stomach-problems within the arena of which the goddess of music lies prostrate and helpless.

15. Be the causes of the downfall of our music what they may—can we now resuscitate it? That is the question we are now vitally concerned with. Everywhere we see unmistakable signs of awakening in our country. We are in the threshold of a new era. The Indian Politician is abroad. He has found out that the Goddess of Music has not been clipped of her wings but only hurled into a deep pit which her three great oppressors, viz, grinding poverty, godless education, and appalling ignorance revengefully guard and prevent her escape from. He has determined to drive those oppressors and see the goddess once again emerges out with her wide-spread wings and shines in all her radiant glory. But, be it noted, that nations are made more by artists and poets than by politicians and that, if the former contribute to the sustenance, strength and growth of a nation, the latter take upon themselves the duty of warding off the weeds that would otherwise tend to stunt its growth. "To many persons it may seem incredible that the co-existence of Japan's statesmanship and strategy, the far reach of her military plans, the splendid qualities of her soldiers and sailors, the steadiness of nerve, the accuracy of aim, the coolness of advance, the deadliness of attack, the self-immolation of regiments at the word of com-

mand—are not unconnected with the fact that she alone among living nations has a truly national art, that her senses are refined and her taste fastidious and that even her poor men love beauty and seek their pleasure amongst flowers. This is a hard saying, but the truth is even so."<sup>1</sup>

16. Leaving then to the politicians the hard task of warding off the weeds of godless education and grinding poverty, not unaccompanied by appalling ignorance, the Indian Artists must feel it a sacred duty that they should, at this juncture, come out with Books on Music, knit the theory and practice thereof together and see that the finest of the fine arts once again rises to the pinnacle of her glory. Do you entertain any doubt regarding the efficacy of timely-written books? You will do well to remember that Rousseau's *Social Contract* produced a political revolution in France; Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution* produced an economical revolution in England; and Krishna's *Bhagavad Gita* produced a spiritual revolution in India. Hence a timely-written Treatise on Indian Music will, I dare say, produce a Musical Revolution in our country. The time is now ripe. As I said, the Indian Politician is abroad, and he will, ere long, drive out all the obstacles to the free growth of our music. Meanwhile the Indian Artists, I repeat once again, should come out with Books on Music. Are such artists wanting in our country? Surely not. Only they, like Haridas Swami of Brindavan, require a little goading, in connection wherewith there hangs a tale.

17. One day, Akbar asked his celebrated singer Tansen: "Can any one in the world sing like you?" Tansen replied: "Yes: my guru, Haridas Swami of Brindavan, will even surpass me." The Emperor exclaimed in surprise: "What! can you not surpass him?" Tansen bowed his head and humbly observed: "No: I cannot surpass my guru; because, I sing whenever my Emperor demands, but he sings only when his inner voice commands: I sing to please you, but he sings to please God." Exceedingly anxious to see such a great singer, Akbar hastened along with Tansen to Brindavan and met there Haridas Swami living in a hermitage on the sacred banks of the Jumna. Neither of them, however, dared to ask him to sing. Tansen began to play a trick by himself trying to sing a snatch purposely with a mistake. Haridas Swami could not brook to hear a mistake. Forthwith did he proceed to draw Tansen's attention to it and incidentally but quite unconsciously, burst into angelic singing wherewith he electrified and enchanted the two eager hearers.

18. Like Tansen, then, I venture to launch into the world my "Lectures on Indian Music," only to provoke the really good artists, like Haridas Swami, to come out with better books on the theory and practice of Indian Music and to redeem the otherwise irredeemable art.

19. I shall begin with the *Origin and Function of Music*.

1. Cf. "International Library of Famous Literature"—Vol. XVIII.

1. Cf. "Hibbert Journal of October 1905."



## Reviews.

“**Dry**” America.” By ST. NIHAL SINGH—Ganesh & Co., Madras Rs. 3.

“**The Drink and Drug Evil in India**” By BADRUL HASSAN. Ganesh & Co., Madras Rs. 2.

Messrs Ganesh & Co., should be congratulated on bringing out these two books dealing with the drink problem in two such thoroughly different countries as America and India. Mr. Singh's deals with the triumphant victory of the States over the drink monster and the benefits she is now blessed with as a consequence of that victory. Mr. Hassan's deals in the other hand with the increasing devastation which the drink and drug monsters have been allowed to perpetrate among us and which we are too impotent at present to overcome.

The history which Mr. Singh gives of the prohibitionist movement in America from its earliest days up to the time when it finally vanquished the drink evil is the story of a superhuman task persisted in through years and years and finally achieved in spite of stupendous and almost overpowering opposition. It was the white men who introduced intoxicating liquors into America for the North American Indians were practically ignorant of it. Drunkenness once introduced made rapid progress inspite of efforts by Red Indians themselves to check it. It is better to read Mr. Singh's book itself for the history of the various attempts made to regulate and finally do away altogether with the evil. A large measure of the credit for the final victory is due to “Pussyfoot” Johnson, that indomitable worker whose ingenuity in finding out and exposing the vile methods of the liquor interests nothing could equal and whose courage and determination even the stoutest and most cunning opposition cannot overcome. Mr. Singh devotes six chapters to the beneficial effects which prohibition has achieved within even a very short period on such things as capital, labour conditions, society, health, crime, and national savings. Mr. Singh supports all his assertions with facts and figures which ought to shut the mouth of any sceptic inclined to scoff at getting “dry”. Inefficient and quarrelsome workmen have become efficient and peaceful. Spendthrifts have turned out savers. Greater pleasure is taken in amusements. Conjugal felicity has increased and children are taken better care of. The last chapter deals with the problem in India. “The extinction of the liquor traffic,” Mr. St. Nihal Singh says “may mean the extinction of the revenue derived from liquor but it cannot mean that the money now paid for liquor will be destroyed. On the contrary, the banishment of liquor will mean that the money, instead of being wasted, will be available for productive purposes, and will help to improve the general condition of the people, who will not be able to spend it upon intoxicants. General improvement of living conditions must favourably react upon the State Exchequer.”

Like Mr. St. Nihal Singh, Mr. Badrul Hassan begins his book ‘The Drink and Drug evil in India’ with a history of the liquor problem from the earliest times. The history is traced through the Vedic, Buddhist and Moghal periods and is finally brought to the advent of the East India Company from alien a detached and critical survey down to the present time is given. Mr. Hassan is not sparing in his condemnation of the excise policy of the Indian Government and in the way it licenses the location of liquor shops. Regarding the government's settled policy “to minimise the temptation to those who do not drink and

discourage excesses among these who do” Mr. Hassan says “on paper its (the Indian Government's) resolutions breathe the highest resolve and purest motives, in practice they are not worth the price of a dried blade of common grass.” “Examining them in the light of their results,” says he “the measures adopted by the Government of India absolutely fail “to minimise temptation to those who do not drink and to prevent excesses among those who do, and may rightly be said to be just those that would bring about totally different and opposite results, though for purposes of enhancing the revenue they are perhaps the best that could be devised. Though the export of opium to China is only a negligible quantity now cocaine has taken its place and is bringing in increased revenue. Internally the government for purposes of distribution and sale regards all sales of opium as if it were employed for medical use and so facilitates its sale. For the sake of the revenue from the opium sales “the government has adopted policies and methods that would put Judas to shame.” Figures and statistics have been carefully collected and freely quoted to support all the bold assertions which Mr. Hassan makes against the Government's excise policy. A retrospect and four means of effectively efficiently and easily combating the evils of the present excise policy are given in the last chapter. The Appendices and the Index at the end are useful. The book is one that every valiant Indian should possess.

## Miscellaneous.

### India To-Day.

#### A Plea For Retrenchment.

By SIR P. S. SIVASWAMI IYER.

It is not my purpose in the present article to deal with all the vital problems of India at the present time, but only with some of those to which importance is attached by public men of nearly all shades of opinion in India. I do not propose to touch on external questions like the Kenya or the Khilafat question, though they have aroused the keenest feelings in India. Nor can I, within the compass of an article, deal with all the problems of internal administration such as provincial contributions to the Central Government affecting, as they do, the efficiency and improvement of the administration.

The apparent absence of political excitement over the conviction and imprisonment of Mr. Gandhi has led people in England to assume that the spirit of unrest has subsided as a result of the policy of firmness adopted by the Government of India, and that all that is requisite is a continuation of this policy without going back on the reforms or moving forward; a visitor from India is often asked whether this impression is not well-founded. But no one in touch with the people with the knowledge of the conditions of the country would venture to affirm that there has been any real slackening of tension or decline of the unrest. The causes of the unrest have been so often discussed in the public press that it is needless to refer to them. It may, however, be briefly stated that it is largely due to a complete loss of faith in the minds of large sections of the people in the sincerity of the declarations and promises of the Government, and in their sense of justice. Relief in the justice of the British Government has been the most valuable asset of British rule in the past. One result of Mr. Gandhi's agitation has been to undermine this belief. It is this distrust of the intentions of the Government which is responsible for the disbelief of many educated men in the reality of the constitutional reforms, and which has—



induced them to become Extremists and resort to the method of Non-Co-Operation with all its pernicious consequences. The most pressing problem, in my opinion, is how to restore the faith of the people in the good intentions of the Government. The enhanced powers conferred upon the Legislatures, and the system of partial responsibility in the Provincial Government have not produced much impression, one reason among others being the inability of the various Governments to carry on even the routine duties of the administration without taxation, and the impossibility of finding funds for nation-building purposes. The taxation measures which are entailed by an unsound financial situation are bound to aggravate the discontent due to economic and political causes.

I will now briefly indicate the measures which, in my opinion are calculated to afford a solution of the problems I have mentioned, and to assuage the prevalent unrest and wean many of the Extremists from the barren and harmful policy of Non-Co-Operation.

The military expenditure of the country has been the subject of severe criticism at the hands of all classes of Europeans and Indians alike, and for very good reasons. The net military expenditure of India, which 98.27 crores in 1900-1901 and 29.84 in 1913-14 the year preceding the war, rose to 61.30 crores in 1921-22, and is estimated at 62.18 crores in the year 1922-23. Since 1920-21, the central and provincial revenues have been completely separated. The net central revenue was 80.36 crores (revised estimate) in 1921-22 and is expected to be 91.17 crores in 1922-23. The net central expenditure was 109.86 crores in 1921-22, and is expected to be 109.33 crores in 1922-23. The proportion of the net military expenditure to the total net expenditure of the Central Government is thus seen to be 62 per cent, and it amounts to a very large percentage of the total net revenue of the Central Government. The combined figures for Imperial and Provincial revenue and expenditure before 1920-21 are not available to me, but in that year the figures for revenue and expenditure were respectively 206.15 crores revenues, and 232.16 crores expenditure as against 81.75 crores net military expenditure. The opinion of those who are best informed on the subject of Indian finance is that the sources of revenue in India, compared with other countries are highly inelastic, and that the margin of taxation has been nearly covered. In the United Kingdom, the expenditure on the Army, Navy and Air Force, combined, has fallen from 603 millions in 1919-20 to 206 millions in 1921-22, but it has shown no similar tendency to decline in India. To produce equilibrium between revenue and expenditure, additional taxation to the extent of about 18 crores had to be sanctioned last year, and to the extent of about 19 Crores this year; it is not unfair to infer that the military expenditure is largely responsible for the additional taxation. Retrenchment is believed to be possible both on the civil, and military side of the administration, but the possible scope for retrenchment on the civil side is extremely limited. If any substantial retrenchment of expenditure is to be looked for, it is only on the military side. Even on the military side, the economies which are possible on the assumption of the continuance of the existing organisation of the Army are not likely to exceed 6 crores at the highest. The expeditions on the North-West frontier have undoubtedly contributed to swell the military expenditure, but deducting the expenditure cost by these expeditions, the normal expenditure of the Army amounts to 58 crores and unless the whole policy underlying the organisation of the Army undergoes a radical revision, no very substantial reduction can be looked for in the military expenditure.

The Army in India consists of British and Indian troops, the strength of the former in the fighting units being about 70,000 and the corresponding figure for the latter being about 158,000. The British element which is only a third in the whole standing Army, costs twice as much as the Indian element. The cost of a British battalion is 2½ lakhs per annum as compared to 5 lakhs in the case of an Indian battalion. The only method by which it is possible to effect any substantial retrenchment is by a steady and gradual substitution of the Indian for the British element. It may be said that the present time is an opportune for the elimination of and British units in view of the general unrest and of the disturbances which have occupied here and there. On the other hand, increased military expenditure involves increase of taxation and necessarily the creation of more discontent. The Indian portion of the Army in India has, during all this period of trouble remained quite loyal, and the Indian Army can be expected to do its duty with same loyalty in the future as it has in the past. The substitution of Indian troops does not mean the elimination of British officers, and it has always been admitted that the Indian soldier under British leadership is quite efficient and trustworthy. It is further alleged that the presence of the British troops is necessary much more for the purpose of internal security than for the purpose of external defence. Whatever weight may be attached to the argument that the experience of the great war has taught the necessity of stiffening the Indian ranks with a British element, it does not have much force with reference to possible means on the Northwest Frontier, nor even supposing that it has any with reference to the covering troops of the Field Army, can it be said to have any force with regard to the requirements of internal security. The task of preserving internal security is a matter for which the Police force is primarily responsible. The organisation and development of armed police battalions is a matter of urgent necessity which has to be impressed on the attention of Provincial Governments. Apart from the combatant units of the Army, there are the auxiliary services which are now reserved for Europeans, and which may well be staffed by Indian personnel with a consequent reduction in the expenditure. There are various other branches of the Army in which there is a large and costly British element employed without sufficient justification. In the supply depots and ordnance and arsenal depots, in the mechanical depots, stores depots, in the supply and transport office, in the dairy farms and the grass farms and in various other departments, the British element now employed may be replaced by Indian personnel and with considerable saving. The enormous increase of officers in the Army Headquarters and in the headquarters of divisional commands also requires strict examination. I am not at present prepared to advocate a reduction in the number of combatant troops but I fail to see why a steady policy of Indianisation should not be adopted with manifest benefit to the Exchequer.

So far I have dealt with the question of military expenditure from the point of view of financial exigency. But the same conclusion is suggested by the necessity for satisfying the national aspirations of the people, and for preparing them to undertake the burden of defence. Responsibility for the defence of the country has been generally recognised as a necessary concomitant of full responsible Government, and it was truly observed by Sir William Vincent in the course of a debate in Simla last year, that if he had been a non-official member of the Assembly, the one consideration that he would have constantly impressed upon the Government would have been the develop-



ment of an Indian army officered by Indians, because on that really rests very largely the future political progress of the country. The English public may not be aware that there are several branches of the Army in India to which Indians are not eligible even as privates and still less as commissioned officers. In connection with debates on the Esher Committee's Report, a series of resolutions were passed by the Indian Legislative Assembly in 1921, which had for their object the admission of Indians into all branches of the Army and Air Force and their recruitment to the commissioned ranks, and the establishment of Military Colleges in India for their training. A school has been opened at Dehra Dun for the preliminary training of boys to qualify them for admission to Sandhurst, but as far as the public are aware, nothing has yet been done to give effect to any of those resolutions, though they were all accepted by the Government of India. What is imperatively required at the present moment to convince the Indian public of the desire of the British Government to enable India to attain Dominion status is a definite declaration of its policy in regard to the Army in India, and a steady effort to carry out this policy. It must be definitely declared that the policy of the Government is gradually to Indianise the Army in India so that the Indians may become capable of undertaking the full responsibility for the defence of their country. The disabilities now imposed upon Indians with regard to their admission into the various branches of the Army or the commissioned ranks should be immediately removed. The organisation of the Army as it now exists is not calculated to foster the development of Indian nationhood, and no proposals for taxation for the maintenance of the present organisation can possibly be welcome to the people; but if the people can be made to realise that the Army will be a national army, and that it will afford the fullest scope for Indian valour, talents and patriotism, it would be easier to carry through the Legislature proposals for military expenditure. While the adoption of the policy as suggested will go far to reassure the Indian public of the bona fides of the British Government in their declaration of willingness to assist India to reach the goal of Responsible Government, it need excite no alarm among the English public that the British element in the Army will disappear any sooner than the interests of safety may permit. No sane Indian politician advocates the filling up of the higher ranks of the Army with Indians without training or experience. Even if were exclusively recruited for all the King's Commissions annually thrown open, it would take more than 20 years for any of the new entrants to rise to the rank of Colonel; and as no one dreams of dispensing with the services of the officers who have already entered the Army, the British element in the higher ranks could in no conceivable circumstances disappear in less than 25 or 30 years. But, as a matter of fact, no one has asked that the Commissioned ranks should be exclusively recruited from among Indians. We have been pressing only for the removal of the barriers against us, and for the recruitment of Indians to the higher ranks on a liberal scale to start with, with progressive annual increments. Surely it cannot be said to be an unreasonable demand that India should be able to look forward to having an Army of her own entirely officered by Indians after 25 or 30 years.

Passing now to the civil expenditure of the Government, it has to be considered whether the finances of India can afford to maintain such a costly service as the Indian Civil Service to the same extent as at present. That the Indian Civil Service is perhaps the most efficient body of Civil Servants that can be found may be admitted but it does not at all

follow that all the work that is now performed by members of this Service requires such an expensive agency, or that none of it can be performed with equal efficiency by a cheaper agency. Jaking the Secretariat of the Government of India, much of the work that is now performed by members of the Civil Service may be entrusted to the members of the Provincial Civil Service, assuming of course that they are properly recruited. It is an un doubted fact that the Civil Service in India is the highest paid service in the whole world excepting perhaps the United Kingdom, and it is equally true that India is a poor country which has nearly reached its narrow limits of taxation. It is a question for serious examination whether English recruitment to the Indian Civil Service should to a minimum and for the performance of only such work as requires talents of a high order, and whether the pay of the whole service could not be fixed upon an Indian basis. In this connection it may be desirable to explain exactly what Indians mean by a policy of Indianisation. There is no desire to exclude Englishmen from any branch of the Indian Civil Service or of the Imperial Indian Services. All that is desired is a fair field and no favour, without any restrictions as to percentage, and eventual holding of the examinations for recruitment in India. Apprehensions have been expressed in some quarters as to the security of the pensions of British officials, but these are entirely groundless. Nor, again is there any ground for any apprehension that the relations between the members of our Civil Service and the future Ministers will be marked by any lack of consideration or cordiality. I speak, not merely from my own personal experience as a former member of a Provincial Government, but from what I have heard from high officials as to the co-operation now obtaining between the Ministers and the members of the Civil Service.

I turn now to the further constitutional reforms which are suggested by the experience we have acquired of the working of the Reform scheme in the Provinces and in the Central Government. I will take for illustration the case of a Province where the Reforms have been worked under comparatively favourable conditions. In the Province of Madras, Lord Willingdon has chosen his Ministry from the strongest group among the elected members of the Legislature. He has been trying to work the Government as a unitary one as far as possible. It is believed that his Cabinet meetings include both the Executive Councillors and the Ministers, but, in spite of all these favourable conditions, it is believed that the system of diarchy has failed. The responsibility for the reserved subjects is with the Executive Councillors, but they do not command the requisite support in the Legislative Council. The safeguards vested in the Governor so far as reserved subjects are concerned could not be often exercised without bringing the system into contempt or producing a deadlock. The Ministers who have their followers in the Legislative Council have no responsibility for the reserved subjects. This divorce of responsibility from power has prejudiced the satisfactory working of the administration. Owing to their want of control over the reserved departments, the Ministers feel they are unable to obtain sufficient funds of the departments under their control which are spending departments, and which naturally involves a growing expenditure. When resolution affecting the reserved department are moved in the Council, it is believed that the Ministers do not, or cannot, bring sufficient influence to bear upon their followers. The transfer of responsibility, both in respect of the reserved and the transferred departments to the Ministers, would be conducive to the



more efficient working of the administration. It may be considered that law and justice and the maintenance of peace and order are too important subjects to be transferred to popular control, but it is a mistake to suppose that Indians are not sufficiently interested in the maintenance of law and order. The consequences of inefficiency of the administration in these matters are bound to fall more heavily upon the Indians than upon Englishmen. In some of the other provinces, it is believed that the Ministers have not been taken into confidence by the Executive Council on some of the more important subjects. The chances of friction and of the repudiation of responsibility by the Ministers are therefore greater. Every where it has been felt that little or no money can be found for expenditure on the nation building departments. There is a natural reluctance on the part of the elected councillors to vote for additional taxation when the whole of the expenditure is not under their control. They have to satisfy their electorates that possible methods of retrenchment have been exhausted before fresh proposals of taxation are put forward. But they do not care to make out any such case for taxation for the reason that the reserved departments are not under their control.

Passing to the sphere of the Central Legislature, we have the anomalous position of the Government being in a hopeless minority in the Legislature. The number of officials is only 26 out of a total strength of 140. The Central Legislature has enormous voting power, but absolutely no responsibility. But for the fact that the Government has displayed the greatest possible tact and members of the Legislature great self-restraint, and that both sides have been anxious to make the reforms a success, there would have been a deadlock several times during the course of the last year and a half. It is impossible for the Government to adopt any bold policy in any matters, legislative, administrative or financial, for the reason that they cannot be certain beforehand of the amount of support that they are likely to receive in the Assembly. The divorce of power and responsibility, which was regarded as the greatest defect of the Minto-Morley scheme, is perpetuated in a magnified form in the Central Legislature at the present moment. If the Assembly is to exercise any effective control over the expenditure, it is wrong to withhold from it the control of the military expenditure. It is recognised that the question of control of military policy, army, discipline, and military organisation, are all matters which, for the present, should be left in the hands of the Government and its expert advisers. It is felt that excepting the political, foreign and ecclesiastical departments, may be safely transferred to popular Ministers with every advantage to the Government and the country. The grant of complete autonomy to the Provincial Legislatures and the transfer of control over all but certain specified subjects to the popular element in the Central Legislature, are measures which have been pressed for by moderate opinion. The least that should be done by the Government in the present circumstances is to send out a small, but strong committee of statesmen and constitutional lawyers to ascertain on the spot how the system of diarchy has been working, what defects have been brought to light, and what remedies could be devised to promote smoothness and efficiency in working. The sooner these steps are taken, the greater the chance of satisfying the Indian public that the Imperial Government is really in earnest in the declaration it has made regarding the goal of the administration and in its desire to assist the country to reach that goal.

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