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THE REACTION AGAINST LIBERALISM

BY

MR. J. T. GWYNN, I. C. S. (RETD.)

37 JUL 1926

THE current issue of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW contains a very interesting and illuminating article on the Ku Klux Klan by its Imperial Wizard Hiram Grans. The Wizard is evidently neither a fanatic nor a fool but a man of understanding and he gives a clear and no doubt a pretty correct explanation of the motives and feelings which have made the Klan a power throughout the United States in the year of grace 1926. What gives the article its world-wide interest is the fact that the rise of the Ku Klux Klan is plainly due to forces very similar to those which have brought the Fascisti into control in Italy. There are indications too which show that forces of the same nature may easily be brought into play in other countries, perhaps even in India. The Imperial Wizard speaks for those Americans who believe in the Nordic race and in the virtue of its blood and its traditions. Fighting courage and a love of individual freedom in action and in thought combined with capacity for discipline and loyalty to the commonweal—these are the qualities he would claim for the Nordic race which is taken to include the Dutch, the Germans, the Scandinavians and the British but not perhaps the Gaels. This Nordic race occupied Tamed and civilized North America and left behind a great tradition, the Protestant religion, the puritan morality and the hardihood of the pioneer. When the rough work had been done the weaker races began to flow in. The liberal tradition of the Nordic race induced them to admit the incomers imagining that weak or strong all would be purified, fused and strengthened in the great melting pot.

But experience showed that the races would not fuse nor were the inferior races purified or elevated. Instead it became plain that under the reign of lower order, equal opportunity, and commercial competition established and maintained by the virtue of the Nordic race the inferior races could underlive and outbreed the Nordic. Quite recently North America became aware of the danger and began to restrict the emigration of the inferior races. But it was too late. Too many solid blocks of southern and eastern European races are already established in the country. They can neither be absorbed nor eliminated. What then is to be done? One Professor suggests separating off the different races into distinct castes each with its own social and economic sphere after the ancient Hindu model. That hardly seems desirable or practicable but the Nordic race is proud of its blood and its tradition and is now consciously in revolt against the idea of adulterating these by interbreeding. At the same time it recognizes that it cannot maintain its high standard of living in economic competition with the inferior races. Or rather it has found it necessary to restrict its birthrate now that it finds itself unable in the face of this competition to secure a decent livelihood for all its children. The Nordic man will therefore soon find himself in a hopeless minority. The old liberal doctrines of world-wide brotherhood, of equal opportunity for all men, of *laissez faire* and the survival of the fittest, these will not serve him now. Under their operation he must perish and after he has perished the inferior races must perish too. For they are mere parasites on the social order of which

he is the body and the soul, and the parasites cannot long outlive the host on which they feed. He therefore claims the right to discard all the old liberal doctrines and organize for self-preservation by hook or crook. Exactly how he is to work out his salvation he is not yet sure but he is consolidating and disciplining his forces. The early activities of the Klan were associated with Negro lynching and peculation. It is now purging itself of senseless cruelty and selfish greed but when it is fully organized no liberal principles will deter it from seizing and holding whatever vantage ground seems desirable for securing the welfare of the Nordic race.

The Imperial Wizard's ethnology, history and morality are of course open to challenge but it seems certain that millions of Americans feel them to be right. Confronted by Bolshevism the European middle classes sympathize. They feel that the old Liberalism has betrayed them. It contains no principle of self-preservation. Instead of inculcating respect for our traditions and instincts which are the foundations of society it permits every fanatic and every hypocrite to apply dynamite to them on his bare assurance that he desires to build a better society in the place of the one we know. In Russia the old building was brought down with a crash and the new seems no better than the old in spite of the incredible price that has been paid for it in suffering and injustice. In Italy Mussolini and the Fascisti threw aside the old liberal doctrines just in time to save the building. France, we suspect, would consent to be saved by a Mussolini if she could find the right man. England is not likely to need a Mussolini but it is plain that a little more pressure from the Reds would bring the English Fascisti on to the stage and the country would not expect them to adhere pedantically to constitutional methods. In Ireland the Governments North and South have for four years suppressed the Republicans by Fascist methods and the Free State Government is believed to be ready to use the same methods against Labour if it raises its head.

It is all very shocking to the Liberal but

perhaps the crucial test of a country's fitness for Self-Government is its capacity for evolving Fasciste under pressure. Freedom is necessary for our welfare but the principle of authority is necessary for our existence. The Fascist's case is that there are subversive irreconcilable and corrupting elements in all societies and that these cannot always be kept in check by Judge and Jury or the ordinary process of law. He appeals to the instinct of self-preservation and deduces from it the right of the man who feels himself to be superior to assert and maintain his superiority. That right is hardly distinguishable from the right of the stronger which Liberalism seeks to deny. But human nature is on the side of the Fascist and the Imperial Wizard and even you in India might learn to sympathize with them if the claims of the depressed classes were pushed too rapidly to their logical conclusion. Meantime you may note that Fascist principles are likely to be applied to international affairs and India's claims had better be based not on the brotherhood of man but on the high quality of the Indian races, their tradition and their achievements.



EARDLEY NORTON

whose friends and admirers, chiefly of the legal profession, presented him with a farewell address on May 24th at Kodaikanal. The address which was enclosed in a beautiful silver frame alluded to Mr. Norton's great services to India in the early Congress days and to his extra-ordinary legal eminence.

Coalition of Parties in the Legislature

BY

MR. MUKANDI LAL B.A. (Oxon), M.L.C.

SELF-GOVERNMENT or Representative Government is called Parliamentary form of Government; it might as well be called Government through political parties. Representatives as such unless they organise and combine into political groups or parties cannot carry on the governance of a country. Verily political parties are an essential feature of all democratic and representative Governments. It is equally necessary, in a Parliamentary Government, that the Legislature should be divided into two clear-cut, well defined parties. In England the old two-party-system had the great merit of dividing Parliament sharply into Government and Opposition, the Opposition performing the functions of critic and devil's advocate when not in Office, and being prepared to take up the task of Government if and when its criticism prevailed. * But that is no more true in England. With the rise of a new party—the Labour party—the problem has become complex and the British Parliament is faced with the same difficulties as the Continental Parliaments are. So long as there were only two parties Conservative and Liberal in England, the problem was simple. The only occasions when the British Parliament was faced with some difficulty and had to effect coalitions and reshuffling of political parties were the questions of Home Rule for Ireland, the Boer War and the last Great War. English statesmen got over the difficulty by changing sides and by making coalitions. It shows that in normal times parties can afford to have clear-cut divisions and differences but on occasions of national crisis and foreign wars the parties have to abandon some of their sharp differences and combine together to fight the common foe.

It might as well be said of India that she is engaged in a War of Independence against a Foreign Power and in the interest of the country and for the sake of India's freedom all political groups and parties, in India, ought to

effect a coalition and give battle to the Government, within the Legislature; and secure for India full Responsible Self-Government. And I am convinced that if all Indian political groups and parties had rejected the Reforms in 1918-19 and declined to enter the newly formed Legislatures in 1920 the Government would either have to scrape the Reforms or abolish Dyarchy and give a fully Responsible Self-Government. But Indian politicians did not unite in the common cause; and the Government adumbrated its experiments.

The fact is there has been no political parties in India in the real sense of the word. The Congress is not a political party. It is an Assembly from which men of moderate and halting nature seceded and called themselves Liberals. Never was a more inappropriate name assumed by a party. The pre-Reform division into Moderates and Extremists was more appropriate.

Then came the Non-Co-operation Party which again was not a party but an attitude of mind. In the First Councils and the First Assembly certain groups of politicians either called themselves by a certain name or made efforts to organise parties with high sounding names—Democrats, Progressives and so forth. In the U. P. Council there was a block which fought their own Ministers under the name of Liberals. Two of their members joined the Government and were swallowed by the Bureaucratic Executive; their party (the Liberal Party) was not in power. Their position as well as of their fellow Liberals who joined the Government was most anomalous and unenviable. A section of the Non-Co-operators decided to fight for Swaraj through the Legislature and were given the name of *Changers*. They founded the Swaraj Party. The Swaraj Party is the only truly political party in India about which even the English statesmen had to admit that it was the only political party in India which commanded a hearing and conformed to party system. Lord Olivier in an article in the *MANCHESTER*

* *The Public Life*. By Mr. J. A. Spender, Vol. II p. 18.

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GUARDIAN of April 9, 1925 said of the Swarajists: "They are in fact the largest constitutionally formed political party in the country, and have the largest number of elected members of Councils." He on another occasion justified the policy and tactics of the Swaraj Party: "If the Swarajists think that the Montford Constitution is illusory they have a perfect right to refuse to vote salaries for Ministers appropriated under it ostensibly in the exercise of a responsibility which they allege is a sham." [Cable, London 17-3-25.]

It would be in the interest of the country if all parties united under the flag of the Swaraj Party to give battle to the common foe. Pandit Motilal Nehru, the leader of the Swaraj Party has well said somewhere: "It is one thing for a free people to divide themselves for their respective principles and to serve their respective purposes. It is quite another thing for a people held in subjection, to fight against a sham constitution forced upon them by their autocratic rulers for the barest rights of citizenship. It is not a case of a party fighting a party but that of a whole people fighting the alien usurer."

Mr. Srinivasa Sastri writing in THE SERVANT OF INDIA April 16, 1925, said: "Consideration of prestige, precedence or party loyalty ought not to deter one at this juncture from speaking one's mind freely on the issues involved in readjustment of the mutual relations of political workers which will enable them to act together for winning Swaraj. If Liberals and Swarajists become reunited it will become the signal for a general rapprochement."

This was so far the opinion of individuals. A serious and earnest effort was made in January 1925 at Delhi in the All-Parties' Conference which was attended by the leading men of all the parties. The object of the Conference was put in one sentence by Mahatma Gandhi:—

"The object of the Conference was to explore the avenues of communal and political unity and formulate a scheme of Swaraj."

This Conference could not achieve the end in view.

It was considered beyond the pale of practical politics that Liberals and Independents should join the Swaraj Party. But the Cawnpore Congress even created a split in the Swaraj Party which was further accentuated by the failure of the Sabarmati Pact.

When we keep before our mind's eye the declarations and resolutions of the Swaraj Party beyond which it cannot go, we do not see why the Sabarmati Pact of Pandit Motilal Nehru and Mr. Jayakar should have created so much storm in the tea cup. The Executive Committee of the All-India Swaraj Party which met at Nagpur on 11th & 12th January 1925 resolved in unequivocal terms: (1) "That the unwillingness of the Swaraj Party to accept office in the Provincial Government arose not from any desire to avoid constructive responsibility, which the holding of office involves, but from a reasoned belief that the system of Government in which the Party was called upon to take an ineffectual part was inadequate, disingenuous and doomed to failure as it has now been clearly established to be" (2) "This Committee declares that if it is a genuine desire of the Government to carry on administration on popular and responsible lines by bringing about suitable changes in the Constitution, the Swaraj Party will not be averse to shouldering responsibility provided such responsibility is real and genuine."

In my opinion, the Sabarmati Dual Pact was no more or less than the last clause of the resolution. Because the only hitch being about accepting Ministerial offices and that obstacle the Sabarmati Pact wanted to solve by laying it down that Congressmen could accept such offices provided the Government was willing to concede sufficient "power, responsibility and initiative" to the Ministers. It was simply the paraphrase of the Nagpur Resolution referred to above. But the left wing of the Swaraj Party forced the hands of the contracting parties to annul the Pact and thus created a new party out of the Swaraj Party.

The result will be that the Responsivists-Swarajists will be fought by the Swarajists. The Responsivists will make a common cause to give battle to their erstwhile comrades,

with the newly established Nationalist Party. It will be a sort of internecine warfare among the Congressmen. The mentality of a Responsivist, Swarajist and a Liberal or Independent is so different yet the former will be compelled to hug the latter at least during the election campaign. "The same people cannot be both enemies and friends." The relations between the Responsivist-Swarajists and orthodox Swarajists cannot be worse than those between the Liberals and Labourites as compared to Conservatives. And I would offer to the Swaraj Party the advice similar to that Mr. Lloyd George offered to the Liberal Party. He said somewhat like this: "The Liberal Party ought in its own interests to have stipulated for regular consultation with the [Labour] Government and to this it may be added that Labour ought for the period of the Parliament to have proclaimed a truce in the constituencies." *

The days of the two-party-system are gone for ever. All European countries have more than two Parties. England was the last to face the problem. The rise of Labour to power was based on a sort of coalition. There was a tacit alliance between the Liberal Party and the Labour Party when it accepted the responsibility of forming the Government in 1924. But they did not observe the truce during the bye-elections. When the Labour Party resigned and it went to the polling booth it put up a three cornered fight. The result was that the Conservative Party gained by the conflict. I am afraid that the result during the next elections for various Indian Legislatures may be regrettable if the Swaraj Party does not come to some understanding with the Responsivist-Swarajists and Independents.

Inside the Legislatures too there is a great necessity for coalitions. The alliance or coalition between the Swaraj Party and the Independents in the Assembly and between the Swarajists and the Nationalists in Bengal worked quite satisfactorily on many occasions. If the Independents and Nationalists were as disciplined and organised a

party as the Swarajists are, I am sure the coalition would have brought the Government to its knees. And their combination in the new Legislatures in 1927 would win the battle of Swaraj if the Parties concerned forget their non-essential differences and unite to give battle to the common foe.

I admit political parties in the true sense of the word will evolve and organise themselves into definite political groups only when India secures full Responsible Government and when the Opposition will realise that it may be called upon to form the Government any day it defeats the Government either at the polling booth or in the Legislature by an adverse vote. At present the Parties criticise the Government and vote against it in an irresponsible manner and display their strength in following the party discipline rigidly. If they knew that an adverse vote against the Government might recoil on them they would act differently.

This I have added by the way. My sole aim in writing this article is that I desire my fellow-countrymen to realise the necessity of forming coalitions and making alliances with those groups or parties with whom they have most in common both at the Elections and inside the Legislatures.

I do not advocate insincere and dishonest combinations which are the result of a craving to fight a common enemy. This question may arise if such parties unite to fight at Elections, which hold fundamentally different views and have different principles and programmes. But I am convinced that such is not the question between the Responsivist-Swarajists, and orthodox-Swarajists. Therefore, I would earnestly urge that they unite at the Elections and in the Legislatures. I even hope that Independents and Swarajists might come to some common understanding both at the polls and in the Legislatures. As a matter of fact there is enough ground for all Indian Political Parties within the Legislatures to unite and fight the common opponent of Indian freedom. Leave the formation and classification of Indian Political Parties to the future when all Indian political groups have reached the common goal.

* THE PUBLIC LIFE. By Spender Vol. II p. 28.

BY

PROF. DIWAN CHAND SHARMA, M.A.

ARE the Punjab Jails purgatories or reformatories? It is a question that is forced upon one's attention by the study of the report of the Punjab Jails Enquiry Committee—a report which is signed by Mr. Lumsden, a member of the Indian Civil Service, Mr. Justice Jai Lal and Khan Bahadur Sh. Abdul Qadir, Bar-at-Law. No one who wades through the pages of this report can help asking himself the question:—"What are men making of men? What are jail officials making of the prisoners under their charge?" No one who reads this document, a product of enlightened commonsense, judicious spirit of enquiry and tempered zeal for reform can fail to be alarmed by the scandalous state of affairs in the Punjab Jails. "Something is rotten in the state of Denmark," one says after a perusal of this report.

This deplorable state of affairs would have continued for a long time if the BANDE MATRAM, a vernacular daily directed by Lala Lajpat Rai had not brought to light certain malpractices prevalent in the Punjab Jails. That the allegations of the BANDE MATRAM about the Punjab Jails were true, no one will question now. In fact it appears that the report has been drafted simply to substantiate and confirm the allegations of the BANDE MATRAM against the Punjab Jails. The jails in the Punjab are a world in themselves. The prisoners who are clapped in these jails have their own ecstasies and aches, their own grim tragedies and heart-rending pathos. It is a world in which the prisoners cannot hope for any influences that can soften them or uplift them. Presiding over the Prisoners' Conference some time back, Lord Haldane said that every prisoner should be given a chance in life but the prison system of the Punjab is such as cannot improve the chances of the prisoners' life. In other countries prisoners are educated and made

useful citizens but in the Punjab Jails instruction of prisoners in the three R's is not an integral part of jail discipline. The prisoner has nothing to do but to perform soul-killing labour or to chew the cud of his bitter memories in a solitary cell or a dimly-lighted barrack. Recreation is unknown to him. Books are a banned and forbidden fare in most cases. He is cut off from all wholesome influence and there is nothing in the environments of the jail to which he can turn for relief, or solace, comfort or consolation. He writes to and hears from his relatives occasionally, he meets them also occasionally; but these interviews are unholy affairs since they are used as occasions for smuggling forbidden articles of food and for squeezing money from the relatives. The prisoner is poorly fed. He must be content with two cakes even though his appetite craves for more. The solid parts of vegetables which are reserved for him by the Jail Manual must come to the officers of the jail, whereas he must subsist on the superfluous leaves of those vegetables. The prisoner must also be at the mercy of the Jail officials who must bend him to their will and crush out of him all sense of self-respect. However, the Jailor is not a deity that cannot be propitiated. He has his price and in order to be in his good books you must pay him his price. If the prisoner is once a *persona grata* with the Jail officials, he is sure to have an easy time of it then. He can then gratify his desires, indulge in forbidden luxuries, and hoard money. He can in that case lend money to others (there is a case of a prisoner on record who had a regular ledger with him in which he entered all items that he had lent to his fellow prisoners) and gamble in the jail as freely as possible. All the objects of his desire will then be accessible to him, (the report gives it out that in certain cases even

JUNE 1926]

women are not inaccessible to prisoners). But all are not so lucky. Some are the victims of most brutal punishments. Prisoners are generally beaten with shoes. Sometimes a prisoner is surrounded by a number of fellow-prisoners who kick him mercilessly. This is sometimes done in order to extract money from a new-comer. There is another form of punishment also in which a man is made to bend double and then is made to pass his hands under his legs in such a way that they should touch his ears. While the culprit is in this position he is beaten and kicked. Thus humiliation of prisoners is sought in such ingenious ways.

This is a grim and revolting picture of the jail life drawn in the report. The report states after examining the witnesses which included prisoners, ex-prisoners, visitors and Akali leaders undergoing trial in the Lahore Fort, that unauthorised punishments are awarded not infrequently in the Punjab Jails. There is also ample evidence as to the extent of unauthorised indulgences. Prisoners who smoke can get cigarettes. They also receive cash from their homes for the fulfilment of their requirements in the jails by means of money-orders addressed to warders and other subordinates. All other luxuries such as ghee, butter, fruits and liquor are also obtainable, if the jail officials are taken into confidence. According to the report the jail discipline is not superficially sound. The jail discipline is not up to the mark because the Inspector-General of Prisons is an over-worked man who can ill spare time for going about the jails. Similarly the civil surgeons, the ex-officio superintendents of jails are not very vigilant in their work. Thus the whole thing is left in the hands of the jailors, assistant jailors, warders and convict-officials, most of whom have not got very high notions of their responsibility.

The report suggests vital changes in jail administration. It suggests that jailors should be recruited from the members of the Indian Civil Service so far as the central jails are concerned. In the case of district jails the jailors should be men who are preferably graduates trained in criminalology and psychology. Similarly the warders should be

paid handsomely. The warders cannot be expected to be honest when their pay suffices for only twenty days in the month. The convict officials should be dispensed with because they are not promoted to this office on account of their exemplary conduct and good behaviour but an account of considerations other than these. In order to increase the prisoners' interest in labour the report suggests that the system of *pecule* under which a small percentage of the profit arising out of the performance of the task is kept to the worker as a reward for good work coupled with exemplary conduct should be resorted to. It is also suggested by the Committee that the food should be more equitably distributed among the prisoners. Those who are performing light labour and are of weak constitution should have fewer *chapatis* than those who have larger appetite and are employed on hard works. It is also urged by the Committee that vegetables should be supplied more liberally to the prisoners. An attempt should be made to classify the prisoners as the star class and the habituals. In the opinion of the Committee, registers of punishments should be kept up-to-date. Education should be given to prisoners who are not above the age of thirty. Some sort of moral instruction should also be encouraged and for this purpose voluntary agencies must be made use of. Libraries in which books on religious and moral subjects, historical works and harmless fiction are kept should be available for the prisoners. The hours between lock-up and 8-30 and 9-30 P.M., should be used for the purposes of recreation by the prisoners. Prisoners may be given certificates of good conduct by the Jailors on their discharge and Prisoners' Aid Societies should be encouraged to start the ex-prisoners in life again.

Thus the report is a document of far reaching importance and deserves to be studied by all who wish to humanise the prison legislation in this country.

GOKHALE'S LEGACY

BY MR. G. A. NATESAN.

A disastrous fire has reduced to ashes the Arya Bhushan Press, owned by the Servants of India Society, the legacy of



G. K. GOKHALE.

Gopal Krishna Gokhale, to our motherland. The loss sustained by this great and unique organisation has been terrible. Property worth over four lakhs has been reduced to dust. The files of the DNYAN PRAKASH, the record of the activities of the Maharashtra for over 80 years, have been destroyed. Sadder still, all the available materials for a biography of Gokhale, almost ready for publication, are gone. Such a catastrophe is likely to appal many an ordinary person. But Srinivasa Sastri and his brave band of self-less workers, who have dedicated their lives for service to the country, who have till now played no mean part in different spheres of the Nation's activities, and have struggled on many an occasion under the most trying circumstances, are determined to face the calamity and continue to carry on the mission of their master. It gladdens our hearts to see that THE SERVANT OF INDIA, the excellent weekly organ of the Society, has made its appearance so soon after the terrible fire. It must be not a little cheering to the Members of the Society that in this hour of trial, men and women of all political parties, officials,

high and low, have shared in their sorrows and given proof of their sincere sympathy by substantial donations to help them reconstruct their Press and resume their many-sided activities. And so should it be, for as Mahatma Gandhi, the first to offer help to them, has rightly pointed out, "However much one may differ from the politics of the Society, there is no denying the honest and self-sacrificing labours of its members, there is no denying their patriotism. It stands unique in its great social activities, no less valuable than the political." All who honour the memory of Gokhale, all who love to appreciate disinterested public service, must respond to the moving appeal* for public help issued by the Rt. Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri, the President of the Society.

*The following Appeal to the Public has been issued under the signature of the Rt. Hon Sastri:—
The Servants of India Society has sustained a terrible loss by the fire which brought to ruin the Arya Bhushan Press and the Dnyan Prakash Press. These had been built up with great patience and foresight by Mr. Gokhale, who knew the mutations of public support and desired to provide for the Society a constant source of income. Deprived of their mainstay, the members of the Society cannot but turn in their distress to their countrymen for that prompt and generous help in money which alone can put them back in their former position and enable them to resume their career of service to the public. I have already appealed to personal friends through private letters, and I wish by this means to reach the wider public who are interested in the Society and its work. Sympathy and help are flowing in from all sides, and our hearts have been gladdened beyond measure by the spontaneous expressions of good-will received from those who are not in habitual agreement with us on public matters. As I said on another occasion, it seems as though the essential kindness of human nature, being so often forced out of its natural current by conflict of interests, were only waiting for a pretext to come back to its own channel.

We calculate that two lakhs of rupees would be required to enable us to make a fresh start. The sum is large, and there is depression all round. Still my colleagues and I have every confidence that in a few months' time we shall get what we want. Our members will go round to various places, but they are not many and cannot be everywhere. We look to our Associates and sympathisers in all parts of the country for active help. We beg them to respond to this appeal as though it had been made to them individually and in person. No amount is so small but it will be welcome; in fact small contributions, if sufficiently numerous, will give us the pleasing reflection that we are known and appreciated by a wide circle of those whom we seek to serve.

TWELVE YEARS OF RURAL WORK

SOME LESSONS AND WARNINGS

BY MR. K. T. PAUL, O. B. E., B. A.

Secretary of the National Council of the Y. M. C. A., India, Burma & Ceylon.

NOW that the central importance of Rural Reconstruction to every Indian problem is after all being recognised in a fair measure, it will be useful to lay before the public some of the experiences we have had



MR. K. T. PAUL

in actual 'Rural Work' in the past twelve years. These lessons are by no means all of rosy colour. Some of them are really warnings. And possibly these warnings will be the more salutary and timely when many forms of rural service promise to become fashionable in the near future.

On August 4th, 1914, that selfsame day when the fate of Europe was sealed for this generation, the first 'Rural Secretary' commissioned by the newly constituted 'Rural Department of the National Council of the Young Men's Christian Associations of India, Burma and Ceylon' entered his field. But before this happened, some eighteen months had been spent in studying the field. I had already travelled widely and in detail in every province of India, Burma and Ceylon for seven long years. Nevertheless at the instance of our National Council I undertook a fresh tour in detail, with this one main objective, namely, to advise my Council as to a

line of service which is likely to meet the distinctive needs of the Indian peoples.

Before very long it became amply evident that every Indian problem, no matter what it is, has its roots in rural conditions. Is it the education, the economic or the health conditions of the people, or is it their training in democratic methods? Every one of these problems has its bases almost entirely in the village. Take the most unlikely of these problems,—University Education. In round figures 165 colleges deal with 50,000 young men who have entered our Universities. It may be thought that they at least would present problems which have nothing to do with the village. The fact is entirely otherwise. Our social and economic conditions are such that some 90% of these lads come from village homes; they go to their villages in the vacations; after leaving college the bulk of them work in small towns which have scarcely emerged from rural conditions: they maintain all the time intimate social relationships with the rest of the family in the villages; and when they retire a very large number go straight back to their ancestral homes in the village. Our University reforms have missed half their light by forgetting this obvious fact. If the University is to prepare leaders for the life of the people, someone should begin to realise what are the actual day-in and day-out possibilities and hence responsibilities for those who have had the advantage of University education.

But Education in India is happily not all University Education. The moment we think of the other parts of Education, we are right in the rural conditions, rural needs, rural limitations and rural possibilities.

What is true of Educational problems is true of every other national problem. I need not labour the point to anyone in India. It is enough to remind ourselves that 90% of our people live in villages of less than 5000

in population, that it is *their* health which determines the vitality of the nation, *their* labour which decides what India shall buy or sell, *their* habits which denote our national character, *their* education which can enable India to assimilate the lessons of well-being offered by the experience of the world.

This realisation came upon me with the strength as it were of a religious experience, or a scientific discovery. And it was quickly followed by another fact, when I tried to think out various lines of practical service of curative or ameliorative character. The Government carries on valuable experiment work in various lines for improving the material well-being of India; and is also making extensive efforts to bring its recommendations to the knowledge of the rural population. But the results are utterly incommensurate with the magnificent volume of efforts put forth. Why is it so? Is it merely because of the conservatism of the peasant? Certainly not. His conservatism is dense and dark but the reason is even more in his poverty. What Dr. Harold Mann has established by survey and statistics with reference to the Deccan Ryot is in all probability true of all India. The average Ryot is not merely a pauper, he is a bankrupt. The appalling problem is just there. How in conscience is India to be rehabilitated on the foundations of a bankrupt peasantry?

These two discoveries, for they were discoveries to me in 1913, seemed to indicate the immediate line of service to be attempted. If indeed the village holds the key to all the great Indian problems, and if the villager has not the wherewithal to avail himself of any facility for his own improvement, the obvious thing to be done first is to reconstruct the economics of the villager. He is a pauper and a bankrupt. He must be redeemed from Debt and he must be enabled to increase his Earning Power.

How was this to be done? The Government was itself engaged on a magnificent programme for wide-spreading the Co-operative Credit Movement. The number of Societies was increasing every year by the thousand, the number of members by tens of

thousands and the capital by lakhs. Why not let the Government do the work in its own way, and devote our Association's meagre energies, which are infinitesimal in comparison with the State's, to services further to the establishment of Co-operative Banks? Such a conclusion was however impossible, when I looked somewhat into the actual working of the Co-operative Movement. My own Municipality of Salem had the honour of pioneering for the whole of India in organising and working successfully a Co-operative Bank for scavengers. I was on the Council for eight years and knew all about it. The test question that arose in my mind was "Does the Co-operative Movement actually reach the peasant?" Apparently it does; but is it so in fact?

My own experience gave the negative answer. It was amply confirmed by the survey which Captain Jack made in rural Bengal which drove him to the conclusion that it will take centuries before the benefits of the Movement could reach the bulk of the peasantry. It has since been amply confirmed by Gilbert Slater's survey in Madras Presidency, by Harold Mann's survey in Deccan and Malcolm Darling's survey in the Punjab.

This situation was due to no negligence on the part of the Department but to a real business dilemma. Agricultural Banks are organised on unlimited liability basis. This fact proved sufficient to facilitate the flow of money from the Central Banks up to a certain point; for, given a wide enough area of operation and a long enough period of varying rainfall conditions, risks are minimised and may even be said to vanish. But on one definite condition: the Central Banks insisted that they should not be asked to lend more than an eighth of the aggregate property-value of shareholders, i.e., of the village. The reason was obvious. The only effective supervision of the primary Banks was the heavily worked Government Inspector. He is moreover an 'official' with all the limitations common to all humanity in that relationship. Therefore financing Banks could not take any bigger risks.

I felt that true co-operative ideals and also bedrock psychological principles were being compromised to the expedencies under which the Government system had to work for rapidly popularising the Movement. If adequate and constant supervision by qualified men could be assured, financing Banks would be running no risks whatever in lending to unlimited liability banks, without any reference to property, or at least at a very much better ratio. For after all credit is really dependent on character and not on property. Particularly so in an Indian village, where every one knows every incident of every one else's life from its very beginning, the panchayat needs only to realise the legal implications of unlimited liability to be, practically, unerring in judging the credit of every applicant. The question in their minds is not what property he has, for many a drunkard or slippery customer with plenty of property may prove utterly troublesome debtor: whereas a penniless labourer, male or female, may be one whose word of honour is absolutely reliable. To the village panchayat the criterion of credit is, recoverability of debt. "Is the debt likely to be repaid by this man?" That is the query in the minds of a village panchayat, for it does not think of legal processes for debt recovery, nor is it interested in swallowing up real estates piecemeal, as the professional money-lender usually is.

This argument was quite acceptable to Lord Pentland when I asked him if Government will give us the facilities to experiment on these lines. He invited about a dozen of his inner circle to a dinner party to go into this question. It was an unusual procedure, due to the enthusiastic faith of the Governor. Its ending was no less extraordinary. For when my neatly prepared speech was over and heckling time began, I found that the point of emphasis was entirely aside from my centre of interest. Sir A. G. Cardew turned me inside out and proved apparently to everybody's satisfaction that the policy of the Department and its normal programme was definitely inclusive of the Depressed Classes and that what was beyond the

Department's reach was not good business! All that I could do to save my equanimity was to disclaim any desire to accuse anybody, least of all the Government Department, of any neglect, and to protest that my entire plea was for permission to supplement what was being done on a truly generous scale.

But there was no mistaking our place. If the Association desired to experiment, it had the wide world and such as it was for its field: no special facilities could or would be released by Government. When so thrown back on ourselves we felt the need for further study. The Belgian Missionaries had tried Co-operative Banking very widely among the Santals of Chota-Nagpur. The United Free Church of Scotland had done the same among a criminal tribe in Jalna, in the eastern section of Nizam's Hyderabad. It meant more time for personal study on the spot. But it was effort well spent.

Both these enterprises had had chequered careers; the Belgians had finally failed and wound up, the Scotch had to radically re-organise at a definite stage, whereafter they had been scoring success. It is needless to go into details here. In both cases the solution had depended on the quality of the supervision and the extent of it. But those records held no terrors. We were more determined than ever that our principle was right and that the experiment should be tried. 'Character is credit' is a thoroughly sound business principle in regard to unlimited liability banks: unless this is courageously put into practice there is no hope for the masses of India.

Our National Council was at that time much under the guidance of Mr. W. R. Gourlay, a Scotchman of wide and varied public experience and of a most sound business temperament; which was, as is not at all unusual with the Scotch, combined with a sincere and even sensitive regard for the poor. He went into my scheme with the Bengal Registrar at his elbow and was satisfied to advise the Council to launch on the new line of work, though it had no precedent in the records of Y. M. C. A. activities in any

of the nations of the world. India needs this line of service, needs it urgently. It was service such as promised best success when done by young men impelled by their constraining religious motive in their service to the poor. And so a wholly new Department was started, and on August 4th, 1914 the first secretary started the work.

II

The most important factor for the project was of course the Staff of Secretaries. It was selected with the greatest possible care. Men of tested service not only in capacity, initiative, and adaptability, but first and chiefest in a genuine love for the poor. They were men from the village and with University education; some of them with Agricultural or Teaching experience besides. These men were placed under the Co-operative Registrar for three months to gain a practical insight into methods of organising, inspecting and auditing societies. Thereafter each man was placed in a District with a local Committee of selected men to guide him and to advise the National Council as regards his programme of work and its financing. There was also a National Secretary,—Head of the Rural Department—who frequently went around to encourage, co-ordinate, pass on experiences and warnings from one centre to another and generally to keep the standard of service at high level.

Everything went on swimmingly in the early months when much preliminary work had to be done to educate the villagers in regard to their own desperate needs and the possible way out through Co-operative Banking. The idea of unlimited liability was everywhere received without any question when it was clearly put to them and explained carefully. So strong is still the ancient social solidarity. It should really be characterised as still our normal psychology, happily so.

But the trouble came when banks were organised and loans were asked. No District Bank would look at a proposal to lower the property standard. As Sir A. G. Cardew told his colleagues at the

Governor's table, financing banks told us patronisingly that we had been reading Arabian Nights overnight, that Alladin's Cave was closed against pure Idealism, that we had better wake up to the facts of daylight. A leading Co operator,—a Scotch merchant who had sat on the MacLagan Commission—frankly said that our only way out was to secure deposits for each bank. This doubtless is a sound Co-operative principle: but with reference to the property qualifications of the communities we were pledged to serve, it was a counsel of perfection. Here and there philanthropically minded men may be discovered to deposit in one or two or at the most half a dozen of our banks. But we had already undertaken responsibility for Depressed Class communities in four administrative districts. Moreover we were determined to make the demonstration, that character *is* negotiable as credit in unlimited liability banks, and furnishes an adequate economic basis even for those who are entirely below the line of property credit. To Banks such as ours deposits could only be an exceptional method, and not a recourse generally available in the country.

No. There was only one thing open for us: to organise a Central Co-operative Bank for our own conditions. It was extremely fortunate that the Registrar at the time was L. D. Swamikannu Pillai, who was already a personal friend and also a believer in the purposes and work of our Association. He saw what none of his deputies whom I consulted could or would see, that there was a distinct call for such a Bank, and that if it is organised so as to be under the direction of men who are used habitually to combining philanthropy with business there is a very strong likelihood of the Bank meeting the special needs of the Banks we organised. He endorsed his verdict by the handsome promise that if I organise the Central Bank, he will secure from a Bishop an initial deposit of Rs. 100,000. This was in itself a potent lever which helped us constantly in the canvass which we immediately launched. It took ten months to secure some Rs. 90,000 in the form of shares

and deposits, and in other ways prepare for registration. And so the Madras Christian Central Co-operative Bank, Limited, was actually an accomplished fact on the 21st of June 1916: This was a great thing to our work as it has furnished not only financial backing but also a substantial moral prestige to our whole enterprise.

Henceforward the Secretaries faced the problems in their fields with steady and persistent energy. We had limited ourselves to those villages of the very poor, where there was already a fair number of Christians. This was done deliberately. Experience elsewhere, as in Bengal, Gujarat and the Deccan, had warned us thereto. We could not afford to have even a single failure in the first years. A Christian hamlet (though only half of the residents may be Christians) has certain great advantages. There is to begin with a Teacher, possibly the one literate man in the region. Then the people are regularly accustomed to get instruction in new ideas, familiarised to certain new methods, and above all amenable to the moral discipline of somebody or some idea that they had accepted as worth their while. This was the sole reason for this limitation. There was no truth in the accusation that we were introducing denominational banks. We yield to none in holding that denominationalism is a very mischievous abuse of the Co-operative principle. Not a single bank organised by us was exclusively for Christians. In the first years we advisedly confined our work to villages where there was an adequate number of Christians, because we needed a partly trained and disciplined nucleus for organising and working a Bank. But no non-Christians were excluded from membership. On the other hand, for obvious economic reasons our aim in every case was to make the Bank embrace the entire population of the village.

Many would be the stories, some of them more interesting than romance, if I had time to recount our experiences in these years. I hope some day these could be collected together, and published under the title "The Romance of the Campaign against Indian

Poverty." The title will be amply justified. There is time only to mention two significant facts which may be of use to future workers.

We nowhere found much difficulty in getting together a panchayat capable of responding to the training offered by the Secretary. The Indian peasant, though a panchama and illiterate, is very willing to respond to advice when he is convinced that it is for his benefit. In fact the advantage of the Sowcar or the Emigration Agent is because of this very virtue,—that he believes, and responds and could therefore be exploited to advantage!

Over and above this natural responsiveness, there is the fact of his terrible suffering. One need only refer to his debts, his crops, the vagaries of the monsoon, his nerveless cattle, his poverty in general, to secure his immediate and unlimited interest. It has been truly said that the way to the Indian ryot's mind is through his stomach! It may sound humorous, but it is truly tragic. With all these advantages one has to fight against the suspiciousness engendered by the repeated oppression of the professional money-lenders. It is no exaggeration to say that there is not a single Indian ryot who has not been 'stung' sometime or other by the usurer. In 90% of the cases there are heart-rending family histories about it.* This fact amounts to a national need, really responsible for most of

* One typical instance, one of a million, may be recounted. In 1899 a tenant of mine suddenly lost a bull in the middle of the paddy-preparing season. Its death was itself indirectly due to the man's poverty. He was already indebted to me and as I was absent on tour, he borrowed from a professional money-lender Rs. 40 on the monthly interest of Rs. 2-8 for the amount, which as it will be seen, works out at one anna per rupee per month, which is considered the 'regular' or 'proper' rate, i. e., not at all usurious; It is really 6¼% per month i. e., 75% per annum. The man never got out of this debt. Every time the debt fell due, he could only pay part of the interest due (rarely the whole of it) and had to renew the document for what was still due, i. e., adding interest to capital. In one of these renewals the debtor was required to get his son to join with him in signing the document. When the original debtor died in 1901, his son found himself liable to this debt which then had swollen to Rs. 100 at that same iniquitous 75 per cent. interest. He is still in its toils to-day in June 1926.

our ills, including that artificial stimulation of Emigration which brings untold misery in its wake. But it is little realised what effects on the character of our masses there recoil from this immoral system of daylight-plunder of the poor, which is protected by our legal system because it is inadequate to deal with such abuses. The suspiciousness engendered by these circumstances reinforces the conservatism so generally true of the farmer the world over. There is also a terribly tragic supineness, a dull passive resignation to fate, induced by all these things, to which must be added the effects of a chronically underfed physique. The problem of our first Secretaries was to break through this encrustation so as to get to *the faith in man* down below and so awaken the ryot to *a faith in himself*.

When, however, the confidence of the villager was once secured, success was only a question of time. The panchayat quickly took to the idea of unlimited liability, and applied it as a lever for all sorts of purposes. Some instances may be briefly cited. Imagine the gray-haired panchayat sitting under the village peepal tree. They are usually surrounded by practically half the population. Here comes a man and asks for a loan of Rs. 100. He shows property as security. But the panchayat has become solemn and monosyllabic. His application is rejected. Another applicant comes and asks for the same amount for replacing a pair of bulls for his cart. He has no property to show. But the atmosphere in the panchayat is totally different. He gets his money. The first applicant is still in the offing, and does not want to know why. For he does. He drinks and the panchayat knows very well that it will be no easy matter to recover money lent to him. Or he is a spendthrift, or cantankerous in business relationships. The elders have known both the men from childhood, through and through, and they understand the meaning of unlimited liability!

In fact the mission teacher with all his advantages of a coat and fountain pen, is in almost every village not equal to the elders-

in-council, though they have to depend entirely on his literacy for so many things. The teacher is often the Secretary; but he is seldom more than a Recording Secretary. The recovery of instalments without arrears is seldom within his possibility. As a matter of fact, the most successful *de facto* secretary in all the villages organised by Mr. D. Swamidoss in Cuddapah District was a woman; who turned up unerringly on the due date with a rice-pounder in her hand!

The work of the Secretaries proceeded steadily. The first three years we confined ourselves to South India so as to test ourselves out. In 1917 it was felt possible to start work in the Punjab. In 1918 the United Provinces were entered. And in 1919 Maharashtra. At that time we had 144 Banks, with an average of 40 families per Bank and five adult souls to a family. The average capital was Rs. 1000/- per Bank and we reckoned that the average loan per family was Rs. 25 testifying to the fact that we had succeeded in keeping right down with 'the poorest, and lowliest, and lost', as it was our definite purpose to do.

The success of our particular aim was I should say complete. In 1919 I was going to America and I wanted to arm myself with an authoritative statement as regards the quality of our results in this experiment. And so I asked a test question of Mr. Fröhlich, the Secretary of the Madras Christian Central Co-operative Bank, and had from him the statement that in all its dealings with our rural banks, the Central Bank had not lost one single rupee in capital or interest. By that time its transactions with our banks had exceeded two lakhs of rupees. The verdict showed to demonstration that our contention was absolutely true, *viz.*, that as a downright business principle Character is negotiable as sufficient credit by all banks which are based on unlimited liability, with this important proviso, that there is adequate and reliable supervision.

(To be concluded in the next issue.)

THE ART OF INDIA

BY

DR. JAMES H. COUSINS, D. Litt.

CAPTAIN Solomon, the Principal of the Bombay School of Art, in addition to his official relationship with India has also the deeper relationship of a warm appreciation of the people of India and their culture.



DR. J. H. COUSINS

This appreciation has even moved him to poetry. The ode that sets the tone to this book* is a celebration of his conquest by the beauty of Indian art and by the Spirit of Wisdom which he hails as reigning to-day as she reigned of yore. The book reprints Captain Solomon's essay on "The Women of the Ajanta Caves," and reminds us of his enthusiastic evaluation of that peerless

* The Charm of Indian Art, by W. E. Gladstone Solomon. Published by T. Fisher Unwin, London.

pictorial record of what he summed up in the phrase "Majesty and Power." It reminds us also of his rhapsody on the "frank and chivalrous Woman worship of Ajanta" in which "with all her gaiety, her charm, her *insouciance*, she never loses her dignity, and nowhere is she belittled or besmirched." This is high praise, and true praise; and it rests on just the conception that the author apprehends when he writes: "I believe that for these Artist-Monks all Beauty was one, just as for them all life was one." From this fundamental conception there rose a view of life that could admit no hint of degradation in woman. Neither could it admit of undue exaltation of woman and her special characteristics; and with this in mind, it is not easy to accept Captain Solomon's somewhat hectic emphasis on the place of woman in the Ajanta frescoes and the Sanchi sculptures, and his assertion that the artists specialised on the delineation of womanly beauty, and gave only a secondary devotion to the other elements of life that they painted. As a concrete example of his thesis he refers to the "picture of the mother and child adoring Buddha," in which he says, "the painter has dwelt with loving care upon every ringlet of the woman's hair, every exquisite feature, every curve of her supple form....." This is quite true; but it is something less than true to leave the impression that there was not just as much loving care given by the painter to the delineation of the wistful obedience of the child to the mother's encouragement to devotion, and his innocently curious awe in the presence of the Buddha: or as much loving care in the 'glorious expression of spiritual exaltation in the figure of the Lord of Illumination. However, whatever value may be attached to this aspect of the matter, there is the positive gain of the author's warm championing of certain elements of the classical

origin of Indian painting in a volume that will carry its message into the land of the modern Philistines.

The larger portion of "The Charm of Indian Art" consists of a sympathetic exposition of the place that art holds in the daily life of the Pathare Prabhu caste, refugees, it is held from the thirteenth century troubles in Rajputana, who settled in the region now partly occupied by the city of Bombay, and whose remnant of a little over four thousand souls occupies a position of respect in that metropolis. Captain Solomon claims to have had special opportunities of studying the very distinctive art of the ancient Rajput "defenders of the Sacred Shrine," and lovers of art will thank him for this study.

The particular phase of art which the Prabhus have carried on is that of decoration associated with domestic worship. In Southern India this is known as "kolam" and in Bengal as "alpona." An essay on the latter in Bengali by Dr. Abanindranath Tagore, with numerous illustrations, has been translated into French. An English translation would be most useful to students of folk-art in India. Captain Solomon's account of the ceremonials and associated floor designs and decorative panels which the Prabhu women make is a valuable contribution which evokes—a complaint and a suggestion—a complaint that he has not given us more than two coloured examples of Prabhu panels, and none of the sand designs (though for the live reproductions of some of these we are thankful); a suggestion that he (or any one else who cares to take it up) should make a collection of detailed studies of this home-art all over India, and out of these produce a unique and invaluable comparative study.

There are other essays in the book containing thought provoking excursions into general art criticism, with special Indian applications. He points out, from examples, "that triune entity of which Indian art consists: a sublime union of the purely decorative, the realistic, and the purely spiritual." He notes also the fact that those artists who are the living instruments of the modern renaissance, do

not, as outsiders are prone to do, regard Ajanta and Sanchi as ruins, "but as living oracles of art."

Captain Solomon ends his book with some intimate touches out of his experience as an art teacher in India. He also takes occasion to champion once again the alleged Bombay revival of Indian art, to which his previous book was devoted. Obviously a Western artist of Captain Solomon's fine ability must have some *raison d'être* in an Eastern art school; and his elaboration of the realistic element in Indian art emerges less as a logical and necessary dissection of the trinity of decorative, realistic, and spiritual elements which, as he has pointed out, make up Indian art, than as an argument in justification of the present official relationship between Western and Eastern art in India. One feels that the argument can hardly have been any more convincing to Captain Solomon himself than it is to readers who know something of the realities of the matter. In any case, nothing could more effectively disclose the distance that lies between Bombay and India, as far as painting is conceived, than the coloured frontispiece by a Bombay revivalist.



HEAD OFFICE:—ESPLANADE ROAD, FORT, BOMBAY.
Exp. Nov. 1926.



H. H. MAHARAJA SIR CHANDRA SHAM SHERE JUNG BAHADUR RANA
The Present Prime Minister, Marshall & Supreme Commander-in-Chief, Nepal.

During the twenty years of his administration His Highness has been successful in carrying out reforms of such a drastic nature that he may be said to have almost changed the very face of the land. A little more than a year ago he issued a stirring appeal to his countrymen for the abolition of slavery and total emancipation of slaves. It is due to him that modern Nepal enjoys all the amenities of life such as improved method of communication and transport and better facilities for education, etc.

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Maharajah Jang Bahadur of Nepal

BY

PROF. C. S. SRINIVASACHARI, M.A.

369

MAHARAJAH JANG BAHADUR KANWAR RANA, Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief of Nepal (1846-1877) can be termed the maker of the modern Kingdom of Nepal. He was well-known to

as suited the then troubled court-politics of Kathmandu; and "even in his old age he retained perhaps a semi-barbaric character." Thus Sir Richard Temple estimates the life and work of that remarkable man:—

When remembrance is borne of the associations in which his youth must have been passed, the awful scenes he witnessed, the massacres in which he participated, the blood he shed—then there is wonder at the moderation and self-control afterwards displayed by him, the discipline enforced by his system, and the public order secured by his stern, yet just, rule. What his feelings may have been originally towards the British no man can now say; but he visited England and returned to Nepal with a conviction from which he never swerved, that it would be well to adhere to the English side, as that was sure to be ultimately victorious. The conduct of the Nepal State during the war of the Mutinies was unsatisfactory on the whole, but there were reasons for fearing that they might have joined the rebellion had it not been for the dissuading voice and restraining hand of Jang Bahadur." (*Men and Events of My Time in India*, 2nd edition, 1882; pp 308 & 309).



JANG BAHADUR

the English as Sir Jang Bahadur, G. C. B., G. C. S. I., owing to his long visit to England in 1850 and to his invaluable services to the English cause in the critical days of the Great Indian Mutiny. In his case, as in that of other great statesmen-contemporaries of his, like Sir Salar Jang, and Sir Dinkar Rao, the results of his work have survived him. In his youth he was fiercely barbarous,

In order to have a right understanding of the personality and work of Jang Bahadur, it is necessary for us to have a clear idea of Nepal and its people, its recent history and polity. Just as Kashmir denotes the geographical extent of the territories of the Maharajah of Jammu and Kashmir, and not the Vale of Kashmir merely, so the term Nepal is used to denote not only the canton of Nepal, but the whole of the extensive dominions of the Gurkhas, covering the entire range of the montane tracts of the southward slopes of the Himalayas as well as a portion of the Tarai belt and stretching from the British territory of Kumaon on the West to Sikkim on the East. The Kingdom has an area of more than 50,000 square miles and comprises the catchment areas of three separate rivers and their affluents, the Ghagra, the Gandak and the Kosi. The bounding mountains of these three great river-basins are Nandadevi, Dhavalagiri, Dayabhang and Kanchanjunga; and from each of these towering pivots there run mighty spurs which form the watersheds between these river-basins. The hill-

locked Valley of Nepal is drained by the Bagmati, an affluent of the Ganges and lies between the Gandak and the Kusi basins. "The general character of these mountains is a perpetual succession of vast ridges, with narrow intervening glens, open valleys like that of Nepal being rare." Three longitudinal zones of climate are found in Nepal; the lower comprising the sub-montane lowlands; the middle between the Duns and the snow-line; and the upper or alpine. Correspondingly there are three zones of vegetation; the lower region being full of splendid timber trees, such as the *sal*, the banyan and the *pipal*, the central slopes covered with oaks, chestnuts etc; and the upper region producing yews, poplars, hollies, birches, willows etc. The bulk of the inhabitants dwell in the uplands; the spring and autumn are fairly marked; the rainy months from July to August are genial, but the winter is cloudy, damp with rain or snow and disagreeable.

The people are varied in race, and origin. In the heights there are the Bhutias, who are Tibetan in race-marks and language, custom and dress. In the central regions we have numerous tribes like the Magars and the Gurungs, the Newars and the Murmis of Nepal proper and the Limbus and the Kirantis of the East. All of these are Mongoloid; and besides there are the Parbatiyas (hill-folk) who are the descendants of the union of Hindus and the hill-women. The central forests and the jungles of the Tarai are inhabited by wild aborigines of whom very little is known. The Parbatiyas, the Magars and the Gurungs form, as the Gurkhas or the Gurkhalis, the dominant race. The chief tribes of the Parbatiyas like the Khas, the Iktharias, the Thakuris, and the Sahis are descendants of Brahmins and Rajputs who were driven into the hills of Western Nepal on the pressure of the Muhammadan invasions and who mixed with the spirited Buddhist inhabitants. The Khas, or the Parbatiya tribe proper, had their own little kingdom established in the Gurkha Valley to the north-west of the Nepal Valley; and associated with them were the hardy

Magars and the Gurungs. These form the military population of the country.

Between the latter and the Khas "there is going on much the same process as formerly obtained in the case of the Brahmins and the Rajputs and the hill-women in general of days gone by, and they also have become Hindus and Parbatiyas."

The people of the Nepal Valley whom the Gurkhas first conquered are the Newars who are the most advanced section of the population and who are either Hindus (Saivamargis) or Buddhists. The Newars have now sunk to a secondary position, but the arts, crafts, trade and agriculture are still wholly in their hands. The Nepal Valley is thus very densely peopled, and its chief towns of Patan, Kathmandu, Kirtipur and Bhatgaon are very populous and crowded—all situated within a few miles of each other.

There are more or less uncertain traditions of the ancient rulers of the valley of which the most important is the *Vamsavali* or Genealogical History of Nepal according to the Buddhistic rescension, written in the Parbatiya with an admixture of Sanskrit and Newari. A copy of this was in the possession of the late Professor Cowell; and a translation made by Munshi Shew Shankar Singh and Pandit Shri Gunanand, has been edited by Surgeon-Major D. Wright of the Kathmandu Residency (The Cambridge University Press, 1877) supplemented by an introductory sketch of the country and people. It takes us on through the mythological periods and the epochs of the Suryabansi Dynasty and the Thakuri line of Kings, the Karnata Dynasty of Nanya Deva and the Malla Rajas of Kathmandu. The Malla power of the Newars was split up among four branches, ruling respectively at Bhatgaon, Kathmandu, Patan and Kirtipur when Prithvi Narayan Sah, King of the Gurkha Valley conquered it and became master of both Gurkha and Nepal (1765). He overran the country of the Kirantis and the Limbus as far as Sikkim; and he was succeeded in 1775 by his son, Singh Pratap Sah, who in a short reign of three years, increased the borders of the Gurkha kingdom on the west.

In 1778 his infant son Ran Bahadur Sah began a long reign. Gurkha politics became from now onwards "one of steady progress as regards arms, and of the disgusting succession of murders and intrigues and atrocious cruelties as regards the court." The army has been always blindly loyal to the constituted authority for the time being, without any sort of distinction as to persons, and hence the Nepal palace revolutions have always been so harmless to the people at large. During Ran Bahadur Sah's minority the queen-mother and the prince's uncle fought 'like cat and dog' for the regency; and sometimes one was in prison, sometimes the other. But "to the honour of both be it recorded that whichever was out of prison and ruling the kingdom, went to war with all the little neighbours and added canton after canton to Nepal, so that the prince in the nursery took no harm." (Edwardes and Merivale—*Life of Sir Henry Lawrence*: 3rd edition; 1873; pp. 324-325).

In 1791 the Gurkhas entered into a commercial treaty with the English; and in the course of the same year when they were in difficulties with the Chinese, they applied for assistance to Lord Cornwallis. A mission was despatched from Calcutta but it could get nothing substantial beyond another commercial treaty. There was a temporary British Resident at the Nepal Court (1802-03); but gradually the relations became worse between the two states, until finally they went to war in November, 1814. The war was caused mainly by the arrogance of the Gurkhas and their encroachments on British territory; it was ended by the Treaty of Segauli which lost them the greater part of their possessions below the hills. The native chronicler naively states that "a war broke out with the British in the Taryani (Tarai); but depriving them (the British) of wisdom, the Rajah saved his country. Then calling the British gentlemen he made peace with them and allowed them to live near Tambahil." (Wright's *Nepal* p. 265.)

The war was waged in the reign of Girban-Juddha Vikram Sah, the son of Ran Bahadur whose cruelties more than once drove him

into exile in British territory and who was finally killed in a court-brawl in 1807. The new king was a minor; and he was illegitimate to boot; but he was almost the sole survivor out of the barbarous affray that ended in the death of Ran Bahadur, being saved by the fidelity of a chief named Bhim Sen Thappa who became regent and ruled the state; and it was Bhim Sen who brought on the Gurkha War of 1814, being puffed up with the idea that the mountain-fastnesses of the country must prove impregnable to the English. This regent, known usually as General Bhim Sen, was a brave man and a patriot after the Nepalese type. The young king died of smallpox soon after the close of the war and was succeeded by an infant son, Rajendra Vikram Sah who ruled until after Jang Bahadur came to power and who was deposed in 1847 in favour of his son Surendra Vikram Sah. Bhim Sen Thappa, the famous general and first Prime Minister of the Sah Dynasty, became the sole power in the state in 1804 and retained authority till 1839. He had to struggle against the jealousy of the queen of the new king and the Pande faction which was the rival claimant to the ministership. But he used his power faithfully and ably; and to this day he is regarded as the first model minister of Nepal history. Bhim Sen died a miserable death in prison, being so tortured and insulted that he cut his own throat. The Pandes now returned to power and held the ministry until "a turn of the wheel in 1843 brought about a great beheading of them, and Matabar Singh Thappa, nephew to Bhim Sen, became minister." Matabar Singh was a man of mark, possessing the talents, the courage and the vindictiveness of his uncle whose murder he had to avenge. For two years he was in power and took occasion to wreak his vengeance on the Pandes; but he soon became unpopular at court and was treacherously killed by a gunshot in the audience chamber of the King himself. The British Residency's Official Records for 1845 open with the account of the murder of Matabar Singh, "amidst the treacherous cajoleries of the King who afterwards claimed credit for firing the first shot point-blank into his body."

The next year was even more prolific in assassinations and massacres "planned by the queen and the menial of the palace whom she had raised to favour" (Assistant Resident Nicholett's confidential summary, *sub anno* 1846-quoted in W. W. Hunter's *Life of Brian Houghton Hodgson*, pp. 229-230). This murder of Matabar Singh though only one incident in the barbarous history of the Gurkha court, was "the main epic" of the period of the Residents of Sir Henry Lawrence (1843-45). Jang Bahadur was afterwards regarded as the main actor in this episode. He was a nephew of Matabar Singh; and the British official records of those years frequently mention him as a rising young soldier. He was one of seven brothers, the sons of a *Kaji* or Nepalese official; and soon he rose to prominence, so much so that even his uncle expressed some alarm at the increase of his influence at court and with the army. The Resident Sir Henry Lawrence, mentioned him in his letters as "an intelligent young man, particularly expert in all military matters, but though young in years, profoundly versed in intrigue". After the assassination of Matabar Singh, Jang Bahadur became a prominent member of the Nepal Government, though he was not actually included in the Ministry which was then a sort of coalition of various factious nobles headed by Gagan Singh, one of the chief conspirators and the favourite of the Queen. The King was a mere tool in the hands of the Queen; but shortly afterwards Gagan Singh himself was shot dead in his own house while he was at his devotions. The Rani accused all her enemies in the Ministry and insisted on the King assembling all his ministers and nobles in council in order to find out the assassin. The Queen's party supported by Jang Bahadur and his brothers came heavily armed; but the nobles being summoned in a hurry arrived at the council with no weapons but their own swords. After a stormy debate in which insults and taunts were freely exchanged, Jang Bahadur who had with him the written orders of the Queen, made the signal for the general attack which had been planned beforehand; and in

a few minutes 32 of the nobles and more than 100 of the lower ranks were mowed down by the bullets. "The poor King alarmed by the noise of the struggle, mounted his horse and rode off to the Residency. On his return within an hour he found the gutters around the *Kot* (the Council Chamber) filled with the blood of his ministers; and what little power he possessed in the state was gone for ever."

Jang Bahadur, backed up by his brothers and his army, now became after this *Kot* Massacre, the most powerful man in Nepal; the other Sardars who rebelled against him were again massacred; and in December, the King fled to Benares, while the Rani soon finding herself balked of her ambition by Jang Bahadur, quickly followed her husband into exile. Several plots were attempted by the exiled King to regain his powers and to assassinate Jang Bahadur. But they all failed, and the only result was that the King was declared by his conduct to have forfeited his right to the throne and his son was proclaimed as the new King. Finally when the royal exile advanced to the Tarai with a small force he was easily attacked and taken prisoner. From this time Jang Bahadur became the undisputed ruler of the land, the old King being a prisoner and the new King being kept under the strictest surveillance and not allowed any power at all. Thus the long record of "plot and counterplot, palace revolution, atrocity and assassination" was ended; and a period of vigorous rule began, "the people at large living meanwhile in complete indifference, satisfied to dwell under a bastard dynasty, and to be controlled *more Indico* by a family of practically hereditary ministers" wielding almost despotic powers.

The Sah Dynasty of Nepal which was thus confined to inglorious obscurity claims its descent from a younger son of the great Mewar dynasty of Udaipur, when that family became scattered after the sack of Chitor by Alau-d-din Khilji in 1303. In the same way the family of Jang Bahadur Kanwar claims "descent from the royal refugees of Mewar, its members having according to their own account, procured the title of Kanwar centur-

ies back from the Rajah of the petty State of Satankote in return for war services." Jang Bahadur's father, Bal Narasinha, was the chief *Kaji* of Nepal and was the person who cut down the murderer of King Ran Bahadur Sah in 1807; and his great grandfather, Ram Kishan Kanwar was the chief lieutenant of Prithvi Narayan Sah, the Gurkha conqueror of Nepal. Jang Bahadur strengthened his position by connecting his family by marriage with the most influential persons in the country. Feeling that he was perfectly secure Jang Bahadur started with a large retinue for England in January, 1850, one of his brothers acting as Prime Minister in his absence. The whole party was much impressed with the power and resources of the English and delighted with the welcome and hospitality they were shown; and the party continued to talk for many years afterwards of all the numerous wonders they beheld. This had a very great effect on Jang Bahadur's attitude towards the British power. Even in 1848, in the course of the Sikh War, he made an offer to the British Resident that he would send eight regiments of Nepal troops to British Assistance. This offer was declined as the Governor-General was suspicious still of the real attitude of the Nepal Government. In 1849 the mother of Prince Dhilip Singh took refuge in Nepal; and this only tended to strengthen the mutual suspicions of the two Governments. But everything was changed after Jang Bahadur's return from England in February, 1851. Shortly after he returned there was a conspiracy against the Minister fomented by one of his own brothers as well as by a brother of the deposed King. The conspirators were arrested and were only saved from death by the intervention of the British Government which consented to retain them as state-prisoners at Allahabad where they were detained for several years.

Jang Bahadur continued in the office of Prime Minister till 1856 when he resigned that post in favour of his brother Ran Bahadur and was himself created Maharaja with power to act as adviser to the King and Prime Minister. At the same time he was

given the sovereign right of rule over two provinces. Before this he had waged a two years' war with the Tibetans who had plundered the quinquennial Nepalese embassy to China. After some indefinite triumphs the Nepalese got a treaty by which the Tibetans consented to remit the import duties on goods from Nepal and to permit a Gurkha official to reside in Lhasa to protect the interests of the Nepalese traders.

Shortly before the outbreak of the Mutiny there appeared some symptoms of uneasiness and rebellion in the Nepalese army; but fortunately they were put down without much bloodshed. As soon as intelligence was received at Kathmandu of the Mutiny, the Darbar offered to send troops and even despatched two regiments; but the offer was for the moment declined by the Governor-General and the troops were recalled. It is believed that had the Nepalese troops co-operated, the massacre at Cawnpore would have never occurred. This spontaneous offer of help is thus appreciated by Colonel Malleon:—

The independent position occupied by Nepal, the known ability of the man, who though only prime minister, wielded all real authority in the country, the certainty that the overthrow of the British could scarcely fail to offer great opportunities to an able general commanding a compact and well-disciplined army, gave to Jang Bahadur's proposal the appearance of being inspired by a pure and generous friendship. *History of the Indian Mutiny*. Vol. IV. cabinet edition, 1889: p. 122.)

Towards the end of June Lord Canning had to accept Jang Bahadur's offer; and within a few weeks 4000 Nepalese troops had restored order in Azamgarh and its vicinity. In December, Jang Bahadur who had meanwhile reassumed the office of Prime Minister, himself set out with an army of 8,000 men and beating down the rebels at Gorakhpur entered Oudh and advanced to Lucknow where he reinforced Sir Colin Campbell and enabled him to extend his plan of operations. They assisted in the campaign and finally retired into Nepal in May-June 1858. When numbers of fugitive rebels took refuge in the Nepalese Tarai, the Nepalese temporised with them until they had got all the jewels and money out of them. At last in 1859 they organised an expedition which

co-operated with the British troops in sweeping the mutineers out. Among the refugees were the Begum of Lucknow and her son, and Nana Sahib. Some say that the Nana fell a victim to malaria in the Tarai; while others maintain that he took refuge in Nepal itself where his wives were given shelter; and for long it was believed that he continued to live in the interior of Nepal. The Begum of Lucknow also took refuge in Kathmandu where she resided for many years.

A large portion of the Tarai was made over to Nepal as a reward for her services; while General Jang Bahadur was created a G. C. B.—an honour of which he was very proud. Had it not been for the personal influence of Sir Jang, the Nepalese would most probably have held aloof or have even sided with the rebels. "Now however all parties see the wisdom of the course adopted and Sir Jang Bahadur's position has no doubt been rendered more secure by the benefits which the country has derived from his policy."

Subsequent to the Mutiny, the relations of Jang Bahadur towards the British Power continued to be equally cordial. He made several alterations in the treaties for the extradition of criminals; but he would not for long relax the jealous rules which excluded foreigners from travelling in and surveying the country, not even allowing scientific expeditions of observation. In 1873 Sir Jang Bahadur was created a G. C. S. I. and in the same year he received from the Emperor of China the title and insignia of *Thong-lin-pim-ma-ko-kang-vang-syan* which means "Leader of the army, the most brave in every enterprise, perfect in everything, master of the army, Maharaj." In 1874 Sir Jang proposed to revisit England with a large number of his relatives and even proceeded as far as Bombay, whence he returned on account of an accident.

Sir Jang's position, according to Dr. Wright, was a most astonishing one. His family interests were interwoven with those of almost every important family from that of the King downwards. The King's eldest son, Trilok Bir Vikram Sah was married to his

daughter; and the second son to another daughter and niece. As he had upwards of a hundred children the opportunities for strengthening his position by alliances of this type should have been very extensive. Sir Jang's administration was very beneficial to the country; but even he could not interfere with some of the customs and prejudices of the people. He restricted *Sati*, but found it impossible to abolish the custom entirely. He was personally not averse to throwing the country open to Europeans, but was afraid to do so on account of popular prejudice which is reflected in a saying—"With the merchant comes the musket, with the Bible comes the bayonet." Sir Jang also placed restrictions on the custom by which the dishonoured husband was allowed to cut down the seducer of his wife with his *khukri*; he also mitigated to a small extent the severity of the old laws against adultery and breaches of caste rules as well as the barbarity which was practised on the occasion of animal sacrifices. He absolutely prohibited *sati* in the case of women having young children and gave permission to *satis* to alter their minds even in the presence of the fatal pile. He began the practice of having tutors for his children, either European or Bengali. After his return from England, he abolished the old savage code of punishments involving mutilation, stripes etc., and introduced a new system. Only treason, rebellion, desertion in times of war and other serious offences against the state were to be punished with death; besides killing cows and murder.

The administration of justice under Jang Bahadur was fair, and an appeal could always be made to the Council which practically meant the Minister. The standing army consisted in those days of about 16,000 men divided into 26 regiments of from 500 to 600 men each—supplemented by a large force of irregulars consisting mainly of discharged soldiers. All the regiments have been formed on the British model and officered in the same way as the English army. All the higher ranks of the army were filled up by the sons and relatives of Sir Jang Bahadur

and his brothers. Practically Sir Jang was the head of every department in the State. He set up an arsenal where rifles and percussion caps are manufactured and cannon are cast and bored.

Sir Jang Bahadur usually resided at Thapatali on the banks of the Bagmati river near the town of Patan. It consists of a succession of squares of gigantic houses inhabited by the minister's relatives and dependents; and the public rooms are described as being large, lofty and well-ornamented with pictures and carvings. He also maintained a huge elephant-court, besides large stables and kennels. A statue of his was originally set up in the centre of the grand monument in the race-course at the capital, which was subsequently removed to a new temple built by him. Sir Jang, in spite of his philo-English tendencies was very proud of the independence of his state and most jealous of any interference with his domestic policy. The British Resident was merely a consul, having nothing to do whatever with the government of the country, and no Gurkha could enter the Residency without permission from the Minister himself and without being accompanied by his *vakil*. Sir Jang used to have a daily report of everything that occurred at the Residency; and it was very difficult for the Resident or any European to obtain information on any subject beyond what actually came under his own observation. Nepal under Sir Jang was a kind of Alsatia for Hindustan as it was very difficult to obtain the extradition of criminals from his state. In fact the Nepalese have always prided themselves on never surrendering a fugitive—except when it suited them.

Sir Jang was always most affable and courteous in his demeanour; and according to Major Wright, whatever might have been his failings, he always bore himself as a gentleman. "He was undoubtedly also a most acute and talented man and it would be well for Nepal," so Major Wright wrote in 1775—"if there were a few more among the rising generation fit to be compared to him."

Nepal under Sir Jang was the example of an independent Hindu state *par excellence* in alliance and co-operation with the British Government. His wonderful career which closed in death in 1877 enabled him to rightly estimate the worth of the English power. It was Sir Jang's great services in the time of the Mutiny that formed the indissoluble tie connecting the two Governments; and the development of the Gurkha Regiments in the British Indian Army after the Mutiny which "forms one of the most remarkable chapters in the history of our Indian Army" was one of the best fruits of that alliance. The idea of having Gurkha regiments was as old as 1832 when the Resident Mr. Hodgson urged it on the attention of Government, but it took shape only as a result of the lesson learned in 1857.

A comparative estimate of Sir Jang with his great contemporaries among Indian statesmen given by Sir Richard Temple in 1880 may not prove uninteresting:—

Of living statesmen among the natives, Salar Jang of Hyderabad perhaps has become Europeanised in his method of administration. But Dinkar Rao of Gwalior was quite original, so was Kripa Ram of Jammu, and more especially Jang Bahadur of Nepal who governed after his own fashion with hardly any tincture of European notions. Madhava Rao of Baroda, too, though Anglicised to some extent, is quite Asiatic *au fond*, and, if left to his own resources entirely, would evince striking originality.—*Men and Events of my Time in India*, p. 497.

Sir Jang's tradition has been kept up by succeeding Ministers of Nepal. The fear that his death would be followed by a series of revolutions has been largely falsified. All power still continues in the hands of the Prime Minister; and the present King Tribubana Bir Bikram Sah is much in the same position as his ancestor Surendra. The present Minister, Sir Chandra Shumshere Jang Bahadur Rana who came to power in 1901, practically placed the entire man-power of his state at the disposal of the English during the Great War, in recognition of which help the Indian Government makes an annual present of ten lakhs of rupees to the Nepal Darbar.

WE congratulate H. H. the Maharajah of Mysore on the appointment of Mr. Mirza Mahomed Ismail, C.I.E. as his Dewan in succession to Sir Albion Banerjee. The appointment of a Mahomedan nobleman to the high office of Dewan in a premier Hindu state comes as a welcome relief at a time when the Hindu-Moslem tension is at its height in certain parts of British India. In his capacity as

Private Secretary to His Highness for a number of years, Mr. Mirza has won the esteem and confidence of all who have come in contact with him.

By his tact and culture, his freedom from communal prejudices, his high character and his devotion to the State, Mr. Mirza has earned a well-deserved reputation which will stand him in good stead in the high office to which he has been called. In congratulating the new Dewan on his elevation we take occasion to record the following notes of his life and career.

Mr. Mirza has a noble ancestry. He comes of a Persian family which is able to claim an almost hereditary connection with the Royal House of Mysore. His grandfather was a friend and associate of the present Maharaja's grandfather. His father, the late Mr. Aga Jan, was an A. D. C. to Her Highness the Maharani Regent, and for some time to the present Maharaja himself. Mr. Mirza was born in 1883. He received his early education in the Wesleyan Mission High School at Bangalore. He then joined the Palace School

in Mysore and was His Highness' class-mate and play-fellow for 6 years from 1896 to 1901. He graduated from the Central College in 1905, and in the same year, he entered the Mysore service. After a brief period of service in the Police, Accounts and Survey Departments, he joined the personal staff of His Highness the Maharaja as Assistant Secretary in 1908, and six years later

was promoted to the Huzur Secretary. He was appointed Private Secretary to His Highness in March 1922 (with the rank and status of a Member of Council)—a position which till then had been held by European Officers, and during the last four years he has occupied that position of great trust and delicacy, he has shown himself worthy of the confidence reposed in him by His Highness the Maharaja. The friendship between Mr. Mirza and His Highness formed in early life, has thus developed with years, and there is at present no more dutiful subject and trusted servant of His Highness than Mr. Mirza Ismail. He was honoured by His Highness

with the title of "Amin-ul-Mulk" in October 1920. He has also been the recipient of two British titles O. B. E. awarded in January 1923 and C. I. E. in June 1924.

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MR. MIRZA M. ISMAIL, C.I.E.

BY

MR. V. B. METTA.

ISLAM is a dignified and quite human creed. It is simple enough to be understood by all classes of minds. It is a very living religion; and so, it is able to make progress in Africa and other parts of the world. It is not a negligible religion, because about one fifth of the population of the world is Mahomedan. It is more dynamically democratic than any other religion in the world.

Islam has created a distinctive and brilliant culture of her own, and the world is vastly indebted to it for it. Modern science, which has made Europe the mistress of the world, would not have existed if the Arab scientists of Cordova and Granada had not lived. Without the Arabs, the Europeans would perhaps still have known nothing of Trigonometry, Chemistry, Algebra, and the Decimal system. One wonders what the educational institutions of modern Europe would have been like, if the Arabs had not founded their great universities at Cordova, and in the other cities of Spain, Sicily, and Southern France. It is unlikely that there would have been "Reformation" in Europe, if the writings of the Arab philosophers had not been known to the European thinkers of those times. As we are removed from Feudal Europe by a long distance of time, we are apt to minimise the overwhelmingly great influence that the Arabs exercised on the minds of the advanced Europeans of those times. But how humble they themselves felt before it, can be judged from the following complaint of Petrarcha:—

"What, Cicero could be an orator after Demosthenes, and Virgil a poet after Homer,—but we—can we do nothing after the Arabs!" Though the Ottoman Turks did not produce on the banks of the Bosphorus a culture as brilliant as that of the Arabs, they were at least capable of assimilating the best of Arab culture. It can without exaggeration be said that the Turks were the most civilized people in Europe in the sixteenth

century. The mosque of Suleyman and other buildings which they built at Constantinople show their architectural talents. They produced poets and thinkers who were not inferior to those produced by the European nations of that period. They were brilliant administrators, and engineers. There was to be found more religious toleration, and more respect for law and order in Turkey than in England or France then. It was by contact with the Turks that the European nations learnt the use of coffee, bath-towels, and other luxuries.

The Arab civilization spread in many parts of Asia and Africa, and did much good wherever it spread. Under its influence, Persia became a land of poets, Persian poetry, in melody, sparkle, passion, and pathos, is not inferior to the poetry of any other nation in the world. The Persian painters, architects, scientists, and gardeners, were welcomed by rulers all over the Islamic world. India was rejuvenated by Islamic culture. She became as great under the Great Moghuls as she was under the Guptas. The Moghul architecture is perhaps the finest architecture that the world has produced. Egypt, under the Fatimite Sultans, was almost the equal of Baghdad and Cordova in splendour and culture. Morocco was so highly cultured, in "the Middle Ages," that she was capable of producing men who could build the Alhambra in Spain—a building which for its spiritual beauty has never been equalled by any building in Europe. Islamic culture also spread among many of the aboriginal peoples of "the dark continent," and gave those peoples dignity and higher morals in which they were lacking.

The degeneration of the Islamic nations began from the eighteenth century, and reached its climax in the nineteenth century. Seeing how helpless they appeared to be in the last century, many European writers concluded that Islam was fallen once for all, and that there could be no possible future for

it. They did not seem to have taken sufficient notice of the new forces which were born in the Islamic world in the last century and a half forces which are now coming up to the surface.

There are three great forces to be found in the world of Islam to-day. They are: the Pan-Islamic sentiment; the Nationalist sentiment; and the Pan-Asiatic sentiment. We shall consider each of these forces separately here.

The Pan-Islamic sentiment has always existed among Islamic peoples. There is nothing analogous to it in the religious history of the world, except perhaps the feeling of confraternity which existed among Western European peoples in the Middle Ages. The Persian artists, philosophers, and scientists were equally welcomed in the courts of the Fatimites of Cairo, the Ommeyyads of Cordova, the Abbassides of Baghdad, and the descendants of Osman in Turkey. An Alberuni or an Ibn Batuta could travel all over the Islamic world without any nostalgic feeling. The unity of Islam was however, cultural and not political. It would not be historically true to say that the Khalifat has been the uniting bond of Islamic peoples—except for a century after the death of Mahomed. After the fall of the Ommeyyads of Damascus, there has been more than one Mahomedan ruler who has assumed the title of "Khalifa." Neither the Fatimites of Egypt nor the Ommeyyads of Spain ever acknowledged the spiritual headship of the Abbasside Caliphs of Baghdad; nor did the emperors of Morocco or the Mahomedan emperors of India acknowledge the Khalifat of the Turkish Sultans. What brought the Indian and other Mahomedans to the side of Turkey at the end of the great European conflagration was not really the reverence for the Khalifat of the Ottoman sultans, but the age-old Pan-Islamic feeling. They felt themselves insulted, when they saw the Allies divide the Turkish Empire among themselves.

The Khalifat is moribund, and is not likely to be revived in its old sense and prestige. The Angora Turks saw how much the great House of Osman had degenerated,

latterly, and so they did away with monarchy altogether. They also felt that to be burdened with the Khalifat was to remain behind the times, and so they abolished the Khalifat. But with the disappearance of the Turkish Khalifat, the rulers of Egypt and the Hedjaz felt that there was no reason why they should not assume that title themselves. History has a peculiar glamour for human beings. Suleyman the Magnificent and other Turkish Sultans liked to consider themselves as the lenial descendants of the Caesars whom they had displaced at Constantinople. Napoleon liked to consider himself as the successor of Charlemagne. What wonder then, if King Fuad of Egypt and the Hashimites of Arabia wish to be looked upon as the present day Harun Al Rashids or Suleymans! The Amir of Afghanistan is also said to be a claimant to that exalted title. These sovereigns forget, however, especially the rulers of Egypt and Afghanistan, that they are not the guardians of Mecca and Medina, which the Khalifa is bound to be. But even if any of these rulers get themselves acknowledged as Khalifas by their own subjects, it is improbable that the other Mahomedan peoples will acknowledge their right to that title. The old Khalifas were rulers of powerful countries, with fine armies to enforce their commands, and therefore they were respected, but the new Khalifa, whoever he may be, will have comparatively very little to boast of in the way of a really first-class army.

Islam has a way of bringing together its followers which no other religion has. When Mahomedan peoples unite, it is with no political motive, or with the object of exploiting other peoples' countries economically. It is religion and nothing but religion that brings them together. Before the Great War, there was bitter feeling between the Turks and Arabs, but immediately the war was over, and the Arabs saw how the Turks were deprived of their Empire by the European nations, they at once became friendly with their old enemies. England gave thrones to Hussein and his sons Abdullah and Feisal in order to placate the Arabs, but the Arabs

were not placated. They sympathised with, and many of them joined, the army of Mustapha Kemal Pasha in his war against the Greeks. It was also nothing but the sense of religious unity which made the Persians, Afghans, and Indian Mahomedans feel friendly towards the Turks after the war.

The annual pilgrimage to Mecca known as the "Hajj" has helped to keep up the solidarity of Islam for over a thousand years. All those who go there, feel that there is a bond between the various Islamic peoples which nothing can sever. They feel that to break bread with and fight alongside of their co-religionists is incumbent upon all of them. The history of Islam helps to keep alive this sense of Mahomedan solidarity. They remember that it was in the name of God and His Prophet that the Arabs overthrew the great Sassanian empire of Persia. They know that Sultan Mahomed II put the crescent—the symbol of their faith—on the dome of Santa Sophia at Constantinople, in place of the cross that surmounted it. So strong is this feeling of Muslim unity that a living Indian Mahomedan poet, while passing Sicily on his way to England, felt that he was the descendant of the Arab warriors who had captured that island over a thousand years ago. An Egyptian Arab, who was with me on a steamer bound for New York, talked rapturously of the exploits of Tarik, when we saw the rock of Gibraltar from the deck of our steamer.

There are two forces which are working actively to-day for the propagation of the Pan-Islamic sentiment. They are Wahabism and Senussism. Wahabism was started in the eighteenth century in Arabia by Al Wahab, a man of remarkable individuality. He felt that Islam was falling from its high place, because the Mahomedans were becoming too luxurious and effeminate. His teachings therefore inculcated abstemiousness. He was against the worship of saints and the relics of the Prophet which has grown up in Islam latterly, but which has nothing to do with real Mahomedanism. He forbade the use of coffee, tobacco, and jewels to his followers. He started schools, in which the poli-

tico-religious unity of Islam was taught. The Wahabis conquered Baghdad, Kerbela, Mecca, and Medina. They even invaded Syria, but their career of conquest was brought to an end by Mahomed Ali of Egypt, whom the Sultan of Turkey sent out against them. But Wahabism though checked, was not killed. It continued to flourish in Nejd, under the Ibn Saud dynasty. How it has asserted itself again, and what it might do, will be mentioned in the latter part of this article.

The founder of the Senussis, Mahomed bin Senussi, an Algerian, went to Arabia at the beginning of the last century, and was there influenced by Wahabism. Senussism is a secret force, because hardly anybody knows where the Senussi chief lives. But though secret, Senussism is a compelling force. Its followers number several millions in Africa. It has influenced the South Russian Tartars and brought them into the Pan-Islamic movement. It sends its missionaries to the annual pilgrimage to Mecca. Its followers control several newspapers all over the Mahomedan world. It brought a number of recruits to the armies of Mustapha Kemal Pasha in his fight against the Greeks. Its agents are active in Egypt, Afghanistan, Mesopotamia, Palestine, and Syria. Recently the Senussi chief visited Angora, and then went to the court of Ibn Saud, the Sultan of Nejd, who has overthrown the Hashimites.

Side by side with the Pan-Islamic Movement, but in no sense opposed to it, is the nationalist movement growing in many Mahomedan countries. The Egyptians have become a nation in the Western sense of the word. The difference of creeds between the Egyptian Mahomedans and Copts does not prevent them from acting together against foreigners. During the recent agitation for independence, Mahomedan priests preached from Christian churches and the Coptic priests preached from Mahomedan mosques. The same thing happened in India. The Hindu leaders preached political unity from Mahomedan mosques and Mahomedan leaders preached the same ideal from Hindu and Sikh shrines in 1919. When Mr. Tilak, died in 1920, Mahomedan leaders were among his

pall-bearers,—a thing which would not have been dreamt of twenty years ago. Hindus and Mahomedans have also openly dined together on various occasions during the last five or six years. There is nothing strange in this lessening of religious prejudices in the East, because most human beings live for this life and not for the next one. The Mahomedans of India know that the same political and economic disabilities confront them which confront their Hindu compatriots, and so they have joined hands with the Hindus, in trying to secure fiscal autonomy. In Afganistan, nationalism is a very strong force. Although, the Afghans are quite Pan-Islamic in their sentiments, they feel that their first duty is to guard their own independence. In Persia, Nationalism is a stronger force than Pan-Islamism. The Persian leaders* wish to modernise their country, and some of them even wish to drive the present ruling dynasty from the throne, which is of Turkish race.† The Tartars of Southern Russia, Kurds, and Algerians are mainly for Pan-Islamism. The Arabs of Palestine, Syria, Transjordan, Mesopotamia, and Arabia are partly for Pan-Islamism and partly for Pan-Arabianism.

Nationalism, Pan-Islamism, and Pan-Asiaticism are all to be found in Turkey. Of these, Nationalism may be said to be the strongest force. Mustapha Kemal Pasha and his friends, who have saved Turkey from practical subjection to European Powers, feel that there can be no future for them, unless their country is thoroughly modernised. They are, therefore introducing the most radical reforms in the state. Education and laws are brought up-to-date. Everybody in the

* The Persians are anxious to be up-to-date, but they wish to modernise their country themselves. They have not the slightest desire to be "civilized" by a domineering European nation. They did not welcome the Anglo-Persian Agreement,—according to which a loan of £2,000,000 was to be advanced by the British Government to the Persian Government, because they knew that the acceptance of that loan would mean the beginning of the end of their national independence. It was also stipulated in that Agreement that British advisers to the Persian Government should be appointed.

† The Ruling dynasty has since changed, Reza Khan Pehlevi having been crowned King of Persia.

Turkish Republic is called a "Turk," and has got the same rights and privileges, whether he be a Mahomedan, Christian, or Jew. The Turks have cast off many of their social and religious traditions. For example, they have done away with the compulsory wearing of the yashmak by women. Polygamy is also abolished. But though the Turks have broken with their past in many respects, they have not forgotten its glory. On the contrary, they are hoping to revive the ancient greatness of their people. Suleyman the Magnificent is looked upon by them as their national hero, because, it was under that great sultan that Turkey attained the height of her greatness.

But though the Turks are mainly busy putting their own house in order, they have not forgotten the Pan-Islamic sentiment—as I shall now try to show.

The British policy towards the Arabs can hardly be called good. During the War, the Arabs were given to understand by the British that they—the Arabs—would be given absolute independence, if they fought against the Turks. The Arabs therefore helped the Allies substantially in defeating the Turks. But long before the war was over, the Sykes-Picot Agreement was concluded, by which a great part of the Arab territory (which was promised independence) was to be divided between the English and French. The Arabs fought on, unaware of the secret treaty. But when the war was over, they were disillusionised. Instead of being independent, they found themselves practically subject to England and France. This did not suit their fiery nature, and so they joined the Turks against the Greeks. The Turks, in return for their help, gave them assistance in their fight against their European masters. The Turks and Arabs together fought against the French in Cilicia. The Turks fomented most of the Arab risings against the British in Mesopotamia. The Arabs have no faith in the Arab Kings whom England has created. King Hussein who had been obliged to abdicate the throne of the Hedjaz in favour of his son Ali, was known throughout his life as an unscrupulous

man. Before the War, while he was living at Constantinople, the sultan distrusted him. It was through the recommendation of the son of the Grand Vizier that he managed to get himself appointed Sheriff of Mecca,—a post which was purely spiritual, and carried no temporal power with it. So far as the civil administration of that part of Arabia was concerned, it was a Turkish governor who did that work. His three sons, Abdullah, Feisal, and Ali are no better than him morally. During the war, both father and sons were willing to sell themselves to the highest bidder. By helping such people, England has created a host of enemies for herself in the Near and Middle East. Had she followed Colonel Lawrence's advice and given the Arabs what was promised them during the war, she would have had no troubles to face in Mesopotamia now. And neither the Turks nor the Russians would have been able to draw the Arabs to their side, had the Arabs been placated. As it is, the Arab problem is becoming more and more serious, as time passes.

This Arab problem has assumed a grave aspect, since the success of the Wahabis under Ibn Saud and the abdication of king Hussein. Ibn Saud was not anti-British during the war. But when after the war, he saw king Hussein whom he had always disliked, become increasingly important in Arabia, he made up his mind to take the field against him. He defeated Hussein's army under his son Abdullah at Turabah in 1919. He could have taken Mecca in that very year, but the British declared themselves against his enterprise—and as he feared the British then he did not capture that city at that time. But now he has made Hussein abdicate his throne and is interesting himself in the election of a new Khalifa—who might be the Senussi chief.

Wahabism seems to have a distinct future before it. Ibn Saud has formed a Brotherhood called the "Ikhwan," whose members have forgotten their ancient tribal differences and united together for the purification and uplift of Islam. The members of this body are increasing rapidly. Their recent successes will increase their prestige and num-

bers. But what makes them a force to be seriously reckoned with, is the *entente* concluded between Ibn Saud and Mustapha Kemal Pasha. It is the ambition of the President of the Turkish Republic to drive the Europeans from the lands of Islam, and he is therefore making friends with the rulers of different Eastern countries. He concluded in 1921, the Turco-Afghan Treaty, which was signed at Moscow. This treaty shows both his Pan-Islamic and Pan-Asiatic ideals. The following articles of that Treaty will be found to be specially interesting:—

(1) The contracting parties recognise the emancipation of all Eastern nations.

(2) Turkey promises to send military officers to Afghanistan to train the Afghan army in methods of modern warfare.

(3) Commercial relations should be established between Turkey and Afghanistan.

Finally, it might be mentioned that the Angora Government has concluded treaties of a more or less similar nature with the Soviet Government of Azerbaijan, and Georgia.

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THE MESSAGE OF BUDDHA

BY

MR. R. R. DIWAKAR, M.A.

THE birthday of Buddha has been recently celebrated throughout the world. He is no longer the Saviour of a single race or a single nationality but the Saviour of all who understand him. Though there is much bigotry and fanaticism in the world yet the best hearts and the most cultured brains of all nations are drawing near each other and we have reason to hope for a millennium when there will be a grand synthesis of all religions and creeds. Each teacher and prophet of humanity has contributed substantially to the shaping of mankind from a rude barbarous state to one of dignified civilization. The value of each prophet lies not merely in his having influenced his own age or his own country but in the inspiration that he gives us to-day and helps us in our onward march.

The other day I was intently looking upon one

of those statues of Buddha which is celebrated throughout the world, namely the Dhyani Buddha—the Buddha in contemplation. Sitting in the simple yogic posture with the head, neck and the back held in a line, with palms one on another placed horizontally with eyes looking straight and half

open. This statue of Buddha arrests our minds which are to-day lost in the hurry and flurry of a life of feverish material activity, of infinite competition and struggle. This statue of his is symbolic of self-contained self-collected humanity unswayed by the breezy currents of unbalanced activities. His posture is a posture of gathered strength and not of idleness. His erect bearing is a challenge to all depressing and despairing thoughts in life. His eyes half-open and half-closed have an infinite calm in them that comes to only one who is in tune with the rhythm of the universe. The half-open eyes are symbolic of a gaze fixed both on the outer and the inner world, both on the world of matter and the world of consciousness, the world of senses and the world of the spirit. The most charming and the most enchanting part of the statue is the



GAUTAMA BUDDHA

smile or half a smile that dawns on the lips and defies all sorrow. It is symbolic of the triumph of the Spirit over matter, of joy over grief, of good over evil.

This is the Buddha, the enlightened man, the man of the future. His ideal was Nirvana, an infinite calm, the calm and peace

that know no break. When after renunciation he was on his way to Uruvela when he had stopped at Rajgraha, Bimbisara, the mighty King offered him the highest riches and the greatest office in his kingdom. Buddha said in scorn, 'I seek not wealth and offices. I have left behind a rich kingdom and a vast treasure and a beautiful wife. I seek the peace that knows no break.' But Buddha's seeking was not for individual salvation. He has once said, 'I will not have salvation till the last trace of agony is wiped out of existence.' He scrutinised all the religions of his time and all the paths of salvation but was not satisfied. He said, 'Nayam dhammo Sambodhaya':—not this a religion for universal preaching, not this a religion for the whole of humanity. He had renounced a luxurious life not out of disgust at his own sorrows and sufferings, because he had none. But he renounced his 'bed of roses' in order to find a path for struggling humanity, for the humanity which he described as 'fish out of water'. And the path he found was simple and straight and one that can be for all humanity and he preached it to the masses in their tongue and in their way by the method of story-telling and by parables.

'Abstain from evil, do good and purify

your heart' is Buddha's gospel. Buddha had tried all rites and rituals, austerities and ceremonies, fasts and famishings. But none had given him satisfaction. They had exhausted his patience. They gave him not the peace that he sought. At last he was reminded of his boyhood. He was reminded of his father's garden and the cool shade of a Jambir tree under which he had enjoyed the pleasure of trances. He reverted to that method of contemplation. He contemplated on love, on non-injury, on Kushala—the good, on the welfare of humanity—Kalyan. He turned from quarter to quarter and filled all space with love. This was his Brahma vihara, a special mode of contemplation which is his contribution to the yogic system. The joy that arose out of such contemplation of love and of good was infinite. Hence, contemplate on good and do good, in his injunction. Contemplate on love and abstain from injury, in his law. The pragmatic mind of to-day thinks only of doing good and not contemplating on good. But that is wrong. Contemplation alone can lead us to the doing of real good. The call must come from within. The inner Buddha must be awakened and the outer actions must branch off as necessary off-shoots from the growing seed. That is Buddha and Buddha's dhamma.

INDIAN PUBLIC LIFE

BY

MR. K. R. R. SASTRY, M.A.

SINCE the Montford Reforms, party system is becoming fast familiar to us. Two sessions of the newly constituted assembly are well-nigh coming to a close, yet, it is singularly unsatisfactory that public life to-day is more disorganized than what it was eight years ago.

That public differences should not be translated into private antipathies is the Anglo-saxon tradition of public life. The value of Socials has not yet been properly appraised in India. To carry political cleavages to the detriment of private harmony has been a

tempting line of action with caste-ridden men. While the clash between two manly races in the North is causing grave anxiety among thinkers, the interested widenings of communal differences in the south have not yet ceased to retard the progress of the nation. H. E. Sir Malcolm Hailey has given a well-merited blow to the Scheme of Communal Universities at Amritsar. The able administrator that he is, His Excellency has "sufficient confidence in the Sikh character to believe that it can hold its own with other communities without an University of its own."

Again, *measures not men* should come in for their legitimate share of criticism in public life. Many of our publicists have a weakness to go to the motives of persons in the first instance itself. If X has opposed the estimate for repairs of roads in the Municipal Council it is *certainly* due to his disappointment with reference to a contract; if Y has remained neutral in that resolution it is *undoubtedly* due to the fear of loss of his personal income; if Z argues for increase of grant to a particular school, Z *has gone shares* with the Manager of that School!!! As long as this congenital craving to mistrust *prima facie* one's neighbour continues, so long is public life bound to be dragged down to the petty squabble of conflicting personal interests.

Discipline in public life is the only basis on which effective concerted action can be built. Tested worth, marks of service to the country, or constitutionally democratic nature, a powerful mind, winning manners and intertwining all, *strength of character*—these are the requisites of a true leader. In the enunciation and carrying out of the goal, the services of a visionary no less than the statesmanlike solutions of an administrator are essential. The former ever holds aloft the banner, the latter makes use of the coming guests of progressive reform. The one suggests the spiritual plane of patriotism, the other never forgets to remind one of the unsuspected pitfalls of contemporary politics. It is not unfrequent in our public life to exhibit a spirit of intolerance when leaders of the Congress come out in their ripe old age to express their opinion on the problems of the day. If intolerance is expressed by responsible leaders in open meetings, the younger followers no wonder resort to hissing, stamping, hooting and calling names.

With the fast strides that democracy is bound to take in Eastern countries, some of the necessary evils of the West are liable to emerge under new forms and progressive appellations. The rings and the bosses of America and the whips of England are bound to find their Indian proto-types. Granting the *raison d'être* of this party-system, the

need for a class of persons who make politics their trade is apparent if only for educating the electorate. Here as elsewhere, it is only when men and things survive their usefulness to intrude into other spheres that their *raison d'être* itself is called into question. When educating the electorate does not contravene the existing standard of morality—which itself is only a convenient measure of value—when party organization does not get itself reduced to a regular mechanism regardless of the changes that are bound to strike at its roots, and when political persuasion does not tend to crush individuality—that political work may be said to be even a necessary auxiliary to the working of democratic institutions. The Western solution through faith in "Salvation by machinery" in the form of ballot-laws, primary election laws, and Corrupt Practices' Acts will not be a complete one. Happily the culture of modern India is a living force bound to applaud right and shun wrong wherever it is. The rise of a new class of politicians of strong calibre after Gokhale is bound to carry true religion to politics. More significant then will be the yet another contribution of India to the West in the form of a successful working of modern democracy reft of its mischievous proclivities.

Lone Wanderer

BY

SWAMI PARAMANANDA

Lone wanderer, rest thy feet—

There is no need of haste.

Refresh thy tired spirit

In the cool shade of surrender.

Do not strain nor run in feverish haste:

He is not far.

Miss Him not through haste,

Nor blur thine eyes through strain.

This Message of the East.

The Story of My Experiments with Truth

385

By MAHATMA GANDHI.

The first twenty chapters of Mahatma's Autobiography have appeared in successive issues of the INDIAN REVIEW since March. In this number we reproduce five more chapters that have since appeared in YOUNG INDIA. [Ed. I.R.]

XXI. GOD'S POWER TO SAVE MAN.

Though I had acquired a nodding acquaintance with Hinduism and other religions of the world, I should have known that it would not be enough to save me in my trials. Of the thing that sustains him through trials man has no inkling, much less, knowledge, at the time. If an unbeliever, he will attribute his safety to chance. If a believer he will say God saved him. He will conclude, as well he may, that his religious study or spiritual discipline was at the back of the state of grace within him. But in the hour of his deliverance he does not know whether his spiritual discipline or what else saves him. Who that has prided himself on his spiritual strength has not seen it humbled to the dust? A knowledge of religion (as distinguished from experience) seems but chaff in such moments of trials.

It was in England that I first discovered the futility of mere religious knowledge. How I was saved on previous occasions is more than I can say, for I was very young then; but now I was twenty and had gained some experience as husband and father.

During the last year, as far as I can remember of my staying in England, that is in 1890, there was a Vegetarian Conference at Portsmouth to which an Indian friend and I were invited. Portsmouth is a seaport with a large naval population. It has many houses with women of ill fame, women not actually prostitutes, but at the same time not very scrupulous about their morals. We were put up in one of these houses. Not that the Reception Committee purposely fixed up such a house for us. It is difficult in a town like Portsmouth to find out which are good lodgings and which are bad, for occasional travellers like ourselves.

We returned from the Conference in the evening. After dinner we sat down to play a rubber of bridge, in which our land-lady joined as is customary in England even in respectable households. Every player indulged in innocent jokes as matter of course but here my companion and our hostess began to make indecent ones as well. I did not know that my friend was an adept in the art. It captured me and I also joined. Just when I was about to go beyond the limit, leaving the cards and the game to themselves God in the good

companion uttered the blessed warning: "Whence this devil in you, my boy! Be off, quick!"

I was ashamed, I took the warning. I expressed within myself gratefulness to the friend, I remembered the vow I had taken before my mother and fled from the scene. To my room I went quaking, trembling, and with beating heart, like a quarry escaped from its pursuer.

I recall this as the first occasion on which a woman, other than my wife, moved me to lust. I passed that night sleeplessly, all kinds of thoughts assailing me. Should I leave this house? Should I run away from the place? Where was I? What would happen to me if I had not my wits about me? I decided to act thenceforth with great caution not only to leave the house, but somehow leave Portsmouth. The Conference was not to go on for more than two days and I remember I left Portsmouth the next evening my companions staying there sometime longer.

I did not then know the essence of religion, or of God, and how He works in us. Only vaguely I understood that God had saved me on that occasion. On all occasions of trial, He has saved me. I know that the phrase "God saved me" has a deeper meaning for me to-day, and still I feel that I have not yet grasped its entire meaning. Only richer experience can help me to a further meaning. But in all my trials—of a spiritual nature, as a lawyer, in conducting institutions, and in politics,—I can say that God saved me. When every hope is gone, when helpers fail and comfort flee, I experience that help arrives somehow, from I know not where. Supplication, worship, prayer are no superstition; they are acts more real than the acts of eating, drinking, sitting or walking. It is no exaggeration to say that they alone are real, all else is unreal.

Such worship or prayer is no flight of eloquence; it is no lip-homage. It springs from the heart. If, therefore, we achieve that purity of the heart when it is 'emptied of all but love,' if we keep all the chords in proper trim they 'trembling pass in music out of sight.' Prayer needs no speech. It is in itself independent of any sensuous effort. I have not the slightest doubt that prayer is an unfailing means of cleansing the heart of passions. But it must be combined with the utmost humility.

XXII. CALLED BUT THEN—

I have deferred saying anything up to now about the purpose for which I went to England viz., being called to the bar. It is time to advert to it briefly.

'KEEPING TERMS'

There were two conditions which had to be fulfilled before a student was formally called to the bar: 'Keeping terms'—twelve terms equivalent to about three years; and passing examinations. 'Keeping terms' meant eating one's terms, i.e., attending at least six out of about twenty-four dinners in a term. Eating did not mean actually partaking of the dinner, it meant reporting oneself at the fixed hours and remaining present throughout the dinner. Usually of course every one ate and drank the good commons and choice wines provided. A dinner cost from two and six to three shillings and six pence that is from two to three rupees. This was considered moderate, inasmuch as one had to pay that same amount for wines alone if one dined at a hotel. To us in India it is a matter for surprise, i.e., if we are not 'civilised,' that the cost of drink should exceed the cost of food. The first revelation gave me a great shock and I wondered how people had the heart to throw away so much money on drink. Later I came to understand. I often ate nothing at these dinners for the things that I might eat were only bread, boiled potato and cabbage. In the beginning I did not eat there, as I did not like them; and later when I began to relish them I also gained the courage to ask for other dishes.

The dinner provided for the benchers used to be better than that for the students. A Parsi student, who was also a vegetarian, and I applied, in the interests of vegetarianism, for the vegetarian courses which were served to the benchers. The application was granted and we began to get fruits and other vegetables from the benchers' table.

Two bottles of wine were allowed to each group of four, and as I did not touch them, I was ever in demand to form a quarter, so that three might empty two bottles. And, there was a 'grand night' in each term when extra wines like champagne in addition to port and sherry were served. I was therefore specially requested to attend and was in great demand on that "grand night."

I could not see then, nor have I seen since, how these dinners qualified the students better for the bar. There was once a time when only a few students used to attend these dinners and thus there were opportunities for talks between them

and the benchers and speeches were also given. These occasions helped to give them knowledge of the world with a sort of polish and refinement and also improved their power of speaking. No such thing was possible in my time, the benchers always sitting at a respectable distance from the students. The institution had gradually lost all its meaning, but conservative England retained it nevertheless.

THE EXAMINATIONS

The curriculum of study was easy, barristers being humorously known as 'dinner barristers.' Every one knew that the examinations had practically no value. In my time there were two, one in Roman Law and the other in Common Law. There were regular texts prescribed for these examinations which could be taken in compartments, but scarcely any one read those books. I have known many to pass the Roman Law Examination by scrambling through notes on Roman Law in a couple of weeks and the Common Law Examination by reading notes on the subject in two to three months. Question papers were easy and examiners were generous. The percentage of passes in Roman Law examination used to be 95 to 99 per cent. and of those in the Final examination 75 per cent. or even more. There was thus little fear of being plucked, and examinations were held not once but four times in the year. These convenient examinations could not be felt as a difficulty.

MY STUDIES

But I succeeded in turning them into one. I felt that I should read all the text books. It was a fraud. I thought, not to read these books. I invested much money in them. I decided to read Roman Law in Latin. The Latin which I had acquired in the London Matriculation stood me in good stead. And all this reading was not without its value later on in South Africa where Roman Dutch is the common law. The reading of Justinian therefore helped me a great deal in understanding the South African Law.

It took me nine months of fairly hard labour to read through the Common Law of England. For Broom's Common Law, a big but interesting volume, took up a good deal of time. Snell's Equity was full of interest, but a bit tough to understand. White and Tudor's Leading Cases (from which certain cases were prescribed) was full of interest and instruction. I read also with interest William's and Edward's Real Property and Goodeve's Personal Property. Williams' book read like a novel. The one book I remember

to have read, on my return to India, with the same unflagging interest, was Mayne's Hindu Law. But it is out of place to talk here of Indian law books.

I passed my examinations, was "called" to the Bar on the 10th of June 1891 and enrolled in the High Court on the 11th. On the 12th I sailed for home.

But notwithstanding the study there was no end to my helplessness and fear. I did not feel myself qualified to practise law.

But a separate chapter is needed to describe this helplessness of mine.

XXIII. MY HELPLESSNESS

It was easy enough to be "called," but it was difficult to practise at the bar. I had read the laws, but not learnt how to practise law. I had read with interest 'Legal Maxims,' but did not know how to apply them in my profession. *Sic utere tuo ut alienum non laedas* (Use your property in such a way as not to damage that of others) was one of them, but I was at a loss to know how one could employ this maxim for the benefit of one's client. I had read all the leading cases on this maxim, but they gave me no confidence in the application of it for my future clients.

Besides, I had learnt nothing at all of Indian law. I had not the slightest idea of Hindu and Mahomedan Law. I had not even learnt how to draft a plaint, and felt completely at sea. I had heard of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta as one who roared like a lion in law courts. How, I wondered, could he have learnt the art in England? It was out of the question for me ever to acquire his legal acumen, but I had serious misgivings as to whether I should even be able to earn a living by the profession.

I was torn with these doubts and anxieties whilst I was studying law. I confided my difficulties to some of my friends. One of them suggested that I should seek Dadabhai Naoroji's advice. I have already said that when I went to England, I possessed a note of introduction to Dadabhai. I availed myself of it very late. I thought I had no right to trouble such a great man for an interview. Whenever an address by him was announced, I would attend it, listen to him from a corner of the hall, and go away after having surfeited my eyes and ears. In order to come in close touch with the students he had founded an Association. I used to attend its meetings, and rejoiced at Dadabhai's solicitude for the students, and the latter's respect towards him. In course of time, I mustered up courage

to present to him the note of introduction. He said: 'You can come and have my advice whenever you like.' But I never availed myself of his offer. I thought it wrong to trouble him without the most pressing necessity. Therefore I dared not venture to accept my friend's advice to submit my difficulties to Dadabhai at that time. I forget now whether it was the same friend or some one else who recommended me to meet Mr. Frederick Pincutt. He was a Conservative, but his affection for Indian students was pure and unselfish. Many students sought his advice and I also applied to him for an appointment, which he granted. I can never forget that interview. He greeted me as a friend. He laughed away my pessimism. 'Do you think,' he said, 'that every one must be a Pherozeshah Mehta? Pherozeshahs and Badrudins are rare. Rest assured it takes no unusual skill to be an ordinary lawyer. Common honesty and industry are enough to enable him to make a living. All cases are not complicated. Well, let me know the extent of your general reading.'

When I acquainted him with my little stock of reading, he was, as I could see, rather disappointed. But it was only for a moment. Soon his face beamed with a pleasing smile and he said, 'I understand your trouble. Your general reading is meagre. You have no knowledge of the world—a *sine qua non* for a vakil. You have not even read the History of India. A vakil should know human nature. He should be able to read a man's character from his face. And every Indian ought to know Indian History. This has no connection with practice as a lawyer, but, you ought to have that knowledge. I see that you have not even read Kay and Mallsen's History of the Mutiny of 1857. Get hold of that at once and also read two more books to understand human nature.' These were Lavator's and Shemmelpennick's books on Physiognomy.

I was extremely grateful to this venerable friend. In his presence I found all my fear gone, but as soon as I left him, I again began to worry. 'To know a man from his face' was the question that haunted me as I thought of the two books, on my way home. The next day I purchased Lavator's book. Shemmelpennick's was not available at the shop. I read Lavator's book which I found more difficult than Shell's *Equity*, and scarcely interesting. I studied Shakespeare's physiognomy, but did not acquire the knack of finding out the Shakespeares walking up and down the streets of London.

Lavator's book did not add to my knowledge. Mr. Pincutt's advice did me very little direct service, but his affection stood me in good stead. His smiling open face stayed in my memory and I trusted his advice that Pheroze Shah Mehta's acumen, memory or ability were not essential to the making of a successful lawyer; honesty and industry were enough. And as I had a fair share of these last I felt somewhat reassured.

I could not read Kay and Malleon's volumes in England, but I did so in South Africa as I had made a point of reading them at the first opportunity.

Thus with just a little leaven of hope mixed with my despair, I landed at Bombay from S. S. *Assam*. The sea was rough in the harbour, and I had to reach the quay in a launch.

PART II.

I. RAY CHANDBHAI

I said in the last chapter that the sea was rough in Bombay harbour,—not an unusual thing in the Arabian Sea in June and July. It had been choppy all the way from Aden. Almost every passenger was sick; only I was in perfect form, staying on deck to see the stormy surge, and enjoying a splash of the waves. At breakfast there would be just one or two people besides myself eating their oatmeal porridge from plates carefully held in their laps, lest the porridge itself find its place there.

The outer storm was to me, a symbol of the inner. But even as the former left me unperturbed, I think I can say the same thing about the latter. There was the trouble with the castemen that was to confront me. I have already adverted to my helplessness in starting on my profession. And then as I was a reformer, I was taxing myself as to how best to begin certain reforms. But there was more in store for me than I knew.

My elder brother had come to meet me at the dock. He had already made the acquaintance of Dr. Mehta and his elder brother and as Dr. Mehta insisted on putting me up at his house we went there. Thus the acquaintance begun in England continued in India and ripened into a permanent friendship between the two families.

A SEVERE SHOCK

I was pining to see my mother. I did not know that she was no more in the flesh to receive me back into her bosom. The sad news was now given me and I underwent the usual ablution. My brother had kept me ignorant of her death which took place whilst I was still in England.

He wanted to spare me the blow in a foreign land. The news however was nonetheless a severe shock to me, but I must not dwell upon it. My grief was even greater than that over my father's death. Most of my cherished hopes were shattered. But I remember that I did not give myself up to any wild expression of grief. I could even check the tears and took to life just as though nothing had happened.

A LIFE LONG FRIEND HIP

Dr. Mehta introduced me to several friends, one of them being his brother Sjt. Revashanker Jagjivan with whom there grew up a lifelong friendship. But the introduction that I need particularly take note of was the one to the poet Raychand or Rajachandra, the son-in-law of an elder brother of Dr. Mehta's and partner of the firm of jewellers conducted in the name of Revashanker Jagjivan. He was not above twenty-five then, but my first meeting with him convinced me that he was a man of greater character and learning. He was also known as a shatavadhani (having the faculty of remembering or attending to a hundred things simultaneously), and Dr. Mehta recommended me to see some of his memory feats. I exhausted my vocabulary of all the European tongues I knew and asked the poet to repeat the words. He did so in the precise order in which I had given them. I envied his gift without however coming under its spell. The thing that did cast its spell over me, I came to know later. This was his wide knowledge of the scriptures, his spotless character and his burning passion for self-realisation. I saw later that this last was the only thing for which he lived. The following lines of Muktanand were always on his lips and engraved on the tablets of his heart; 'I shall think myself blessed only when I see Him in every one of my daily acts. Verily He is the thread which supports Muktanand's life.'

MY REFUGE

Raychandbhai's mercantile transactions covered hundreds of thousands. He was a connoisseur of parts and diamonds. No knotty business problem was too difficult for him. But all these things were not the centre round which his life revolved. The centre was the passion to see God face to face. Amongst other things on his business table there were invariably to be found some religious book and his diary. The moment he finished his business he opened the religious book or the diary. Much of his published writings is a reproduction from this diary. The man who

immediately on finishing his talk about heavy business transactions began to write about the hidden things of the spirit could evidently not be a business-man at all, but a real seeker after Truth. And I saw him thus absorbed in goodly pursuits in the midst of business not once or twice but many times. I never saw him lose his state of equipoise. There was no business or other selfish tie that bound him to me, and yet I enjoyed the closest association with him. I was but a briefless barrister then and yet whenever I saw him he would engage me in conversations of a seriously religious nature. Though I was then groping and though I could not be said to have any serious interest in religious discussion still I found his talk of absorbing interest. I have since met many a religious leader or teacher. I have tried to meet that heads of various faiths and I must say that no one has ever made on me the impression that Raychandbhai did. His words went straight home to me. His intellect compelled as great a regard from me as his moral earnestness and deep down in me was the conviction that he would never willingly lead me astray and would always confide to me his innermost thoughts. In my moments of spiritual crisis, therefore, he was my refuge.

THE THRONE VACANT

And yet in spite of this regard for him I could not enthrone him in my heart as my Guru. The throne has remained vacant and my search still continues.

I believe in the Hindu theory of Guru and his importance in spiritual realisation. I think there is a great deal of truth in the doctrine that true knowledge is impossible without a Guru. An imperfect teacher in mundane matters may be tolerable but not so an imperfect one in the spiritual line. Only a perfect *anani* deserves to be enthroned as Guru. There must, therefore, be ceaseless striving after perfection. For one gets the Guru that one deserves. Infinite striving after perfection is one's right. It is its own reward. The rest is in the hands of God.

Thus though I could not place Raychandbhai on the throne of my heart as my Guru we shall see how the moderns have left a deep impress on my life, and captivated me: Raychandbhai by his living contact, Tolstoy by his book, 'The Kingdom of God is within you,' and Ruskin by his 'Unto the Last.' But of these more in their proper place.

II HOW I BEGAN LIFE AS BARRISTER

My elder brother had built high hopes on me. The desire for wealth and name and fame was great in him. He had a big heart generous to a

fault. This combined with his simple nature had attracted to him many friends and through them he expected to get me briefs. He had also assumed that I should have a swinging practice and had in that expectation allowed the household expenses to become top-heavy. He had also left no stone unturned in preparing the field for my practice.

The storm in my caste over my foreign voyage was still brewing. It had divided the caste into two camps, one of which immediately readmitted me to the caste, while the other was bent on keeping me out. To please the former my brother took me to Nasik before going to Rajkot, gave me a bath in the sacred river and on reaching Rajkot gave a caste-dinner. I did not like all this. But my brother's love for me was boundless and my devotion to him was in proportion to it, and so I mechanically acted as he wished, taking his will to be law. The trouble about re-admission to the caste was thus practically over.

I never tried to seek admission to the section that had refused it to me. Nor did I feel even mental resentment against any of the headmen of that section. Some of these regarded me with dislike but I scrupulously avoided treading on their corns. I fully respected the caste regulations about excommunication. According to these none of my relations, including my father-in-law and mother-in-law or even my sister and brother-in-law could entertain me; and I would not so much as drink water at their houses. They were prepared secretly to evade the prohibition, but it went against the grain with me to do a thing in secret that I would not do in public.

The result of my scrupulous conduct was that I never had occasion to be troubled by the caste; nay, I have experienced nothing but affection and generosity from the general body of the section that still regards me as excommunicated. They have even helped me in my work, without ever expecting me to do anything for the caste. It is my conviction that all these good things are due to my non-resistance. Had I agitated for being admitted to the caste, had I attempted to divide it into more camps, had I provoked the castemen, they would surely have retaliated, and instead of steering clear of the storm I should, on my arrival from England, have found myself in a whirlpool of agitation and perhaps party to dissimulation.

MY RELATIONS WITH MY WIFE

My relations with my wife were still not as I desired. Even my stay in England had not cured me of my jealousy. I continued my

squeamishness and suspiciousness in respect of every little thing, and hence all my cherished desires remained unfulfilled. I had decided that my wife should learn reading and writing and that I should help her in her studies, but my lust came in the way and she had to suffer for my own short coming. Once I went the length of sending her away to her father's house and consented to receive her back only after I had made her thoroughly miserable. I saw later that all this was pure folly on my part.

I had planned reform in the education of children. My brother had children, and my own child which I had left at home when I went to England was now a boy of nearly four. It was my desire to teach these little ones physical exercise and make them hardy and also give them the benefit of my personal guidance. In this I had my brother's support and I succeeded in my effort more or less. I very much liked the company of children and the habit of playing and joking with them has stayed with me till to-day. I have ever since thought that I should make a good teacher of children.

The necessity for food reform was obvious. Tea and coffee had already found their place in the house. My brother had thought it fit to keep some sort of English atmosphere ready for me on my return, and to that end crockery and such other things, which used to be kept in the house only for occasional use, were now in general use. My 'reforms' put the finishing touch. I introduced oatmeal porridge and cocoa was to replace tea and coffee. But in truth it became an addition to tea and coffee. Boots and shoes were already there. I completed the Europeanisation by adding the European dress.

A WHITE ELEPHANT AT OUR DOOR

Expenses thus went up. New things were added every day. We had succeeded in tying a white elephant at our door. But how was the wherewithal to be found? To start practice in Rajkot would have meant sure ridicule. I had hardly the knowledge of a qualified Vakil and yet I expected to be paid ten times his fee! No client would be fool enough to engage me. And even if such a one was to be found, should I add arrogance and fraud to my ignorance, and increase the burden of debt I owed to the world?

Friends advised me to go to Bombay for some time to gain experience of the High Court and study Indian law and to try to get what briefs I could. I took up the suggestion and came to Bombay.

Here I started a household with a cook as incompetent as myself. He was a Brahmin. I did not treat him as a servant but as a member of the household. He would pour water over himself but never wash. His dhoti was dirty, as also his sacred thread and he was innocent of Scriptures. But how was I to get a better cook?

'Well, Ravishanker,' (for that was his name). I would ask him. 'You may not know cooking, but surely you must know your Sandhya (daily worship) etc.'

'Sandhya, sir! The plough is our Sandhya and the spade the daily ritual. That is the type of Brahmin I am. I must live on your mercy. Otherwise agriculture is of course there for me,

So I had to be Ravishanker's teacher. Time I had enough. I began to do half the cooking and introduced the English experiments in vegetarian cookery. I invested in a stove and with Ravishanker began to run the kitchen. I had no scruples about interdining and Ravishanker too came to have none and so we went on merrily together. There was only one obstacle. Ravishanker had sworn to remain dirty and to keep the food unclean!

But it was impossible for me to get along in Bombay longer than four or five months. For there was no income to square with the ever increasing expenditure.

This is how I began life. I found the barrister's profession a bad job—much show and little knowledge. I felt a crushing sense of my responsibility. (To be continued.)

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The Root of the Evil in South Africa*

BY MR. C. F. ANDREWS

IN Maritzburg the old capital of British Natal, the archives of the Province are kept. They tell in records which cannot be disputed, the tragic story of the introduction of Indian indentured labour more than sixty-five years ago into Natal. It is necessary from time to time to go back to these records, because the popular mind in this young country is all too soon forgetful of its own past history; and yet it is just the tragedy of those earlier days—the mistake that was then committed—which has been dragging the country down ever since with its terrible entail of debt. It is that tragedy of errors which we have to meet with a brave front and honestly redeem.

Let us go back, then, to the earliest correspondence between the Natal Government and the Colonial Office in London, dated 1859. It was a time when Natal was very nearly bankrupt, and the white colonists were leaving the Colony, because they could not make two ends meet. With almost feverish eagerness these early settlers had made efforts in every quarter to get labour. A representative had gone, at the colonial expense, to different parts of the world to obtain cheap labour. China had been explored; but Chinese labour was found too expensive. It required in the West-Indies nearly one pound sterling a month. Kafir labour had already become scarce. The price of it had gone up from five shillings a month, or twopence a day, to ten shillings a month, or fourpence a day. There was a danger of the price going still higher. Therefore the whole white colony cried out at last for indentured labour from India. For, after the abolition of slavery in 1834, this Indian system had been tried in Mauritius. The Indian labourer had been found there to be cheap, frugal, industrious and docile. The British Colonial Office could always be relied on to ensure the supply and keep down the cost; because India was a British possession. So the Mauritius Indian system was eagerly asked for in Natal.

THE ARCHIVES

But the archives show that a hitch took place at first. The Colonial Secretary in London writes:—"The Indian Government do not appear very desirous of seeing an immigration of coolies from India into Natal."

This was discouraging news. The situation was desperate; and the Natal authorities urged that

* Farewell Speech delivered in South Africa,

another attempt should be made. To make a long story short, the Colonial Office in London was able to overcome the reluctance of the Indian Government. After all, India was, as I have said, a British possession. So the order went forth from London to India, that Natal had to be supplied with indentured Indian labour. There was great jubilation in the white colony of Natal when this fateful step was taken in the year 1860.

Let us examine the documents a little further. The first shipload contained 207 males and 88 females. The second ship brought out 176 males and 55 females. Subsequent vessels brought an even lower sex proportion. Thus, from the very outset, the evils due to the impossibility for these young adult people, crowded in barracks, to live a decent married life, began to show themselves. We go on to read about outbreaks of dysentery on board the emigrant ships, and cholera outbreaks even after landing. But Natal appears, from the very first, to have been a climate extraordinarily well suited to the immigrants, and the death rate did not run high. Only the moral conditions were intolerable and led to unspeakable evil.

10sh. A MONTH

These new immigrants were paid in cash ten shillings a month, or half a crown a week for a man, and at first eight shillings for a woman. They received sixpence a week more which was to cover their food and clothing expenses. They worked for this wage from sunrise to sunset, usually about ten hours a day. The labour was so remunerative that every effort was made, after their five years' contract was over, to make them stay on in the country and continue their labours. No employer was allowed to pay more than half a crown a week under the regulations of the Colony.

The Colonial Secretary of Natal states in a letter written at this time: "These Indian coolies are not a saving people, and few will be able to pay their passage back to India. There is every reason to believe that they will become permanent residents."

Certainly it was not likely that these immigrants would become a "saving people" on half a crown a week!

SWEATED LABOUR

Let me continue the story. For six-years this pitifully sweated labour from India—with always its vicious sex proportion of three men to every one woman herded together in barracks—conti-

nued to come over unchallenged and unchecked. Clever professional Indian recruiters were employed, who used all forms of fraud and guile in their profession of "coolie-catching." The recruiters were paid so much per head for every Indian labourer they brought to the depot. The sum paid was more for a woman than a man, because women were more difficult to obtain. Then, after six years' trial, the Indian Government, which had always been reluctant to send out this Indian labour, found a means to stop it altogether. But at once the prospects of Natal Colony suffered, and again every form of pressure was brought to bear in London in order to obtain a renewal. At last, after six years of effort, the same indentured Indian labour was re-opened. Again, the second fateful step was taken, after full deliberation, and with universal consent of the white population of Natal.

At the time of renewal, the Indian Government stipulated a free passage back for any Indian who had faithfully served out his indenture and had also remained an extra five years as a resident in Natal. As the policy at this time was entirely directed towards getting Indians in some way or other to settle in the country, and not to go back to India, this new move of the Indian Government in obtaining a free passage back was countered by offering free land for permanent settlement to Indians, who decided to take it instead of their return passage.

"COOLIE-CATCHING."

For as long as this constant stream of cheap and reliable labour could be obtained from India and as long as a great part of it could be induced to settle near the sugar plantations, it was possible to supplement this Indian labour with Kafir labour, and thus to keep down the price of all agricultural labour in the Colony to the Indian level of 10s. a month. Some of the wealthiest families in Natal have made their fortunes in the past out of this organised indentured Indian labour. Among them are those Europeans who are the bitterest anti-Asiatics to-day.

During the past twenty-years it has been my painful task to track down the mischief wrought in the villages of India by this recruiting of indentured labour, which has won the evil name of 'coolie-catching.' For the system had been extended to almost every part of the world, with the same object. I have been twice out to Fiji, examining the whole system, once to Natal and many times to Assam, Malaya and Ceylon, where

the same system was once in operation but now is entirely forbidden. Let me take some Government statistics about Assam, which were published in the official gazette concerning the early days when the indenture system was still in force:—

"The mortality," so the ASSAM GAZETTE writes, "was at first appalling. In the four years, 1864-1867, the annual mortality, in the largest depot, ranged from 36 to 115 per cent. of the average daily strength, the latter enormous rate having been calculated on a daily average of no less than 458 souls. Between 1863 and 1868, 54,352 labourers were imported into Assam for the plantations, of whom 1,712 died on the way up. Even when the tea gardens were reached the mortality was quite appalling. In 1866-1868 there was a death rate of 180 per thousand."

AN INHUMAN PROPORTION

It will be noticed that this was the very decennial period when recruiting for the same indentured labour was being originally encouraged for Natal. It is true, as I have said, that the mortality statistics for Natal never reached the awful figures. But the crimes of violence, which were due to the utterly inhuman proportion of three men to one woman on the plantations in Natal, pointed to inherent evils in the whole indenture system that were no less disgraceful than the death rates in Assam.

The suicides and murders in Natal were several hundred per cent. higher than any figures known in India. In Fiji these crimes of violence were even higher than Natal. The suicides came to 20 times the Indian rate, and the murders to 80 times. These are official statistics collected over a long series of years.

Such are the hard facts of history still preserved in the archive records of India, Fiji and Natal. They cannot be glozed over. Right up to the year 1911 the sugar planters of Natal went on pressing the Indian Government to send out more indentured labour. Shipload after shipload used to be landed at Durban every year. Five out of six of the Indians in Natal belong to this indenture system.

A BAD SYSTEM

After a very full and careful study of the whole Indian indenture system I came to the only conclusion possible, namely, that it was a bad system—rotten through and through. It brought untold misery to the village homes in India, from which even married women were recruited by guile to go out to an unknown foreign land to live a life of shame. It brought untold moral misery to Natal,

For while the sugar planters grew rich upon it, the poor people suffered. There were indeed noble sugar planters, like Sir Marshall Campbell, under whom the Indian labourers were happy: but there were others, under whom the Indian's life was a "hell on earth." I am quoting language which was used to me by Dr. Booth, who was for 20 years Medical Officer on the Natal Estates, and afterwards became a clergyman of the English Church. I wish to extenuate nothing and to set down nought in malice—to quote Shakespeare's famous words.

Natal, through all these years, from 1860 to 1916, when the last indentured labourer was set free, made a big fortune out of this Indian labour, at 10s. a month, with a ration thrown in; but she has now to pay the price. "Though the mills of God grind slowly, yet they grind exceeding small."

Natal cannot repudiate the past so lightly as she appears to think. There is a God of Justice who rules over the world. Natal cannot grow rich out of the sweated labour of the poor, and then take away from the descendants of these poor labourers whatever rights they formerly possessed. Natal cannot throw aside the Indian to-day, just as a man sucks all the juice out of an orange and then throws away the skin. Natal cannot spurn the ladder on which she herself climbed up to fortune. We are living in the twentieth century of the Christian era, not in the dynasties of the slave driving Pharaohs of Egypt,

or the Assyrian despots, who could root up whole populations at a single nod.

To-day, India has asked for only one thing—that before the South African Parliament decides to employ legislative pressure to drive Indians out of Natal and "to reduce the Indian population to its irreducible minimum," she will agree to come to a conference, in order to see first if her difficulties on the Indian question cannot be met by goodwill and friendship instead of by violent repressive measures.

South Africa is a young country with a good future opening out before her. She cannot afford to set out on her historic career with a blot on her scutcheon at the very start. My one earnest wish, all through the months I have been in this country—so beautiful in its sky and land and sea has been this, that South Africa, which I have learnt to love, should rise to a great moral occasion and generously acknowledge the wrong which has been done in the past; that she should with equal generosity of spirit seek to redeem that wrong to-day; that in doing so she should seek the full co-operation of India, which partly shared in the wrong done by permitting the Indian labour to be exported, under such inhuman conditions; lastly that, at a conference, she should seek, with the full goodwill of India to clear off this bad debt out of the way and make a new start so that when that new start is made, India and South Africa, facing one another across the seas, might be friends instead of foes.

A HISTORIC TRAGEDY

By DR. A. J. SAUNDERS, M. A.

Principal, American College, Madurai.

THE Island of Ceylon needs a trilogy of three books to recount the modern period of her history. Fortunately two of the studies have already appeared, that dealing with the Portuguese occupation and that telling of the Hollanders in Ceylon. There is yet to be written to complete the trilogy the story of the British connection with the Island; that would give us a connected account down to the present time, for the Portuguese period dates from 1640 to 1685, the Dutch sojourn lasted from 1685 to 1796, and the English have remained from the beginning of the Nineteenth Century to the present day. The two books that we have are more in the nature of source books, and no doubt they will be referred

to again and again by students who are working in that field.

The author of the book* before us was a Captain in the Portuguese Army and spent eighteen years in Ceylon during which time some of the striking events which he relates took place.

To Ribeiro therefore belongs the credit of being the first European who has left to us a detailed account of the country from personal knowledge. The chief value of his work, however, arises not from his account of the military operations, but from his delightful observations on the life and customs of the Sinhalese, and the internal condition of the country as he saw it. To him Ceylon was always 'the loveliest parcel

* *The Historic Tragedy of the Island of Ceilao.* By Joao Ribeiro. 1640-1685. The Colombo Apothecaries Co., Colombo: 1925.

of land the Creator has placed upon this earth; and as he painfully toiled at his indictment of the mad folly which has robbed his country of this beautiful land, the glamour of her loveliness grew more and more on him.

The book is divided into three parts. In the first is described the characteristics of the people of the island, their social and economic life as well as the beauties of the land. The second part deal with an account of the war which resulted in the Portuguese being driven out of Ceylon. Book III is "A disquisition, wherein is set forth our lack of foresight regarding the conquest of India, and how it was to our advantage to occupy only Ceilao."

All the way through the first part are delightful little touches showing the beauty of the place and the life, simple and contented of the people. Mention is made of the loveliness of the Kingdom of Candia. All the valleys and mountains of the Island are full of precious stones which can be obtained with very little trouble. There are rubies, sapphires, topazes and cat's eyes, garnets, beryls and jacinths. There are extensive pearl fisheries in the north; there is an abundance of cardomons. Thousands of tons of araca are exported every year to India. A big trade is done in elephants, pepper, timber, resin and other commodities. A careful account is given of the royal revenue, the classes and castes among the people and the duties of each. "In the same fashion the King our Lord was in the enjoyment of this Island, and was able to obtain more from

it than Spain did from all the kingdoms which she had in the West."

With a good deal of detail is told the history of the long war which the Portuguese carried on with the natives and the Dutch. But the combination against them was too strong. Fortress after fortress fell; the greatest siege was that of Colombo, but that too was forced to give in. "At three o'clock in the afternoon of the 12th of May, 1656, we came out of the city, seventythree very emaciated soldiers, all that remained there, including some with broken arms and minus a leg, and all looking like dead people." By June, 1658, the Dutch conquest of Ceylon was completed, and the Portuguese were forced to leave the Island.

Captain Ribeiro gives two reasons for the fall of the Portuguese power in Ceylon: "We must necessarily attribute it to two causes if it be not the case, as I fancy, that both are to be found. The first is that the maintenance of so many little forts points to the influence of private interests. The second is that all our treasure was wasted foolishly by our persistence in the face of all reason." His conclusion is that the Portuguese should have abandoned all their possessions in India and have occupied only the Island of Ceylon.

This little book is a mine of valuable information about the people and Island of Ceylon during the middle part of the Seventeenth Century, and will remain a student's source book for that period.

On Growing Old

BY

JOHN MASEFIELD.

Be with me, Beauty, for the fire is dying,
My dog and I are old, too old for roving;
Man, whose young passions sets the spindrift flying
Is soon too lame to march, too cold for loving.

I take the book and gather to the fire,
Turning old yellow leaves. Minute by minute
The clock ticks to my heart; a withered wire
Moves a thin ghost of music in the spinet.

I cannot sail your seas, I cannot wander
Your mountains, nor your downlands, nor your valleys
Ever again, nor share the battle yonder
Where your young knight the broken squadron rallies,
Only stay quiet, while my mind remembers
The beauty of fire from the beauty of embers.

From Beverley Nichol's "Twenty-Five."

TOPICS FROM PERIODICALS

The Modern Press

The Newspaper Press has been the theme of considerable controversy. Its advantages are obvious; but it has been severely criticised from all sides. In a lecture at the London School of Economics the Rt. Hon. Mr. McCurdy, claimed for it extraordinary virtues. He said good-humouredly that

if we really take the lid off and let the newspaper proprietors realize how entirely modern civilization, the organization of the modern state, the very existence of democracy, depends on the existence of their daily organs, they are very likely to put up the price.

Mr. Chesterton who led the opposition spoke eloquently of the ugliness and insincerity of the thing called the newspaper. He, of course, decried the capitalist press as the root of all the diseases of the modern world.

One must avoid exaggerations in such a controversy. The upshot of the controversy was that in spite of certain obvious defects the Press is on the whole an instrument of public benefaction.

LORD BEAVERBROOK ON 'JOURNALISTS AS EGOTISTS'

There are other aspects of journalism which cannot be ignored. Lord Beaverbrook thinks that the journalist is essentially an egotist. And he goes on to add:

The Press is more powerful to-day than it has ever been. But that its actual influence depends on the ability with which it is directed. That ability in public life and publicity depends on egotism. This applies equally to journalists and to politicians. That the modern Press can beat the politician every time if newspapers are conducted by men of character and ability. That the nation owes a debt of gratitude to Lord Northcliffe, because his genius founded the modern popular Press and kept that Press absolutely clear.

THE POWER OF THE PRESS

The Press is thus a great power; but it mainly depends on how you use that power. It can be used for the spread of knowledge, for championing the cause of justice and truth and for exposing the shams and absurdities of society. So used it is a vehicle of undoubted public service. But it

can also be diverted to mere personal aggrandisement, to puff up unworthy objects or men, to calumniate the innocent and to provoke animosities, to engender hatred and serve the base needs of the vain and vulgar rich.

The publicist should not be stirred to an unworthy action even by the greatest provocation.

And while, he should respect no man because of his worldly position, neither should he bear malice to any man because of some personal antipathy. He ought to be what is, I suppose, the highest ideal of humanity, at once just and kind—but I lay the emphasis on the kindness.

The Press cannot exercise a wholesome influence on public life unless it is independent and free from Government control, and also from the pressure of extraneous agencies. It reaches its utmost measure of independence in countries where the people possess the highest standard of intelligence.

It enjoys completest freedom in English-speaking countries, says Sir Robert Donald in the *Outlook* although its political influence is held in check, particularly in Great Britain and in Australia, by powerful trade union and party organisations. The growth of syndicates and multiple ownership tends to lessen editorial responsibility and consequently the influence of the Press on public opinion.

MR. MACDONALD ON THE FREE PRESS

This view is confirmed by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald who holds that a Press which is not free or that is a clap-trap tends to lose its influence. Its servitude is detected and in the end it is bought like a gramophone record or a ticket to a play. But a Free Press, according to him,

requires a large number of proprietors and great local independence; a complete separation of the departments dealing with news, advertisements and opinions with the last in authority and in charge of a man who may be a servant but not a tool. And this is not of the least importance, it also requires an intelligent public with some critical and reflective capacity so as to protect itself against imposition. Many of our popular papers are a serious accusation against our schools and school-masters.

Every country has such papers and none is blessed by them. In so far as they practise deliberate deceit, it is suggested sometimes that they might be brought within the arm of the law. That is difficult in practice and objectionable in principle. Freedom is the best cure for all forms of error in opinion and propaganda, penal laws the worst.

The Meaning of Art

This is the subject of a thoughtful article from the pen of Sir Rabindranath Tagore in the pages of the *VISVABHARATI QUARTERLY*. The poet quotes a remarkable verse from the *Atharva Veda* which attributes all that is great in the human world to superfluity. The passage when translated means:—

Righteousness, truth, great endeavours, empire, religion, enterprise, heroism and prosperity, the past and the future dwell in the surprising strength of the surplus.

Now the meaning of this remarkable statement is that man expresses himself through his superabundance which largely overlaps his absolute need.

He then quotes the authority of the renowned Vedic commentator Sayanacharya.

The food offering which is left over after the completion of sacrificial rites is praised because it is symbolical of Brahma, the original source of the universe.

According to this explanation, Brahma is boundless in his superfluity which inevitably finds its expression in the eternal world process. Here, says the poet, we have the doctrine of the genesis of creation "and therefore of the origin of art."

Of all living creatures in the world man has his vital and mental energy vastly in excess of his need, which urges him to work in various lines of creation for its own sake. Like Brahma himself, he takes joy in productions that are unnecessary to him, and therefore representing his extravagance and not his hand-to-mouth penury. The voice that is just enough can speak and cry to the extent needed for every day use, but that which is abundant sings, and in it we find our joy. Art reveals man's wealth of life, which seeks its freedom in forms of perfection which are an end in themselves.

All that is inert and inanimate is limited to the bare fact of existence. Life is perpetually creative because it contains in itself that surplus which ever overflows the boundaries of immediate time and space restlessly pursuing its adventure of expression in the varied forms of self-realisation. Our living body has its vital organs that are important in maintaining its efficiency, but this body is not a mere convenient sac for the purpose of holding stomach, heart, lungs and brains; it is an image,—its highest value is in the fact that it communicates its personality. It has colour, shape and movement, most of which belong to the superfluous, that are needed only for self-expression and not for self-preservation.

The Exploitation of India

Major B. D. Basu, I. M. S. (Retd.) author of the "Rise of the Christian power in India," contributes an article on the above subject to the May number of the *MODERN REVIEW*. He says that in the British Government of India, administration and exploitation are convertible terms. He is of opinion that the so called development of the resources of India was simply devised to enrich the people of England at the expense of those of India. The construction of railways, and the cultivation of cotton, may have incidental advantages to India. But for these India had to be colonised by Britishers and concessions granted to them to enable them "to make India the white man's land." And what of the colonizers? The writer says:—

Those Englishmen who obtained concessions tried to reduce the people of India to the position of hewers of wood and drawers of water and to enrich themselves by profits accruing from slave labour. A large number of those men engaged themselves in Indigo planting. This industry proved an engine of oppression, tyranny and ruin to the helpless and hapless cultivators on whom their English masters delighted in practising all sorts of refined brutalities. Official notice had to be taken of these misdeeds of the Indigo planters and several government communications were issued, some of which aimed at whitewashing the conduct of the perpetrators of the evil deeds.

The policy of employing in large numbers Englishmen in Indian government service is interpreted by the writer as best calculated to exploit the resources of India in more ways than one and thus by impoverishing her, England meant to consolidate her power in India. Further the delay in granting full Self-Government for India is again read to be the sign of the fear of the closing of the Indian market against English goods. He continues:—

Britishers came out to India originally as "unpretending merchants" to whom Indian princes gave "every encouragement." But when they acquired political supremacy in India, they did not abandon their role as merchants and traders. They were a nation of shop-keepers and so were also Indians. Two of a trade cannot agree. Hence Indian Trade and Industries were destroyed by "the Arm of Political Injustice."

British Labour and Indian Labour

Walter M. Citrine, Acting Secretary, British Trades Union Congress contributes to the latest issue of the *NATIONAL CHRISTIAN COUNCIL REVIEW* an article on the attitude of British Labour towards India. He says that the British Labour movement has always been keenly sympathetic towards the workers of India. But it is only within the last few years that this general sympathy has been expressed in an active attempt to know as much as possible about the conditions under which the growing number of India's industrial workers live and work. Referring to the help rendered by the British labour to the cause of trade unionism in India Mr. Citrine says:

The British Trade Union Congress rendered financial help to the strike in the North-Western Railway workshops in the early part of last year. Together with the International Federation of Trade Unions and the International Textile Workers' Association, it contributed largely to funds of the Bombay textile strike last September, without which the operatives could not have secured the withdrawal of the eleven and a half per cent, reduction in wages which the mill-owners were seeking to enforce. It did so because it is convinced that every effort of the Indian workers to withstand reductions in their already insufficient wages should be vigorously supported.

Thus the attitude of British Labour towards Indian labour is one of sincere sympathy with its present position and keen interest in its future. But some Indians say that they (British Labour) are not sincere, for they fear that their attitude is governed by consideration of the prospective good market in India. To this charge the writer replies:

If they attended a British Trades Union Congress and heard how references to the people of India are there received, they would realise how greatly they are mistaken. To repeat such a suggestion is implying that which is false. British Labour is as anxious as it can be to place the knowledge and experience it has gained through years of toil and struggle at the disposal of the growing trade union movement in India. It desires to do all that lies in its power to help and encourage those who are striving to do for the Indian workers what they cannot at present do for themselves, but which we all hope they will be able to do ere many more years have passed.

The Hindu-Moslem Problem

Mr. A. S. Wadia, M.A., writing under the head "The two problems of India," (cow-killing and Tom tom playing) in the *HINDUSTHAN REVIEW QUARTERLY* asks:

1. Have the Hindus the right of playing their "ceremonial music" on a public road while passing a mosque?
2. Have, on the other hand, the Mahomedans the right of leading sacrificial cows on a public road and killing them as sacrificial offerings on their great Id-festival?

He says that in order to effect Hindu-Muslim unity, all whether Hindus or Mahomedans, Parsis, Jews or Sikhs will have to organise public opinion of the entire nation for the systematic denunciation and appropriate legislation should be passed for the ultimate suppression of sacrificial cow-killing and ceremonial tom-tom playing.

To the Hindus he says:

With whatever justification the Hindus may have claimed in the past their prescriptive right to play their ceremonial music before a mosque, that right—considering the true nature of their "music" and the vital national interests involved in the question—they must forthwith renounce in a truly patriotic spirit. By such a renunciation the Hindus themselves, strange to say, stand most to gain. For with gradual disappearance of their present decadent ceremonial "music," their old classical music stands a better chance of coming into its own and of eventually evolving ceremonial or processional marches more in consonance with its own hoary traditions and the musical ideas of the world at large.

Similarly to the Muhammadans he gives the following wholesome advice:

With whatever justification the Mahomedans may have advanced in the past their prescriptive right to parade sacrificial cows on public roads and to slaughter them on their Id-festival, that right—considering the peculiar veneration which the Hindus possess for the cow and the fact that its sacrifice is not enjoined by any authoritative Islamic Scripture—the Mahomedans must be made to relinquish in the interests of the nation as a whole. And as in the other case, the Mahomedans themselves will be the chief gainers by such a relinquishment, for not only will they have demonstrated thereby their patriotic consideration for the scruples and susceptibilities of their great sister community, but, what is more, they will have advanced the cause which is above all others nearest and dearest to their hearts namely, the preservation of the pristine purity and fair name of Islam from being sullied by unwarranted innovations and debasing accretions.

The Future of the Earth

Mr. J. Arthur Thompson the writer of the notes on "Recent Advances in Science" has some interesting observations on the future of the earth and its capacity. He puts himself the question "How many people will the earth hold" and answers:-

"There are said to be over 1,700 million inhabitants on the earth to-day, and there is a large total increase every year. Sir George H. Knibbs has been recently estimating the maximum possible population. His estimates vary according to the postulates he makes. Thus the lowest, based on the maximum population that could be supported on the maximum of agricultural land ultimately available in the United States, is 2,942 millions. If all the existing arable land in the world could support three persons per acre, the maximum population would be 9,792 millions. If the total land surface could support one person on 2½ acres, the grand total would rise to 13,440 millions.

If the present standard of living is retained, together with the present national prejudices and egoisms, it is doubtful, he thinks, if the limit of 5,000 millions could be reached. With more science and goodwill the 7,000 million limit might be attained. Perhaps even 9,000 millions, but then people would be rather close together!

Christianity and India

Rev. R. N. Potts contributes an article entitled "The Call from India," to the current number of the EAST AND WEST. He lays stress on two points with regard to the work of the Christian Church in India. (1) The wonderful opportunity that lies before the Church of India to-day; (2) the imperative need of largely increased support of the Missionary Societies by the Church at home to enable them to grasp these opportunities before they pass away and are lost.

The progress in the past has been due to those who responded to the call of duty sincerely and

devoted their whole lives to the work. The following is absolutely necessary according to the writer:-

We need for the ordinary work apart from the mass movements, at least £40,000 more of annual income and a regular recruitment of about fifty-one missionaries every year with an immediate additional recruitment of another twenty, mostly men, we are not surprised—we must bend to our task and find them.

Further, for the great mass movements in at least ten areas, we need centres of training, and to create and maintain these, at least another fifty missionaries within the next ten years, and £20,000 to start the work and £20,000 annually to maintain it.

The Bishop hopes that the spirit of God will move upon the waters and the barriers of caste and tradition in India will be broken down and India will be a Christian nation one in Christ. He continues:-

We are justly proud of the administration which has welded into one empire this vast continent of warring races and conflicting religions, and given peace and security and comparative immunity from famine and pestilence, and a unity hitherto unknown even to Asoka, the greatest Buddhist emperor, or Akbar, the greatest of the Moguls. But we know that this unity is only outward, that as yet there is no real this unity is only outward, that as yet there is no real nationalism, nor can be until India is one in Christ; and that unless we go on and share with India our greatest treasure we shall be false to God's trust and deserve to be cast out as unfaithful servants.

Hindu Thought in the West

We have received the first three issues of EAST-WEST, an illustrated non-Sectarian Bi-monthly Magazine devoted to Hindu psychology and practical metaphysics. It is the official organ of the Mount Washington Education Center in Los Angeles, Head-Quarters of Sat-Sanga and Yogoda. Swami Yogananda, the founder and inspirer of this movement writes profusely in this journal and his teachings by pen and tongue are getting widely appreciated in America. The issues before us contain matter of varied interest: short poems, pithy sayings, and discourses on spiritual and philosophical subjects. We welcome this handsome journal of Hindu thought in the West and wish it godspeed in its career of service.

Anglo-Indian Representation

Mr. W. A. Hobson, Chaplain of Vepery, writes in the YOUNG MEN OF INDIA vindicating the claims of Anglo-Indians to separate representation. He says that all educated and intelligent Anglo-Indians regard themselves as natives of India, whatever their blood and cultural ties may be with England. Racially, the Anglo-Indians are neither English nor Indian.

Physically the Anglo-Indian is quite distinct from the European and the Indian, whatever the superficial resemblances might be in colour and features with these races. I refer here, of course, to the genuine Anglo-Indian or man of mixed blood and not either to the Domiciled European or to the Indian Christian who calls himself an Anglo-Indian. If this is so physically, there is no reason to doubt that it is also true in regard to the mental and spiritual make-up of the Anglo-Indian. Instead of being allowed to develop on his own lines, he has been forced to give an exotic and extremely precarious bloom in the hot-house of an English educational system which totally unfits him to live and thrive in the natural atmosphere of the world he inhabits. On the other hand, he is also from the cultural point of view different from the pure Indian. He has his own peculiar habits and customs, not to mention language and religion. But none of these things should prevent him from regarding himself politically as a native of India, not merely in a statutory sense but in fact and reality. As a community, we originated in this country, and the vast majority of us will live and die here. No progress is possible for us unless we thoroughly assimilate this into our consciousness. We differ from the Madrasses or the Bengalees or the Punjabees or the Marathi as much as they differ racially and culturally from one another, but with them we are sons of the soil and own only one motherland, India. It is not only to our interests but also our moral duty to live and work for the good of India. We must not claim, and we will not get, any preferential treatment over the other communities of India. But we also expect to be given our due rights and privileges in the country.

He is of opinion that to forego communal representation would mean destruction for the Anglo-Indian community. He says:-

We are ready at any time to accept this abolition, for our Indian brethren will only give us a guarantee, not only in word but also in deed, that our interests, so far as they do not conflict with the interests of the people, will be protected and developed by them. The whole thing really rests with them, and I must honestly say that so far I have noticed no attempt on the part of these people to act, or even to think, nationally and non-racially. It would be foolish on our part to give up our communal presentation merely to allow the Hindu or the Muhammadan to rule the roost and divide the loaves and fishes among themselves. We must face facts, and then dream dreams of national unity.

Music in Education

It was the Greeks who originated the formula Truth, Beauty and Goodness as the triad of ultimate values. It was the Greeks too who preached the gospel of moderation in all things, moderation for the sake of harmony, that the different party, whether of the soul or of the nation might be blended into a perfect whole.

Now goodness and truth, says a writer in the GUARDIAN cannot suffice without beauty, the source of joy.

The sense of beauty is not the exclusive property of the professional aesthete, who only has a certain kind and not even the best kind of this sense. The sense of beauty is the sense of joy in all that is free, spontaneous, and natural and alive and as such every normal man has it; it is this sense together with a zeal for truth and a respect for duty which education should cultivate. In art the expression of this joy is most manifest, and music is the art which appeals more directly to our artistic sense than any other. The reason often is that painting, literature and the drama are bound to the facts of physical existence. A painting must first be like its subject of it is to be a good thing. But music is concerned solely with the spirit painting. But music is the overflowing of man's spirit into the rest, music is the most free, natural and sound. The best music is the most free, natural and spontaneous a live thing in the world just because it is the unfettered expression of the human mind. That is why, in its simple forms, it is the most appealing of the arts, and that is why one of the aims of education should be to cultivate the child's musical appreciation.

Education, if it is not to be one-sided must follow the ideal proclaimed by the Greeks. We must aim at variety of experiences and our training should be such as to give wholeness to our life. Reason alone cannot do that:

By the light of pure reason we can learn much but not all; by attempting to live according to our highest ideas of right we shall learn more; and through art we may learn things which nothing else can teach us. "There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio," says Hamlet "than are dreamt of in your philosophy." Of the vast unknown which philosophy must needs leave unexplored, some corners at least music may perhaps reveal.

The Music of India. By H. A. Popley. This book deals fully with Indian music both vocal and instrumental. (Karnatic and Hindustanee). Price Rs. 1-8-0.

Psychology of Music. By H. P. Krishna Rao, B.A. All lovers of music who have the progress of this art at heart are sure to herein find the key to unravel the mystery that surrounds the art of music. Price Rs. 3.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Publishers, George Town, Madras.

The Modern Politician

Writing in the SUNDAY TIMES Mr. Aurobindo Ghose says that the modern politician does not represent the soul of a people or its aspiration; what he actually represents is the average pettiness, selfishness, egoism and self-deception. To say that he represents the best mind of the nation or its noblest aims or its highest instincts is only a myth. He continues:—

"Great issues often come to him for decision, but he does not deal with them greatly; high words and noble ideas are on his lips, but they become rapidly the clap trap of a party. The disease and falsehood of modern political life is patent in every country of the world and only the hypnotised acquiescence even of the intellectual classes in the great organised sham, the acquiescence that men yield to everything that is habitual and makes the present atmosphere of their lives, cloaks and prolongs the malady. Yet, it is by such minds that the good of all has to be decided, to such hands that it has to be entrusted, to such an agency calling itself the State, the individual is being more and more called upon to give up the government of his activities. As a matter of fact, it is by no means the good of all that is thus secured, but a great deal of organized blundering and evil with a certain amount of good which makes for real progress, because Nature moves forward always in the midst of all stumbling and secures higher aims in the end as often in spite of as by means of man's imperfect mentality."

A Remedy for Communalism

Dr. H. C. E. Zacharias, outlines in THE SERVANT OF INDIA a plan whereby the rights of the minorities may be secured. "Nothing less," he says, "will effect a permanent cure but the resolute cutting out of the whole canker of communalism. Let Government take its courage into both hands and appeal to the commonsense of our people of whatever community: let them boldly

announce, that the first reform of the Reforms will consist in a proposal to eliminate henceforth—at least in the lower chambers—communal electorates and in substituting straightforward territorial constituencies instead." If this is done, Dr. Zacharias says, the public would support them. As regards the safe guarding of the rights of the minority communities, Dr. Zacharias makes the following proposal:

Small upper chambers, both central and provincial ought to be instituted, designed to act as a safeguard of the rights of minorities. If say, the Brahmans, non-Brahmans, non-caste Hindus, Sunni Moslems, non-Sunni Moslems, Christians (two Protestants, two Catholics and another chosen by the first four) and "other religions," (one Jain, one Sikh, one Buddhist, one Parsee and one Jew) each elected a *panchayat* these upper chambers would consist of 35 members, so distributed as to make tyranny of any one section impossible. With the power of vote, such a chamber would be most effective in rendering impossible the victimisation of legitimate minority interests at the hands of lower chambers elected on a population basis. If, say, legitimate Moslem interests had there been floated, they would be able to rally to themselves at least 4/7ths of the upper chamber; in fact, no minority need ever fear of being overwhelmed by mere numbers.

INDIA IN PERIODICALS.

THE POSITION OF INDIAN STATES. By K. M. Panikkar, ["The Asiatic Review," April 1926.]

THE DYNAMIC ELEMENT IN INDIAN RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT. By Prof. Carlo Formichi, ["The Visvabharati," April 1926.]

ROYAL COMMISSION ON AGRICULTURE AND CO-OPERATION. By the Hon'ble Mr. Ramdas Pantulu, B.A., B.L., ["The Hindusthan Review Quarterly," April 1926.]

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE INDIAN SCIENCE OF THOUGHT FROM THE BUDDHA STANDPOINT. By H. Bhattacharya, M.A., B.L., ["The Maha Bodhi," May 1926.]

PRIMARY EDUCATION IN BENGAL. By Prof. D. Chatterji, M.A., ["The Presidency College Magazine, Calcutta,"]

CHRISTIAN EVANGELISM AND CHANGING INDIA. By Rev. H. C. Balasundaram, ["The Young Men of India," June 1926.]

TO MY INDIAN SISTERS. By Ann Margaret Holmgren, ["Modern Review," June 1926.]

Questions of Importance

A Cure for Communal Disturbances

DR. SAPRU'S NOVEL SUGGESTION

In the course of a letter to the LEADER Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru suggested an extra-ordinary



SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU

remedy for communal aggressiveness. He proposed disenfranchisement of the affected area.

I raise no question as to the present day slogans "Hindu" or "Mahomedan", but I do suggest in all seriousness that we should ask for legislation making it possible to disenfranchise all electorates of Local Boards, Councils and the Assembly in any area, where communal riots take place. It should not be difficult to understand or define what is meant by a communal riot. Nor should it be difficult to get a properly constituted authority to declare that a communal riot has taken place. Once a declaration of that character has been made, the electorate of that particular district should be completely disenfranchised and should not be allowed to take part in any election to Local bodies or councils for, say, 3 years.

It may be said that this is a drastic suggestion. Drastic it is, but I am persuaded that once it is given effect to, we shall have fewer riots and very much less of that communal aggressiveness which we have been witnessing during the last one year or so. Political ambition knows how far it can go safely, and I feel it

will not then dare take risks which it can well afford to take at present. Leadership then will, I think, see to it, as much for interested as for disinterested reasons, that those who aspire to take part in the affairs of the country by working inside representative bodies or outside, do not offend against the first rule of society, viz., "live and let live."

Such a drastic solution has naturally been subjected to severe criticism from various quarters. But in answering his critics Sir Tej Bahadur still feels compelled to stick to his solution. He reiterates his original proposals and maintains:

The fact that my suggestion has been described as novel, or fantastic or autocratic, has not in the least upset me, or shaken my confidence in the soundness of my suggestion. That my suggestion is a drastic one, I myself conceded; but it seems to me that there are occasions when drastic steps have to be taken, and when they are taken in time, they save many more which cause greater bitterness afterwards. I maintain that this is one of those occasions.

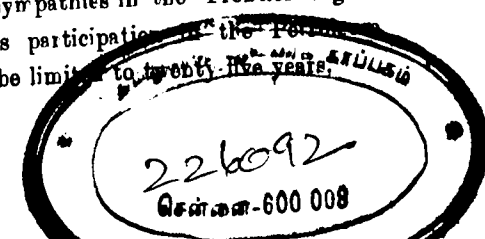
The Mosul Agreement

The Anglo-Turkish Agreement on the Mosul Question was signed at Angora on June 5th. It upholds the Brussels Line with a slight modification at one point in favour of Turkey, and maintains the demilitarised zone of 75 kilometres on either side of the Turko-Iraq Frontier. Turkey gets a tenth share of the Royalties due to the Iraq Government from all the oil in Iraq.

The modification of the Brussels Line in Turkey's favour is in the neighbourhood of Alimoun. The Turko-Iraqian Military Commission presided over by the Swiss will demilitarise the Frontier six months after the ratification of the Convention. The inhabitants of the ceded territory may opt for Turkish nationality.

It is stated that further negotiations are being held with Persia with a view to unifying the exploitation of all oil by the Anglo-Persian Oil Company and the Turkish Petroleum Company. Wells are expected to be active three years hence.

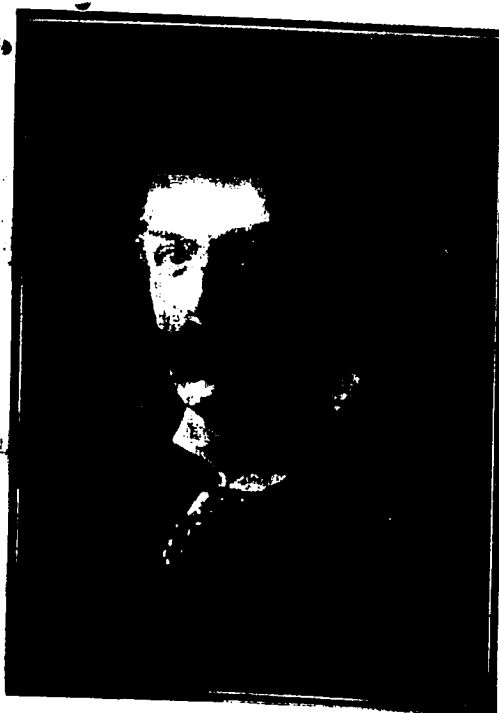
The Iraq Government will give amnesty to persons who have committed offences arising from their Turkish sympathies in the Frontier region while Turkey's participation in the Petroleum royalties will be limited to twenty-five years.



Utterances of the Day

Mr. Lloyd George's Fighting Speech

A fighting speech was delivered by Mr. Lloyd George at a luncheon at the Manchester Reform Club on June 5th where he was heartily cheered



MR. LLOYD GEORGE

by a large crowd. Mr. George declared that the present split in the Liberal Party was unworthy of the dignity of a great party. It was not a real quarrel but rotten quibble on a miserable and childish pretext. "If they mean to turn out a man from the Liberal Party," he said, "because he is on the side of the conciliation of millions of British workmen in their great dispute, then on that proposition, I shall fight right through to the end."

He had not had a square deal. He had not been allowed to speak for himself and a sentence was passed upon him driving him out from the councils of the Party contrary to the elementary

principles of British justice and fair play. He had no intention of accepting dismissal from the Liberal Party and he saw no sign of his being driven from the leadership of the Party in the Commons. He meant to get on with the job he had in hand, for he wanted to see the revival of regeneration, contentment, happiness and health throughout the country.

The Viceroy on India's Progress

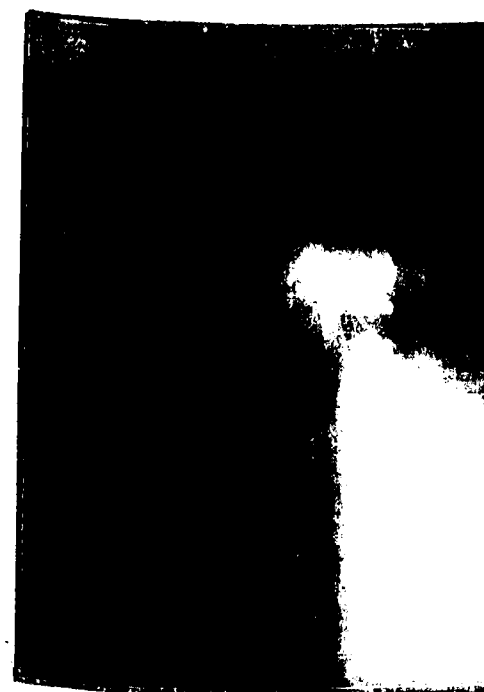
In the course of his reply to the Deputation of the European Association that waited on him at Simla on May 15, His Excellency Lord Irwin said:

Behind and beyond all political or religious differences and disputes the Government and the people of India as I conceive the position are partners in a great undertaking, that of fashioning the future of India with its as yet unknown reactions upon the lives of 300 millions of our fellow human beings. Some can bring gifts to the inspiration by which the whole must be illumined. Some can assist in facing the design. Many can be at work on the intricate mosaic out of which the picture is to take shape and colour. Real progress indeed, can only come through responsibilities realised and accepted and we may feel very sure that the task is one which will be successfully accomplished only by those who approach their work with hope in their eyes and trust in their hearts, for only through the mutual understanding and confidence of the workers can the design reach completion and it much depends on the efforts of all those who love India and seek to do her service whether the completed picture will be worthy to adorn the temple of history. Meanwhile as you observe in your address the day is drawing nearer when accomplishment will be weighed on its merits and when the mother of Parliaments will be called on to give an impartial verdict upon the measure of achievement in a sphere in which her store of experience invests her with special qualifications to judge. It is a source of encouragement to me that in my administration which must be expected to cover the period in which these grave questions will claim decision I may count upon the support of your Association and may look forward as occasion may demand to receiving the benefit of your judgment and advice. I shall value this help. In conclusion, gentlemen, let me assure you that at the inception of my work in India I know only the single desire of joining hands with all whether British or Indian, official or unofficial, who are striving to build the India that is to be. It is permissible to hope that by such common effort we may win the privilege of giving something to the solution of those problems on which depend the well-being and ordered progress of this country and its people.

Indian States

The Begum of Bhopal

Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal is now 67 years of age, and since she succeeded her mother she has during her reign of a quarter of a century personally conducted and introduced



H. H. THE BEGUM OF BHOPAL

many reforms in the administration of her State, which ranks next in importance to Hyderabad among the Mahomedan States of India. She is the eighth lineal descendant of the famous Dost Mahomed Khan. Her eldest son, the Nawab Obeidulla Khan died some time ago and it was in order to prevent the disadvantages of a Regency and to allow her to carry out her present purpose of taking a rest from the cares of State that she secured permission from the British Government to allow the succession to devolve upon Nawab Hamedulla, her second son, who has become the Sultan of Bhopal from May 16. By her abdication India has lost its only woman ruler.

Indian States' Conference

The sixth session of the Conference of Subjects of Indian States in the Deccan met at Poona on May 22 with Prof. G. R. Abhyankar in the Chair. In his address the president dwelt on such recent events connected with Indian States as the Indore Abdication, Bhopal Succession and the unequivocal definition by Lord Reading of the relationship existing between the Imperial Government and Indian States in fulfilment of their obligations towards Indian States. He wanted the Supreme Government in India to get the Indian Princes by all means in their power to grant Responsible Government to their subjects—a step as necessary to the interests of State subjects as to those of their rulers. The president pleaded for the bifurcation of the political and foreign departments. He also urged the creation of an institution representative of the subjects of Indian States and favoured the appointment of a Royal Commission or at least an influential Committee to go into the question of the treaty rights and status of Indian Princes, their duties and responsibilities as constitutional monarchs, etc.

The Young Maharaja Holkar

The young Maharaja Holkar of Indore sailed on the 22nd May by the s. s. *Ranpura* to England to complete his education at Oxford.

The young Maharaja's education has been somewhat disjointed. His period at Charter-house was short, being of only two terms' duration. Previous to that he was at a private school.

It has been arranged that the Maharaja's present tutors shall proceed to England with him, and for the first year that he shall live out of college with his tutor.

Indore State now has an Inspector-General of Police and it is anticipated that with stronger police control than previously the internal affairs of the State may run in the future along smoother channels.

Indians Outside India

Indians in South Africa

The two non-official members of the Paddison Deputation have expressed their views on the position of Indians in South Africa. Sir Deva-prasad Sarbadhikari who spoke at the Rotary



SIR D. P. SARBADHIKARY

Club Calcutta said that the members of the Paddison Deputation sent by the Government of India were as circumspect and discreet in South Africa as possible, for they had to take every conceivable step not to embarrass the South African Government and the Government of India in the delicate and difficult task before them.

As regards the future work he said that no pronouncement or suggestion by any responsible person was permissible because that would disturb the serene and dispassionate atmosphere necessary for the forthcoming Conference. He added that the result came to many as an agreeable surprise.

The Hon. Mr. Syed Raza Ali in the course of a statement to the Press said that anything like agitation against the Colour Bar Bill at this stage would be injudicious. He said :

While giving evidence before the Selett Committee in the Areas Reservation Bill, we consistently refused to be drawn into discussion of the native question. To questions put to us by certain members of the Committee as to how the Union Government could give greater rights to Indians than it had granted to the native population, our reply was that the native question was no concern of ours. As long as our countrymen were not subjected to disabilities it was not for us to express any opinion on the Union Government's domestic policy. I earnestly appeal to my countrymen not to depart from this attitude, which is generally appreciated in South Africa.

To this view of Mr. Raza Ali's, Messrs. Gandhi and Andrews have taken objection. But in a



HON. MR. SYED RAZA ALI

further communication Mr. Raza Ali maintains his position and asks his countrymen to be patient and do nothing to disturb the atmosphere of good feeling that has just been created between India and South Africa.

Industrial and Commercial Section

The International Labour Conference

The International Labour Conference which met at Geneva during the first week of this month adopted two resolutions proposed by the Indian



LALA LAJPAT RAI

workers' delegate, Lala Lajpat Rai. The first resolution was with regard to the enquiry into the conditions of Native Labour. This resolution was amended by Sir Wolfe, the British Government delegate. The second resolution was a proposal for the nomination of an Indian correspondent to the International Labour Office. Sir Wolfe's amendment which was accepted by Lala Lajpat Rai was carried by seventy-eight votes to three. Tsudzuki, Adviser to the Japanese Delegation, warmly supported Lajpat Rai's resolution in favour of the Labour Office appointing a correspondent for India and declared, "We cannot afford to leave a great land like India out of account." The resolution was carried seventy-nine voting for it and nobody voting against it.

Indian Merchants' Chamber

At the first quarterly meeting of the Indian Merchants' Chamber held last month, Lalji Narainji who presided, referred to the Currency Commission. He said the Government of India, instead of waiting for its report, (which may be published in the last week of this month) had again begun their favourite game of manipulation of exchange. The Committee of the Chamber criticised the action of the Government on April 6, in transferring three crores of Rupees from the treasury balances of the Government in India to their balances with the Secretary of State in London through the Paper Currency Reserve. The step taken meant the depletion of India's gold resources, making more difficult the establishment of a gold standard.

Depression in Textile Industry

A meeting of the Ahmedabad Millowners' Association was held on 5th June to consider the correspondence sent by the Bombay Millowners' Association regarding enquiry into the depression in the textile industry. It was unanimously resolved to join the Bombay Millowners' Association in their demand for a Tariff Board enquiry.

As we go to Press we learn the Government of India have appointed a Second Tariff Board with Mr. Frank Noyce as President to report on the Textile Industry of India with special reference to Bombay and Ahmedabad.

Mr. D. C. Gupta

Mr. D. C. Gupta is to succeed Mr. B. A. Collins, I. C. S., as Director of Industries, Bihar and Orissa. He is the first Indian to be appointed to the post in that province. Mr. Gupta, who is only 38, was educated at Harvard University, U. S. A. He has been employed for the last seven years in the Tata Steel Works and at present occupies the post of Superintendent of Coke Ovens, Jamshedpur.

Conference of Agriculture

His Excellency the Viceroy opened at Simla on June 7th the Conference of Ministers and Directors of Agriculture from the Provincial Governments.



H. E. LORD IRWIN

Speaking as the former Minister of Agriculture of Great Britain and as a farmer on his own land, Lord Irwin made very interesting observations. The Conference, he said, was summoned to arrange the preliminaries for the Royal Commission. The right moment had arrived for an examination of the agricultural policy in its widest bearings by an independent body of real authority. India had a definite place in the markets of the world, and the development of her agricultural potentialities, expansion of the quantity and the improvement of quality of her produce, had become essential to the maintenance of her commercial and financial position.

Then again as the agriculturist formed 71 per cent. of India's population and was the foundation of the whole economic prosperity of India, no system of administration could be justified which did not aim at making an improvement in his

standard of life and his equipment to take a proper share in India's future. If it was found that Indian agriculture can produce rewards at too low a subsistence level, the course open to them was to call upon science to unlock her secrets and take practical steps to overcome obstacles. Though spectacular results could not be anticipated, he was confident that the recommendations of the Royal Commission would be of the greatest value to India and the Conference he hoped would facilitate the work of the Commission and materially contribute to its successful issue.

After the Viceroy had opened the Conference, Sir Mahomed Habibullah made a speech which indicated briefly the plan of work to collect data for the ensuing Commission. The Conference, he said, would be only informal.

Sir Mahomed Habibullah then thanked those present for the alacrity with which they had



HON. SIR MAHOMED HABIBULLAH

accepted at such short notice, his invitation to come up to Simla and to discuss in an informal manner, how best to prepare the way for the work of the Royal Commission on Agriculture.

[SHORT NOTICES ONLY APPEAR IN THIS SECTION.]

The Odyssey of Homer. Translated by Sir William Maris, Oxford University Press.

Who could have thought that the writer of the Report On Constitutional Reforms would be busy translating Homer into the music of English speech? It shows Sir William's versatility that amidst the pre-occupations of his high office he has found time to devote himself to the study of the classics, and what is more to render intelligible to the Indian one of the noblest poems of ancient literature which to him has been—literally Greek. Sir William's verse has all the simplicity, directness and grace of the great Epic. The connoisseur may occupy himself by comparing passages from the prose of Butcher and Lang and Tennyson's Ulysses with Sir William's poetical rendering. But to lay readers the book is a thrilling story of life and adventure, told in a simple and attractive style worthy of the great Epic.

The Ocean of Story (C. H. Tawney's translation) Ed. by N. M. Penzer, M.A., F.R.G.S. Chas. J. Sawyer Ltd., Grafton House, London. W.I.

The Kathasaritsagara, as its name implies, is the very ocean of stories and it is well that a volume with such a wealth of tales should be made accessible to English readers. This is the fourth of the ten volumes into which it is proposed to issue this great work. It is published in grand style with notes and introduction and a foreword by Dr. F. W. Thomas. The stories, we need hardly add, represent some of the masterpieces of ancient Sanskrit literature.

The Indian Year Book 1926. Edited by Sir Stanley Reed and S. T. Sheppard. Messrs. Bennett Coleman & Co., Ltd., Fort, Bombay.

Year by year this Annual is improving in scope and usefulness; and the thirteenth edition, now on our table, is easily the standard book of reference on all things Indian. The notes supplied are copious and exact, and the arrangement of the matter leaves nothing to be desired.

Meditations on the Spiritual Life. By Sadhu Sundar Singh. Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London. 1926. Price 2 sh. 6d.

The name of Sadhu Sundar Singh is inseparably associated with that school of modern Christian thought which seeks to get back to primitive and apostolic conceptions of faith, practice and religious order. The volume before us is a faithful rendering from Urdu, the Sadhu's native tongue in which he naturally thinks aloud. The appreciative foreword by the Bishop of London reveals the extent of the Sadhu's influence. A general atmosphere of calm, unruffled faith in the Eternal pervades the whole volume. The studies evidence a close knowledge of the Bible, and disclose a man of great spiritual strength.

The Universe. By Benode Bihari Roy. Price Rs. 5/4. Research House, Rajshahi, Bengal.

The book treats of the three stages of the universe—creation, continuation and annihilation—and the learned author has largely relied upon his intimate and immense knowledge of the Vedas, to give his theories a historical basis. It may be a matter for surprise that some of his doctrines regarding the creation of the earth, and other planets based on a close study of the Vedas, the Vishnu Puranas and other ancient Sanskrits, very often coincide with the theories that are now discovered by Western Science. Binode Babu's researches on power, atom, ether, motion etc., are very edifying and mainly coincide with scientific opinion.

In Quest of God. By Ramdas—P Ganesh Rau, Gourimatt Street, Mangalore. 8 as.

As the name of the book implies, the work chronicles the struggles of a soul to emancipate itself from the trammels of the world, till at last it finds its solace and salvation in the magic Mantra of Ram. The book also depicts the various pilgrimages made by the devotee, to important places of worship and the adventures and other incidents that beset him during his tours.

Diary of the Month

- May 14. The personnel of the Indian Public Services Commission is announced.
- May 15. Dr. Rabindranath Tagore left Bombay for Italy.
- May 16. Mahomed VI the ex-Sultan of Turkey is dead.
- May 17. Nawabzada Hamidulla Khan becomes the Ruler of Bhopal, his mother the Begum abdicating in his favour.
- May 18. The Bengal Legislative Council passed the Emergency Security Bill to-day.
- May 19. Viscount Cecil opened the Disarmament Conference at Geneva.
- May 20. The Karnataka Provincial Conference met at Bellary to-day.
- May 21. The Bengal Provincial Conference met at Krishnagar with Mr. B. J. Sasmal in the chair.
- May 22. Indian States Subjects' Conference met in Poona, Mr. G. R. Abhyankar presiding.
- May 23. M. de Jouvenal proclaims the declaration of the Lebanese Republic.
- May 24. A farewell entertainment was given to Mr. Eardley Norton to-day at Kodaikanal.
- May 25. Abdel Krim has surrendered.
- May 26. A severe volcanic eruption occurred in Hokkaido (Japan) resulting in heavy casualties.
- May 27. The International Labour Conference met at Geneva to-day.
- May 28. H. M. the King gave audience to 40 delegates of the Commercial Conference.
- May 29. President Coolidge signed a Bill permitting aliens who served during the War to enter U.S.A. regardless of quota restrictions.
- May 30. The International Parliamentary Commercial Conference met at Rugby to-day.
- May 31. The Indian Sandhurst Committee left Liverpool for America.
- June 1. Signor Mussolini received Dr. Rabindranath Tagore to-day at Rome.
- June 2. The Portuguese President has resigned.
- June 3. Viscount Willingdon is appointed Governor-General of Canada.
- June 4. The Begum of Bhopal arrived in Bombay to-day.
- June 5. The Anglo-Turkish Agreement regarding the Mosul Question has been signed.
- June 6. Syed Hussain Bilgrami died to-day.
- June 7. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad left for England.
- June 8. The Freedom of the City of London was conferred upon the Marquis of Reading.
- June 9. Rt. Hon. Baldwin was presented with the Freedom of the City of Edinburgh.
- June 10. Lord Lytton left Calcutta for England.
- June 11. Sir Leslie Wilson resumed charge of his office as Governor of Bombay.
- June 12. The Muslim Councillors of the Calcutta Corporation resigned as a protest against the enquiry into the conduct of the Dy. Mayor.
- June 13. The Maharajah of Bobbili is appointed Pro-Chancellor of the Andhra University.



H. H. THE MAHARAJA OF BOBBILI

June 13. The Maharajah of Bobbili is appointed Pro-Chancellor of the Andhra University.

Literary

Mr. Baldwin the Scholar-Statesman

Reviewing the Speeches of Mr. Baldwin Sir Edmund Gosse pays a fine tribute to the Prime Minister's love of literature and art.

It is part of his whole system that he insists on inquiring of what help books may be to the ordinary man or woman. To do this he is ready to take the exclusive study of thought and imagination out of the hands of



MR. STANLEY BALDWIN

the pedants. That is well, so far as it goes, but what is to be done with these precious objects when they are rescued from those who at least valued them highly if they did not know how to use them? If the arts are snatched from pedantry merely to be vulgarised and neglected, it would have been better to leave them where they were. The denunciation of special knowledge is very apt to conceal a dislike of the discipline of literature, to be a hypocritical pretence of saving treasure only to drop it in a pond.

There are plenty of men only too ready to hide under a breezy attack upon "high brows" an instinctive dislike of what a careful attention to art and letters has to give. Mr. Baldwin is on his guard against this particular defection and offers no sort of asylum to a feverish scurrying hither and thither of mean half-thoughts and ill-expressed evasions. He finds a remedy for this disease of the democracy in the study of the Classics. Mr. Baldwin is truly and sincerely concerned for the preservation of ancient literature, in which he finds a medicine for most of our modern diseases of opinion.

On Message to New Journals

Every new journal (monthly, weekly or daily) when about to be launched into existence wants a message with blessings from every conceivable public man, writes Swami Shradananda in his paper THE LIBERATOR. My one standing message to all such new ventures is—"Stand up for Justice and Truth eschewing all partisanship and God will bless your efforts." To the requests of publishers of special numbers of Hindu journals for articles my only reply is "avoid personal bickerings and internecine warfare; try to placate and not to provoke those whom you consider your enemies or who think you to be inimically disposed towards them." Whatever I have to say deliberately always finds a place in THE LIBERATOR. After the above standing message I need not send replies to every personal request.

Shakespeare's Sonnets

We regret a mistake in the footnote to the Hon. Sir Murray Coutts-Trotter's article on Shakespeare's Sonnets in the May Number of the REVIEW. The publishers of Sir Denys Bray's book on "The Original Order of Shakespeare's Sonnets" are Methuen & Co. Ltd., and not Macmillans.

BOOKS RECEIVED

- A NATION IN MAKING. By Sir Surendranath Banerjee, Oxford University Press, Madras.
- WHO'S WHO IN BRITISH ADVERTISING. The Gainsborough Publishing Co., 62, Windsor House, Victoria Street, London, S.W. 1.
- THE NERVOUS MECHANISM OF PLANTS. By Sir Jagadis Chunder Bose, Longmans Green & Co., 39, Paternoster Row, London, E.C. 4.
- CRIME IN INDIA. By S. M. Edwardes, C.A.I. Oxford University Press, Madras.
- STENOGRAPHY FOR INDIA. By V. S. Bendrey 158, Shanwar Peth, Poona City.
- HUMAN NATURE AND EDUCATION with special reference to India. By A. S. Woodburne, Oxford University Press, Madras.

Educational

Dr. Paranjpye's Work

Dr. Paranjpye's work as Education Minister has been duly appreciated in all quarters. The SUBODHA PATRIKA writes that during his regime as the first Education Minister under the new



DR. R. P. PARANJPYE

Reforms Scheme a step of far reaching importance was taken whereby all Government and Aided Schools were asked to admit Depressed Class children without observing any caste distinctions whatever.

Some persons of pronounced advanced views protested against this measure on hygienic grounds. Of course, there was not much substance in this argument, because as a matter of fact there were and are many high-caste children who are of as unclean habits as the D. C. ones; and all D. C. children are not dirty. The opposition was the result of prejudices which die very hard. The D. P. I. in a note on the situation, now says that generally speaking, all schools except some which meet in temples, admit untouchables' children without distinction. We know some schools which even go so far as to give special facilities to these children. Thus what was considered a rash step has resulted in the promotion of a much needed reform.

Primary Education at Delhi

The Chief Commissioner of Delhi in the course of a notification dated May 27 sanctions the proposal of the Municipality in connection with the introduction of the Punjab Primary Education Act (7 of 1919) and directs that part 2 of the Act shall be applied within the limits of Delhi Municipality with effect from 1st July 1926.

The public has also been informed that it will be an offence for parents and employers of boys between 6 and 11 years of age to neglect to send them to a recognised school for primary education which is free.

National Education in Bengal

The Annual general meeting of the National Council of Education, Bengal was held on June 5th under the presidency of Mr. Basanta Kumar Bose. The Annual report for the year 1925, which was adopted mentioned the loss sustained by the Council by the deaths of the late Desatandhu C. R. Das and Sir Surendranath Bannerjee. The report also mentions that in the year under review the total receipts of the Council amounted to Rs. 367,741 odd and the total expenses came to Rs. 365,283 odd. The following office-bearers were appointed for the current year:—President, Sir P. C. Ray, Vice-President, Messrs. B. Chakravarty, Basanta Kumar Bose, Hardayal Nag, Sir Devaprasad Sarvadikhary, Sir Nilratan Sircar and Pandit Panchnam Tarkaratna; Honorary Rector, Mr. B. C. Pal.

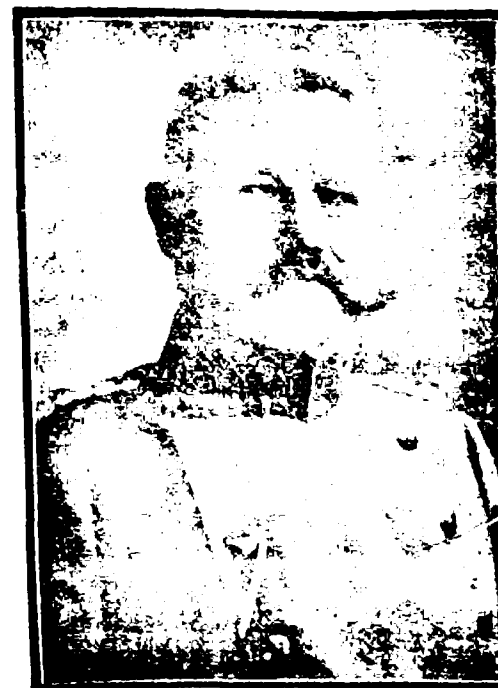
A Tamil University for S. India

A Committee has been appointed by the Government of Madras for the purpose of considering the necessity for a Tamil University and the nature and type of the university and to submit a detailed scheme in connection therewith. The Committee is also to investigate the financial resources available for the purpose. It will consist of 30 members including heads of colleges in Tamil districts and others interested in the formation of the University.

Legal

Hindenburg & the Kaiser's Property

Early this month Von Hindenburg, President of the German Reichstag sent a letter to the



VON-HINDENBURG

Reichstag threatening resignation in the event of the plebiscite resulting in favour of the expropriation of the properties of the Hohenzollern and other Royal families.

The President said: "I have spent my life in the service of the Kings of Prussia and the German Kaisers, and I regard the plebiscite as a great wrong and a regrettable lack of feeling and tradition and an uncouth piece of thanklessness." Von-Hindenburg foresees a serious attack against the structure of the State whose deepest foundation is the respect for law and the recognition of property.

When the Compromise Bill was brought before the Reichstag, Dr. Marx declared that the demand for confiscation without compensation was against the principles of the legal state and against the Constitution, which conferred on all citizens equal rights. He added that if the plebiscite resulted in the negative, the Government would do its utmost to reach a settlement in the spirit of the Compromise Bill, and would not hesitate to take the consequences, if it was impossible for the Reichstag to reach agreement.

A Deputy of the Centre Party, on behalf of the Government Parties, approved of the Bill.

Socialist Muellim attacked Marshal Von Hindenburg regarding his recent letter opposing expropriation without compensation, and said that Marshal Von Hindenburg was guilty of unconstitutional partisanship.

The Compromise Bill was finally referred to the Judicial Committee.

Mr. Gandhi and the French Bar

Every year, at the opening of the French Supreme Court, an important State function is held, to which distinguished guests, both French and foreign, are invited, when some chosen barrister delivers an elocution upon some important trial that has taken place, whether in France or elsewhere. This year, when among others, the Lord Chief Justice of England will be present, the subject that has been selected by Dr. (Mlle.) Juliette Veillier, Avocat a la Cour de Paris a distinguished graduate of French legal faculty and a bachelor of laws of a well-known American University, is the trial of Mahatma Gandhi at Ahmedabad. The occasion, which is strictly non-political, will be availed of in order to discuss the limits of the domain of law in relation to a moral issue, and it is expected that Mlle. Veillier will make a valuable contribution to legal thought upon a subject that has not been very thoroughly explored until now.

Medical

The Indian Medical Service

The Indian members of the Indian Medical Service have individually memorialised the Secretary of State for India pointing out that distinction is being made between the Indian and European members of the Service with regard to concessions granted to the European members of the Service by way of free passages to Europe. The memorial has further pointed out that the Medical Science is a highly progressive and technical one and each member of the Service should be acquainted with an up-to-date knowledge in the Medical World. If for financial reasons, the memorial continues, the Indian Members of the Service are unable to visit Europe the efficiency of the Service will suffer with consequent loss to the State.

The Late Sir James Cantlie

The medical fraternity have lost a very distinguished member by the death of Sir James Cantlie, founder and first President of the Royal Society of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene, as well as founder and Editor of the JOURNAL OF TROPICAL MEDICINE. Sir James was born at Duftown in Banffshire in 1851, and was the son of a farmer and banker. On completion of his medical training he was posted to Charing Cross Hospital as demonstrator and surgeon, a position that he held for fifteen years. In 1883, while on a visit to Egypt he gained some practical experience of tropical medicine in a cholera expedition. Four years later he visited China, and was Dean of a College of Medicine for Chinese for nine years. Sir James subsequently became Plague Officer to the London County Council and Consulting Surgeon to the Seamen's Hospital Society. In 1891 he visited India, and later Japan, Russia and America. He is the author of a large number of medical treatises and text-books which are invaluable to the profession.

Gifts to Hospitals

A MATERNITY HOSPITAL

In memory of his late mother, Mr. K. Ramaswamayya of the Bombay Engineering Service, recently offered a magnificent donation of Rs. 45,000 towards the construction of a Maternity Hospital at Holenarsipur, and its maintenance with accommodation for 16 beds. This magnanimous donation was gratefully accepted and added to by the Hassan District Board and by the Government of Mysore. The building is expected to be ready within six months, and the Senior Surgeon is about to appoint capable staff to manage the Maternity.

DAS MEMORIAL HOSPITAL

The Board of trustees of the Deshabandhu Memorial have opened a hospital for women, under the name of the Chittaranjan Seva Sadan, at the late Mr. C.R. Das's house in Russa Road, Calcutta from March 22 of this year.

A BIG HOSPITAL AT BARISAL

Mr. Tarini Charan Shaha of Chhandkatt, Barisal has executed and registered a Will, bequeathing property worth about a lakh in G. P. Notes, cash and landed interest for the establishment of a Hospital in connection with the proposed medical school at Barisal.

His wife Sarojini has also executed and registered another Will bequeathing all her stridhan property for the same object.

"Radium Necrosis:" A New Disease

A disease called "radium necrosis," regarded in some quarters as a new occupational disease, is held responsible for the death of five persons and for numerous cases of sickness among the workers employed in a New Jersey factory in the application of luminous paint to watch and clock dials. It is stated that the disease resulted from the practice of the dial painters of pointing their brushes in their mouths.

Science

The Age of the Earth

More and more, science is coming to the aid of religion in confirming certain beliefs once held to be superstitious. Science in the long run is to vindicate religion.

Dr. F. R. Moulton, Professor of Astronomy at the University of Chicago, has told the American Association for the Advancement of Science that the world will continue from now for at least a million billion years.

The earth is an infant, he says, which has only lived one half-millionth of its allotted span. According to radium deposits in the rocks, it is now but two billion years old.

From the number of the stars, their distance apart, the speed and directions of their movement, it is calculated with reasonable confidence, according to Dr. Moulton, that stars approach close enough to each other to destroy each other's planets on an average of once in a million billion years.

Wireless on Moving Trains

Experiments have recently been made with a view to demonstrating whether an efficient wireless service is practicable on moving trains.

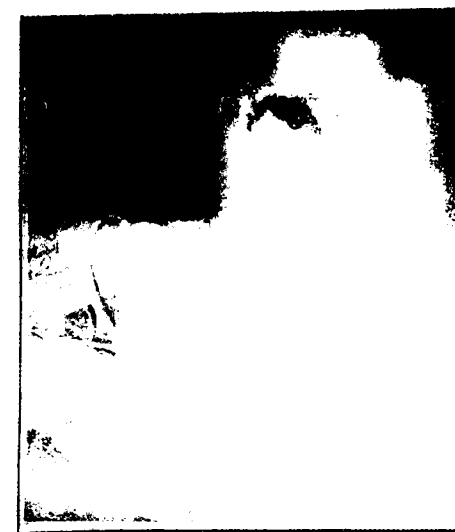
In one case a non-stop express was fitted with twenty pairs of headphones and also with loud-speakers, connected with a receiving set on the train.

Where there were hills between the train and the transmitting station the signals occasionally faded appreciably. All hills did not have this effect, however; it was those rich in mineral deposits, and thus exercising a magnetic influence, which interfered with reception.

There was no fading when the express passed under bridges, but in the centre of a tunnel reception became very difficult. Altering the tuning, however, seemed to have a good effect in some cases.

Destruction of Einstein's Theory

A number of prominent scientists in the United States have been following the work of Dr. Dayton Miller, the American Astronomer who claims that his success in measuring the motion



PROF. EINSTEIN

and the direction of the earth and the solar system through space, which is technically known as an "ether drift," threatens the absolute destruction of Einstein's theory of relativity. Einstein maintains that it is impossible to detect the motion of the earth in the solar system. But the New York correspondent of the DAILY EXPRESS states: "Dr. Miller claims that he has succeeded in measuring this motion, thereby annulling the second postulate of Einstein."

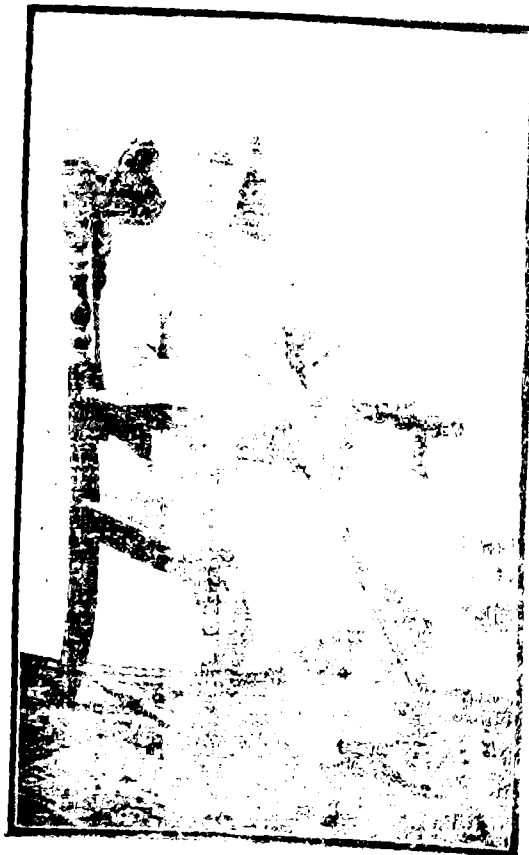
Dr. Miller says that he has not only measured the drift, but that he has determined the direction and size of the movements. Hence for the first time in history, he asserts, it is possible to state the speed of the solar system and also the direction of its movement.

Dr. Miller states that he may shortly be able to calculate the motions of the entire universe.

Personal

Syed Hussain Bilgrami

We deeply regret to record the death of Syed Hussain Bilgrami the ex-member of the India Council at Hyderabad on June 3rd. Born in 1842, Syed Hussain's early education was at



SYED HUSSAIN BILGRAMI

Patna, Bhagalpur and Calcutta. He had special facilities, his father being Deputy Collector as also his uncle who appreciated the value of a good education.

In 1873 Syed Hussain became the Private Secretary to Sir Salar Jung. For over fifty years this stalwart Mussalman served the State of

Hyderabad in some capacity or other, some of the important posts he held at different times having been those of the Chief Secretary to the Nizam, Tutor to the late and the present Nizam, Educational Secretary and Director of Public Instruction, and Adviser to Salar Jung the Third who was for some time Minister.

In 1907 Lord Morley appointed him a member of the India Council, the first Mahomedan to sit on that Council. Syed rarely stepped into controversial politics. Perhaps the last service rendered by this Grand Old Man of Hyderabad was the wording of the Manifesto of the Nizam just after Turkey joined the Germans: that was intended to assure the unswerving loyalty of Indian Muslims.

Coming back to India in 1909 he made the Dominion of the Nizam his home and worked there for a while as the Chief Adviser to the Prime Minister of His Highness.

It was only last year that the Osmania University conferred on him the LL.D. degree.

His death is a loss not only to the Muslim community but to India as a whole.

For a detailed account of Syed Hussain Bilgrami the reader may be referred to a recent publication. (EMINENT MUSSALMANS. Price Rs. 3. To Subscribers of the INDIAN REVIEW, Rs. 2-8. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.)

A Tribute to Mr. Andrews

The INDIAN OPINION paid the following just and warm tribute on the eve of his departure from South Africa to the great work which Mr. C. F. Andrews did there in connection with the Asiatic Bill:—

Mr. Andrews has come, he has seen and has truly conquered. He has conquered the heart of every Indian, he has conquered the hearts of many Europeans and he has conquered the anti-Asiatics by establishing a case against them which crushes their case to atoms. The practical work that Mr. Andrews has done during his visit is unsurpassed. If after all the labour Mr. Andrews has taken to lead the country to the right path the proposed racial legislation still passes it will not be the fault of Mr. Andrews, it will be the fault of the British Empire.



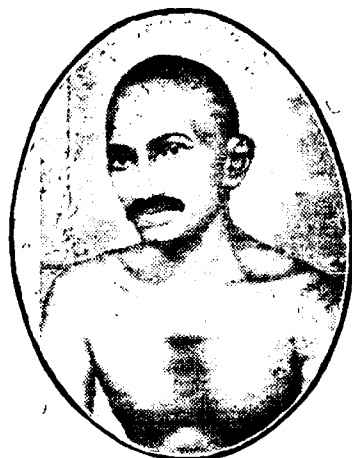
Lord Willingdon

H. M. The King has been pleased to approve the appointment of Viscount Willingdon to be Governor General of Canada in succession to General Lord Byng of Vimy whose term of office will shortly expire. Viscount Willingdon, when he was Mr. Freeman Thomas, was a Liberal member of the House of Commons. He was junior Lord of the Treasury in Asquith's Government from 1905 to 1912. He was Governor of Bombay from 1913 to 1919 and Governor of Madras from 1919 to 1924. Recently Viscount Willingdon has been head of the Deputation which has been in China ascertaining how best the unappropriated balance of the Boxer Indemnity may be applied for the benefit of the Chinese people.

General

Mr. Gandhi as an Ideal Christian

"A greater Christian than many a Christian" is the tribute paid to Mr. Gandhi by Doctor Josiah Oldfield, senior physician, Lady Margaret Trinitarian Hospital, Kent, who in a letter to the



M. K. GANDHI

HINDU recalls interesting reminiscences of Mr. Gandhi's life in England especially in connection with the work of the Vegetarian Society of which Mr. Gandhi was the Secretary and the doctor, the President. In the course of the letter the Doctor says:

Mr. Gandhi in his reminiscences recalls his comradeship with myself and the influence that I had upon him when he was a student in England, and I should like to place on record for the encouragement of all young Indians coming to England that Mr. Gandhi placed his word on a higher plane than his life and that what he promised his mother he fulfilled wholly, regardless whether it meant living or dying.

This lonely lad in a foreign country, without friends or colleagues and with the pressure of the doctors and nurses round him, determined that he would die if necessary rather than break his pledged word to his mother; and his work in England even as a youth, although he belittles it in his own biography, was always marked by earnestness, trustworthiness and perseverance. We had many discussions upon religion and I recognise to-day that Mr. Gandhi's life was far more in accord with the ideal life of a Christian, although he

refused to become one in name than that of the millions who are Christians in name, but who do not pretend even to follow the rules of Christianity in their lives. I should like to recall Mr. Gandhi's endurance when he came to England, in connection with the South African work. He was suffering severely from a carious tooth which gave him painful sleeplessness. He had a committee for an hour and then a few minutes' interval followed on by another important committee meeting. He asked me if I could remove the tooth during the few minutes' interval. After examining it and finding that it was difficult and painful one to take out, I gave him anaesthetic and removed the tooth and ten minutes after he was holding his next committee. Most people would have lain down for an hour after having had the anaesthetic. It was a matter of great sorrow to me when I saw the last photograph of the Mahatma after he had come out of hospital following his imprisonment and I compared it with a photograph which I reproduced when I was editing a newspaper in England of the same man when he was a fair young lad. There may be millions who disagree with much that Mr. Gandhi has taught. But there are still larger numbers who recognise his single-heartedness, his wisdom of outlook and deep probity of nature. These are characters which are far more valuable to the world than being called a clever politician or a wise member of legislature.

Servants of India Society's Loss

The news of the disastrous fire in the DNYAN PRAKASH press, owned by the Servants of India Society has been received all over the country with deep pain; but not till we read the authoritative statement issued to the press did we realize at all the appalling nature of the catastrophe. The loss is estimated at 4 or 5 lakhs which must at once be met by the generosity of the public so that the DNYAN PRAKASH and the SERVANT OF INDIA may continue their educative work uninterrupted. But the destruction of Poona's historic documents including the invaluable letters of the late Mr. Gokhale are well nigh irreparable. It is a public loss over which the whole country, irrespective of parties or classes, feel profoundly. It must be some consolation to the Society that already men of varying shades of political opinion have demonstrated their sympathy, and we have no doubt that this sympathy will express itself in substantial contributions to the funds of the Society so as to enable it to re-establish the Press and renew its publications.