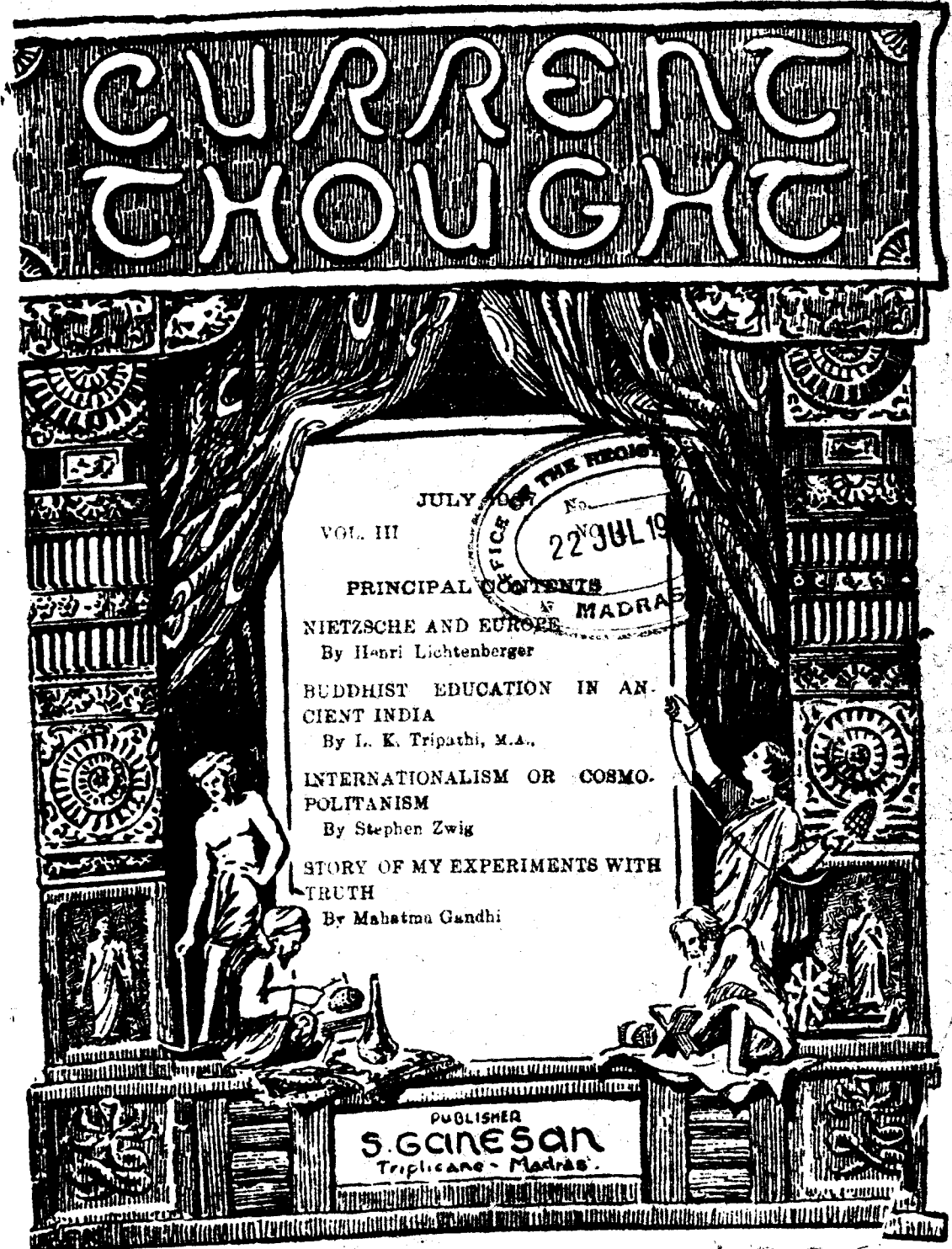




Contents

Vol. III

JULY 1927

	PAGE		PAGE
NIETZSCHE AND EUROPE		WHAT THINKERS THINK	
By Henri Lichtenberger	... 145	A Prayer for Age	... 176
BUDDHIST EDUCATION IN ANCIENT INDIA		A Call for Greatness	... 176
By L. K. Tripathi, M. A.	... 152	The World Outlook	... 177
INTERNATIONALISM OR COSMOPOLITANISM		The Salvation of the World	... 177
By Stephen Zweig	... 161	The Key to the Future	... 178
THE STORY OF MY EXPERIMENTS WITH		Wanted a Triple Alliance	... 178
TRUTH by M. K. Gandhi.	... 164	Faith in Democracy	... 178
REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS		The Challenge of Fascism	... 179
<i>Economics:</i>		Where the doctrines meet	... 180
Politics and the Land		Deepen the basis of Democracy	... 180
By G. K. Ramachandran	... 168	The State & the Individual	... 181
<i>Politics:</i>		Man is above the Citizen	... 182
China and the Nations		The Golden Rule for Nations	... 183
By G. K. Ramachandran	... 168	Internationalism in Schools	... 183
<i>Philosophy:</i>		Secondary Education for all	... 185
The Hindu View of Life		The Indictment of British Universities	... 185
By T. R. C. Mani	... 171	Russia Unchanged	... 185
Eastern Conceptions of Evolution		Folly of anti-Bolshevist Propaganda	... 185
By K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, B.A. B.L.	... 171	China's Vital Need	... 185
The Philosophical Writings of Henry More		Wanted a new doctrine of life	... 185
By T. R. C. Mani	... 173	America's claim to Idealism exposed	... 185
Social Struggle and Thought		The Acid test	... 191
By Richard Gregg	... 175	Shall we put them to death?	... 191
<i>Science:</i>		The sanctity of life	... 192
The Teaching of Science			
By C. S. Narayanswamy	... 175		

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Current Thought

*That which exists is One
The wise name It variously*

—RIG VEDA

Vol. III

JULY 1927

Nietzsche and Europe

BY HENRI LICHTENBERGER



AMONG the errors which are often committed, even to-day, with regard to Nietzsche, I will include those which consist in mixing him up with current political controversies. It is no wonder. Take the well known formulae of Nietzsche on the opposition between "masters" and "slaves", between the "beautiful savage" and "the herd": collect together his diatribes against democracy and socialism, add to these his thesis on the necessity for a hierarchy, his apology for aristocracy and noble blood, his faith in the arrival of a "Master of the Earth", his predilection for the great conquerors from Caesar to Napoleon, and you can, without any difficulty, classify Nietzsche, either for praise or for blame, among the adversaries of popular government, the despisers of parliamentarism, the renegades of the democratic ideal, the champions of the politics of power, or the prophets of Fascism.

Now, it is enough to throw a rapid glance over Nietzschean literature to be convinced that this is a very superficial judgment. Nietzsche is nothing less than a thinker of the "Right". But it is entirely among the conservatives and the traditionalists of various degrees that he has encountered the most decided opposition. The imperialist who works for the increase of the military or economic power of his state finds in him an irreconcilable adversary and combats his

influence. The man who loves order, who defends religious, moral and political faiths against the assaults of doubt, and who views nihilism as an aberration of the human spirit, regards this anti-christian and immoralist as an incarnation of the devil spirit. The chastened nihilists who recoil before the alarming wilderness where the absolute scientific instinct and the radical subjectivism of their master lead them, can well render homage to the intellectual courage of Nietzsche, but condemn him as the typical representative of the spirit of indiscipline, the destroyer of all order and all civilisation. In contrast to Nietzsche we can speak of them in a general way as the self-satisfied and the authoritarian, viz. on the one hand, those who are perfectly aware of the case of our capitalistic society and to-day aspire for nothing more than the material reconstruction of Europe and the revival of useful efforts towards a better life, and, on the other hand those who preach an ideal of discipline, subordination and obedience and consider with defiance the breaker of idols philosophising to the tune of hammer blows, the enemy of the State, of the Church, of Morality and of the People.

Inversely, if it is true that the democrats can scarcely, without paradox, claim him as one of themselves, and if one is not astonished that

some of them have denounced him as a brutal aristocrat, an apologist of slavery and theorist of exploitation of man by man, it is nevertheless a fact that Nietzsche has from the very beginning excited considerable interest, not only among the intellectuals of the left but also among the workers themselves as is evident from a recent enquiry. And this is easily understood, because it is clear that Nietzsche was conspicuous to all the revolutionaries by the radicalism with which he rebelled against all modern societies and by the bitterness with which he condemned the same adversaries who combated socialism, nationalist imperialism, traditional monarchy, capitalism and the mercantile spirit. This "aristocrat" expressly disapproved all reaction towards the past and declared clearly "What matter they to me, the princes and the priests of the present who wish to live by duping themselves." The revolutionaries thus feel themselves instinctively drawn towards the great despiser of capitalist society and the modern State. Let us add, that simple people perceive by intuition the nobility of heart of the solitary thinker—let us remember that the humble folk of Genoa among whom he lived familiarly had surnamed him "*il piccolo santo*"—and feel immediately that he is not on the side of the great against the humble nor, above all, on the side of the rich against the poor.

It cannot suffice, in these circumstances, to define in some simple formulae the attitude of Nietzsche towards political problems. It is indispensable, if one wants to render him justice to enter a little more deeply into the real sense, and the profound significance of his formulae.

To begin with, it is incontestable that hostility to the democratic ideal, and, consequently to the modern democratic State, is one of the essential elements of the doctrine of Nietzsche.

According to him, historical evolution tends to reduce humanity to the state of a vast, uniform herd. Following the Christian, who makes all men equal before God and promises them perfect happiness beyond the grave, the Democrat requires all men to be equal before the Law and induces them to realise on the earth, their dream of the little saint.

of perfect felicity. He aspires to create a society where inequality will be banned, where all men will have the same rights, the same duties and an equal share of happiness, where there will be no gradations, where none will obey or command, where there will be neither masters nor slaves, neither riches nor poverty, but an amorphous mass of "citizens" all alike. This is the ideal towards which tend all democrats, whatever be their labels; whether they are called republicans, socialists or anarchists. They are all of one accord in rejecting all superior authority, in desiring "neither Gods, nor Masters", and in proscribing all privilege. They all agree in a common aversion to justice which chastises, and incline to regard all punishment as iniquitous. They all fraternise in a religion of pity, in a horror of pain, in the conviction that suffering ought to be abolished. They all have faith in the masses "as such". They believe that every individual can, and ought to, find his personal good in the good of the entire social body, and that the good can be attained by the sympathy of every one towards all, and by universal brotherhood.

The same levelling instinct is evident today in the conception of the relation between man and woman. Feminism completes the work of democracy. And Nietzsche condemned the one as he detested the other. He did not admit the feminine idol, and disputed the genuineness of the views of those who saw in woman a superior creature, possessed of more refined instincts, and a more delicate and surer moral sense than man, capable of guiding humanity to the highest destiny. Above all, he pursued with his most ferocious sarcasm, the emancipated woman who has lost the respect for and the fear of man, who does not expect to be given, anything, but pretends to behave towards him as an equal to an equal, who resents, almost as an injury, the homage and the tenderness of the strong sex towards the weak, and wishes to conquer with him in the struggle for life.

What can be the end of all this evolution? It is to suppress, everywhere, beauty and diversity; it is to transform the world into a vast lazaret, where crawl without great pain, but also without

great joy, a multitude of uninteresting beings, all equal in their mediocrity and in their impotence, who drag on a dull and aimless life. And this is, to Nietzsche, an immense danger. If the effeminate, the prudent and the fickle minded, without desire and without hope, is the type which is going to definitely inhabit the earth, it is then the end of the prodigious adventure of our race, it is the end of the gigantic effort of the being which produced without relaxation, new and superior forms.

It is evident that, in these circumstances, Nietzsche, who sees in the birth of genius, in the advent of the Superman the highest function of humanity, and who sees in the "people" but a round-about way Nature takes to produce some great men, cannot but be hostile to the whole theory which enjoins the subordination of the individual to the collective. He is on the antipodes with regard to Hegel who celebrated the State as the "real God" and "in itself the absolute end," who absorbed the individual in the state, and showed that individuals exist only by, and for the State, which alone can manifest in itself Liberty and the absolute Right. He also combated in the most decisive fashion, against practical Hegelianism, the faith in the State so universally prevalent in Imperial Germany after 1871, both among the subjects, who preserved, to a rare degree, the respect for discipline, monarchy and absolutist tradition, and among leaders, the better among whom appeared as the ascetics of a veritable religion of State and Authority. To his eyes, the State is a "new idol" which he holds up to ridicule in a famous chapter of Zarathustra. The modern world, he says, never knows People, but only States. Now, the State is the coldest of all monsters, to which all is artifice and imposture, which roars "There is nothing greater on the earth than myself, I am the ordaining finger of God" It draws towards itself the superfluous people, devours them and chews them. But alas, it seduces also, by its falsehoods, the great souls, the noble hearts, who aspire to sell themselves cheap. It enrolls them in its service, adorns itself with their greatness, their heroism, their virtues and their wisdom. "There, where the State ceases,

and there only, begins the man who is not superfluous: there begins the chant of necessity, the unique and irreplaceable melody. There where the State ceases—see, O my brothers—do you not see the arc in the heaven and the bridges of the Superman?" Nietzsche detested the state because it subordinated the superior individual to the collectivity: because it had for its aim the conquest of political or economic power, and not an effort towards a superior type of humanity; because it placed at the head of the hierarchy, not the "creator of new values" but a sovereign who owed his position to his birth, an aristocracy of lords, courtesans and upstarts, or an oligarchy of plutocrats.

But the devotees of the State do not limit themselves to the subordination of the individual to the collective; they want, besides, the triumph of a National State. They confound the State with the country. On this point also Nietzsche raised an emphatic protest. He is not at all mistaken when he calls himself "a man without a country." He is, in reality, no more of an anti-patriot than he is an anarchist. If one quotes the text of his famous invectives against Germany to affirm that he was lacking in patriotism, it only shows that one has not understood the way in which Nietzsche understood and practised the love of his country. But it is quite true that he was in no sense a nationalist, and that he especially condemned that form of nationalism which was flourishing at his time in Germany, namely Pan Germanism. At the moment when the nationalist fever affirmed itself among his compatriots with a bursting enthusiasm, his part was already taken. He aspired, not for the triumph of Germanism, but for the renaissance of Hellenism, the advent of a "tragic" culture which would be neither specifically Greek, nor specifically German, but European, or universally human. And, if he began by admitting that it was in Germany, above all, that the new culture was prepared, that German genius ought naturally to expand in itself into the European genius, he was not late in renouncing this hope. Very soon the providential mission of Germany became problematic to his eyes. In his heart of hearts he cherished the hope that his country would

one day play a glorious part in the evolution of humanity. But he felt more and more strongly the immense, painful and unsupportable difference which existed at that time between the ideal German genius and the German genius then existing, which Nietzsche hated and condemned, and against which he thenceforth set himself with increasing exasperation.

With perfect clarity, he put forth Cosmopolitanism as against State-nationalism as the necessary postulate of the immediate future. The Europe of today ought to face the great task of unification. The United States of Europe are a psychological, historical and economic necessity, whose advent is prepared irresistibly by the progressive crumbling of the nations, and by the formation of a composite race issuing from the increasingly different nationalities, the race of Europeans. The Napoleonic dream of a united Europe, mistress of the world, ought inevitably to be realised sooner or later. Against this unitary tendency is set up today a nationalistic reaction, very clamorous and very turbulent, but impotent, because it is artificial. Nationalism is, in its essence, a state of constraint imposed on the masses by a small oligarchy; it is maintained by cunning, falsehood and violence. It has not its roots in the soul of the people, but in the interests of certain dynasties, or of certain social classes. It is the duty of the philosopher, once he has recognised this fact, to frankly declare himself a "good European" and to work actively to the fusion of the nations and cultures. The realisation of this super-national ideal, of this European super-race which prepares itself everywhere, and of which only the differences of language prevent us from discerning clearly the development, will not be, according to Nietzsche, delayed for long.

And in these circumstances he combats the nationalist counter-current which is opposed to the advent of United Europe, with that vigour and that intransigence which is one of the distinctive traits of his character. From the very beginning, he categorically refused to adopt the hatreds which divide the civilised world. The armed peace which reigned in Europe during his time was not pleasing to him. Nothing to him

is more odious than the state of permanent suspicion and hate in which the nations of today live. "Here is" he declares "an inhumanity much worse than war, because it is a provocation to war by the fact that it assumes immorality in its neighbours and appears thus to stir up hostile dispositions and acts." We cannot arrive at a durable peace, either by a balance of forces, or by a progressive reduction in armaments. Only the most powerful nation will be in a condition to declare peace on earth. "There will, perhaps come a day, when a people who will have risen to the highest point of organisation and military intelligence, accustomed to make the greatest sacrifices for its army, will cry voluntarily: *we will shiver our swords* and will destroy from top to bottom all its military institutions. Peace can come only by the pacification of the spirit; it will be born only on the day when all human society will think:—'Better perish, than hate and fear, and better perish twice than be hated and feared' Truly prophetic words, which Europe to its misfortune has not learned to listen. He stigmatises, with his usual outrageous formulae, patriotic chauvinism and the nationalist urticaria, which make in Europe one set of people barricade itself against another, and surround itself with a rampart of quarantines. He utters this provoking aphorism: "*Deutschland, Deutschland irher alles*—* perhaps, the silliest watchword that has ever become current. And why, I pray you Germany, if that does not represent anything superior in value to that possessed by any other nation? In itself, it is nothing more than a great State—a great stupidity,—the best in the world." One can scarcely go further in repudiating any connection with Pan Germanism and with national exclusivism in general.

But Nietzsche did not take a purely negative attitude towards the State. Certainly, he detested Democracy, the organised Mob which poses as an end in itself. He knew that the State thus constituted, is hostile to great individualities, that the Superman owes nothing to it, but is formed and developed in spite of the State, and often in opposition to the State. But, on the

*Germany, Germany over all.

other hand, Nietzsche was anything but an anarchist. He condemned disorder and arbitrariness. Without doubt he was interested before all in the formation of genius and of the *elite*: he was powerfully interested in the organisation of a "new aristocracy" recruited and tended with an extreme rigour and with the minutest care. But he also understood very well that man lives in society and that the philosopher cannot afford to be disinterested with the capital question of the organisation of the herd. Now, when he examined human groupings from this point of view, his judgments on the State took a very different character. Above all, in the later years of his conscious life, Nietzsche reflected long on the problem of the State and tended towards considerations which were more away from "anarchist individualism" which certain critics believe they diagnose in him.

Nietzsche, from the very beginning, recognised the implication for humanity of the present predominance of the "decadent" type. The development of civilisation leads to the multiplication of a mob of diseased elements: we see the multiplication of the insane and the criminal. Moreover, this decadence is aggravated and generalised by the universal upsetting of the social order, as a result of the Revolution and the superstition of Equality. The inferior castes,—the decadents, the depressed classes and slaves of all kinds—are so mixed up with the superior castes, that there is no such thing as purity of caste. The aristocracy of blood and of hereditary instincts has disappeared. Europe is "degraded." On all sides grows the systematic hatred against exception and privilege. Privileges themselves are subjected to democratic prejudices. Those who wish to have power require the people on whom to exercise it, and consequently flatter them. The "geniuses"—a Victor Hugo for example, or a Richard Wagner—are the mouth-pieces of the great sentiments with which one can captivate the masses—pity, the religion of human suffering, and the glorification of the humble and the oppressed.—The domination of the plebeians, allied with some superior decadents, threatens us with the risk of instability and anarchy.

But, at last, Nietzsche sees the formation, against the dissolving effects of the social chaos, of an average type, relatively sane and stable. This honest and respectable mediocrity is at the same time a temptation and a source of danger to the *elite*. A temptation, because genius will allow itself to be taken by the ideal of these brave folk, to accept their table of values, to sing the praise of moderation, to glorify laborious, useful and modest work. A danger, because the superior man is no less suspected by the mediocrity than by the rabble. The mediocres endeavour to trouble his conscience and impose on him their moral beliefs and persuade him that he has no higher duty than to devote himself to the welfare of the mediocres and the herd; they view him with defiance, as a dangerous explosive whose explosion it is necessary to render ineffective, or, better still, to prevent its deflagration.

This triumph of the average type of humanity, or the mediocrity, is not merely an incontestable fact. It is necessary for the very development of the human species.

Man, in effect, tends towards power, not only so far as the individual is concerned, but also for the species. Humanity endeavours to realise in its totality the maximum of forces, to extend, as far as possible, its domination over things. Now, it is evident that it will not attain this maximum if it produces exclusively, or in a majority, strong individuals. History shows that superior races do not last long. They destroy themselves mutually as a result of their bellicose ardour. They consume themselves rapidly on account of their ambition and thirst for adventures. The powerful are the prodigals who do not capitalise their force, but expend it without taking account, they do not care for life as such; they prefer a very short, but very intense life. When they have wasted their reserve of energy they find themselves more exhausted, more void of all will and more unbalanced than even the feeble folk. An epoch of greatness for humanity is a luxury for which it pays very dear.

It seems that humanity, in order to attain its maximum efficiency, energy and power, ought not to restrict itself thereby to producing strong and

prodigal races, rapidly deteriorating by extravagance, consumed by their internal flame which devours them, but should attempt, at the same time, to produce an average type more disciplined and more stable. It is necessary that the inferior parts of human energy find their useful employment. It is thus opportune to construct an immense social mechanism where all the individual forces, even the most mediocre, will produce the maximum of human effect which they are capable of yielding. This is the end towards which we are manifestly tending today.

We are approaching a state of civilisation in which the whole world will be exploited industrially. The day in which this gigantic exploitation will be organised scientifically, the entire humanity itself will become an enormous and prodigiously complex engine, the parts of which will be carefully adapted to their functions, a mechanism in which the autonomous elements and directors will be more and more superfluous, an enormous sum of organised will to power, whose constituent factors taken singly will represent a minimum degree of force and value. It is useful and necessary that the vast majority of men be instructed and trained to be only the lowest wheels in the social organism, that they recognise, consequently, a morality and a religion glorifying and idealising the indispensable vesture of the man-machine,—abnegation, patience and discipline,—in order that they may be able to pursue, without revolt and disgust, their monotonous and depressing labour. Mediocrity is a necessary element in the economy of the world.

We thus see the idea of Nietzsche clearly defined. He had always believed and taught that no kind of civilisation whatsoever will be possible without slaves. This fatality which he at first envisaged with an almost desperate pessimism, he later on accepted as a natural fact which ought not to shock the wise man. The average man, modest, laborious, benevolent and moderate, the man to whom we are pleased to accord the epithet "good"—what else is he in effect than "the ideal slave, the slave of the future."? Democratism and Socialism, in reducing the individual to an average being, an instrument prepare effectively this slavery of the masses,

And he acknowledged this fact without false sentimentality. "It is necessary for us to learn to think of the masses with as much regard as we do towards Nature: they are not there for the preservation of their species". If we wish to create a race of good slaves it is necessary to wish also for the average men who will lead to this end, and train the common man to obedience, submission and the resigned acceptance of his lot. It is as great a fault as compulsory military service to give him the right to strike, the right to vote and to corrupt him by the newspaper. It is absurd and insane to extol him as if he can think and act for himself, command, and become a master, when his normal function is to be an effective and docile instrument in the hands of the "tyrant" and the "Superman" who are disputing the domination of the earth.

In these circumstances it is clear that the State interests the *elite* to the highest degree as an instrument of domination over the masses. Nietzsche recognised, moreover, that even in its militaristic and nationalistic aspects it can be a useful school for the future master of the earth. Militarism appeared to him as a remedy against decadence. He did not hesitate to say that he rejoiced in the development of militarism. A society, which in virtue of its deep seated instincts repudiates war and conquest will be ready for decadence, the democracy and the domination of the merchants. The maintenance of military States is the only means which permits of the conservation in Europe of the "strong" man. As a programme of the future Nietzsche suggests this: "A solid technical education; then military service of such a kind that everyman of the highest class ought to officer it according to his aptitudes".

Even the most limited and the most narrow nationalism can have its use by the fact that it is a cause of simplification and concentration which maintains the hostility and the concurrence between the states and thus renders war necessary, and creates consequently, the military genius.

And, finally, Nietzsche noted that the state is essentially "immoral". It does not feel any

responsibility, and therefore it dares to do things which the individual will never be permitted to do. The collectivity is infinitely more "natural" and sincere than individuals who are too faint hearted to go to the end of their desires. Altruism is a quality of the private man; a society is never altruistic. A society has never considered "virtue" in any other light than as a means to power and order. The judgments of value by the collectivity are thus thoroughly realist. Indifferent to all morality, it aspires to sanctify all the passions useful to the conservation and exaltation of power. In a word, the State seeks uniquely and quite natively to insure its permanence by reducing the individual to slavery or impotence. To the extent that he approaches this standard he is a model for the Superman, he is the formidable instrument with which the Superman can ensure his permanent domination over the masses.

And this conclusion is much in evidence in the later philosophy of Nietzsche.

Nietzsche hesitated between two supreme "values"—*Liberty* and *Permanence*. He was, on the one hand, the great emancipator, the defender of the liberal spirit, the intransigent individualist who wanted to free the genius from all trammels, to liberate him also from the moral imperative and confer on him complete autonomy. According to this standard he was hostile to the State, which is indifferent to the birth of genius, which unceasingly menaces his independence, which wants to control his egoistic aims and which pretends to impose its will on him; He proclaimed that the superman begins where the state ends. But, on the other hand, he was the powerful creator, who required for his works, and sacrificed everything for, permanency; and whose admiration went to the edifices that have braved the centuries, like the Roman Empire or the Catholic Church. Thus Nietzsche who was for a long time a despiser of the State appealed for the appearance of a "Master of the Earth." He wanted the advent of a firm despot in whom the docile herd of slaves will find its necessary compliment and its "*raison d'être*"; he aspired for the advent of the formidable "tyrant", who will organise the national exploitation of this

planet, who, putting an end to the anarchy of the "petty states" of Europe will realise the dream of universal domination which has for all time haunted the imagination of the great conquerors. In other words, at the same time that Nietzsche liberated the Superman from the domination of the State, he set up, on the other hand, the State as an instrument necessary for the power of the Superman. And this latter tendency, which we may call imperialist and catholic, grew in him and was fortified at the expense of the liberal during the later years of his conscious life.

Is it very easy to reconcile the point of view of permanency with that of liberty? Has Nietzsche himself succeeded in harmonising them perfectly? We dare not affirm. It is significant that he remains suspected by the dogmatists both of the right and of the left, by the conservatives who reject with horror his immoralist conception of the Superman, and by the liberals who hold as an utopian sacrilege his vision of an immense herd of slaves governed by a handful of Supermen. His essential merit is that he has viewed clearly the agonising problems of the present hour—that of "mechanisation," (to use the formula of Rathenau), that of the unification of Europe, and that of the formation of the *elite*,—and has expounded them with an entire sincerity, without attempting to allure us with solutions of a facile optimism, or to attenuate the gravity by conventional phrases.

I will add, that it is evident that to him the economic and the political problem was too far away to have that fundamental value which rivets the eyes of most of our contemporaries. Nietzsche subordinated them to the philosophic problem. The "power" to which the will aspires, to which the Superman tends, is not, in effect, when one has well penetrated the thought of Nietzsche, a very tangible thing. It is not the domination of a master over his subjects, of a chief over his soldiers, much less is it the power that is conferred by gold. He did not want either the construction of vast empires or the accumulation of riches. Power in its highest form is something entirely non-material: "The thoughts which go carried on the feet of the

doves shake the world." says Zarathustra. The Powerful '*par excellence*' is thus not the warrior, or the man of action, or the master of the earth. It is the Philosopher, the Thinker, whose thoughts have an expensive force sufficient to fascinate the souls and to impose itself on the spirits. It is the Seer who first of all formulates judgments of fundamental values. He is the Initiator who suggests to the future generations the experiences which ennoble the human species; the religious genius who dictates to men the directing principles of their actions. The Nietzschean Superman is essentially one of the greatest Initiates who like the Buddha, Christ or Muhammad have exercised their powers on the souls. And thus, the war that interests Nietzsche is not that which is fought in the battlefields and which leaves to chance, in its blind fury, the riches, the treasures of art and the good of humanity. This war then can be a fatality, but above all it is a barbarity, against which the soul of Nietzsche, so open to pity, has felt more than any other, the tragic horror. The war which interests him as a compensation is the silent, invisible and mysterious struggle which is pursued at the bottom of the souls, between the great principles governing human life, which decide, in the last resort, the direction which universal evolution ought to take. The material and visible war has for its object the hegemony

of a people, or of a race. The spiritual war determines what one may call in the broadest sense of the term, the future religion of humanity. The true disciple of Nietzsche is the man who aspires with all the force of his being for the birth of an idea directing humanity to the triumph of a religious ideal, old or new. He who is enthusiastic only for the triumph of a country, of a race, or of a party has no right to claim the name of Nietzsche.

This is why Nietzsche is upheld today by the small group of those whom I will call *seekers* or *discontents*, who yesterday were suffocated by the thick materialism of our civilisation, enamoured of comfort, and who today seek for an escape, above all, in a spiritual renovation of humanity. For the self-satisfied and the authoritarians, Nietzsche is a baneful rhetorician, a dangerous destroyer, who is responsible in a large measure, for throwing us in a material, intellectual and moral chaos. For others, Nietzsche is a great emancipator of the human spirit, one of those who have sought, with the greatest sincerity and courage, the way that will lead us beyond the gloom of Nihilism.

Translated by R. RAMACHANDRAN.

--REVIEW OF THE NATIONS.

Buddhist Education in Ancient India

BY L. K. TRIPATHI, M. A.,

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Buddhism was a child of Hinduism as well as a re-action against it. Gautam Buddha came not to destroy, but to fulfil, to put old wine in new bottles, and to give the ancient Vedic religion a new interpretation at once more rational and humane. It was not his object to cut an entirely new and untrodden path across the luxuriant overgrowth of ritualism, sacrifices, beliefs and ideas into which the simple and beautiful religion

of the Rig Veda had developed. He simply aimed at re-discovering one of the many paths, which the Rishis of old had used, but which through disuse and neglect had become deserted and choked with the thick overgrowth of later ages. The lofty and exclusive pretensions of the Brahmans received a rude shock when the Enlightened began to move the wheel of the Law. Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Sudras,

kings, farmers, fowlers, weavers and shepherds all entered the Order Of The Buddha on equal terms. They all were enjoined to follow the eightfold path, in their quest for the fourfold truth. The sort of life that the members of this order had to live was neither of an extreme happy-go-lucky, type nor of a most austere and rigid one in vogue with the full-fledged followers of Mahavir.

Gautam had insisted on a middle course being followed in such things. The monks of the Buddhist order were expected to lead an exemplary life of stoic simplicity, purity, truthfulness, virtue and *ahimsa*. It was a life of self discipline, restraint and culture. But it was leavened by a bright spirit of joy, and cheerfulness (*ananda*). The final state of emancipation (*parinirvana*), to which this severe and austere course of mental, moral and physical discipline had to lead, was the goal that cheered up and enlivened the patient but hopeful follower of the Buddha in his attempt to attain enlightenment (*Samvodhi*). The state of *Nirvana* was not a state of negation and extinction of existence, as it has been generally misunderstood to be. It was to be a sort of a higher and nobler life purged of all sin, impurity and desire, which is the root-cause of the endless cycle of birth and rebirth. This state of *Nirvana* is to be attained in this life when desire has been eradicated, and then, after the dissolution of the present atomic arrangement, called the physical body, there will be no more re-birth and its *Karma* will be absorbed into the cosmic energy of the universe.

I have, of set purpose, indulged in this brief exposition of the Buddhist ideal and goal of life, because it is inextricably bound up with our present subject. Buddhist education was fundamentally religious. The student was a traveller in the path of *Nirvana*, and his education was a course of preparation for it. All his outlook was inspired and coloured with this idea; he lived and had his being in this atmosphere of religion.

But no account of Buddhist education can be complete unless it is interpreted and understood in its proper historical setting. The ancient Brahmanical education, glimpses of which we get from the Upanishads and the Epics, forms the

historical back-ground of Buddhist education. Buddhism started as an off-shoot of the Brahmanical religion, and so, naturally, it adopted the old Brahmanical system of education, and never succeeded in shaking off this Brahmanical leaven. It is a significant fact that, although the founder of the Buddhist system was a Kshatriya, his first disciples were the seven Brahmans of the deer park Mrigadana, at Benares. Brahmans entered the Buddhist order in very large numbers, and some of the most famous Buddhist teachers and scholars, like Buddhaghosha, Nagarjuna and others were Brahmans by birth. And in its early stages Buddhism was never considered by the Brahmans as a heresy to be despised and opposed. Gautama, The Buddha, was looked upon as one of the various teachers and philosophers that had expounded the ancient Aryan principles in their own ways from time to time. So the Brahmans vied with men of other classes in understanding and studying the doctrines of this Kshatriya philosopher in a spirit of scholarly sympathy, and goodwill. Gautama Buddha himself most scrupulously avoided giving offence to the Brahmans and their holy books. His condemnation of the Brahmanical belief, dogmas and practices was most guarded and restrained, and he never expressed anything but respect for them. In the inscriptions of Asoka, Brahmans and Shramanas (Buddhists monks) are always named in the same breath, and his charities were meant for both.

The earliest picture of Buddhist education is to be found in the Jatakas which describe the stories of the previous existence of Buddha. The Jatakas are believed to have been composed during a period roughly between the 7th and 3rd centuries B. C. Thus they were written at a time when the principles of the Buddha still possessed their pristine purity and when Mahayanism had not yet taken any clean and well-defined shape. Gautama Buddha was still looked upon only as a great teacher who had undergone a long course of preparation during many previous lives and had finally attained enlightenment and *Nirvana*. He had not yet been deified, and the Buddhist imagery and symbolism that distinguish its later Mahayana forms had not yet

made their appearance. Buddhism was still a religion without a God. Consequently, Buddhist iconography had not yet appeared. The Stupa was the visible memento of the master. There were other symbols also to depict some of the most important scenes from the life of the great teacher.

Thus the picture given in the Jatakas is predominantly Brahmanical, the more so because they were meant to depict the sort of life that was to be found during the previous lives of The Buddha, that is, before the birth of Gautama Shakyamuni. Thus the writers of the Jatakas may have consciously avoided making any reference to their own age. Therefore the system of education that we can reconstruct with the help of the Jatakas is pre-Buddhist and Brahmanical rather than Buddhist.

According to these books, Takshashila was the greatest centre of Indian learning at that time. Situated in the Gandhar region in the north western part of India, it could attract scholars not only from Benares, Rajgriha, Mithila, Ujjain, Kosala, Middle regions (Madhyadesha) and Sindh in western India, but probably also from central Asia and Persia. Benares had not yet attained to its high position as the seat of Brahmanical learning and education, for we find Brahma Datta, King of Benares, sending his son to Takshashila to complete his Education with a purse of a thousand pieces as the teacher's fee. This fee was to suffice for the whole course of education undergone by the pupil. The portals of Takshashila were not closed against those who were unable to pay this fee in advance. Some scholars promised to pay this fee later when they would enter life, while others promised to attend on their teacher and to render service to them during the day, and received lessons at night, when non-resident students also, who stayed with their family outside the Gurukula, or kept their own house in the town, came to sit at the feet of their masters. The resident members, or *Brahmacharis*, were treated like sons by their *Acharya*, and were provided with free board, lodging and other necessities by him. Youths of Brahmins and Kshatriyas were, of course, larger in numbers, but mention is made of scholars, who were

the sons of merchants and tailors, and even fishermen. But chandalas were not admitted as students. The standard number of scholars under one teacher was 500. One teacher could not possibly teach all these unaided. Some of the senior students helped him in the work of instruction. The students got up early in the morning and learnt and revised their lessons. We hear of a school of students at Benares that had a cock that crowed betimes and roused them to their studies. There is ample evidence in the Jatakas to prove the existence of books and that the art of writing was widely known and practised. The courses of study at Takshashila were varied and comprehensive. They included the study of the three Vedas and other sacred texts and holy books, and, of course, grammar. We might incidentally call to mind the fact that the great grammarian Panini was a native of Shalatur, situated not far from Takshashila. So grammar must have been here a subject for special study. But the education imparted at this North-Western University was not of an entirely literary or religious kind, for we find mention of such practical and useful subjects in the curricula, as *hastisutra* (elephant lore) magic, spell, hunting, knowledge of the cries of birds, archery, art of prognostication and, last but not least, medicine, which was another subject for whose study and cultivation Takshashila possessed a well-deserved reputation. In the study of almost all these subjects and specially in the case of those of a more or less practical character, a course of practical training had to be gone through in addition to the ordinary theoretical study. In medicine, for instance, a practical acquaintance with herbs, drugs and plants was also required. Some students also travelled extensively after completing their formal course of education at Takshashila, with the object of acquiring, at first hand, practical experience pertaining to their branch of study. We do not know exactly when Takshashila declined, but when Fahien visited it about 400 A. D. its greatness had entirely disappeared, so that the traveller passes it off without any comment.

This account of the early educational system is of great value for the right understanding of

later Buddhist education in the 5th, 6th and 7th centuries.

After the decline of Takshashila as a centre of international culture in Asia, Benares came into prominence as a great seat of Indian learning and education. It was here that the Master had delivered his first sermon. It was thus marked out as a sacred place, not only for Buddhism, but also for others. There is historical warrant for saying that Benares was a child of Takshashila, an offshoot of the parent and premier university of the North-west. But in course of time the eastern pupil far surpassed and out-distanced the guru. Benares has maintained this proud position to this day. Grammar is still the special subject with which the name of Benares is associated.

But with the growth of Buddhism many centres of learning and education were established all over India. The whole country was studded with innumerable monasteries. Each of these monasteries was a university in miniature. But the course of political history was not without its effect in determining the site and direction of the greatest centre of Indian education and learning. The political supremacy of Pataliputra and Magadha for over a thousand years, (with a few centuries of intermission and eclipse) under the Mauryas, Sangas and Kanvas, and then the Guptas, and, last of all, the Palas, had much to do with its cultural and educational greatness. For most of this period Magadha was the fountain-head of Aryan culture. It was Magadha that was looked up to by Buddhists and Brahmins alike as the focus of Indian intellect, although in the period immediately before the birth of Buddhism, its claim to greatness was not always conceded. After the decay of Buddhism in India and the triumph of Hinduism, the old antipathy of the Brahmins for Magadha found vent in the Puranas and the Manusmriti, which looks upon it as an unclean land, not fit for Brahmin habitation. This feeling was probably due to the late persistence of Buddhism in Magadha, even after its visible forms and outward vestiges had disappeared from other parts of India.

Thus, all the famous Buddhist universities were located in Magadha. Of these, the one at Nalanda enjoyed more than an international reputation.

The site of the ancient seminary is represented by the extensive ruins near the modern village of Bargaon, about eight miles north of Rajgiri.

The exact date of the establishment of the monastery at Nalanda is uncertain. According to Taranatha, the Tibetan historian, it was Asoka who founded it. Hiun-Tsang takes back its foundation to a period "not long after the *Nirvana* of Buddha," when a former king of this country named Sakraditya, "having selected by augury a lucky spot, built this Sangharama." His biographer says that up to the time of his master's stay at Nalanda, the monastery had been in existence for about 700 years, which means that it was founded in the first century B.C. But Fa-Hien makes no mention of it at all. His silence probably means that if the monastery at all existed, it had not yet acquired fame. At any rate, the greatness of Nalanda dates back to a time between 400 A. D. and 600 A. D. Prof. Sammaddar has accepted 450 A. D. as the approximate date, to which "can be assigned the royal recognition of Nalanda". The site of the monastery was considered sacred by the Buddhists. According to Buddhist tradition, recorded in the pages of Hiun-Tsang, the Tathagata in the old days led the life of a Bodhisatva here, and became the king of a great country, and established his capital in this land. Moved by pity for living things, he delighted in continually relieving them. In remembrance of this virtue he was called "charity without intermission," or Nalanda, and the Sangharama was called in perpetuation of this name. It was visited by Gautama Buddha, who preached the Law here for three months. The site was originally a mango garden. Five hundred merchants bought it for ten kotis of gold pieces and presented it to the Great Teacher. But it was Sakraditya, who, as already said, built this monastery. His son Buddhagupta Raja built another Sangharama to the east of the original one. Baladitya Raja, (probably, Narsingh Gupta Baladitya, the contemporary of Mihirkul and Yashovarman) and his successor built another to the north-east and himself became one of its regular members, after having abdicated his throne. His son Vajra added a new block of buildings to

the west. After this, a king of Central India built to the north of it a great Sangharama, and also a high wall round these edifices with one gate, which separated eight other halls standing in the middle of the Sangharama. Thus, six kings in succession added to these structures. Both Hiuen-Tsang and his biographer, the Shaman Hwin-Li praise the artistic beauty of the whole structure. All the skill of the sculptor was used, so that, says Huin-Tsang "the whole is truly marvellous to behold." His biographer is more detailed in his description of the building. Says he, "The richly adorned towers, and the fairy-like turrets, like pointed hill-tops, are congregated together. The observatories are seen to be lost in the vapours (of the morning), and the upper rooms towered above the clouds... And then we may add how the deep, translucent ponds bear on their surface the blue lotus, intermingled with the *Kanaka* flower of deep red colour, and at intervals the *amra* groves spread over all their shade. All the outside courts, in which are the priest's chambers, are of four stages. The stages have dragon perfections and coloured eaves, the pearl red pillars carved and ornamented, the richly adorned balustrades and the roof covered with tiles that reflect the night in a thousand shades—these things add to the beauty of the scene." Amidst such beautiful and artistic surroundings the students at Nalanda were brought up. But only a heap of mounds now represents the once beautiful structures. Recent excavations have brought to light a large number of sculptures of a very high order, and bricks of a superior quality and texture "fitted together so perfectly that in some places the joints between the bricks are altogether inconspicuous."

We learn from Shaman Hwin-Li that the total number of teachers and scholars at Nalanda was about 10,000. There were 1000 men who could explain 20 collections of Sutras and Shastras, and 500 who could explain 30, and perhaps 10 professors who could explain 50 collections. Within the temple they arranged every day about 100 pulpits for preaching and the students attended these discourses without fail even for a minute. Put in modern terminology it probably means,

that 100 professors lectured every day to various groups of students. Both Huin-Tsang and Hwin-Li praise the scholarship and learning of the teachers at Nalanda. "The priests to the number of several thousands, are men of the highest ability and talent. Their distinction is very great at the present time, and there are many hundreds whose fame has rapidly spread through distant regions. Their conduct is pure and unblameable. They follow sincerely the precepts of the moral law. The rules of this convent are severe, and all the priests are bound to observe them." The earliest of these teachers was Acharya Arya Deo, who, according to Taranath, was a contemporary of Chandragupta Vikramaditya. When Huin-Tsang studied at Nalanda, the abbot of the monastery was Acharya Silabhadra, who in his turn had been a disciple of Dharampal, his predecessor in office. Acharya Silabhadra was the son of the king of Samatata (Eastern Bengal), who was a Brahman. The names of many other teachers that taught at Nalanda from time to time have been mentioned. Nagaarjun, the famous writer on medicine and astronomy, Asvaghosa, the writer of the *Buddha-Charitra* and others formed the brightest stars in this galaxy of scholars. Some of the professors of Nalanda carried the torch of learning and the message of Buddha to Tibet from the 7th century onwards. Santarakshita, Padma Sambhava and Kamalasila were invited from Nalanda by the Tibetan King, Khri-Sron-den-tsan. These acharyas helped in the foundation and opening of the Buddhist monastery at Samye in 749 A. D. Some of the professors at Nalanda wrote a large number of treatises and commentaries.

This large monastic population was well-provided for by free grants of land attached to monastery. About 100 villages were given in endowments to the vihara. In addition to this 100 householders in these villages, day by day contributed several hundred seers of rice and butter and milk. Thus the students and teachers, alike, in the convent, being so abundantly supplied, had not to trouble themselves for the supply of clothes, food, bedding and medicine and, being placed above material wants, devoted

themselves wholly to studies and religious pursuits.

The rules of admission to the Nalanda convent were very strict. "one must have studied deeply both old and new (books) before getting admission." A man seeking admission to the seminary had first to satisfy the *Dwar Pandit*, or the teacher at the gate, as to his general ability. "Those who fail, compared with those who succeed are as seven or eight to ten." Even these two or three who passed through this ordeal successfully were sure to be humbled in the assembly. Professor Samaddar has compared this test at the gate to the matriculation examination of our present day universities. The Chinese traveller just allows us to have a glimpse into the nature of teaching and the curricula followed in the monastery. "The day is not sufficient," says he, for "asking and answering profound questions. From morning till night, they engage in discussion, the old and young mutually help each other." "The time at the convent was regulated by means of a water dial and the bell-man was called *Karmadana*. The system of education was chiefly oral. All the works belonging to the 18 sects of Buddhism were, of course, taught. But, says Hwin-Li, "Even the ordinary works, such as the Vedas and other books, the *Hetuvidya* (logic), *Sabbdavidya* (Grammar), the *Chikitsa vidya* (medicine), the works on magic (*Atharvaveda*), the *Sankhya* and other miscellaneous works were also taught. The curriculum here does not seem to be as extensive and comprehensive as at Takshasila. But, one point of difference between these two centres of learning must always be kept in mind. The Nalanda convent was one single compact institution under the direct control of the Acharya, who may roughly be said to correspond to the Chancellor of the present universities. Thus, the appellation of a university may fairly be used in its case. But Takshasila, on the other hand, was only a great centre of learning, which possessed a number of monasteries, each independent of the other and under separate management. There does not seem to have been any formal co-operation or co-ordination among them. But, of course, their

existence at the same place must have resulted in some sort of co-operation and co-ordination. Takshasila, as we know, existed in the early days of Buddhism, which at that time did not possess much centralised organisation. It was Asoka who converted this disorganised and nebulous body into a consolidated and centralised church. Moreover, the political solidarity of Magadha, too, served as a model for the centralised and unified administration of this wonderful university.

The fame of this institution was naturally very great. We read in Hiuen-Tsang that some men usurped the name of Nalanda students, and, in going to and fro, received honour in consequence. For centuries, Nalanda sent out streams of scholars and missionaries to many parts of Asia. It was through these missionaries that Indian art, learning, philosophy and culture were carried to the length and breadth of Asia. Buddhism has been the greatest civilising force in Asia. "The very fact of the pilgrimage of Chinese scholars, like Fa-Hien or Hiuen-Tsang to India," says Professor Radha Kumud Mookerji, "testified to the tribute paid by China to the sovereignty of Indian thought and culture, which made its influence felt beyond the bounds of India itself in distant countries, which might well be regarded as then constituting a sort of Greater India."

Nalanda thus deserves to be considered as representing the greatest educational enterprise on a corporate basis displayed by the Aryan race. We do not know for certain, when Nalanda fell from its proud position. In the days of I-Tsing, who resided in India between 673 and 687 A. D. it was most flourishing. I-Tsing studied at the famous convent for ten years. According to him, the number of residents at Nalanda exceeded 3000. It had eight halls and 300 apartments. The land in its possession contained more than two hundred villages. It possessed a large collection of books, housed in a spacious building, called *Dharmaganj*, divided into three parts, which were called *Ratnasagar*, *Ratnadadhi* and *Ratnaranjaka*. The second of these buildings was nine-storied and contained all the sacred texts.

This fine collection of books was consumed to

ashes during the Mohammedan invasion of Bengal, probably under Mohammad Bakhtyar Khilji in 1190 A. D. The building was repaired by monks, but the loss of books was irreparable, and the University could not live much longer. I-Tsing's accounts probably show that, although during the brief period between the visits of Huiyen-Tsang and I-Tsing, the number of residents at Nalanda fell off considerably from 10,000 to 3000, the number of villages endowed to it for its upkeep had doubled. Various causes must have conspired to bring about this decay. One of the causes might have been the establishment of the rival University of Vikramasila in about 800 A.D. M.M. Dr. Hara Prasad Sastri thinks that even during the 10th and 11th centuries, Nalanda was a powerful rival of Vikramasila. Dr. Kielhorn is of opinion that the glory of Nalanda vanished from the latter half of the 9th century. But it continued to exist in a languished and truncated form as a shadow of its former self, till the iconoclastic fury of the Mohammedan invasions, as we have seen, gave it a blow which it could not survive.

Besides Nalanda two more centres of Buddhist education in Bihar deserve notice. The Royal University of Vikramasila was established by king Dharmapala, who was reigning in 810 A.D. in Bengal and Bihar. The site of this monastery and college has been identified with Patharghata, about 24 miles to the west of Bhagalpur, and 20 to the east of Champā. The number of teachers here was 108, besides a number of acharyas for offering wood and fire. It was under the patronage of the Pala Kings, who were zealous Buddhists. It was managed by a board of six members, presided over by the abbot of the monastery. It granted the diploma of Pandita to its distinguished students. The reigning king actually conferred the diploma, much as the Provincial Governor, as Chancellor, now generally presides over the convocation of our modern Universities. The number of gates, at each of which a Dwarpandit was appointed, was 6. The building contained a central hall, called *Vijnanshala*, and six colleges each having a gate. Among scholars whose names are connected with the University, Atisa was the most notable. He was for years

its High Priest. He was invited to Tibet by the reigning king of that country, and it was he who revived the Mahayana doctrine there. During his 13 years' stay in that land, he purged Tibetan Buddhism of its grosser and impure elements, and died there at the ripe age of 73. The courses of study at Vikramasila were perhaps not so comprehensive as at Nalanda. Grammar, metaphysics, logic and Buddhist texts were, of course, taught as at Nalanda. But a study of Tantrism formed one of the chief features of this University. And this is an important fact in connection with the story of the decline of Buddhism in India. Buddhism had, in course of time, absorbed in itself a large floating mass of popular superstition, sorcery and witchcraft, and esoteric practices and beliefs, and the cult of the "female energies was grafted upon the theistic Mahayana and the pantheistic mysticism of yoga." Vikramasila specialised in this branch of study. This University was also burnt down and destroyed by the army of Bakhtyar Khilji.

There was another Buddhist seminary in the same region which also shared the fate of Nalanda and Vikramasila at the time of the first Mohammedan invasion of Bihar. This was the vihar of Uddandpur, or Odantpuri, the ancient name of the town of Bihar. According to Taranath, it was founded by Gopal, the first Pala King (about 750 A. D.) *Minhaj-i-Siraj* the author of the *Tabquat-i-Nasiri* has given an account of the destruction of the monastery by Mohammad Bakhtyar. When the invaders had killed all the inhabitants of the place, they came upon a large collection of manuscripts, which none could read, since all those who could do so had been killed. This invasion and iconoclastic fury of the Mohammedans gave Indian Buddhism, in its last stronghold, a blow from which it could never recover. Valabhi, in Gujrat, Kanchi and Kashmir were also centres of learning, but the details about them are lacking.

So far, we have been dealing with Buddhist education in its higher stages. Only those that had acquired some knowledge of grammar and the sacred texts were eligible for admission to these monasteries, that imparted instruction of a higher type, just like our modern universities.

There were thus other monasteries that corresponded to our primary, secondary and high schools. There was no lack of such institutions throughout the length and breadth of the country. Both Fa-Hien and Huiyen-Tsang have mentioned that there were thousands of monasteries in almost every part of India. I-tsing is an invaluable authority for an account of the Buddhist educational system in its primary and secondary and higher stages. In order to enter a monastery certain conditions were laid down. The applicant must be free from certain diseases, and be neither a slave nor a debtor, nor in the king's service. A minor must obtain the consent of his parents. According to the rules laid down in the *Vinaya Pitaka*, one who wished to receive ordination had first to cut off his hair and beard, to put on yellow robes, salute the feet of the bhikshukas with his head, squat down and say with joined hands. "*Buddham sharanam Gacchhami, Dharmam Sharanam Gacchhami, Samgham Sharanam Gacchhami.*" that is, "I take my refuge in the Buddha, I take my refuge in the Dharma, I take my refuge in the Samgha." This was to be his *Kalima* or *Gayatri*, and this ceremony was his baptism. It was called *Prarajya* or *Pabhajja*, which could not take place till a boy was at least eight years of age. The initiated was now called an *Upasaka*. He had to choose a particular *bhikkhu* as his *Upadhyaya*, who taught the novice the principles of the faith and other necessary things, and looked upon him as his own son. The pupil, on his part, had to serve his *Upadhyaya* faithfully and obediently, and to follow his master with his bowl for begging food. The wealthy inhabitants of the nearest villages sometimes invited the *bhikkhus* to dine at their own houses. At the age of 20 a novice could get full admission into monastic life. The ceremony for full initiation was called *Upasampada*, and it was then that he became a full-fledged *bhikkhu*.

I-tsing gives us a detailed account of the system of education generally followed in Buddhist monasteries. The education of a boy began when he was six. Grammar called *Shabda Vidya* was the subject that he had to learn first of all. The grammatical course was divided

into 5 parts. The *Siddha* was the first primer which the boy had to read. It gave him an acquaintance with the alphabet and orthography. It was learnt in six months. Then the boy had to learn the *Sutras* of Panini by heart, when he was about eight years of age and could repeat it in eight months' time. Next the book on *Dhatu* and the three *Khilas* (*Ashtadhatu*, *Manda* and *Unadi*) were taken up when the boy was about 10, and 3 years' time was required to understand them thoroughly. The *Vritti-Sutras* or *Kashika vritti* was a commentary on Panini, which was read next when the student was 15 and in five years he could finish it. Grammar was thus the foundation stone on which all future studies were broad-based. Having mastered grammar the student next learnt logic (*Hetu Vidya*), metaphysics (*Abhidharma-Kosha*) and the *Jatakas*. Having done this he could proceed to places of higher studies like Nalanda and Valabhi. I-tsing divides the sciences into 5 parts, *Shabdavidya* (grammar and lexicography), arts (*Shilpasthan vidya*), medicine (*Chikitsa vidya*), logic (*Hetu vidya*), and philosophy (*Adhyatma vidya*).

I-tsing gives the following further course of higher studies:—

1. *Churni* or *Mahabhashya* of Patanjali which could be learnt in 3 years.
2. *Bhartri Hari Shashtra*, which was a commentary on the above and also dealt with principles of human life, and with the rise and fall of many dynasties.
3. *Vakya padya* also by Bharttrihari, a treatise on the inference supported by the authority of the sacred teaching and on Inductive argument.
4. *Veeravritti*, original by Bhartri Har and commentary by Acharya Dharmapala which dealt with philosophy.

In addition to these the *bhikkhus* learnt all the *Vinaya* texts and the *sutras* and *shastras*.

I-tsing also enlightens us partly on the pedagogic principles actually followed in these monasteries. "There are two traditional ways," he says, "in India of attaining to intellectual power: i committing to memory ii the alphabet fixes one's ideas. By this way, after a practice of

10 days or a month, a student feels his thoughts rise like a fountain and commits to memory whatever he has once heard." This refers probably to the practice of committing things to memory with the help of written books. Discussion also formed an important element in the pedagogic scheme of ancient India. Care of bodily health was not neglected for I-tsing tells us that "in India both priests and laymen are generally in the habit of taking walks, going backwards and forwards along a path, at suitable hours, and at their pleasure; they avoid noisy places. Firstly it cures disease, and secondly it helps to digest food. The walking hours are in the forenoon, and late in the afternoon. They either go away from their monasteries, or stroll quietly along the corridors. If any body adopts this habit of walking, he will keep his body well, and thereby improve his religious merit."

The monks were also willing to impart instruction to non-Buddhist lay scholars or *Brahmacharis* also and to those that read Buddhist Scriptures with the intention of entering into monastic order later. Such lay scholars had to subsist at their own expense in the monasteries. Thus these monasteries were open to Buddhists and Brahmins, monks and laymen alike. The existence of this lay element, small though it might have been, could not but have some wholesome leavening influence on the otherwise entirely religious outlook of the monastic population.

Information about the education of girls is tantalising in its meagreness. It was only with considerable difficulty and after persistent request of Mahaprajapati, his aunt, and Ananda, his cousin, that Gautama Buddha had consented to admit women into the *Samgha*. But, in doing this, he uttered a grim prophecy. He said that he had thought his doctrine would last for a thousand years; but since he had admitted women to his Sangha, it would abide for 500 years only. Nuns could only be admitted by monks, on whom they were completely dependent. With the growth of tantrik beliefs and esoteric rites in the *Samgha*, much immorality and many hideous practices made their appearance within the sacred precincts of the *Samgha*.

ramas, so that when the Mohammedans struck at the last vestiges of Buddhism in India they only wiped off institutions already in the process of quick dissolution and disintegration.

Such was, in the main the system of education that obtained in India for more than 1500 years. The chief characteristics of this system must now be clear. It was mainly monastic and religious; but it also catered for the needs of lay men and made provisions for instruction in secular and useful branches of study. The closest personal contact and intimacy between the teachers and the taught was another leading feature of it. Its popular character is evident from its widespread and universal prevalence for more than 1500 years. "One main difference," says Rev. F. E. Keay, "between the Brahmins and Buddhist education was that the latter was not based on Vedic study and its teachers were not Brahmins, unless those who had become converted to Buddhism. It was open to all comers, and not merely to three twice born the castes."

All castes were equally admissible to the Buddhist community. Buddhist education was more democratic and popular than the Brahmanical. But there is little doubt on the point that Buddhist monastic education was founded on the Brahmanical *Gurukula* system, as the former served as a model for the latter Brahmin *chatsals*, which produced scholars like Ramanuja, Shankara and Chaitanya. We may find fault, if we like, with the narrowness of the curriculum, or with its predominantly sacerdotal character. But we must not forget, at the same time, that it was in full accord with the spirit of the age and the needs of the nation, and that some subjects of a useful and practical nature were also taught. But the most leading feature of this education, as of all ancient Indian education, was its association with the forest. It was in the forest *asramas* that the ancient Rishis taught the *Brahmacharis*, and it was in the forest *Samgharamas* that the *bhikkhus* imparted instruction. Says Rabindra Nath Tagore, "A most wonderful thing that we notice in India is, that there the forest, not the town, is the fountain head of all its civilisation. There, trees and plants, rivers and lakes, had an ample opportunity to live in close relationship with men. In these forests, though there was human society, there was enough of open space, or aloofness; there was no jostling. Still, this aloofness did not produce an inertness in the Indian mind; on the other hand, it rendered it all the brighter. It is the forest that has nurtured the two great ancient ages of India, the Vedic and Buddhist."

Internationalism or Cosmopolitanism

BY STEPHEN ZWEIG

If we had not unlearned all credulousness, we might very well have believed that never in Europe was the international spirit so enthusiastically feted and acclaimed as to-day. Demonstrations and festivities follow in rapid succession. Every week new clubs are formed and new associations founded in an equal spirit of brotherliness. The writer who desires to respond to these invitations will have to spend the nights in the train and all daytime in feasting. In all the states, the ministers look with favourable eyes upon this new Europeanism, following the example of commercialists and bankers who were silently working in concert for a long time past. To-day, it is the turn of the writers and journalists who bring up a pretty rear with a lot of cluster and splutter. Articles, discourses and books are none too many for them to proclaim from people to people their sudden outcrop of international love.

We who during the war were only a handful of convinced souls, and who, only three years ago, during the occupation of the Ruhr, sought in despair for friendship and support for our ideas, which were imperilled thus by sorrowful reality—we cannot to-day help feeling a certain distrust on seeing the multitude who, all of a sudden, since the Locarno Pact, from this side and that of the frontiers, swim in an enthusiasm patronised by official authority. We are not in the least grieved; but we can hardly help smiling and feeling like old combatants who see the military defiles, the flourish of trumpets and presentations of colours organised by beardless youngsters who were mere babes when we were fighting hard, and who, now, with the time-honoured commotion and clatter, assemble in parades and take part in banquets.

What makes us distrustful is not the sight of so many people proclaiming so suddenly and so feelingfully their adherence to the International

Idea, but simply the tumult and the theatricality accompanying it all. For, we know it well, it is always the converts who trumpet forth their faith with the greatest noise. The true and sincere Christian or the Catholic by birth who knows of no doubts and remains firm in his beliefs, does not burst forth in noisy ecstasies over the mysteries of his religion or the solaces of his church. It is only the converts, their hair still wet with the water of baptism, that adopt this unseemly showiness and flaunt their convictions before the mirrors of publicity.

This is why I cannot understand the superlative astonishment expressed by a few German writers at the brilliant receptions they received at Paris. We who have never waited for official permission to cultivate the international spirit, we have never felt it could be otherwise. We have never thought that men of the same generation, sharing the same cultural ideas, should all of a sudden solemnly vow never more to shake hands with each other but only try ever more to give each other, the *coup de grace*. In the view of the true internationalist thinker, a visit to Berlin and a charming reception amidst a circle of old friends are as natural as if it happened at Rome, or at London, or at Paris. And all this astonishment, all this tumultuous joy, which swells to the point of filling not merely brochures, but entire volumes, often makes us suspect the sincerity, the depth and, above all, the certitude and reliability of this new internationalistic enthusiasm.

I would not like this suspicion to be misunderstood. That is why I am trying to write as plainly as possible, even at the risk of being brutally blunt. To me, these pompous visits which are mutually arranged in the great metropolises, the conferences in foreign universities, the banquets, dinners, interviews and group-photographs are very happy things, very advan-

taguous, and very useful for the intellectual union of nations. These are signs which should make us rejoice, but, in reality, these are gestures which carry no obligations with them and such as we used to see often before the War. In those pre-war days too, there were the same fraternisations and tumultuous junketings in which sovereigns took part with the greatest furore. Nicolas came to embrace William, and William went to see Edward. Everything was like what happens to-day: stirring leading articles were written; grand banquets were held; group photos were taken, and turgid speechifications went on about the pursuit of the same objects and the same eternal friendship. Nevertheless, if the root of things be examined, all this was not worth a grain of gunpowder, because all this did not save the world from the millions of shots which made the powder speak so fatally.

Hence it is that these latter-day efforts such as the Pen Club, the League of the Society of Nations, the Union for Culture, and all the other associations, could not but be abortive, unless they finally emerged out of the sphere of the irresponsible and the tentative, out of the domain of purely worldly relations, and transformed themselves into an obligation, a categorical imperative, and a solemn profession of faith. They should cease to be simply cosmopolitan, and they should offer guarantees in respect of a real and genuine Internationalism.

Cosmopolitanism and *Internationalism* are two terms which, in times of peace, run the risk of being confused as synonyms. It appears to me that it is high time, nay imperative, to insist, at this psychological moment, on the distinction between these terms being clearly observed. For, from confusion arises uncertainty, and thence all the bother of recent times; the demonstrations of the Pen Club and the discussions consequent upon the visits of German writers to Paris are all due, according to me, solely to the failure on our part to realise clearly if the disposition, whether of individuals in particular, or of communities taken as a whole, is merely cosmopolitan, or really internationalistic.

I would, therefore, try to make clear once again,

the distinction between the two terms in order that everyone may grasp the difference between the two concepts and act accordingly.

Cosmopolitanism is only a kind of reciprocal hospitality existing amongst nations from the point of view of mere worldly relations, and by virtue merely of a convention. It presumes the existence of favourable political relations. It applies only to times of peace, and it insists on nothing in the event of war. It is completely inoffensive, because, at any moment, it may be put an end to. Mutual visits are arranged and receptions are held so long as governments condescend to permit them; swords are unsheathed and pens are envenomed the moment governments desire them.

On the contrary, *Internationalism* is the adherence to the principle of an indestructible unity of nations, independant of the vicissitudes and *volte faces* of politics. Not only does it survive war, but it is precisely war which becomes its supreme and decisive test. It insists upon a loyalty free and even dangerous in the face of danger. It binds the truly convinced soul to a permanent and durable faith in the profound intellectual unity of our universe, a faith which no invasion can shake and no injustice modify. It does not know of any particular hospitality in reference to strangers, because it knows of no "stranger" nations. It needs no demonstrations, because it admits universal fraternity as natural and normal. Internationalism demands that war should be declared against every form of war.

It is, therefore, absolutely necessary that every society, every league and every association desiring to serve the European community should first of all, know with an absolute clarity if it is merely *cosmopolitan* in character, or truly *internationalistic*, i.e. prepared to be bound by the most sacred of obligations in the event of war. What are all these meetings worth—these assemblies round well-served banquetting tables—if the same hand which holds up the glass for making a feelingful toast to fraternity is ready, at the next moment, to seize the unsheathed knife, or the envenomed pen, against his neighbour, simply because a dictator or general *coup*

d'état gives the signal for hostilities? If the Pen Club, the League of the Society of Nations, the Union for Culture and all these associations, whatever they are, should really aim at a moral objective, then it is necessary to exact from their members other guarantees than those which merely concern the regularity of exchange, or a momentary pacifism, or a temporary Europeanism.

Let us forget the past, let the veil be drawn over the events of yesterday, let us not inquire of any one what follies or what horrors he uttered in the course of the last war, in the surprise caused by the unexpected cataclysm. Let us scrap all this, but, for the future, let us insist upon a caution, and exact it particularly from the converts, those who might be called the Locarno Europeans, those whose change of front was rather sudden.

This is how I would formulate these guarantees. Every member of the international societies should, through a solemn adjuration, give firm assurance of his internationalistic outlook. The following would do well as an asseveration of this kind:

"I declare, on my honour, that never in my writings shall I injure, or misunderstand, or rail at a country, considered as a nation, and that never shall I ascribe the responsibility for political or military actions to a people as a whole.

I swear, on my honour, to remain faithful to this conviction even in the event of war, or, in case my country has, in my opinion, to suffer an injustice at the hands of another country.

Naturally, this vow leaves me the liberty to attack or criticise individual politicians, or political or militaristic movements in other lands; but, never shall I hold an entire people, or a nation taken as a whole, responsible for the crimes or faults of its leaders."

It matters little what formula we adopt. I leave it to others to complete or to enhance the above; but a vow of this kind is essential, pre-

cisely because many of those who take part in present-day demonstrations would desert us in the event of danger. There were no harm at all if the number of those who put on to-day the internationalistic robes were smaller (Internationalism is the colour *a' la mode* in 1926!), but the sincerity of their attitude needs to inspire greater confidence. If there were a thousand European writers ready to subscribe to a vow of the kind indicated above, there would no more appear in numerous journals, as happens to-day envenomed head-lines like "Italian brigandage," "Czech infamy," "German atrocities" and all those expressions bearing the impress of hate and making out the neighbour always to be the embodiment of baseness. And the result thus obtained would be of considerably greater value than that of receptions and group photos.

In short, to day, we need solemn averments and not empty words, Internationalism and not Cosmopolitanism. Above all, we stand in need of clearness which should make everyone of us definitely determine for himself, what measure he could solemnly bind himself, and on which side of the barricade he is prepared to range himself. We have had enough of doubtful intimacies and banquetting Europeanism, devoid of danger, and devoid of obligation. We have had enough of these junketings, love-feasts and counterfeit greetings from one side and the other of the frontiers. What is really wanted is decision, energy and loyalty to the International cause. These do not mean mere worldly amenities, but a sincere unity of heart, not amiable hand-shakes, but hands held high to take the sacred vow. No more of this colourless Cosmopolitanism, but, in its stead, let us have a sincere Internationalism, ready for all sacrifices, a permanent and indissoluble loyalty to the only real Fatherland of us all, the community of the European genius!

Translated by

L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, M.A., B.L.

The Story of my Experiments with Truth

BY M. K. GANDHI

CHAPTER VIII

BRAHMACHARYA—II

After full discussion and mature deliberation I took the vow in 1906. I had not shared my thoughts with my wife until then, but only consulted her at the time of taking the vow. She had no objection. But I was hard put to it in making the final resolve. I had not the necessary strength. How was I to control my passions? The elimination of carnal relationship with the wife seemed then to be a novel thing. But I launched forth with faith in the sustaining power of God. As I look back upon the twenty years of the vow, I am filled with pleasure and wonderment. The more or less successful practice of self-control had been going on since 1901. But the freedom and joy that came to me after taking the vow had never been experienced before 1906. For before the vow I was open to be overcome by temptation any moment. Now the vow was a shield to protect me against temptation. The great potentiality of *brahmacharya* daily became more and more patent to me. The vow was taken when I was in Phoenix. As soon as I was free from ambulance work I went to Phoenix whence I had to go to Johannesburg. In about a month of my going there the foundation of Satyagraha was laid, as though unknown to me the *brahmacharya* vow had been preparing me for it. Satyagraha had not been a preconceived plan. It came on spontaneously, without my having willed it. But I could see that all my previous steps had led on to that goal. I had cut down my heavy household expenses at Johannesburg and gone to Phoenix, to take, as it were, the *Brahmacharya* vow.

The knowledge that a perfect observance of *brahmacharya* means realisation of *brahman*, I did not owe to a study of the Shastras. It slowly grew upon me with experience. The shastric

texts in that behalf I read only later in life. Every day of the vow has taken me nearer the knowledge that in *brahmacharya* lies the protection of the body, the mind and the soul. For *brahmacharya* was now no process of hard penance, it was a matter of joy, a solace and a comfort. Every day revealed a fresh beauty in it.

But if it was a matter of ever increasing joy, let no one believe that it was an easy thing for me. Even while I am past 59 I realise how hard a thing it is. Every day I realise more and more that it is like walking on the sword's edge, and I see every moment necessity for eternal vigilance.

Control of the palate is the first essential in the observance of the vow. I saw that complete control of the palate made the observance very easy and so I now pursued my dietetic experiments not merely from the vegetarian's but also from the *brahmachari's* point of view. I saw as the result of these experiments that the *brahmachari's* food should be limited, simple, spiceless, and, if possible, uncooked.

Six years of experiment have showed me that the *brahmachari's* ideal food is fresh fruit and nuts. The immunity from passion that I enjoyed when I lived on this food was unknown to me after I changed that diet. *Brahmacharya* needed no effort on my part when I lived on fruits and nuts alone. It has been a matter of very great effort ever since I began to take milk. How I had to go back to milk from a fruit diet will be considered in its proper place. It has enough to observe here that I have not the least doubt that milk diet makes the *brahmacharya* vow difficult to observe. Let no one deduce from this that all *brahmacharis* must give up milk. The effect on *brahmacharya* of different kinds of food can be determined only after numerous experiments. I have yet to find a fruit substitute for milk which

is an equally good muscle-builder and easily digestible. The doctors, *vaid*s and *hakim*s have alike failed to enlighten me. Therefore though I know milk to be partly a stimulant, I cannot, for the time being, advise any one to give it up.

As an external aid to *brahmacharya*, fasting is as necessary as selection and restriction in diet. So overpowering are the senses that they can be kept under curb only when they are hedged in all around, from above and from beneath, and in all directions. It is common knowledge that they are powerless without food, and so fasting undertaken with a view to control of the senses is, I have no doubt, very helpful. With some fasting is of no avail, because assuming that mechanical fasting alone will make them immune, they keep their bodies without food, but feast their mind upon all sorts of delicacies, thinking all the while as to what they will eat and what they will kind after the fast terminates. Such fasting helps them in controlling neither the palate nor the tongue. Fasting is useful when mind co-operates with starving body, that is to say, cultivates a distaste for the objects that are denied to the body. Mind is at the root of all sensuality. Fasting therefore has a limited use, for a fasting man may continue to be swayed by passion. But it may be said that extinction of the sexual passion is as a rule impossible without fasting, which may be said to be indispensable for the observance of *brahmacharya*. Many aspirants after *brahmacharya* fail, because in the use of their other senses they want to carry on as those who are not *brahmacharis*. Their effort is therefore identical with the effort to experience the bracing cold of winter in the scorching summer months. There should be a clear line between the life of a *brahmachari* and of one who is not. The resemblance that there is between the two is only apparent. The distinction ought to be clear as daylight. Both use their eyesight, but whereas the *brahmachari* uses it to see the glories of God, the other uses it to see the frivolity around him. Both use their ears, but whereas the one hears nothing but praises of God, the other feasts his ears upon ribaldry. Both often keep late hours, but whereas the one devotes them to prayer, the other fritters them away in wild and wasteful

mirth. Both feed the inner man, but the one only to keep the temple of God in good repair and the other gorges himself and makes the sacred vessel a stinking gutter. Thus both live as the poles apart and the distance between them will grow and not diminish with the passage of time.

Brahmacharya means control of the senses in thought, word and deed. Every day I have been realising more and more the necessity for restraints of the kind I have detailed above there is no limit to the possibilities of renunciation, even as there is none to those of *brahmacharya*. Such *brahmacharya* is impossible of attainment by limited effort. For many it must remain only as an ideal. An aspirant after *brahmacharya* will always be conscious of his shortcomings, will seek out the passions lingering in the innermost recesses of his heart and will incessantly strive to get rid of them. So long as thought is not under complete control of the will, *brahmacharya* in its fulness is absent. Involuntary thought, an affection of the mind, and curbing of thoughts therefore means curbing of the mind which is even more difficult to curb than the wind. Nevertheless the existence of God within makes even curbing of the mind possible. Let no one think that it is impossible because it is difficult. It is the highest goal and it is no wonder that the highest effort should be necessary to attain it.

But it was after coming to India that I realised that such *brahmacharya* was impossible to be attained by mere human effort. It may be said that until then I had been labouring under the delusion that fruit diet was enough to eradicate all passions, and I had flattered myself with the belief that I had nothing more to do.

But let me not anticipate the chapter of my struggles. Meanwhile I may make it clear that those who desire to observe *brahmacharya* with a view to realising God need not despair, provided their faith in God is equal to their confidence in their own effort.

'The sense-objects turn away from an abstemious soul leaving the relish behind. The relish also disappears with the realisation of the Highest.' Therefore His name and His grace are the last resources of the aspirant after

moksha. This truth came to me only after my return to India.

CHAPTER IX SIMPLE LIFE

I had indeed started on a life of ease and comfort but the experiment was short-lived. I had furnished the house with care, but it failed to hold me. So no sooner had I started on that life, than I began to cut down the expenses. The washerman's bill was pretty heavy and he was by no means noted for his punctuality, even two to three dozen shirts and collars were found insufficient for me. Collars had to be changed daily and shirts every alternate day, if not daily. This meant a double expense. This appeared to me unnecessary. So I equipped myself with washing outfit to save it. I read a book on the art of washing and learnt it and taught it to my wife. This added no doubt to my work, but its novelty made it a pleasure.

I can never forget the first collar that I washed myself. I had used more starch than necessary and the iron was not made hot pressed and for fear of burning the collar I had not pressed it enough. The result was that though the collar was fairly stiff the superfluous starch continually dropped off it. I went to court with the collar on and invited the ridicule of brother barristers. Even in those days I could be impervious to ridicule.

'Well,' said I, 'this is my first experiment at washing my collar myself and hence the loose starch. But that is no trouble to me and there is the additional advantage of providing you so much fun.'

'But surely there is no lack of laundries here?' asked a friend.

'The laundry bill is very heavy,' said I. 'The charge for washing a collar is almost as much as its price, and even then there is the eternal dependence on the washerman. I would far rather prefer to wash my things myself.'

I could not make my friends appreciate the beauty of self-help. I may add that in course of time I became an expert washerman so far as my own work went, and my washing was by no

means inferior to laundry washing. My collars were no less stiff or shiny than others.'

When Gokhale came to South Africa, he had with him a scarf which was a gift from Mahadeo Govind Ranade. He treasured the memento with the utmost care and used it only on special occasions. One such occasion was the banquet given in his honour by the Johannesburg Indians. The scarf was creasy and wanted ironing. It was not possible to send it to the laundry and get it back immediately. I offered to try my art. I can trust to your capacity as a lawyer, but not as a washerman,' said Gokhale. 'What if you should soil it? Do you know what it means to me?'

With this he narrated to me with much joy the story of the gift. I still insisted and guaranteed good work and got his permission to iron it, and won his certificate. Now I did not mind if the whole world refused me its certificate.

And just as I freed myself from the slavery to the washerman, even so I threw off the dependence on the barber. All people going to England learn there at least the art of shaving, but none to my knowledge cut his own hair. I had to learn that too. I once went to an English hair-cutter in Pretoria. He contemptuously refused to cut my hair. I certainly felt hurt, but immediately purchased a pair of clippers and cut my hair before the mirror. I succeeded more or less in cutting the front hair, but I spoiled the back. The friends in the court shook with laughter.

'What's wrong with your hair, Gandhi? Rats have been at it?'

'No. The white barber would not condescend to touch my black hair. So I preferred to cut it myself, no matter how badly.'

The reply did not surprise the friends. The barber was not at fault in having refused to cut my hair. There was every chance of his losing his custom, if he cut black men's hair. We do not allow our barbers to serve our untouchable brethren. I got the reward of it in South Africa, not once, but many a time, and the conviction that it is the punishment for our own sins has saved me from being angry.

The extreme forms in which my passion for self-help and simplicity ultimately expressed itself will be described in their proper place. But the seed had been long sown. It only needed

watering to take root and flower and fructify, and the watering came in due course. (Translated from *Navajivan* by M. D.)

Reviews and Notices of Books

ECONOMICS

Politics and the Land

POLITICS AND THE LAND: By C. Dampier Whetham, F. R. S. Cambridge University Press. 6s.

At a time, when "Back to Land," is a loud cry even in the industrialised West, and a Royal Commission is deliberating on the present state and the future of Indian agriculture, a book on agricultural economics and policy, from the pen of a Fellow of the Royal Society, Member of the Lawes Agricultural Trust and of the Council of the Royal Agricultural Society, and a practical farmer, though purely British in treatment and point of view, should demand our careful attention. In substance, the work is a powerful defence of the present system of land-ownership and land-tenure in England, against the onslaughts made on it both by Liberalism and Labour, and a vigorous plea for the early stabilisation of the price-level, as the effective means of getting rid of the chief cause of agricultural depression, viz., unremunerative and fluctuating prices relatively to costs of production. Trade-Union action in certain industries, preventing a fall in their wages corresponding to the fall in price-level, has added a heavy differential burden to Land, which has given point to its distress, and should be early removed. This could be done only when Sheltered Labour takes a wider view of the industrial life of the country than it has been its wont, and submits either to a reduction in its remuneration, or to an increase in its *per capita* production. No form of protection or subsidy to agriculture could remedy the evil, consistently with the interests of the tax-payer, and the ultimate welfare of the community. The bulwark of the

sheltered industries must be overthrown simultaneously with the attainment of monetary stabilisation. The development of a "marketing sense" in the farmers, and facilities for their imbibing in an useful form, the latest results of scientific research should follow suit. And the present system of land-tenure must be continued, in view of its proved usefulness, and the impracticability of the rival theories of land-management put forward.

Now, it would surely be impossible to exaggerate the misery that organised production suffers from an erratic price-level, and also to ignore the detriment that Trade-union action in certain industries inflicts on others less favourably situated than themselves in the matter of Labour organisation. But to hold that price-stabilisation and labour-enlightenment would in themselves, bring about the millennium, without caring to consider, at the same time, the effect which competing foreign food-production would have on English agriculture, especially when the author denies it every form of protection, is to leave an otherwise valuable treatise, exposed to attack in one important respect.

Mr. Dampier Whetham conclusively shows in his book that in efficiency English arable cultivation compares not unfavourably with that of advanced countries like Belgium and Denmark, that English land-lords have in no way fallen behind their ancestors in the matter of rural leadership and land improvement, and that his difficulties all arise from poverty, brought on him by causes over which he has no control. In Chapters 8 and 9, he has thrown the strong search-light of reason and experience on the competing Liberal and Labour theories of the management of Land by the State, in order to

expose their defects and strengthen his case for the continuance of the *status quo* in land-tenure. Lloyd-George is quoted to show that the "model is not ownership, but tenancy on a sound estate". The concluding chapter on rural development suggests ways and means of reviving the village, as a centre of social and economic life. The book is full of merit and requires serious study.

G. K. RAMACHANDRAN.

POLITICS.

China and the Nations

CHINA AND THE NATIONS:—By Wong Ching-Wai. Martin Hopkinson & Co., London, 7/6.

Modern China is a problem to most students of politics. The reason for it is patent. In that country, we see the octopus of Imperialism spreading out its tentacles one by one, trying to envelope its victim in one fatal embrace; the efforts of a generation of patriotic young men—determined to resistance by the example and precept of that inspiring personality, Dr. Sun Yat-sen—to wriggle out of the grip; and the hollow, but high-sounding shibboleths with which stronger nations try to throw dust into the eyes of their prey. It is not to the interest of the Imperialist Press, therefore, to allow anything more than the merest simulacra of Chinese events to get public. Hence our deep gratitude to Messrs. I-Sen Teng, and John Nind Smith for giving us an English rendering of the Draft Report on International Problems, prepared by Wong Ching-Wai, for presentation to the International Problems Committee of the People's Conference of Delegates at Peking in April 1925.

Wong Ching-Wai, elected leader of the people's Government at Canton after Sun Yat-sen's death, composed 'China and the Nations', as the official statement of China's international history in modern times, and of her future policy. Based on authoritative Chinese documents, the Report forms a very useful corrective to the usually circulated disparaging versions of Chinese history. Mr. John Nind Smith's informing introduction adds to the undoubted value of the work.

The book begins with a copy of the will of the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen. This is followed by three general chapters on Imperialism. According to Wong ching-Wai "Imperialism is the utilization by any people of its political and military ascendancy, for subjecting to its economic encroachment, some foreign country or territory or race." Economic conquest is the objective: the promotion of political ascendancy only subserves this economic purpose. Military power is both the 'pioneer and reserve force in the struggle for political ascendancy.'

The methods by which the Imperialists do their work are various, in Wong Ching-Wai's opinion. They sometimes maintain, in their colonial politics, their superior power, and so use it that they force the colonised peoples openly to realise their bondage. They also arbitrarily adopt territories as their 'spheres of influence', or simply annex countries of others, as 'colonies'; or they devise fascinating terms as 'Protectorate' and the like, to veil their true object, which is ascendancy. Very often too, they contract "unequal treaties, according to which the privileges and the rights fall to them, and the obligations to the other party. They then attend to their so-called Treaty Rights, in order to keep the countries thus obligated in perpetual subjection." When it is time to allocate the booty among several imperialistic powers, they talk of 'Most-favoured-Nation clauses' or 'Equal opportunity of privileges.'

The author also says that "the Militarism of the old tyrants culminated in conquering foreign territory, but modern Imperialism in cutting down the livelihood of the people. A country subdued by foreign arms is politically ruined. But the people remain, and with the people, the hope of national restoration. When the people's livelihood is cut off, the result is race extinction. It is the end of the country, the end of the people." "The effects of Imperialism have been up to the present, to extinguish or enslave three and a half of the five great races of mankind, and to change the colour of three and a half of the five continents."

The Cantonese leader divides modern Chinese history into five periods, according as one or

other phase of imperialistic exploitation stands prominent. The first runs from the Opium War to the Sino-Japanese War (1840-1894). Then began the "contracting of Unequal Treaties." The Dead Empire lost heavily in cession of territory, in indemnity, in the establishment of foreign settlements, in the grant of extra territoriality to foreigners, and in the surrender to them of control over the tariff system. The 'concessions' were foreign territories, foreign sovereignties in China. Extra-territoriality carried such foreign sovereignty wherever foreign subjects care to go, and thus set at naught Chinese authority in its own home. International control of the tariff threw to the winds Chinese tariff-autonomy: and gradually, even taxes came to be collected from the foreign merchants by the foreign Consuls, who handed over these revenues to the Chinese authorities from the Consulate. Then followed 'The Theft of the Vassal States,' the powers inducing Annam, Burma and Siam to transfer their allegiance from the Yellow to the White man.

The second period terminated with the Boxer Rising [1900] though Japanese influence, the 'violent' method of encroachment by partition of territory, and concessions took a step forward. After the Rising, however, this method gave way to the 'slow' process, the object being to avoid conflicts between the competing imperialists, and to blind the Chinese to their own degradation. 'Integrity of Territory', 'Open Door Policy', and 'Equality of Opportunity' were the catch phrases of this third period that ran from 1900 to 1914. The Powers also agreed now, for their mutual interest, to invest money in China on a large scale: such investment being always, of course, accompanied by cession of sovereign power and control.

The fourth period (1914-1921) was characterised chiefly by a forward movement of Japan, which took advantage of the preoccupations of Europeans with the War, to carve out for itself handsome slices of helpless Chinese territory: After opening up hostilities with Germany, Japan seized German concessions and enterprises around Kiaochawan, and took over Germany's rights in Shantung.

This was a virtual declaration of war on China: for the famous twenty-one demands Japan presented to China shortly afterwards, disclosed her attitude clearly to the latter. The Japanese loans and military agreements then followed. The outcome of a deal between her and Yuan Shi-Kai and the powers gave effective help to her in the Peace Conference, when they dexterously shelved China's case being put before the League.

The Washington Conference which began the fifth period completed the 'Betrayal of China, to Japan, and also inaugurated a second fit of competitive exploitation, that is understood to go on now even more forcefully than between the Boxer Rising and the Great War.

In Chap. IV Wong Ching Wai gives a succinct account of the Chinese people's revolution against Imperialism: and of the relationship between Soviet Russia and the new republic, together with a statement of the 'weighty clauses' in the Sino-Russia Agreement of Friendship of 1924. He also combats the arguments usually advanced against China's independence in her own home, viz., that her finances are not in order, that her War Lords are still at large, and that her judiciary is too corrupt and inefficient to be trusted with the lives and liberties of foreigners. He points out that these arguments put the cart before the horse, and are intended to mislead the ordinary Chinaman, and the world at large, in order to maintain indefinitely the concessions and extra-territoriality. There can be financial stability only when the militarists cease to play their pranks, and involve the country in huge, unnecessary expenditure: and militarists will receive their quietus only when the Imperialists stop using them as pawns in the game. Imperialism, therefore, must first go.

As for the judiciary, Wong Ching Wai points out that Soviet Russia has no extra-territorial rights in China, as also Germany and other ex-enemy countries. No one complains there of miscarriage of justice. In Turkey, the same arguments as in China were used by the Powers to maintain similiar rights, till the Revolution made a clean sweep of them.

The concluding chapter sets forth the demands of the Kuomintang. China must resume posses-

sion of all her lost territories. States formerly vassal to her, such as Korea and Annam, must be restored to their original national status, independence and equality—the question of their federation with China being left free for the states themselves to decide. Concessions, leased territories, control of railways, and Chinese territory in their vicinity, must all be returned to China. Present arrangements concerning the Legation Quarter in Peking must be abolished. The military armaments, together with the troops and police of the foreign Powers must be withdrawn. All 'spheres of influence' must be abolished. Foreign and military police should no longer be stationed in Chinese territory. The rights of navigation in China's inland waters must be withdrawn from foreign boats. All extra-territorial rights must go; and Tariff autonomy must be regained.

A useful bibliography is attached to the end of the book, as also a map of China prepared for the use of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Numerous references are given in the foot-notes to other works on China.

It is impossible to exaggerate the value of Wong Ching Wai's Report for the student of politics.

G. K. RAMACHANDRAN.

PHILOSOPHY.

The Hindu View of Life.

THE HINDU VIEW OF LIFE: By Prof. S. Radhakrishnan. George Allen Unwin Ltd. 5/-

The present volume embodies four lectures on Hinduism, delivered at Manchester College as the Upton Lectures for 1926. We heartily congratulate the authorities of the Manchester College on their choice. The first of these lectures deals with the nature and content of religious experience, the second, with the conflict of religions, and the attitude of the Hindu towards such conflict; the third and the fourth, with Hindu Dharma in its various aspects. The lectures are all characterised by a high degree of clearness and originality of thought, lucidity of expression and richness of style which we have learnt to associate with the author. There is a

running unity in thought and a remarkable brilliancy of exposition in all his works. Prof. Radhakrishnan's command over the English language is simply marvellous. It is doubtful whether any other Indian could present the thoughts embodied in his works in such a succinct and yet forcible way as Prof. Radhakrishnan has done.

Though one cannot accept what all Prof. Radhakrishnan states in the volume under review, it must be said that he clearly brings home to our mind how the Hindus have been viewing life from countless ages. The Professor does not exaggerate when he loudly proclaims the greatness of Hindu culture in such glowing terms as the following: "Half the world moves on independent foundations which Hinduism supplied. China and Japan, Tibet and Siam, Burma and Ceylon look to India as their spiritual home. The civilization itself has not been a short-lived one. Its historic records date back for over four thousand years and even then, it had reached a stage of civilization which has continued its unbroken, though at times slow and almost static course, until the present day. It has stood the stress and strain of more than four or five millenniums of spiritual thought and experience. Though peoples of different races and different cultures have been pouring into India from the dawn of history, Hinduism has been able to maintain its supremacy and even the proselytising creeds backed by political power have not been able to coerce the large majority of Indians to their views. Hindu culture possesses some vitality which seems to be denied to some other more forceful currents." (P. 12-13).

On page 59, Prof. Radhakrishnan makes the following observations which every student of comparative religion ought to read and ponder over. "That the Hindu solution of the problem of conflict of religions is likely to be accepted in the future, seems to be fairly certain. This is not mere optimism but based on facts and figures. The superior force of the arguments of Indian thinkers is such that they cannot but be accepted."

In the chapters on Hindu Dharma, the Pro-

fessor traces the main tendencies in Indian philosophical thought and offers estimative comments on them. He discusses the social life of the Hindus and upholds to a large extent, the method of living and the state of society as was prevalent in ancient India. But, at the same time, he urges for some reform. He says. "We are beginning to look upon our ancient faith with fresh eyes. We feel that our society is in a condition of unstable equilibrium. There is much that is dead and diseased that has to be cleared away. Leaders of Hindu thought and practice are convinced that the times require, not a surrender of the basic principles of Hinduism, but a re-statement of them with special reference to the needs of a more complex and mobile social order."

The work, it should be observed, contains also much controversial matter—matter which many may disapprove and refute too. The statement that 'Hinduism is name without any content' (P. 1) cannot go unquestioned. That "Samkara adopted the wise attitude of agnosticism" (P. 68.) may sound strange to many ears. Whether to be an agnostic is a wise attitude, or whether Samkara was an agnostic, at all, according to the author, it is difficult to comprehend. It is far from the bare truth to say that 'no theory has ever asserted that life is a dream and all experienced events are illusions' (P. 69). As a matter of fact, this theory has been asserted by many of the Advaita Vedantins. Prof. Radhakrishnan contradicts his own statement in the next sentence. "One or two later followers of Samkara lend countenance to this hypothesis, but it cannot be regarded as representing the main tendency of Hindu thought". Here, again, it should be noted that not one or two followers of Samkara, but many, in fact, almost all noteworthy followers of Samkara, do not only lend countenance but assert this theory in strong and unambiguous language.

The observation that 'the dancing of Krishna on Kaliya's head represents the subordination, if not displacement of, serpent worship' (P. 39) is very difficult to maintain. It is difficult to see how this incident could be explained to refer to the displacement of serpent worship. This

worship continues among Hindus up to the present day as a Vedic ritual. Serpent worship itself is not Non-Aryan. Again, it is a curious theory of the origin of Dakshinamurti that is stated in the following lines, 'Rama's breaking of the bow of Siva signifies the conflict between the Vedic ideal and the cult of Siva, who soon became a God of the South (Dakshinamurti)'. The Professor seems to regard that 'Krishna's struggle with Indra, the prince of Vedic Gods and 'the rise of the cult of Siva' are instances of the fact that the Aryan was not always the superior force, and that the Aryan yielded to the non-Aryan on many occasions. Also that the Vedic culture has undergone substantial changes on account of its influence with the Dravidians and that the resultant was the one that is presented to us in the epics. The day may not be far off, we fear, when we may have to discard the present Dravidian theory and the Non-Aryan nature of the Dravidians.

Professor Radhakrishnan, it should be added, might easily have made many improvements in his work, only if he had bestowed some more care and thought over it. Certain Sanskrit words and phrases seem to have been misunderstood and consequently mistranslated. A few Sanskrit passages have been misquoted also. If a qualified pandit had been consulted before putting them into print, these pitfalls could have been easily avoided. But, on the whole, the book is a timely and welcome addition to the literature on Hindu thought and culture. It is, indeed, a joy to handle the volume. We heartily commend it to our readers.

T. R. C. MANI.

Conceptions of Evolution
EASTERN CONCEPTIONS OF EVOLUTION. By Maurice P. Jayewardena Published by the Author 30, Main Street, Colombo.

Rs. 10.

This is a book dealing with an important and fascinating subject in a scrappy and slipshod way. Its conceptions of evolution are peculiar, and are not even peculiarly Eastern. It is well-known that the philosophers of India knew the theory

of evolution (*Parinama Vada*) long before it was discovered in the West. They did not work it out with that patient spirit of research and elaboration of detail, but knew it well enough, all the same. It will be an interesting task to pursue the investigation of the origin and development of the theory of evolution in the East.

The author has indicated in his preface that he is not using oriental terms in their usual sense. He says: "They must not be confused with the metaphysical clap-trap, quoted as their meanings, that obtain to-day and have obtained for ages through ignorance". This is an unfortunate attitude, to say nothing more. The author is evidently a man of learning who has reflected on the problems of life and evolution, but a fuller equipment of ancient eastern evolutionary thought and of modern scientific thought is necessary to deal fully with the subject as it richly deserves.

He first attempts to correlate the western classification of spotaneous, ovarian, mammalian and simian and human groups to the eastern classification of *Swedaja*, *Andaja Jalayuja* (?), *Ahetuka*, and *Sahetuka*, refers also to a sixth group *Opathika*. The correlation is not a happy or successful one. He tries to derive organic life from an accidental disharmony of the centrifugal and centripetal forces, or electricities which hold the earth in position in space. This, again, is a simple but not a correct and successful solution of the problem of life.

But the really fantastic portion of the work comes in where Vishnu and Brahma and Iswara are dragged in. The author says: "That is, taking groups as wholes, the spontaneous group is *Vishnu*, the ovarious birds, reptiles etc. *Brahma*, and all manmalions this side of monkeys, in the scale of evolution, *Iswara*. '—In the spontaneous group the *Vishnus* crawl, the *Brahmas* fly and the *Iswaras* walk..... *Vishnus* are mild, *Brahmas* are medium, and *Ishwaras* are fierce".....In the mammalions also there is the *Vishnu*, *Brahma* and *Ishwara*. Such animals as the camel, buffalo, pig, ox, deer and hare are the *Vishnus*. Animals like the horses, elephant, donkey and sheep are *Brahmas*, whilst the tiger, leopard, lion, wolf, jaguar and mungoose are *Iswaras*:The

Vishnus such as the pig, hare and rat are omnivoures, the *Brahmas*, the elephant, squirrel and hedgehog are herbivorous, and the *Ishwaras*, the leopard, lion and mungoose are carnivorous".....Wind is *Vishnu*, bile *Brahma*, and phlegm *Iswara*. —Oxygen, *Brahma*, nitrogen *Vishnu*, and carbon *Iswara*.

Another fantastic portion of the book says in regard to the monkey: "Mentally considered, the monkey is now in possession of fifteen thoughts and five desires". We wonder how this became known to the author. He says again: "It is particularly unfortunate for the monkey that his flesh is so rarely used as food by man. By becoming food for man, his evolution to the man stage is hastened. His body becomes saturated or charged with human electricities". I am afraid that this view will not be endorsed by eastern or western evolutionary science. At any rate, if the view is true, the monkeys have reason to rejoice as they are being slaughtered wholesale for human glandular treatment to bring the rejuvenation of old and decrepit human beings.

The author has given as a valuable idea when he points out: "When it is realised that God is the supreme entity from which all things emanate and that Creation is evolution or the progression from lower forms to higher forms, culminating in man, instead of God being conceived as a venerable old man living in an imaginary place called heaven, and that He is a moulder working with clay, the conflict ends, and science and religion can meet on common ground, each understanding the other".

But when he proceeds further and says that by physical yogic methods death can be killed and the human body can be made to live for ever, he is off in the pursuit of chimeras again. The acme of fantasy is reached in the concluding portion of the book: "When two such male and female individuals unite, the one with a mercuric and the other with a golden body, the amalgamation is perfect and happiness complete. With such union desire is finally satiated and quenched, and the two individuals will have their being together as one composite whole enjoying complete and eternal happiness. This is the

Paramatma. This is the *Nirvana*". What a strange *Paramatma* and what a strange *Nirvana*!

In another portion of the book we have a lurid pen-sketch of caste: "Caste is the mammoth, hydra headed son of Darkness and Ignorance, and he flourishes in the proportion of Ignorance in individuals or communities".

The book is of use as a new attempt in a virgin field but is priced too high, as it is a small book containing only 226 pages.

K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI.

The Philosophy of More

THE PHILOSOPHICAL WRITINGS OF HENRY MORE: Edited by Flora Isabe Mackinnon. Ph. D.—Oxford University Press, New York, U. S. A.

The volume under review is intended, as indicated in the preface, to rescue the name of Henry More from the list of those philosophers whom "every one knows, but no one reads". To speak the truth, at least so far as India is concerned, the name of the philosopher Henry More is not one which every body or even many, know and consequently his is the philosophy the least studied here. In spite of the fact that his works have gone through a number of editions, they have not been available to us, chiefly on account of the fact that they were printed long ago, mostly during the life-time of the author.

The present edition contains three of his best essays *vis.* "An Antidote Against Atheism", "The Immortality Of the Soul", and "The true Nation of a spirit". A contemporary of Des Cartes, Henry More was, in the early stages of his philosophical ruminations, completely brought under the spell of his powerful influence. As time advanced, More began to think for himself, and gradually his mind freed itself from the trammels of Des Carte's influence. In the course of his writings his attitude towards Des Cartes and his philosophy changed from enthusiastic, almost reverential admiration to absolute opposition and disdain. Though a devoted member of the Church of England, More had good reasons to differ from the other members. In the days when religious intolerance and fanaticism were ram-

pant in the thoughts of even right-minded thinkers, More upheld the beauty and power of toleration. His sympathies were therefore with that group of Lattitude-men or Cambridge Platonists as they were called. He deplored the 'unrighteousness of schisms and sects' and upheld the value the 'right liberty of conscience' and insisted that differences of religious opinions matter little, if only people would serve God with all sincerity. Free and unbiassed as he was More had still his weaknesses even in the doctrines which he upheld. He could not tolerate the Enthusiasts or Familists though he upheld the almost magical effects of tolerance. Though a Cambridge Platonist, he differed from the rest of the group in that his interests were multifarious. He was at once a divine; a man keenly interested in science; a stout opposer of atheism and scepticism of Hobbes; one who sought to prove the dependence of ancient Philosophy upon the Hebrew Scriptures; a mystic, one who had a keen sense of beauty, whether in nature, or in poetry.

More's philosophy is well worth considering. The main tendency of the English philosophy of the 17th and 18th centuries centred round the opposition to the materialism of Hobbes and the subjective idealism of others on the one hand and the opposition of matter and spirit on the other. More contributed his mite towards both these. He emphasised the concrete unity of life and Spirit. In clearly and unambiguously stated opposition to Hobbes. More insists on the inadequacy of the Materialistic theory. According to him Matter does not afford an adequate explanation of the material world.

The individual Soul, according to More, is divine and bears the stamp of God. Reason is the path leading to righteousness and truth. In spite of contemporary influences, and they were many indeed, his mind wanders back to 'the golden chain of The Platonic Succession'. His interest was more in the spiritual significance of his doctrines rather than in their logical formation. Nowhere is he seen to systematically state his doctrines in the manner in which any logician would do it; but the main outlines of his philosophy could be gathered from any one

of his philosophical works. The various aspects of his thought are most clearly seen in the three essays printed in the volume under review.

The principles which underlie all his writings may be summed up in a few words. Unity of Reality and consequently the impossibility of Des Cartes' dualism is his basic conception. Des Cartes' dualism consists in the reality of Matter, reality of Spirit and the reality of the difference between the two—a dualism which is very similar to that of the Samkhyas of Indian Philosophy. More got over this difference by denying the fissure between Matter and Spirit and he brought them closer. The exact boundary line between Spirit and Matter in the universe becomes in More's hands a wavy, misty boundary, so that it is impossible to trace just where; for him the one passes over into the other. But, at the same time his solution of the problem of the relation between Matter and Spirit is inadequate and ambiguous.

His treatment of the problem of Evil is marked by the easy optimism of his time; 'the value of his thought is to be found, first, in its historical significance as carrying on the tradition of mystical and vitalistic speculation, and, secondly, in the vigour and insight with which he suggests certain conceptions which did not attain clear formulation until a triumphing idealism revealed its own need of criticism and analysis.' His doctrine of spirit is noteworthy as an anticipatory reply to Hume's negation of Self, which appeared later. His doctrine of spirit is very much similar to that of Leibniz 'in its recognition of the importance of individuality and its emphasis on activity as the essential character of spiritual substance'. More's recognition of the activity of the mind is a distinct contribution to philosophical theory.

The opening pages of the first essay reminds us of Sri Harsa's arguments against Atheists. In his "*Khandana Khandakhadya*" Sri Harsa asks his atheistic opponent what he means when he denies the existence of a God, whether he has any conception of that whose negation he seeks to posit or not. If he has any conception, he cannot negate it; if he has no conception at all, still more so. Henry More argues in the same

strain. He says, "And now I am come hither. I demand of any atheist that denies there is a God, or of any that doubts whether there be one or no, what *Idea* or *Notion* they frame of that, they deny or doubt of. If they will prove nice and squeamish and profess they can frame no notion of any such thing, I would gladly ask them, why they will then deny or doubt of they know not what. For it is necessary that he that would rationally doubt or deny a thing should have some settled notion of the thing he doubts of, or denies. But if they profess that this is the very ground of their denying or doubting whether there be a God, because they can frame no notion of him, I shall forthwith take away that allegation by offering them such a notion as is proper to God."

More tries in his second essay to demonstrate that correct knowledge, in the light of reason, cannot but lead to the conclusion that there is what is called Soul, and that it is imperishable. He states 10 axioms as it were and all reasonable men except sceptics will take the immortality of the Spirit proved by the axioms themselves. A discussion as to the proofs for the existence of God follows. The three main proofs are those that are usually cited—the ontological argument, the argument from universal worship and the argument from design. The notion of God is inseparably bound up with that of the Soul. To illustrate this point, More delivers a sermon on the native of God and satisfies himself that he has delivered a very able and intelligent sermon. The discussion then passes on to the topic of the variety in souls—that of a brute, man, angel, plant etc. and seeks to prove that they are different—an attempt which may seem absurd to any one who knows something of Indian Philosophy. He then tries to refute Hobbes' theories regarding the Soul and tries to pick holes in his views.

Much of the third essay overlaps the two other essays and a lengthy criticism therefore is absolutely unnecessary.

On the whole, there are very many good points in the philosophy of More and it deserves careful study and criticism. The present edition, with

its many appendices and biographical introduction, will surely enable the understanding of More much better. We only wish that the other works also of More be published in the splendid manner in which the present one has been done.

T. R. C. MANI.

SOCIAL STRUGGLE AND THOUGHT

By M. Beer Small Maynard & Co., Boston, U. S. A.

The title of this book is inaccurate, for its contents consist of only selected Socialistic struggles and early Socialistic ideas. It is a collection of greatly condensed paraphrases of the writing of the intellectual predecessors of Karl Marx, put together in partial historical order with slight running comment and explanation by the author. Such being its nature, quotations would not serve to make this review any more helpful or illuminating.

To a Marxian Socialist the book might perhaps be interesting, but if he were truly scientific in mind he would not bother with it, or would at least use it very cautiously. The omissions are so many, and the historical background presented is so sketchy as to make the total effect very inaccurate and misleading. Socialists may pour all the scorn they want upon the middle class, and regard them as treacherous enemies, but the warrior who is so contemptuous of his enemy as to be 'unwilling to study him very carefully is sure to be defeated. For instance, Shaftesbury and Francis Place may have been hopelessly middle class, but they certainly played a very considerable part in the "Social struggles and thought" of England during one stage of the industrial revolution. Yet, they are not mentioned in this book. The abolition of negro slavery, likewise, would seem to deserve at least a passing mention in such a book as this.

One could forgive even such inadequacies, if the author were interesting and human and enlivening in his treatment of what he does present. But to me, at least, the book is exceedingly dull, cold and juiceless, in addition to its other faults. I cannot recommend it, even to a Socialist.

RICHARD GREGG.

SCIENCE.

THE TEACHING OF SCIENCE. By E. J. Holmyard, M. A. M. SC F. I. C. (G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., London.)

This pamphlet indicates a commendable outlook on the function of science and the method of its teaching which, if not new, is certainly not much realised in present day practice. Many persons, including not a few scientists, hold that 'Science is necessarily on a lower plane than the humanities, since it takes no account of ethical and æsthetical values, much less of religion.' This affects the true progress of science and more so the usefulness of the subject as taught in schools. The aim of the author is to repudiate this view of science and make an appeal for the recognition of science as an instrument of true culture and not merely as a subject of professional, technical or utilitarian value.

The following is the author's line of argument as to how the fallacy, he refutes, has come about. Most people, according to him, seem to hold that science aims at 'discovering the truth about Nature.' This assumption naturally implies the existence in reality of an outer world and the postulate that it can be discovered as it really is. Thus, he says, have come the fictions of the uniformity of Nature and the finality and absoluteness of the scientific laws, irrespective of the individual mind that comprehends them. The author makes out that science need not and does not concern with the reality (ultimate) of the external world and that it will only add to its glory by confessing that its laws are not finalities but that its progress consists in pursuing the irrational further back. Instead of assuming that science gives a true account of reality, he pleads for substituting 'the conception of man constantly striving with ever increasing success to find his way about among the multitudinous phenomena presented to his consciousness by interpreting them in terms of his own intelligence.'

The author then explains how this view should modify the teaching of science in schools. He wants the science teachers to give up the air of finality with which they present their facts and

laws, to remind themselves and others how scientific laws are always inadequate and transient, though continually progressing, and, above all, to realise that 'Science is not the reflection of an external world, but a projection of man's ideas into the world of phenomena.' Science and its laws thus reflect continually the genius of its great votaries and, being colored by individual minds, is 'essentially concerned with beauty, truth and justice.' The author feels that our mental life cannot be complete without an acquaintance with these higher values as conceived by science.

Everyone with a philosophic mind will easily understand the author's attitude towards the so-called reality of the external world and his stress on the subjective nature of all human ex-

periences and expressions. We also agree that this attitude should vitally affect the teaching of Science so as to bring forth not only the utilitarian aspects, including the development of the ordinary human powers like observation, imagination and judgment, but also its cultural aspects. We cannot, however, feel that the author has done full justice to his work by merely making a statement of his philosophy without taking pains to show, with suitable illustrations, how this could be realised in practice. The author in his preface has promised to illustrate the actual working out of his philosophy in his book 'The Philosophy of Chemistry'. We await with interest the appearance of that volume.

C. S. NARAYANSWAMY

What Thinkers Think

A Prayer for Age

Grant I may find, when I am old,
The hearts that loved me grow not cold.
If I need kindness, may I find
A careless world not too unkind.
Be mine a peaceful dwelling-place,
Where quiet hours fill tranquil days,
Where I may turn the pages over
Of my life's book, from cover to cover—
And though some be deep-stained with tears,
From which, in passing, kindly years
Have drawn their ancient bitterness,
May these blurred records, none the less,
Teach me, most pitifully then
To read and judge my fellowmen,
To see both good and evil sway
The spirit in the house of clay;
And to remember, looking back,
That this heart too has known the rack.
And when I turn the last page o'er,
Closing the book—to read no more,
When, freed alike of Age and Youth,
My soul goes out to seek the truth
Forth from its ruined tenement
Upon the Great Adventure bent—
Wilt Thou, who gav'st me that fair book,
Mercifully on the record look,

And all therein, being judged and weighed,
Forgive the blots that I have made."

—A. THATCHER, in the
Wesleyan Methodist Magazine.

A Call for Greatness

In his book "The Light of Experience" Sir Francis Young husband makes the following call for greatness to which young men and women all over the world might well respond. Sir Francis says:—

Besides backbone, and besides brains we want spirit. Besides the wooden virtues, over and above steadiness and commonsense, beyond cleverness and even wisdom, we want all that is implied in flexibility, mobility, fluidity, originality; we want dash and daring, initiative, fire, and imagination.

"We may give an excessive attention to solidity and not sufficiently appreciate these higher qualities of leadership. The sound, solid men are good enough as supports. But they are not moving spirits. They are not the men to make the country go. When the country had need to go—and go all out—they were found too sticky for the pace.

"For supreme leadership what is wanted is a quality which has a touch in it of something beyond common sense and steadiness of character—some-

thing which will consist of these up to a certain point, and then fling them to the winds, and greatly dare without them."

The World Outlook

The world outlook, continues to be a source of serious anxiety to the best minds of the world. The decay of idealism in international politics and the abuse of the great instruments of progress in the race for military power and imperialist exploitation of the world are some of the disquieting features that call for ceaseless resistance and vigil on the part of those who wish to build up a new world. Mr. John Galsworthy, the novelist, in his introduction to a recently published book on *The Meaning of Rotary* by A. Rotarian, makes a broad survey of of the world outlook. Here are some of his observations on the dangers that threaten us:

"Looking the world in the face we see what may be called a precious mess. Under a thin veneer—sometimes no veneer—of regard for civilisation, each country, great and small, is pursuing its own ends, struggling to rebuild its own house in the burnt village. The dread of confusion—worse—confounded, of death recrowned, and pestilence revived, alone keeps the nations to the compromise of peace. What chance has a better spirit?

"The exchange of international thought is the only possible salvation of the world,' are the words of Thomas Hardy, and so true that it may be well to cast an eye over such mediums as we have for the exchange of international thought. 'The Permanent Court of International Justice'; 'The League of Nations'; 'The Pan-American Congress'; certain sectional associations of this nation with that nation, tarred somewhat with the brush of self-interest; sporadic international conferences, concerned with sectional interests; the recently founded P. E. N. Club, an international association of writers with friendly aims, but no political intentions; the Boy Scout movement; and the Rotary International movement—these are about all, and they are taken none too seriously by the peoples of the earth.

The Salvation of the World

"The salvation of the world in which we all live, however, would seem to have a certain importance. Why, then, is not more attention paid to the only existing means of salvation? The argument for neglect is much as follows; Force has always ruled human

life—and always will. Competition is basic. Cooperation and justice succeed, indeed, in definite communities, so far as to minimise the grosser forms of crime, but only because the general opinion within the ring-fence of a definite community gives them an underlying force which the individual offender cannot withstand.

"There is no such ring-fence round nations, therefore no general opinion and no underlying force which the individual offender cannot withstand. There is no such ring-fence round nations, therefore no general opinion and no underlying force to ensure the abstention of individual nations from crime—if, indeed, transgression of laws which are not fixed can be called crime.

"This is the average, hard-headed view at the moment. If it is to remain dominant there is no salvation in store for the world. 'Why not?' replies the hard-head. 'It always has been the view, and the world has gone on.' Quite true. But the last few years have brought a startling change in the conditions of existence—a change that has not yet been fully realised. *Destructive science has gone ahead out of all proportion.*

"It is developing so fast that each irresponsible assertion of national rights or interests brings the world appreciably nearer to ruin. Without any doubt whatever, the powers of destruction are gaining fast on the powers of creation and construction. In the old days a thirty years' war was needed to exhaust a nation; it will soon be (if it is not already) possible to exhaust a nation in a week by the destruction of its big towns from the air. The conquest of the air, so jubilantly hailed by the unthinking, may turn out the most sinister event that ever befell us, simply because *it came before we were fit for it—fit to act reasonably under the temptation of its fearful possibilities.*

"The use made of it in the last war showed that; and the sheep-like refusal of the startled nations to face the new situations, and unanimously ban chemical warfare and the use of flying for destructive purposes shows it still more clearly. No one denies that the conquest of the air was a great—a wonderful—achievement; no one denies that it could be a beneficent achievement if the nations would let it be.

"But mankind has not yet, apparently, reached a pitch of decency sufficient to be trusted with such an inviting and terribly destructive weapon. We are all familiar with the argument. Make war dreadful enough, and there will be no war. And we none of us believe in it. The last war disproved it

utterly. Competition in armaments has already begun, among men who think, to mean competition in the air.

"Nothing else will count in a few year's time. We have made by our science a monster that will devour us yet, unless by exchanging international thought we can create a general opinion against the new powers of destruction so strong and so unanimous that no nation will care to face the force which underlies it....

The Key to the Future.

"The answer to the question; Is there to be happiness or misery, growth or ruin for the human species, does not now lie with governments. Governments are competitive trustees for competitive sections of mankind. Put destruction in their hands and they will use it to further the interest of those for whom they are trustees; just as they will use and even inspire the spiritual poison gas of pressmen. The real key to the future is in the hands of those who provide the means of destruction.

"Are scientists (chemists, inventors, engineers) to be Americans, Englishmen, Frenchmen, Germans, Japanese, Russians before they are men, in this matter of the making of destruction? Are they to be more concerned with the interests of their own countries, or with the interests of the human species? That has become the question they have to answer now that they have for the first time the future of the human race within their grasp. Modern invention has taken such a vast stride forward that the incidence of responsibility is changed. It rests on Science as never before....

Wanted a Triple Alliance.

Summing up his conclusions Mr. Galsworthy appeals to men of Science, Finance and the Press, the three great powers which hold the key to the future, to form a triple alliance for the good of humanity. He says:

"To sum up, Governments and Peoples are no longer in charge. Our fate is really in the hands of the three great Powers—Science, Finance, and the Press. Underneath the showy political surface of things those three great Powers are secretly determining the march of the nations; and there is little hope for the future unless they can mellow and develop on international lines. In each of these departments of life there must be men who feel this as strongly as the writer of these words.

"The world's hope lies with them: in the possibility of their being able to institute a sort of 'craftsman's

trusteeship for mankind—a new triple alliance, of Science, Finance and the Press, in service to the good of mankind at large, with the motto: 'Do unto others as ye would they should do unto you.' Nations, in block will never join hands, never have much in common, never be able to see each other's point of view. The outstanding craftsmen of the nations have a far better chance of seeing eye to eye; they have the common ground of their craft and a livelier vision.

"What divides them at present is a too narrow sense of patriotism, and—to speak crudely—money. Inventors must exist; financiers live; and papers pay. And, here, Irony smiles. Science, Finance and the Press at present seem to doubt it, but, just as in business there is more money to be made in the long run out of honesty and fair play than out of a policy of skin-game, so in life generally there is more profit in the salvation of mankind than in its destruction.

"And yet, without the free exchange of international thought, we may be fairly certain that the present purely national basis of human existence will persist, and if it does the human race will not, or at least so meagrely that it will be true to say of it, as of Anatole France's old woman: 'It lives, but so little!'

Faith in Democracy

Not the least disconcerting factor in the world today is the growing scepticism in regard to the value and sanctity of the great doctrines of democracy and popular self-Government. Our faith in the principles of Liberty and Equality, in the wisdom of parliamentary rule and the voice of the majority, is being questioned not only by philosophical critics, but also by ruthless politicians, the reactionary champions of Fascism on the one hand, and the revolutionary advocates of Communism on the other. This challenge has naturally led to the re-examination of the democratic faith by political thinkers. Dr. Nicholas Butler, President of the Columbia University took this all absorbing question as the subject of his address to the graduates of the Virginia University. He asked:—

"Can it be possible that Democracy, the child of the modern world, the pivot and centre of the whole humanitarian movement—can it be possible that Democracy has become an obstacle to human happiness and human progress? So we are told from

many lands, in many tongues, by voices to which many people listen.

"What is the complaint? That your foundations are illusory and fallacious. You have assumed, you liberal democrats of England, of France, of America—you have assumed in your seventeenth or eighteenth century revolutions and in your nineteenth century developments that society is built on individuals who will each, if given a chance, wish to develop the best that is in him, co-operate with his fellows to the advancement of the public good and so promote satisfaction, justice, contentment and progress.

"They say that all that has been shown by experience to be futile and misleading. Individual men do nothing of the sort. They are engaged in a struggle for material gain. They are anxious each to exalt himself at the cost of his fellows; that the spirit and zeal for service are not widespread, much less universal; that under your system there grow up privileged classes, privileged individuals, who exploit the masses, who live at their cost and who pervert your boasted democratic institutions to their own ends.

"You have become, all of you—in England, in France, in the United States—you have become societies that consist merely of collective mediocrity. You are at war with excellence, you are jealous of excellence and its authority; you do not seem to realise the limitation upon majorities; that while majorities may determine what can next be done, they cannot possibly determine what is right.

"In the great challenge of ancient times the four hundred and fifty prophets of Baal were wrong and the prophet Elijah alone with God was right. The majority against him was stupendous. You do not seem to realise these things, hence you are drifting into incompetence, into extravagance, into injustice, and your democratic society, of which you boast so much, is going on the rocks.

"The theory of our liberal democracy is that there will grow up under it two political parties or groups, both patriotic, both devoted to its fundamental principles, but occupying, by reason of temperament or conviction, different or opposing points of view as to how those institutions shall be worked and as to how particular projects of the moment shall be dealt with. But they are conditions that no longer exist. Your two-party system has broken down. Men are no longer so divided in any land—at least not sincerely.

"We are faced—it grew up in Germany under Bismarck, it has extended to France, it is now in England, it is on its way here—we are now faced

with the group or block system; not two opposing parties that can argue the matter out on the quest on of principle and appeal to the electorate for a decision but groups, no one of which is a majority, but which must make up by concession or compromise some working combination to effect a parliamentary majority."

The Challenge of Fascism.

Dr. Butler then passed on to the examination of the doctrines of fascism and its challenge to democracy. He said:

"If you look at Fascismo as it is, look at it frankly and fairly, you will find that it is made up of three elements: Sentiment, action, theory. With its Sentiment I for one cannot quarrel. Its sentiment is that every individual should find his highest and fullest satisfaction in the service of the State and of his fellows—not in selfishness, but in service.

"We have all preached that in this country. Every verse that has had our people's ears for a century and a half has taught that sentiment as part of our democratic philosophy. We cannot quarrel with that.

"Action! What fault can we find with that?

"Six million Italians were one day without water to drink or with which to cleanse themselves, the railways had broken down, the postal service was wrecked, the roads were in disrepair; brigandage, anarchy and crime were rampant everywhere. All that is gone and the country is orderly and ordered and looks itself and the world in the face with pride and satisfaction.

"Its theory challenges us directly. Those who are teaching the theory of Fascismo repeat with emphasis and with power and say, 'Your fault is this—it is fundamental and it is fatal—your fault is this: that society consists of individuals of a given generation who are living for themselves, for their economic gains, for their intellectual and personal satisfaction, for their health, for their happiness. They are the end or which the organised State is brought together.' We, say the Fascists, challenge that flatly. 'We say that the individuals of any given generation are only the passing and temporary instrumentalities of a great and permanent tradition. That is the chief thing. That tradition took its rise in ancient Rome. To that we give allegiance.

"Italy as a tradition, as a historic fact, as a continuing stream of influence and tendency—that is the chief thing, and the Italians of 1927, instead of being individual ends, as you democrats say, to be perfected, to be built up, to be given opportunity, you

are instrumentalities to be bent to the service, the quick service, of this great national tradition.

Where the doctrines meet.

"Who is to do the bending? That question the Fascists have not answered. Who is to do the bending? There is no finer definition of democracy than that of Mazzini, who said: 'Democracy is the progress of all through all under the leadership of the wisest and best.'

"But how are we going to get the leadership of the wisest and best? Who is going to bend the generation of to-day to the service of the great tradition? If it is done by persuasion, it is our democratic political philosophy; if it is done by force, it is the old absolute State of the Middle Ages and the philosophies that we have been fighting against with our whole being, and which is the reason for the democratic revolt of the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

"There the issue is joined. I wonder whether these able and distinguished and devoted men who are doing so much for their country quite realise the danger of leading us back, leading their nation back, to that doctrine of the absolute State!

"The moment the State becomes absolute somebody must be absolute. We have gotten through with monarchs—it was so easy to cut off their heads; we have not gotten through with the tyranny of majorities. They have too many heads easily to be cut off. And if we are to resist in our democracy, in its perpetuation, enrichment and development—if we are to resist the return of the doctrine of the absolute State under the guise of efficiency, we can only do it by making ourselves, our democracy, as efficient while retaining our civil and individual liberty.

"There is where the doctrines meet. The Fascists say, 'It can't be done. You have tried it. For 250 years you have tried it. You failed. Your voting masses will not even participate in your Government. Fifty percent of them in your most exciting elections will not go near the polls or take any part in the choice of public officers or the decision as to policies.

"Why do you stand up and tell us that your democracy is representative? Representative, yes, of organised and active and pestilent minorities. But why, then, should not we be permitted under the philosophy of Fascismo to take control of the Government in the interest of these great principles and of this great national tradition?"

"Let us not deceive ourselves. Whether or not this

philosophy makes appeal to other nations one cannot say, but certainly it has made a magnificent and powerful appeal to the Italian people.

"What are we going to do about it? And it is a joy and a satisfaction to put that question to so representative a company of the youth of America. This question will be answered not to-day, but to-morrow.

"It would be answered not by the captains who are in the army of public life, but by those who shall be recruited from this company of trained, eager and ambitious youth."

"Deepen the basis of Democracy"

What is the present need in democracy? It is not the mere extension of the franchise. This only broadens the basis of democracy. The more urgent need today, according to Principal L. P. Jacks, is a deepening of the democratic foundations. This, he says, could be done only by cultivating the qualities of skill and self-control in the individual citizen. Speaking recently at an Individualist luncheon in London Dr. Jacks said:—

"You cannot get self-government out of people who are incapable of governing themselves. There is no system, neither socialism nor anything else, there is no magic formula, there is no slogan, there is no political incantation, like 'Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity,' that can turn a multitude of people who are incapable of governing themselves individually into a self-governing State or true democracy. It cannot be done."

"Extension of the franchise will not do it. If your extension of the franchise merely means that people are going to use their votes in order to interfere with other people, you will never get a true democracy out of that. The love of power which Plato found a fatal disqualification in the statesman, in the ruler, is an equal disqualification in the humblest voter or in any class to which the vote may be given.

"That disqualification remains, no matter what other qualifications the voter or the class of voters may possess. You may send your voter to the School of Economics, to the School of Political Science; you may require him to graduate in the philosophy of the State; you may equip him with all the social sciences; but if he uses all that simply for the purpose of interfering with other people, while he remains incapable of controlling himself, that voter's citizenship is on a false basis, and he will remain equally unfitted to play his part in a self-governing democracy, as he would have been if you

had left him totally uneducated. Indeed, I think he may be even more unfitted, because a little knowledge of these things is a very dangerous thing.

"There is one test of the qualification of a voter or a class of voters which, so far as I know, has never been applied. It is the test of personal self-control. Personal self-control is, in my opinion, the only possible basis for a self-governing community.

"We effect nothing, or very little, by widening the basis of your democracy—I mean, of course, by extending the franchise—we effect very little by that unless at the same time we deepen the basis of democracy in the self-control of the individual citizen.

"I am not disparaging social science, I am not disparaging Schools of Economics and of Political Philosophy; I have spent too much of my own life in those studies not to know something of their value. But I do say that unless behind all your social science and your political philosophy, unless you have somewhere in your educational system a School of Self-Control, you are not educating the citizens for taking their part in a self-governing community.....I regard the development of the skill of the people as the greatest and the most fruitful enterprise upon which we can embark.

"But what is skill? That is a difficult question. Skill, I take it, is wisdom in action. Skill is knowledge which does the thing that it knows. Unless your knowledge gets itself transformed into some kind of skill—skill of the hands, skill of the head, skill of the heart—unless your knowledge, your wisdom, gets itself transformed ultimately into some kind of skill, I say it is a half-grown incomplete thing, a thing that has not come to its issue, like a tree that bears no fruit.

"I would also say this—and I think it is the summing up of all the philosophy that I can offer in the present connection—that the true vocation of man in this universe is to exercise skill. I know that some theologians would regard that as a horrible heresy, and in an earlier age it would probably have sent me to the stake. Skill is the most godlike thing in man. Skill is the quality in which he most resembles the Eternal Maker of this amazing universe. Without some kind of skill to exercise, man is a half-grown, stunted, uneducated, and miserable creature. Give him some kind of skill, and you come as near to make him master of his fate as this troubled world will allow you to get.

"Skill is a thing of many kinds, and all the different kinds of skill—of the hand, of the whole body, of

the mind, of the conscience, of the heart—they are all connected together, they all interpenetrate, support, and involve one another. By the exercise of skill a man comes into contact with all the truths that are best worth knowing, and when he learns them in that way, he never forgets them, as he surely does forget them when he learns them only by hearsay or at secondhand out of books.

"More than that, and beyond all that, it is by the exercise of skill that a man learns the great lesson of self-control—control of his body, control of his mind, control of his whole personality. If I had to state the ultimate object of all education in one word, I should give you 'skill' as the word which comes nearest to the truth of the matter than any other I know.

"The fault that I find with our present education is that it spends so much of its time and its energy in imparting knowledge which, in the circumstances of the present age, cannot ever get itself transformed into any kind of skill but which remains a half-grown, perishing thing.

"The object of education is to give knowledge, of course, to give wisdom, of course, but always the kind of knowledge, the kind of wisdom that will ultimately grow into skill, skill of the whole personality the skill which leads to self-control, the self-control which is the basis of self-government.

"The mission of Individualism, as I conceive it, is to bring home these elemental truths, these obvious truths, to the present age.

The State & the Individual.

Intimately allied to the question of Democracy is the problem of adjusting the rights and duties of the individual and the State. The State is the custodian of the collective will of the people. As such it has a right to exercise pressure on the individual in matters concerning the life of the community. But the extent to which this right of compulsion could be enforced is not easy to determine. Mr. A. D. Lindsay, the Master of Balliol, addressed an Extension Students Conference in England on this interesting topic. The following passages are thought provoking. Mr. Lindsay said:

"The difference between political theory and politics was that in the latter a good deal was often taken for granted. It would be much better if people began further back and asked themselves questions about matters which seemed very simple and every-

day, but which, in fact, were not so simple as they seemed. One of such questions, especially in these days when the position of the State was so much discussed, was what we meant when we talked about the State.

"How, in practice, did people actually come across the State? In any community—a village, for instance—there were some persons who were directly employed by the State, such as the policeman, the postman, and the teachers. Some were doing things which it was taken for granted must be done by the State. People were generally agreed that such things as the administration of justice must be done by the State. On the other hand, there were things like religion with which people felt that the State ought to have nothing to do. People had felt more and more in recent years that the Church of England should be master in its own house, and that applied still more to the Nonconformist churches.

"The position was, therefore, that there were some things which it was thought must always be done by the State, and other things which people felt the State ought not to do. There were other things however, which came somewhere between the two. An excellent instance of these was the delivery of parcels, which could be sent either through the post or by train.

"The most distinctive feature of the State was that it was the one thing which had force behind it. One great difference between our present-day method of government and that of mediæval society was that we had put down the right of private war. That was not to say that people could not use certain means of exerting pressure on one another.

"It was one of the paradoxes of life that this exclusive right to appeal to force in the last resort was reserved by the state, not for the sake of force, but in their interest of peace. If there were two or three authorities in the State with regard to these matters, their would be no agreed way to settle disputes, and people would drift back into fighting. It did not matter if we had a number of different churches; many people would not agree with that, but he confessed to being a heretic on that point. It was also a good thing to have a number of different shops; there were disadvantages in it, but on the whole the thing had its advantages.

"There was always a certain amount of disadvantage about compulsion. The business of the State, it was clear, was to demand a certain minimum standard in regard to conduct, education, building, sanitation, and certain other matters, and what

people did above that standard was their own business.

"Man is above the citizen"

This question of the relative position of the State and the individual citizen has an intimate bearing on the problem of education. Training for citizenship is now widely recognised as one of the aims of education. But, according to some thinkers, it is not, nay, should not be, the sole or supreme aim. The human spirit, they say, should not be subordinated to the State, but should be allowed to grow to its fullest height free to protest even against the policy and actions of the State. Man is above the citizen and the highest aim of education, therefore, should be to breed men and women of the highest moral force and character. That is the view propounded by Sir Robert Falconer in a speech recently delivered by him at Chicago. Sir Robert said:—

"The race-horse is bred for speed: cattle for beef or to give milk. But what about human beings? Artisans are bred to become expert at their trade: artists to paints or etch; scientists to discover the secrets of the world: the sons of the nobility to play the part of gentlemen in their own society. And alas! a multitude of men and women have no breeding at all. Of slipshod mind they live from hand to mouth. But in addition to their narrower occupation, artisans, artists, scientists, noblemen, are all supposed to fulfil duties as citizens. They are therefore to be bred as members of a community."

"But does this reach the end?"

"Surely not, because the man is above the citizen, or the artisan, or the nobleman; and education must therefore breed men. One comprehensive ideal of education is 'the perfection of human nature,' but that is too general a definition to meet the practical aims that we are setting before ourselves.

"However, within it are included certain qualities, such as bodily health, self control, loyalty to truth, zeal for justice, human sympathy and kindness. These are moral characteristics which are necessary for the man who is to be a good citizen and fulfil his walk in life.

"We must therefore assume that since good artisans should be good citizens, and if they are to be good citizens they must be good men, the State should somehow provide an education which among other results will create moral character. I say moral

character. But some one may ask, 'Can the State be responsible for producing character?' Assuredly, if it does not, its education is very partial. Should it merely train its youth to be blindly obedient to its laws it will dwarf the individual, sterilize his conscience, and prevent him from acquiring the character of a real man. Therefore such education as the State gives must recognise in the child a personality on which there are higher claims than those of the letter of the law. Some day the progress of the State itself may need in its own interest that the very individuals whom it has itself trained should protest against its policy. Society may require to be regenerated by the witness of a strong man who takes his conscience as his guide.

What is character?

"What do we mean by character? Is it, according to the primary significance of the word, an engraving? Merely the external stamp peculiar to the individual—in fact his behaviour? Is it sufficient to say that it consists of superficial virtues which society has ground upon him like the lines of glacial action? There are, of course, national ideals which have been bread into each people. The Englishman, the Italian, the Japanese, the Indian, each looks for different qualities in his hero.

"That is not to say that a Briton may not win admiration from a Japanese, or that many an American has not earned the respect of those whom he has met in the Argentine Republic; but it is true that the more typical a man is an American or a Briton, the less likely is he to be on friendly terms with those of other nations. In so far as character consists merely of such conduct or good form as makes a man an agreeable member of his own society it is not sufficiently personal.

"Its roots do not go far enough down into goodness to make it stable, and to enable it to draw nurture for its own life from that substratum. How often where East meets West and 'there ain't no ten commandments,' the Briton or American finds his inherited decencies stripped from him, his good form a mere rag, and himself naked as a primitive human."

The Golden rule for Nations

"The Golden rule is for nations as well as individuals." This is the dictum laid down by Mr. Hamilton Fyfe in his book "The Religion of an Optimist." (Leonard Parsons). Mr. Fyfe explains the implications of the rule in a

passage which is full of political sense and idealism. He says:—

"The Golden Rule is for nations as well as individuals. The idea of the Great Family, and the obligation to help those in need, apply to groups of people, however small or large. Nothing that is wrong when done by an individual can be right when done by a number of individuals acting together. . . .

"There still lingered in many minds a feeling that what was wrong for an individual might be right for a nation, and that national interests might be upheld by every means.

"But the Golden Rule is as binding upon a nation as upon the individuals in the nation! Nations have souls, and they have honour. They have all the qualities of character belonging to their citizens, and the rule of conduct that Christianity lays down was meant for them. Christianity can never be given a fair trial until it is practised by citizens in their private lives and nations in their public life.

"Nations must be their brothers' keepers. They must be ready to aid one another. They must deal justly and show mercy and make allowances. They must not live in fear and suspicion. They must understand and act upon the knowledge that all are members of one family, that what hurts one hurts all, that prudence and goodwill should make them work together for the common good. . . ."

Would that the Christian nations of to-day adopt this golden rule!

Internationalism in Schools

Spreading the gospel of Internationalism is, assuredly, one of the methods of combating war and the prevailing national hatreds that breed the cancer. The school is undoubtedly the best field to sow the seeds of the new gospel for a better understanding between nations and races. A Commission of American educationists, charged with the investigation of how far secondary schools can help in this tremendous task, has recently brought out its report after two years of arduous labour. We learn from a summary of the report published in the June number of *The world's youth* that the Commission has found that much indifference prevails within and without the school in regard to movements for peace and matters of world wide consequence. Here are some of the important conclusions and recommendations of the Commission as summarised in that journal. The Report says:

"In the interests of civilization and democracy the oncoming generation must have a new point of view: it must be more tolerant and less bigoted; it must have more goodwill and less hate; it must be more scientific and less superstitious; it must be more constructive and less suspicious; it must be more co-operative and less competitive; and finally, it must have more religion and less theology. Not only can international matters be bettered by these changes, but social, economic, racial and religious situations as well."

The report then proceeds to make several recommendations, the first of which is that "there should be a thorough revision of the text-books in history of the various nations."

(a) "The truth should be taught in preference to nationalistic propaganda. Many text-books leave the impression that the home-land can do no wrong. We believe that young people should be taught the truth, not even omitting some of the errors which their forefathers committed, and leave the consequent procedure to their own integrity and good judgment. We do not wish to be understood to belittle nationalism; each country has a right to be some what prejudiced in favour of itself, and should not forget the national viewpoint, even while developing the international. One may be a good member of the family, and at the same time be a satisfactory member of the community. There is no real conflict between the welfare of any individual and the welfare of Society, between the real welfare of any State and of that of the world as a whole."

(b) "Teachers of history and text-books on the subject of history should divert the emphasis from the glorification of war to a study of the pursuits of peace."

(c) "Text books in history should be written by international committees of historians, instead of by individuals. This practice would have a tendency to modify the provincial or parochial viewpoint. In case of disagreement, both sides of the controversy should be given, perhaps, in an appendix."

(d) "The books in history should aim to develop significant world movements, rather than national movements, with the development centering in great personalities."

(e) "There should be included in these books abundant material to indicate the lot of the common people during war time. At present, accounts are limited to diplomatic victories, a few war personalities, and the acquisition of domain or economic

advantage. The other side of the picture should be shown."

(f) "The extensive use of carefully selected periodicals should be increased to develop in the pupils the habit of keeping up with the times. For instance, at the present time, reading might be directed along lines that would help to answer some of the following questions: The truth about the situation in Mexico; The truth about the influence of oil in internationalism; Does Wall Street have any influence on the situation in Nicaragua? Why are our ships of war in Nicaraguan and Chinese waters? What is the cause of the misunderstanding between the United States and Mexico? The United States and Japan?"

(g) "All history should be built around great personalities. Heroes, especially peace-time heroes, of all lands, and their contributions to humanity should be made a subject of study."

(h) "True patriotism includes a fair criticism of one's own country. If her shortcomings are not known, they cannot be corrected."

The second principal recommendation of the report is for "the encouragement of contacts between people of different nationalities."

(a) By correspondence between young students of different countries through such instrumentalities as the Junior Red Cross and the Young Men's Christian Association.

(b) "By exchange of instructors. Goodwill and amity may be promoted by exchange of teachers of different countries."

(c) "By encouraging both teachers and pupils travel not merely for the purpose of seeing scenery, but to form friendly contacts."

(d) "By the establishment of travel camps at the plan of some of those conducted by the Y.M.C. Governments should have an active part in making these camps possible."

(e) "By the exchange of school publications between schools of different countries."

(f) "By the encouragement of amity between different nationalities in our own community. Probably there is more toleration and understating present in schools than anywhere else in America. Certainly our political, economic, social, religious and labour organizations capitalize racial and ethnic differences. The school's battle for tolerance is a losing one in the face of all that pupils hear and read outside of school."

(g) "By the use of radio

(h) "By the use of suitable moving pictures."

The Commission is of the opinion that various subjects lend themselves to the teaching of better understanding, viz. "history, economics, geography, government, foreign languages, foods and clothing, commerce, music and art, literature, international law, biography, science, physical education." In short, it is their opinion that all of the subjects generally taught the American High School boy or girl may be presented in such a way as to develop international understanding and good will.

They find, however, that one of the chief obstacles to the practice of this is the teacher himself. There is no conviction on the part of the majority of teachers that such instruction is important and indeed vital. And, of course in a good many instances, the teacher fails to see wherein his subject may lend itself to international emphasis. To this end teachers' training institutions are urged which would offer courses in foreign relation; and practical instances of the teaching of internationalism should be presented at teachers' conferences.

The report concludes with the recommendation that not only instructors but pupils should keep in touch with movements and periodicals looking toward a world built on the foundations of lasting peace."

These recommendations, we need hardly say, deserve the earnest attention of educational reformers and builders of the International Brotherhood everywhere.

Secondary Education for all

The plea for universal secondary education is thus put forth by Dr. Basil A. Yeaxlee in a pamphlet issued by the Industrial Christian Fellowship:—

"Much of the unrest which now makes industrial and political life an arena of perpetual strife and bitterness is due to a sense of injustice deeply felt by the majority of our people." "Equality of opportunity is, in fact, denied to their children. The charge that the nation provides one kind of education for the 'master-class' and another for the 'working-class' cannot at present be answered convincingly. Moreover, if education is primarily intended, not to help a man to climb, but to help him to grow, by what right are nine-tenths of our boys and girls refused the conditions regarded as essential for the others?"

"The demand is not merely one of the have-nots against the haves. Improvement in the quality and method of elementary education, provision of central schools, and other advances during the present

century have increased the desire of the children for more. Parents—partly as a result of adult education—are more willing to make the necessary sacrifices. In its social aspect secondary education for all is now a national obligation."

An Indictment of British Universities.

Prof. Macdougall, writing in a recent issue of *The Edinburgh Review*, makes the complaint that the universities in Great Britain are grossly neglecting the study of psychology. Prof. Macdougall asks:

"Why do our universities continue to neglect so grossly this, the most difficult and the most important of the sciences, and therefore the one that most needs for its development and application that guidance which only the universities can give?"

"The answer to this question is threefold. First, psychology is both science and philosophy. That is to say, it is a science which the student cannot pursue without confronting again problems which are commonly regarded as belonging to the field of philosophy. And, just because it is both science and philosophy, it is treated by the universities as neither one nor the other, and is allowed to fall between the two stools.

"There is here a paradox which can be resolved only by taking account of the influence of our orthodox English education. That education for some centuries has consisted, and still largely consists, in the study of Latin, Greek and religion. Far be it from me to deny that the study of the Latin and Greek languages is an excellent discipline. I am inclined to accept the old claim that such study is good, just because it is hard and repugnant to the natural boy. That raises one of the great educational controversies which it is the business of psychology to determine. But, whatever may be the true answer to that question, there can be no doubt that these three studies are based upon authority and severely discourage any tendency to enquire into casual or logical relations, to ask Why and How."

"In a mind trained exclusively on these studies any such natural tendency must wither away at an early age. For, on every occasion of its exercise it must receive a rude check; to every question which, it prompts, the answer comes with an authority against which there can be no appeal—'It is so, and there's an end of it.' And, if the spirit of enquiry would go further and seek boldly to formulate for itself some inductive generalisations that might be applied as explanatory principles, it is again inevit-

ably frustrated and baffled. For, in these disciplines there are no laws to be discovered, but only arbitrary rules or conventions the exceptions to which are more striking than the conforming instances.

"Thus that function of the mind which in science plays the predominant role, namely, the explanation of particular instances and events by reference to general principles, inductively established, receives no encouragement from the traditional education of the English boy, but rather is nipped in the bud from the moment when it begins to put forth its first tender efforts. It results that a mind so trained so cabined, cribbed, confined, through all the years of its most rapid development, manifests no tendency to seek for causes and explanations, and no power to form or to grasp such generalisations as science formulates.

"Thus stands the present state of affairs in our universities. The various sciences of man in the social state are recognised and studied, though always with tacit ignoring of their true and proper foundation, the science of human nature itself. But the sciences that would study man himself as a natural denizen of this planet to wit anthropology and its departments, ethnology and psychology, remain outside the pale, languishing in byeways, unrepresented by chairs in the universities and officially frowned upon.

"This neglect is the more striking when we reflect that Great Britain has made herself responsible for the welfare of a multitude of races and peoples, and sends her proconsuls and administrators into all parts of the earth, where, but for the continuing influence of this traditional attitude, they would be able to turn to the advantage of both science and the art of administration the unrivalled opportunities that lie about them on every hand. But these men, with a few shining exceptions have learnt to regard ethnology and psychology as peculiarly obnoxious varieties of 'stinks.' My experience as a teacher at Oxford during more than a decade showed me only too clearly the truth of the proposition I am here advancing.

"As I see it, the main remedial step must be to institute in each of our leading universities, not merely a chair of psychology, but a strong department of psychology, staffed, like any other of the principal scientific departments by a number of experts, each specialising in one part of the highly diversified field," says the Professor at the close of his lengthy article. "No one now expects one man to be capable of teaching and research in all the branches

of chemistry or of physiology; and the branches of psychology are at least as diversified and require as much special study and training as the branches of any other science.

"The thesis put forward in this article may be briefly stated as follows: The complexity of modern social life has become so great that we can no longer live prosperously by the light of instinct and tradition alone. This complexity has arisen through the discoveries of the physical and biological sciences which have made possible the aggregation of vast numbers of mankind in small areas, have brought all races and nations into intimate contact, have mingled them in heterogeneous masses, have put at their disposal immense reserves of physical energy and, especially, the means of mutual destruction on a vast scale.

"While our knowledge of, and control over, physical forces has made immense and ever-accelerating progress, our knowledge of human nature, and consequently our power of self-direction and our power of controlling and guiding the development of others, has remained rudimentary, because the most difficult and important of the sciences, the science of human nature, has not been assiduously cultivated. In other words, while we have vastly increased our knowledge of the physical world and of the physical basis of life, who have not added appreciably to our wisdom.

"This divergence between, on the one hand, physical science and its consequences in the way of increased complexity of social life and, on the other hand, our wisdom or understanding of human nature, is more extreme in Great Britain than in any other country; because, while we have cultivated the physical sciences with great success, we have neglected more grossly than other nations the study of human nature and obstinately continue to ignore what understanding has already been achieved.

"Hence, more than any other nation, we are threatened by the evils characteristic of our Western civilisation, unrest and strife in the industrial world, unhealthy aggregation of population in cities, decay of agriculture, increasing dependence of great numbers upon direct sustenance by the State, an educational system ill-adapted to our needs, a vast increase of neurotic and mental disorders, and a general falling off of the quality of our population. We may hope to remedy these evils only by attaining a greater wisdom than we at present command, a better understanding of human nature, of its weaknesses, its sources of strength, its potentialities,

and the conditions favourable to their best development."

Indian Universities will do well to take timely note of Prof. Macdougall's suggestions.

"Russia Unchanged"

This is the conclusion formed by Bishop Bury in his new book "Russia from Within." The author's knowledge of Russia and her people is as old as it is intimate, having been gained during his fifteen years' service as Bishop of Northern and Central Europe with some Russian chaplaincies under his control. Bishop Bury does not conceal his hatred of Bolshevism, which makes it difficult for any one to easily share his view that the Soviet government will bring nothing but ruin on Russia and the world at large unless it radically changes its aim and policy. But he seems to be more reliable in his observation that the people of the country, their national genius, remain unchanged and that they have still a great future before them. After contrasting the conditions in old and new Russia, he observes:—

"What does remain, however, I am absolutely convinced, notwithstanding the two startling contrasts I have endeavoured to depict, is the amazing genius of the Russian people in peasant and towns-folk alike—for there are many influential people, both in and out of Russia to-day, who have come from the peasant ranks—and which has been shown to us of this generation, in Russian literature and art, especially in Russian music, painting, dancing at the opera, in the drama, and especially under Anglo-Saxon leadership, in the great realms of industry. There still remain, untouched by revolutions, undiminished in value, Russia's resources, which exceed those of any other country.

"Every possibility of development is within the compass of Russia, and amongst its people are those who are fitted for and will certainly not shrink from the task. And so very possibly there may be yet another contrast for the world to see, and in no very long time, more striking still than that presented between those which I am now calling the Old and the New Russia."

Folly of anti-Bolshevist Propaganda.

Bishop Bury is also wiser than many of his brethren in the anti-bolshevist camp when he says that the virulent campaign against com-

munist indulged in by some British propagandists is productive of more harm than good. He rightly observes:

"With the greatest possible hesitation I am venturing here to say that public agitation against Russian Communist propaganda is in the judgment of many Anglo-Russians unnecessary, and very likely to do harm. Communism is daily diminishing in influence in Russian thought and action. Its condemnation by Lenin, if that condemnation is left to do its own work, must have its effect, as no one else in this generation will have his influence. Public agitation, therefore, in this country, and unrepresented there, in Russia, may only just stir up opposition afresh.

"Influences are always steady at work in the lives of peoples, and which end in giving them the Government for which they are most fitted, and those influences, just as in the formation of human character, are the things which are not seen, and there are many Russians well known to myself—typical no doubt of countless numbers of others—who consider ours as the most stable democracy in the world, with a stability that is likely to increase."

China's vital need.

What is China's chief need today? Mr. J. O. P. Bland, for 13 years the correspondent of *The Times* in Shanghai and in Peking, writing in *Time and Tide* says that China should not ignore the central fact which dominates the whole history of that country, and which is responsible for the present condition of her people. He says:

"This dominant fact is the social system produced by the Confucian code of ethics, which through countless generations has inculcated in the race principles of passive resistance, and imposed upon it a chronic burden of over-population. Neither intellectual renaissances, political revolutions, nor pious resolutions can alter the immemorial tradition of the race which decrees, with all the force of imperative instinct and religious belief, that a man's first duty is to provide as many male descendants as possible, for the comfort of his ancestors. The first result of this social system is that China breeds four generations to Europe's three; the next, following directly from the first, is that the pullulating swarms of humanity thus produced, are condemned to a struggle for bare subsistence so fierce, and to a standard of living so pitifully low, that for the masses the ever-insistent and unsolvable problem is that of

keeping body and soul together. The whole history of China bears eloquent testimony to this central fact. Mr. Mallory's recent study of the causes and results of chronic famine in China, record that in the last 2,000 years, no less than 1,828 famines have decimated the population. To-day, despite the temporary relief from acute pressure produced in certain provinces, where the slaughter and wastage of civil war have left fewer mouths to feed, a large proportion of the people dwell continually in sight of the hunger-line. Two-thirds of the farmer's families in the northern provinces eke out a precarious existence on incomes varying between £5 and £15 a year; the annual wage of manual workers in the towns is between £4 and £5 a year, including board, while the supply of surplus labour far exceeds the maximum demand. It must be evident that so long as such conditions exist, the mental attitude of the New China, and the effect of its Intellectual Renaissance, are of no more real importance than the twitterings of sparrows on the housetops.

Wanted a new doctrine of life

Mr. Bland observes that modern Chinese Renaissance is largely the outcome of the impact of western ideas. But, he goes on to remark:

"But if we bear in mind the vital facts above stated, the students' 'unslackable thirst for western education' appears in its proper light as a manifestation of the nation's chronic *malaise* of economic pressure. The present-day student and political agitator have taken to western education, not so much for intellectual sustenance as for a means of livelihood, *teste* the purely material and sordid ends pursued by those who have come to the front, and especially by the frankly predatory 'Nationalism' of the semi-westernised Cantonese. Under the old dispensation, these intellectuals, sons of mandarins merchants and landed proprietors, would have become 'expectant' officials, and, as such, upholders of the Confucian traditions, courtesy and dignity included. As it is, western learning having become the high road to office, the rising generation pursued it headlong, receiving it all too often in a form and under conditions which have done them far more harm than good. Be this as it may, I submit that, if we of the West aspire to teach China 'a new doctrine of life,' if our humanitarians hope thereby to bring a new Chinese nation into being, and our economists to develop the potential trade of this vast region, then this new doctrine of life must begin, not

with new systems of writing Chinese characters, but with elementary education in vital economics. The collective intelligence of the race must be led to perceive that most of its discontents and disasters are the unavoidable consequences of their present social system. Educate and alter the state of mind which regards with equanimity an infant mortality of 85 per cent.; convince Young China that there is no great virtue in being a grandfather at forty; and the way will then be prepared for the birth of a new Chinese nation—really new, because freed from the chief cause of all its suffering and unrest, the grim spectre of famine. This remedy is neither easy nor capable of rapid application, for it must involve a vital change in the state of mind which is Chinese civilisation, and in the attitude of the masses towards the problems of life and death. Incidentally, it must also involve a radical modification, or the cessation, of many of the activities of our religious and educational organisations. On the face of it, no easy matter.

Indians also we dare say have much to gain by adopting this new doctrine of nation building.

America's claim to Idealism exposed.

The disparity between the United States and other nations of the world in wealth, influence and power is daily increasing, with the result that the centre of gravity of world politics is steadily shifting from Europe to America. Envy is a human weakness and this, in itself, is sufficient provocative of European resentment towards America. When the European also remembers that the disparity results from no inherent superiority of the American, but from the deterioration of Europe, the bitterness is only intensified. But more than this material disparity, Nathaniel Peffer, writing in a recent issue of *The World Tomorrow* discloses another powerful provocative of hatred in America's estimate of herself. He writes:—

And not only Europe, but the whole world, including some parts of America, is mortally sick of American idealism. Say better, it is mortally sick of American talk of American idealism. Now there is nothing new in this as a phenomenon. As anyone remembers who has gone through an American public school, Americans have always been obsessed by the conviction that in conduct, no less than in aspirations, they were loftier than other men, than they were of a less mundane breed. All nations be-

lieve that of themselves, of course. But, nowhere else has it mounted to such a fanatical obsession nowhere else is it taken as an active premise of everyday life even in the routine of international politics. The most vulgar and raucous and go-getting American sales manager, bursting with dollars garnered from the sale of shoddy through the aid of gawdy and misleading advertising, really believes that he is actuated by motives not of this earth. There is nothing psychologically out of line in the word Service as now used in the United States, or in the concepts it expresses. Now, as long as the United States was relatively unimportant in the world, this did not matter much. It was known only to such aliens as had been here or had listened to the conversations of American tourists abroad. And they could laugh. It affected them only as one phase of the human comedy. What did it matter what Americans thought of themselves so long as other people were independent of America?

But there are few living beings on this planet who are today independent of America. Their representatives sit in the reception rooms of American bankers seeking loans so that their governments can continue functioning; their resources are being pledged to American corporate interests, their industries are forced to take in American capital so that they can continue operating; their art objects have to be sold to American millionaires to meet elemental needs, their artists can play and sing and paint only for Americans, because only Americans can pay. Their governments can take no action in the largest sphere of affairs without giving heed to America. Even Great Britain, queen of empires, cannot now proceed, as always in the past, to shoot up Chinese towns, kill Chinese governments and cow Chinese opinion in order to maintain its encroachments on Chinese soil and safeguard the immemorial right of its subjects residing in China to clout the Chinese on the head when the spirits move. It must wait until a timorous government in Washington can be stiffened to decision and a passive public opinion throughout the United States can be frightened with Red spectres and stampeded by doctored reports of atrocities. Meanwhile, the Chinese grow stronger, the opportunity may pass and British stakes of empire be lost.

America's estimation of itself does matter to the world now and vitally. And by the very fact of this dependence the smug gabble of American idealism which has been dinned into the world's ears since the war has been all the more obnoxious. The gratui-

tousness of the advice we have poured out on Europe since 1918, the gist of which is that European nations must save themselves by being like ourselves, would have rubbed under any circumstances. Under the conditions of life in Europe since the war it has rasped. How many official pronouncements by Americans on world affairs, how many public statements, how many editorials refrain from dwelling on American idealism in internal relations as contrasted with European fallibility, on America's saving of Europe? If their tenor is against "entanglements" with Europe, it is on the ground that we must be untainted; if against "isolation," it is on the ground that we shall take no action but give Europe the benefit of our advice and example.

Looked at objectively, where is this idealism? Where is this differentiation from other men for which we thank God? In the matter of Mexico; or Nicaragua; or Haiti; or Santo Domingo; or Lady Cathcart; or Negroes; or Sacco and Vanzetti? Or consider the Far East, where we have a prescriptive right to altruism. Is there any living Chinese who ever has talked with three Americans for ten minutes without being reminded of America's notorious "friendship for China"? Or who has read two American state papers on Far Eastern questions without meeting the same phrase? And wherein lies this friendship? True, we have never joined—until recently!—in bombardments of Chinese ports. But it is also true that while we have kept aloof from the shooting, after the Chinese have submitted we have come in and claimed all the privileges that have been wrested from China by the bombardment—and then, while sharing all the privileges, laid balm to ourselves that our government was not like other governments and we not like other men. We, now, not being imperialists, we believe in justice for China. And how often have we not proposed treaties with abstract pledges of justice to China? But now that China has asked it in the concrete, has asked the withdrawal of foreign encroachments on its sovereignty and self-respect, have we acted differently from, say, the British? Have we offered to give up more than they? Our Marines march side by side with the British in Shanghai, our gunboats lie side by side with the British gunboats outside Nanking. Without regard to the specific issues involved, wherein, to the Chinese eye, do we differ from the British? Where, to Chinese analysis, is American idealism? Why not, then, if you are a sophisticated Chinese, snicker to yourself at American idealism, if you do not, in fact, conclude that it is suffer-

ing hypocrisy and gag at it? And if you are a Japanese!

Mr. Peffer then proceeds to consider the assertion that the world is being Americanised and examines the implication behind that the cultures and civilisations of other nations are being vanquished by the spreading spirit of Americanism, which, we are told, is barren of all spiritual values. He, however, considers this charge to be unjust. For, he says:—

America is only the unconscious carrier of a force more powerful than itself. Not Americanism but mechanism is conquering the world, and that is American only in so far as there were no obstructive forces of tradition to withstand mechanism here. From the steam engine and the application of electricity in industry to large-scale production, standardization of folk songs, habits, cities and thought, advertising campaigns and Rotary is a logical and irresistible evolution. It would have come anyway. America is the horrible example and foretaste.

The Acid test.

The acid test of American idealism in politics is the question of Philippine independence. The issue is many years old and America has already condemned herself in the eyes of the world by her delaying tactics pursued with unscrupulous disregard of her own plighted words. President Coolidge's recent Veto of the Filipinos' proposal for a national plebiscite on the independence issue affords yet another proof of the hollowness of America's pretensions to political idealism. *The World Tomorrow* commenting on the Veto seeks to show how postponement in this case really means a move for permanent retention of the Colony. It says:

For many years the Filipino legislature has been passing unanimously a resolution demanding independence. It has been frequently asserted in the United States that it is the action of the politicians and does not represent the will of the people. "All right," said the politicians, "let us find out what the people want." To this proposal President Coolidge has said no.

The arguments of the President have a very familiar sound to any one who has read the literature of imperialism. Indeed his attitude toward the Filipinos is very much like that of King George toward the thirteen colonies. Would it not be easily possible

to find utterances from the lips of King George and his ministers that paralleled the following words from the President's message? "The United States cannot, if it would, avoid the obligation of deciding the degree of self government which the people of the Philippine Islands are capable of sustaining at any given time... Independence is an intangible ideal which has often brought disillusionment and disaster in its train... The ability of a people to govern themselves is not easily attained. History is filled with failures of popular government... I believe the entire discussion of the question of immediate or proximate absolute independence is untimely... I must state my sincere conviction that the people of the Philippine Islands have not as yet attained the capability of full self government. How can this ultimate goal best be obtained? Certainly not by constant agitation and opposition... A plebiscite on the question would tend to divert the attention of the people toward the pursuit of more political power rather than to the consideration of the essential steps necessary for the maintenance of a stable, prosperous, well governed community."

By what right do we arrogate to ourselves sole authority for determining whether twelve million people who dwell on the other side of the earth shall govern themselves or be ruled by an alien power? In what regard is our position any more justifiable than that of the English Tories a century and a half ago? Or that of France in Syria, or Great Britain in Egypt?

If your major desire were to perform our "full duty by the people of the islands or to discharge our obligations to civilization," we would adopt a Philippine policy with some such provisions as the following: first, complete independence if the Filipinos desire it; second, treaties with Great Britain Japan, and other powers guaranteeing the independence and integrity of the islands; third, commercial treaties with the Filipinos continuing any trade or tariff measures which are mutually advantageous; fourth the continuance of educational, religious, and sanitary efforts by American citizens, if such services

The real reason why Filipino independence is being postponed is revealed in such phrases as the following from the Thompson report: "We need, the Philippines as a commercial base... There are approximately 1,500,000 acres of land suitable for the production of rubber, and in some respects this acreage is better suited for the purpose than land now producing rubber in Java, Sumatra, and the Malay

Peninsula... The islands have great possibilities in mining."

If our commercial and financial interests become much more deeply entrenched in the islands, the Filipinos may as well kiss independence goodbye forever. Postponement means permanent retention"

Shall we put them to death?

This arresting question forms the title of an article in the June number of *The World Tomorrow* on the subject of capital punishment. Mr. Raymond T. Bye, the writer of the article, raises several important issues which go to the root of penal reform. He asks: Is there any one so wicked as to deserve only to die? Are those who commit premeditated murder such persons? Is death the rational cure for any crime? Mr. Bye's answer to these questions is contained in the following passages:

To say that man's character is so evil that he ought to be put to death is to imply that everyone has an equal opportunity to do right, and that all are equally responsible for their actions. But these things are not true. Crime is not a matter of deliberate choosing to be bad; it is far more complex than that. What we are and what we make of ourselves depends upon a host of circumstances for which we are not personally responsible. Heredity, home atmosphere, the influence of friends and associates, schooling, and many other things—these are the forces which shape our lives and characters. They make sinners of some, and saints of others. Crime springs from the social environment. Most of our murderers are persons with an inherited mental peculiarity, or who were brought up in degrading or unfavourable surroundings. Can we judge such men, whose opportunities were less than ours, by the same standards which we would apply to ourselves?

When we understand the truth that crime is a social product, and not a matter of individual iniquity, we get a new view of the purpose of punishment. It is not revenge that we are seeking. Criminals should not be made to suffer merely in retaliation for the suffering they have caused. The only justification for punishment is, that by teaching the individual to associate pain with wrongdoing, he may learn not to repeat the wrong, just as we spank a naughty child, not to compensate for his misbehaviour, but to show him that the doing of wrong does not pay. If this view is the correct one, capital punishment stands condemned; for capital punishment does not leave its

victims alive to profit by their lesson. When society puts a man to death for purpose of punishment, it is acting about as intillegently as it would if it put men to death for contracting smallpox. Crime, like smallpox, is a social disease. Let us eliminate its causes, and treat its victims, not kill them.

Because murder is one of the most spectacular and atrocious of crimes, most people assume that murderers are the worst of criminals. That is why we put them, and almost them alone, to death. But prison wardens unanimously say that the prisoners who are serving life sentences for murder are the most trustworthy men they have. The most incorrigible offenders are the thieves, pickpockets, dope-peddlers, boot-leggers, and the like with whom crime is a lifelong profession, which is only temporarily interrupted by occasional prison terms. Many murders, however, are committed by otherwise law-abiding citizens who give way to violence under the stress of some overpowering emotion, brought on by an unusual chain of circumstances which is not likely to recur. This is not true of the gunmen and bandits, of course; but we must remember that these are nearly all quite young men, often in their teens, seldom beyond the early twenties. Are we so sure of their incorrigible wickedness that we are justified in snuffing out their lives so early in their careers?

"But," protest the advocates of capital punishment, "society must be protected. We must execute some criminals, in order that others may be deterred from crime." It is the undue leniency of our present penal code, they argue, which is responsible for the wide-spread violence today. They think that if we hang over the prospective murderer the prospect of the gallows or the electric chair, he will stay his hand of death. They would have us believe that if we abolish the death penalty, more murders or rapes will be committed. They say we should be more, rather than less, severe, if crime is to be reduced. Now it must be admitted that the fear of punishment will often help to suppress activities which we regard as undesirable. The vigorous fining of motorists will instill some respect for the speed laws into the minds of reckless drivers who might otherwise disregard them. The reign of terror which the Bolsheviks carried on in Russia was undoubtedly effective in curbing counter-revolutionary activity. It may be questioned, however, whether murder is as easily controlled by this method as some other types of offences. Murders are often the result of a passion so great or of circumstances so compelling that it is doubtful whether the fear of any penalty, no matter

how great, would sway the intending killer from his purpose. How often have we not said of some spectacular murderer, "What a fool he was! He might have known that he was sure to get caught." But those murderers of the emotional or psychopathic type do not weigh the consequences of their acts. They are driven forward blindly by an impulse so overpowering that it blots out all other considerations.

The writer's constructive suggestions for curbing crime and treating murderers are given in this, the concluding passage in the article. He says :

The death penalty must go because it does not fit in with a rational system of penology. A proper programme for dealing with crime must recognize that it is a product of social conditions, and that, therefore, society, not the individual, is responsible for it. Hence society must remove the conditions out of which crime grows, and not merely vent its wrath on the criminals. In so far as it cannot prevent crime, it must recognize the offenders as diseased persons, to be treated, or restrained if necessary, but not to be punished. The treatment should be individualized; that is, it should be adapted to the needs of the particular criminal concerned, and calculated to bring about his restoration to useful citizenship, if possible. When such a programme is realized, we will not have definite sentences attached to particular crimes as the sentence of death is now attached to crime of murder. Instead, individuals, whatever their offense, will be sent to institutions of such type and for such length of time as their personal cases require; and they will be released when and if they are ready to live lives of usefulness and peace in the community. In such a system the death penalty will have no place, for it is contrary to every one of the principles of sound penology.

The sanctity of life

The following passage from one of Lord Buckmaster's speeches are published as an introduction to Mr. E. Roy Calvert's book on "*Capital Punishment in the Twentieth century*". The arguments advanced here in favour of abolishing capital punishment view the question from a view point different from that of the above Lord Buckmaster says :

"The whole subject of which Capital Punishment is simply a part has to be carefully studied. It is

assumed that society has the right to punish as it pleases all offenders against its laws. The rule which should guide us, however, is not that of doing what the law says we have the power to do, but what reason, justice and humanity say we ought to do, and these forbid the continuance of Capital Punishment.

"As we get older we get possessed by the idea that conditions in the world are not so bad after all, and that anyhow the present is much better than the times which have preceded it, and it is no use for us to interfere. This, of all opinions, is the most detestable. The same feeling has been responsible for the continuance of savage laws since the earliest times of history. Hazlitt said in his day that the times were bad for those interested in social reform, since everything that could be accomplished had actually been done. There were no more peaks to climb or paths untrod.

"Why did Hazlitt take this view of conditions which we are now ashamed to recall? If I may use a metaphor to explain my view, I would say it is because there is always a cloud of dust which follows the flying feet of the years and which prevents us from seeing the things which are near us. People will look back with pity, contempt and horror on much of our social conduct to-day, just as we look back on the barbarities of a hundred years ago. When Hazlitt wrote it was possible for men, women and children to be hanged for stealing five shillings from a shop or forty shillings from a private dwelling house. Men found armed in a rabbit-warren or fishing in other people's waters were not only liable to be hanged, but actually were hanged.

"People who were then administering the law were just as human and upright as they are to-day, but were quite unable to see how horrible the conditions were. It is the same to-day with regard to Capital Punishment. People cannot realise its horror. Some think it manly to pay no attention to a man being flogged or killed. They believe it mere sentiment to think otherwise. But to me the only hope of the human race lies in increasing the feeling of sanctity for human life. Without this realisation we shall never get rid of slums, of poverty, or of crime.

"If we believe life to be the most mysterious and sacred thing there is, we are, through Capital Punishment, desecrating the very thing we should hold high, and in executing the criminal are committing the same crime as that for which he has been condemned.

"People who can contemplate the stories published in some papers about executions must be made of curious stuff. It was reported some months ago that at a recent execution there were people listening with their ears against the walls of the prison so as to hear the thud of the falling body. Are people elevated by such an experience as this? Does it not react to the evil of our people? The aim of all reforms should be to maintain, that despite sneers and scoffing, wherever we find life, it is a matter for wonder and admiration, wherever we find human life, a matter for the profoundest reverence.

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Contents

Vol. III

AUGUST 1927

No. 5

	PAGE		PAGE
SATYAGRAHA IN SOUTH AFRICA		<i>Miscellaneous :</i>	
By M. K. Gandhi	... 193	Adventure and other papers—by B. R.	... 21
THE ORIENT AND THE OCCIDENT		The Kingdom of Happiness	
By Paul Masson-Oursel	... 195	By M. R. Ramaswami	... 220
GANDHI AND TOLSTOY		WHAT THINKERS THINK	
By Animesh Chandra Ray Choudhury,		The Rights of Youth	... 221
M. A.	... 201	The Builder of India's soul	... 221
THE STORY OF MY EXPERIMENTS WITH		Ethics of Civil Disobedience	... 223
TRUTH by M. K. Gandhi.	... 204	Women's Call to War-resistance	... 224
REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS		Internationalism in Schools	... 224
<i>Art :</i>		A Christian Policy towards China	... 225
Papers read at the 1st All India Drama		What is Religion?	... 226
Conference—by Suddhanandha Bharati	... 209	Science and Religion	... 226
<i>Biography :</i>		Can Science Create Life?	... 227
Edmund Bruke—by B. R.	... 210	The Prophecy challenged	... 227
<i>History :</i>		A Rational cosmogony	... 228
Christian Power in India		Room for Pessimism	... 228
By G. K. Ramachandran	... 211	Wanted a Change of Perspective	... 229
<i>Penology :</i>		The Science and art of Living	... 229
The Prison Reform—by B. R.	... 212	A Defence of Democracy	... 230
<i>Science :</i>		Democracy in Business	... 230
The Religion of Science	... 215	Compulsory Profit-sharing	... 231
First Principles of Chemistry		Results of Profit-sharing in Great	
By C. S. Narayanswamy	... 218	Britain	... 231
		Health Notes—Sunlight in Summer	
		Milk	... 232
		Overhaul Yourself	... 232

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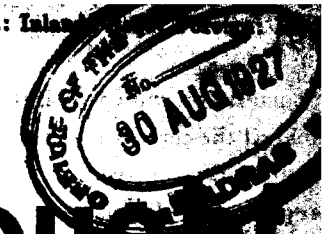
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Current Thought

*That which exists is One
The wise name It variously*

—RIG VEDA

Vol. III

AUGUST

No. 5

Satyagraha in South Africa

BY M. K. GANDHI

CHAPTER XXI

THE FIRST SETTLEMENT

WE had thus been in jail for a fortnight, when fresh arrivals brought the news, that there were going on some negotiations about a compromise with the Government. After two or three days Mr. Albert Cartwright, editor of *The Transvaal Leader*, a Johannesburg daily, came to see me.

All the daily papers then conducted in Johannesburg were the property of one or the other of the white owners of the gold mines, but except in cases where the interests of these magnates were at stake, the editors were unfettered in the expression of their own views on all public questions. Only very able and well-known men were selected as editors. For instance the editor of *The Daily Star* had formerly been Private Secretary to Lord Milner, and later went to England to take Mr. Buckle's place as editor of *The Times*. Mr. Albert Cartwright of *The Transvaal Leader* was as broad-minded as he was able. He had almost always supported the Indian cause in his columns. He and I had become

good friends. He saw General Smuts after I was sent to jail. General Smuts welcomed his mediation. Mr. Cartwright thereupon met the Indian leaders, who said, 'We know nothing about legal technicalities, and cannot possibly talk about compromise so long as Gandhi is in prison. We desire settlement, but if Government wants it while our men are in jail, you should see Gandhi. We will ratify any arrangement which he accepts.'

Mr. Cartwright thus came to see me and brought with him terms of settlement drafted or approved of by General Smuts. I did not like the vague language of the document, but was all the same prepared myself to put my signature to it with one alteration. However, I informed Mr. Cartwright, that I could not sign it without consulting my fellow-prisoners, even if I took the consent of the Indians outside prison for granted.

The substance of the proposed settlement was that the Indians should register voluntarily, and not under any law; that the details to be entered in the new certificates of registration should be settled by Government in

consultation with the Indian community, and that, if the majority of the Indians underwent voluntary registration, Government should repeal the Black Act, and take steps with a view to legalise the voluntary registration. The draft did not make quite clear the condition which required Government to repeal the Black Act. I therefore suggested a change calculated to place this beyond all doubt from my own standpoint.

Mr. Cartwright did not like even this little addition and said, 'General Smuts considers this draft to be final. I have approved of it myself, and I can assure you, that if you all undergo re-registration, the Black Act is bound to be repealed.'

I replied, 'Whether or not there is a settlement, we shall always be grateful to you for your kindness and help. I should not like to suggest a single unnecessary alteration in the draft. I do not object to such language as would uphold the prestige of Government. But where I myself am doubtful about the meaning, I must certainly suggest a change of language, and if there is to be a settlement after all, both the parties must have the right to alter the draft. General Smuts need not confront us with an ultimatum, saying that these terms are final. He has already aimed one pistol in the shape of the Black Act at the Indians. What can he hope to gain by aiming a second?'

Mr. Cartwright had nothing to say against this agreement, and he promised to place my suggestion for the change before General Smuts.

I consulted my fellow-prisoners. They too did not like the language, but agreed to the settlement if General Smuts accepted the draft with my amendment. New-comers to jail had brought a message from the leaders

outside, that I should accept any suitable compromise without waiting for their consent. I got Messrs. Leeing Quinn and Thambi Naidoo to sign the draft along with myself and handed it to Mr. Cartwright.

The second or third day, on the 30th January 1908, Mr. Vernon, the Superintendent of Police, Johannesburg, took me to Pretoria to meet General Smuts, with whom I had a good deal of talk. He told me what had passed between him and Mr. Cartwright. He congratulated me on the Indian community having remained firm even after my imprisonment, and said, 'I could never entertain a dislike for your people. You know I too am a barrister. I had some Indian fellow-students in my time. But I must do my duty. The Whites want this law, and you will agree with me, that these are mostly not Boers, but Englishmen. I accept the alteration you have suggested in the draft. I have consulted General Botha also, and I assure you that I will repeal the Asiatic Act as soon as most of you have undergone voluntary registration. When the bill legalising such registration is drafted, I will send you a copy for your criticism. I do not wish there should be any recurrence of the trouble, and I wish to respect the feelings of your people.'

So saying General Smuts rose. I asked him, 'When am I to go? And what about the other prisoners?'

The General laughed, and said, 'You are free this very moment. I am phoning to the prison officials to release the other prisoners to-morrow morning. But I must advise you not to go in for many meetings or demonstrations, as in that case Government will find itself in an awkward position.'

I replied, 'You may rest assured, that there will not be a single meeting simply for the

sake of it. But I will certainly have to hold meetings in order to explain to the community how the settlement was effected, what is its nature and scope, and how it has added to our responsibilities.'

'Of such meetings,' said General Smuts, 'You may have as many as you please. It is sufficient that you have understood what I desire in the matter.'

It was then seven o'clock in the evening. I had not a single farthing in my pocket. The

Secretary of General Smuts gave me the railway fare to Johannesburg. There was no need to stop at Pretoria and announce the settlement to the Indians there. The leaders were all in Johannesburg, which was our headquarters. There was now only one more train for Johannesburg, and I was able to catch it.

Translated from Gujarati

BY VALJI GOVINDJI DESAI

The Orient and the Occident

BY PAUL MASSON-OURSSEL

When peoples of different types are ignorant of one another, misunderstandings are created among them; but these misunderstandings are set right by the keen political sense of their chiefs, or by the clever handling of the diplomats. The people of the present day European nations have, with regard to Asia, a public opinion not commensurate with the greatness of the population of Asia, but more and more influential on their destinies. The reciprocal misunderstandings present from the very beginning the gravest dangers. These run the risk of degenerating into incompatibilities of temperament, full of menaces for the future.

Now, at a time when inter-European discords are being pacified, this new antagonism is being created. The White hegemony weighs on the coloured people; but even before these latter seek to unite among themselves to cast off the foreign yoke, favoured, however, by a certain lassitude or decadence of Europe, a certain hostility is apparent

which seems to be bound to divide the old world within itself. Before long the oldest civilisations will be torn among themselves if the latent conflict between the East and the West is allowed to grow.

Having entered, since the end of the world war, in the common domain of political discussion, the East-West antagonism, is it the intuition of a great human fact, or, what is no less human, the spell of an illusion?—a complex problem, because there is not enough material facts to form a judgment.

We have been suffering from chronic obsession in this case. Our grandfathers, as well as ourselves, were occupied with the "Eastern question". Even before the time of Muhammad Ali, or of Navarin, when classical scholars idolised ancient Greece—in her mythology, rather than in her history—the imaginations of the romantic scholars gave to the Orient their own mysticism and phantasies. Germany found there speculations which transcended the order of Kantian categories.

In the preceding century Voltaire was pleased to recognise in the Mandarins and the Brahmins things entirely different from the man of Rousseau walking on four feet: a civilisation based on "reason"; our artists also copied with emulation the lacquers and the porcelains. Do we not go back to the crusades to recall the source of inspiration which shows its traces on more than one of our cathedrals, and which gave birth to a mixed art in Syria, Sicily and Spain? We must go further back, up to the breaking of the Medetenean world into two empires, Byzantine and Roman. The East at that time was not at all Islam, for it had not yet come to stay; nor was it even Asia, but decidedly, by an irony of fate, Greece herself. The opposition between the East and the West does not coincide with that of Hellas and Asia, any more than in the times of Salamis and Marathon; it was Aeschylus himself who proclaimed that the two adversaries were kinsmen by race, and separated only by the narrow strait of Dardanelles.

How deceptive are the values of words in a debate in which the relativity of history is added to the relativity of geography! Spain is more oriental than Italy; however, Ravenna contains more of the orient than Saragossa. Fez is not less oriental than Cairo or Bagdad.

India was in direct contact with the Greco-Roman World, and Western Asia belonged to the Mediterranean Empires, either Egypt or Italy. History, as well as geography, directs us to see in Asia only an abstraction, because the continent thus named makes a huge block with Africa, and Europe is only its limb.

The unity of Eurasia is certainly more marked than that of Asia or Europe. The Mediterranean lands swarm with veritable orientals, and in the Japanese Archipelago

multiply a people who have assimilated industrialism and Western militarism. Not only, through all the historic epochs, did the caravans and navigation connect the most distant parts of the continent, but also these most distant parts experienced the same common influences which completed the union. The nomads of the northern steppes travelled more towards China, and even to India, in spite of the highest mountains than to the Roman Empire or Feudal Europe. The Semitics, either diffused as Jews, or stabilised in the old Assyro-Babylonian civilisation were a supple and strong chain between the two worlds. Islam extended this Semitic culture from Andalusia to Yunnan. The single religious fact pertaining to Asia, which it has partly unified without extending to Europe, is Buddhism which is more symptomatic of the East than Christianity is of the West. The opposition, if there be any, appears thus above all to be spiritual, although most of the Europeans are of the same origin as the Aryans of India and Iran, and though the dominant languages of the basins of the Indus and the Ganges are very similar to ours. Before becoming a desert, Turkestan was the meeting place of all races, languages and religions.

Thus facts give the lie direct to the presumed antagonism between the East and the West. The Greco-Buddhist art of Gandhara, though local, bears witness to an interpenetration of spirits and encourage us to take for certain, though it cannot be vigorously demonstrated, that much Hellenic influence was a work on Indian thought. On the other hand even when on every debatable point evidence will be lacking, there can be no doubt that "the Greek miracle" would have been impossible without very powerful Asiatic factors.

The Europeans saw that the coloured people accepted their railway, their industries and their armaments, but scarcely abandoned their own beliefs. The Asiatics see that the average Englishman, Frenchman, American and German carries on his own greedy rivalries, with a contemptuous ignorance of the indigenous life. Where there is mutual irritation, as between the exploited and the exploiting, there can be no love. Also, each one is sunk deep in his own traditions and grooves, and the deep chasms between them are dug less by the logic of facts than by the obsession of prejudices. There was always a diversity of civilisations, but the antagonism between the two types, the East and West is a thing of yesterday and is growing before our very eyes. It is not easy, however, as some people appear to believe, to discover the characteristic traits of an opposition between the East and the West.

The so-called mental servility of the Easterner, as a contrast to the Westerner's aspiration towards liberty, is a mere shibboleth. The concentration of political powers in vast empires, leading to feudalism, was always the work of European monarchies. But Ancient India, as well as Greece, had known republican constitutions, and where personal power was consecrated, it was none the less admitted that its sole justification was public good. An "enlightened despotism" which is only a remote political ideal in our "enlightened century" was the most widespread fact in Asia and it easily suggests a veritable State Socialism. If the authority of the Sons of Heaven was very august, found its compensation in the responsibility, not only social but cosmic as well, of the mandatory who rules by delegation of the power emanating from the Absolute, that part of Nature which consists of

humanity. And in Confucianism, so respectful towards hierarchy, Mencius does not hesitate to proclaim the right, nay the duty of disobeying an unworthy monarch. The Greek world was the country of the tyrants, the rule of the knout having been scarcely accepted in principle by any Asiatic nation. Even if the Scythian or Mongolian chiefs had practised this policy, it is not certain in the case of their successors who once ruled over India and China.

Individually and collectively, we are apathetic towards oriental societies. We forget or ignore the unparalleled profusion of evidences of the prodigious will power of the Yogins, Fakirs and Taoists. We think very little of their great political enterprises, marked not only by the formation of ephemeral political empires there, as any where else, but also by the organisation of permanent political institutions which bear testimony to a spirit of continuation and a zeal for progress and order. The "Artha Shastra" of Kautilya, a treatise on administration and political economy composed in the time of the Mauryas, is not a mere piece of utopian legislation; there is a continuity between the doctrines expounded there and the wise government of the Moghul potentates. The will to power had made Indian colonisation in Africa, Oceania, Indo-China, as well as in Central Asia, very flourishing. This expansion, at the same time economic and military, was no less energetic than that of the Western nations.

Philosophic thought has evolved everywhere according to an astonishing parallelism. India and China, as well as Greece, have passed from a sophistic to a scholastic philosophy with grandiose metaphysics as an intermediary. Indian Mahayana, Confucius, Lao, Tchuang and Lao Tsu are a counterpart to the dogmatic

philosophy elaborated by Socrates, Plato and Aristotle. We would have been plunged in the scholastic age, as the cultures of the East are, but for one fact,—perhaps the most characteristic of the West,—namely, the Renaissance. This was not merely a religious renovation, but a transformation of the general mentality. From this epoch, when we had the great voyages of explorations, dates the beginning of our *opposition* to Asiatic thought although the *specificity* of the two thoughts dates back to the remotest antiquity.

It was then our modern notion of science was formed. One is mistaken if one supposes that the orientals were strangers to scientific knowledge. Greek science owed its origin to Egypt and Chaldea. Babylonian astronomy and Indian algebra have a theoretical character that could be hardly rivalled by the whole range of empirical technology. What about the moral sciences? The objectivity of the Chinese annals constitutes one of the glories of the universal human spirit. The recognition of the relations between the conscious and the unconscious, between psychology and physiology, interpreted, it is true, according to a mysticism which may give rise to some arbitrariness, was carried by Yoga and Buddhism to a degree unsuspected by our physiologists, or our psychologists. A mass of technic, often without any analogue on our side, are to the eyes of the Hindus, Persians and the Chinese veritable sciences; and it must be admitted that these, becoming impersonal, collective and consecrated by the experience of many human generations become the sciences which give a certain power to those who possess them. These rest on the classification of facts, while, often, our Aristotelian and Mediaeval sciences implied only the hierarchy of concepts.

It is here that the intelligence of the West begins to diverge. Galeleo, Bacon, Vinci, and Descartes distinguished physics from metaphysics, and substituted to the vagueness of "causes" the rigour of numerically measurable conditions. The slow elimination of the scholastic marks a progressive divergence from oriental mentality. Now, it is found that the more our science is made relative and mathematical, the more hold it acquires over nature, and that the disinterestedness of science obtains its recompense in the unlimited extension of its useful applications. Whence this material power of industry, which pushes so far away certain people of Europe and America, and of which we are so proud, in spite of the miseries, in spite of the servitude of a new kind, which it creates. We are astonished when we see that the Asiatics never prostrate themselves before the golden calf of modern times, when we should reproach ourselves for our idolatry of force and wealth. We try to impose on them, whether they be willing or not, new needs with the hope of enriching ourselves, while satisfying them. But the mercantile interests will soon be deceived because the coloured people, gaining by the spirit of competition will manufacture goods at prices much lower than ours. Thus, we will be chastened from satanism, which we take to be a superiority of civilisation. Already, Gandhi wants to liberate his country from English exploitation by spreading the spinning wheel in the rural families, so that cotton may be spun in the country where it grows, and thus to avoid, as much as possible, a calamity,—the formation of a proletariat. Soviet Russia does her best to inculcate in Asia a common aversion to Western capitalism. The antagonisms, which are aggravated in our times, proceed, thus, from

the very recent speculative incompatibilities.

It is necessary to take stock, if possible without passion, of the causes of this incompatibility. Our science will not be incriminated, as our capitalism is denounced. It is not justified so much by its practical consequences, though considerable, as by its own cohesion. Without doubt, it will impose itself on the whole of humanity in course of time. Perhaps, we are often misled by science; but we will not withdraw our confidence from science, the most certain pride of our culture. However, the enlightened orientals do not complain against our having extended the acquisitions of the human spirit. They reproach us for having been almost exclusively occupied with material things to the detriment of religious values. They correspond to those among us who deplore the illusion of "science without conscience".

Strange and grave accusation! The East scorns us when we send our crusaders; we cannot say that it receives our missionaries with enthusiasm. Thus, it pushes back, or at the most, tolerates that which is religious in us. But it very much resents us when we preach to the lay men. It does not care for, but at the same time respects, our faith; it repudiates and condemns atheism, although there is among them the most typical religion without a God,—Buddhism.

We presume to apply our notion of science to analyse oriental cultures. We study the history of the people of Asia, the comparative philology of their languages and their sacred texts. Our methods enable us to know the orientals more than they know themselves, possible only because one can judge others more objectively than oneself. However, the oriental is less sensible of these things than of our profanation of their nostrums by indiscreet

investigations. The native savant is easily initiated into our philosophy and our historical criticism, and he comes to excel us in these things; but a smile of disdain is expressed at the bottom of his heart when he finds us so little sensible of the essentials of fact, the essentials of the texts, *their spiritual values*. We do come across some "orientalists" and linguists, some scholars or artists, who know how to penetrate into the sensibility of the Indian, Persian or Japanese; but very few to whom religious anxieties are not mere dead letters. We believe that our irreligion renders us lucid; the East believes that it renders us in a way barbarous. Neither of these opinions can be entirely false, or entirely true.

It will be to our own credit to own that our criticisms have their own prejudices. These make us deny, or simply discard, certain data, not because their unreality has been proved, but because they are not yet objects of rigorous analysis. Such are the facts of occultism, if I may employ a word which discredits the thing. Let us then try to understand those occurrences which are still uncertain, but which have not at all been proved to be the jugglery of charlatans. On many of these facts, Asia possesses a knowledge, or at any rate, an experience, which we ignore instead of studying them with the carefulness that they deserve. Our systematic suspicion with regard to traditions is derived from the rules of prudence, usually very wise, but often erroneous. Such is the case when we refuse to admit the existence of an institution, or of an idea, whose presence has been attested for by witnesses from very remote times. Our criticism, to be really critical, ought to criticise itself in order to avoid a dogmatism which discredits it. Science is essentially European, but there is no fraction of humanity which may not have

collaborated in its development. In particular, the impartial knowledge of the civilisations of Asia will not be perfect either as a work entirely oriental, or as an enterprise exclusively European.

If fratricidal conflicts precipitated in the future between the Occident and the Orient by the malignity of certain politicians, or the brutality of certain colonial methods, are to be avoided, it will be by mutual understanding and mutual esteem. The conditions of justice and intelligence are identical.

Conciliation is possible, and it does exist in certain points. Japan, in whom Okakura, the Taine of the Far East, recognises a synthesis of Asiatic forces, what is it today, if not a living fusion of the spirit of Europe and America with the spirit of China and India? It is of course certain that, to many orientals Japan, is being led astray from oriental paths: and the fact is that she frenziedly devotes herself to armaments, to the economic struggle, to social dissensions and to enrichment. But who will deny that she remains ardently Asiatic, and even passionately so?

Let us mark well that Tagore is not for blaming the West entirely. He venerates, he admires Science; he receives with enthusiasm the principles of 1789, not, if you please, an equality which is repugnant to the refined culture of India, as also to Chinese respect for order and hierarchy, but the notion of individual liberty and the conception of the reign of Law.

On these bases, a unity can be established if only Europe ceases to spread her hatred

against the Orient. Nothing has discredited Europe so much as the rivalries, and still more, the lack of good faith so evident after the war. The great nations will have to understand, as for example England and France have lately understood, that they are no more world powers, and that it is necessary for them to take into account the spirit of Asia. The prejudices which divide only serve the interests of those nations which are self-contained. It is not to be hoped that the greatest Western force, America, will impose peace between Asia and Europe.

Safety does not at all lie in compromise. Neither will it come by mere imitation. The access to our ideas will not make the Orient untrue to herself, and we, although less ignorant of Asia, will not lose ourselves. Science and Democracy, thenceforth consubstantial with our thought, will prescribe to us a line of conduct which will have its vicissitudes and surprises, but from which we will not depart. The scientific recognition of the principal cause of our opposition to the oriental mentality can insure us against the risk of conflict. But the orientals, and none can blame them, how only to a science, and to a justice in which they participate. If we have the merit to begin in a scientific manner, we will not be the last to benefit by the peace which will result from this entente, the only one which is worthy of humanity.

Translated by

R. RAMACHANDRAN,
from Review of Nations

Gandhi and Tolstoy

BY ANIMESH CHANDRA RAY CHOUDHURY, M.A.

In an open letter to Mahatma Gandhi, Saklatwalla, the Indian Communist, blamed him for his present inaction and for his failure to lead the country at the most critical period of its history. According to Saklatwalla,—I do not quote Saklatwalla, but give his idea as I have understood it—all great leaders have three tasks to fulfil, and Mahatmaji has done but one. He has roused the consciousness of the masses of India; he has voiced their aspirations for a new system of things; but he has neither been able to destroy the old, nor build up the new. And this is what all the great leaders of the twentieth century have done, such as Lenin in Russia, Mustapha Kemal in Turkey, De Valera in Ireland, Sunyat Sen in China and Signor Mussolini, in his own way, in Italy.

In my humble opinion, to expect Mahatmaji to fulfil tasks such as other leaders set for themselves is to do injustice to him and to the cause he represents. You cannot expect thistles to grow from the fig tree. Similarly, you cannot expect Mahatmaji to act like a mere politician, to whom the end often justifies the means, and who will stop short at nothing base, nay, not even violence, to secure freedom from human tyranny. The leaders with whom Saklatwalla compares Mahatmaji have all had, more or less, to dip their swords in human blood, but Mahatmaji's creed is the creed of non-violence. Those manoeuvring tactics of diplomacy, which enable the world's politicians to score their highest triumphs, are not in Mahatmaji's line. His has been the triumph not of policy, but of truth and honesty. Here lies the fundamental difference between Mahatmaji and the successful politicians of the world. They can sacrifice truth on the altar of their country's liberty, but Mahatmaji is prepared to sacrifice even his country's liberty, if need be, on the altar of truth. They can preach the gospel of hatred towards the enemy, but Mahatmaji will conquer him by means of love. It is not the fault of the pro-

phet that he is not able to act like the politician.

It is not my purpose here to reply to Saklatwalla's criticism of Gandhi, but only to point out that his real place is not amongst the politicians, but amongst the great prophets of the world. With Lenin and the Communists Mahatmaji has no sympathy; he can have none. He is nearer to Tolstoy than to Lenin. He is the prophet of Young India in the same sense in which Tolstoy was the prophet of Young Russia, and Sabarmati has become the Yasnaya Polyana of the East.

Perhaps, there is none amongst the ancients or moderns to whom Gandhi has greater affinity of mind and spirit than Count Leo Tolstoy. Outwardly, Gandhi may seem in many respects to differ from Tolstoy—the small weak man, with a clean shaven chin and tranquil brown eyes bespeaking love, by the side of a robust strong man with flowing beard, shaggy eyebrows and eyes that seem to speak of a certain haughty disdain of everything contemptible and base. There is an expression of sternness in Tolstoy's face, as there is one of infinite tenderness in Gandhi's. And, yet, beneath this superficial difference of physical appearance, there lie a deep affinity of soul which made the younger feel as irresistibly drawn to the elder, as iron to the magnet. To a question, which was once put to Mahatmaji, 'In what relations do you stand with Count Tolstoy?' his answer was, as given in *Young India*:—"My relation to Tolstoy is that of a devout admirer who owes him much in life," and indeed, in the whole range of Gandhiji's studies, none influenced him more than Tolstoy. His *Hind Swaraj* contains, at the end, a list of six works of Tolstoy which he counsels everyone to read. Gandhi's imagination seized upon Tolstoy with the same avidity with which Tolstoy's seized upon Rousseau. 'I read the whole of Rousseau, I was more than enthusiastic about him. I worshipped him.....Many of his pages

akin to me, that it seems to me I must have written them myself"—so says Tolstoy in his Diary, and Gandhi might speak of Tolstoy with almost the same rapture. A comparison of the lists of the favourite books of these two great men reveals a further point of similarity. Both held the New Testament as very dear to their hearts, and both were deeply fond of Plato, one of whose works, viz the *Trial and death of Socrates*, was translated by Gandhiji himself.

Apart from this similarity in intellectual pursuits, we find also a close resemblance in the nature of the early influences which operated in their lives and determined their future career and character. Though Tolstoy lost his mother at an early age, he tells us how deep was the influence she exercised upon him. "She appeared to me as a creature so elevated, pure and spiritual, that often in the middle period of my life, during my struggles with overwhelming temptations, I prayed to her soul, begging her to aid me and such prayer always helped me much". From the autobiography of Mahatma Gandhi, we know how his mother exercised upon him an influence strikingly similar, an influence which enabled him to overcome the three great temptations that beset the path of the young student in London, viz. wine, woman and meat—things which his mother, before he left the Indian shores, had solemnly asked him to abjure. The family in the midst of which Tolstoy grew up was of the same aristocratic and orthodox type as that of Gandhi, and yet, when the time came for it, both were ready to demonstrate to the world that the true soul of man must rise above his cramping environments, and fling orthodoxy and established tradition to the winds for the sake of justice and truth. An intense ardour and zeal in the pursuit of truth, a zeal comparable to that with which the lover woos his mistress, characterizes both from the very beginning of their lives. In Aylmer Maude's 'Life of Tolstoy', we are told how, at the age of five, Tolstoy's imagination was fired by his elder brother telling him of a green stick buried at the edge of a ravine, on which was written the secret which would make all men happy and enable them to live in loving harmony with one another, free from pain and sorrow. To the

discovery of that magic message was devoted nearly the whole of Tolstoy's life. From what we know of Gandhi, it is quite possible to believe that he was also actuated in his search for truth by a faith in such a universal message of hope and peace, which it was his business to discover for mankind, and, having discovered it, to proclaim, if necessary, from the house-tops. In the case of Mahatmaji, and in that of Tolstoy, the consciousness of a divine mission to fulfil on earth must have been the stimulus to every honest and serious effort on their part, must have cheered their lonely hours, and braced them up even in the midst of the seeming failures of their lives. With such consciousness it is not possible for one to live the gay, thoughtless life of a butterfly which most of us live. It was not possible for Tolstoy; it was not possible for Gandhi—for, both cared about things a hundred times more than other people care about them. As Maude puts it, "What was admirable was not that he (Tolstoy) *acted well*, (as a matter of fact, he often acted very badly), but that he *intensely wished to act well*". The same may be spoken of Gandhi, whose desire to act well from the very beginning of his life is beyond cavil, or dispute.

Amongst all the prophets and thinkers of the world, I can hardly think of two persons more sincere than Gandhi and Tolstoy. All their utterances are the convictions of their hearts, deep and honest confessions of men given self-analysis, and self-correction. In a letter written by Tolstoy to a friend on 13th July 1879, there is a characteristic passage which seems to me, to reveal, as by a flashlight, the inner nature of the man. "I am always", says Tolstoy, 'self-tormenting, troubled, correcting myself and learning.....and I cannot refrain from turning myself inside out'. As a description of Gandhiji's nature and temperament nothing can be truer than this, for he is also 'self-tormenting', 'correcting himself and learning' and constantly 'turning himself inside out'. Think of the agony of sleepless nights the Messiah of rejuvenated India passes, bringing every deed of his and of his followers before the searching scrutiny of his own conscience. Think of the periodic fast and penance he undergoes for cleansing himself and his followers of all

baseness and violence! 'I must undergo personal cleaning, I must become a fitter instrument, able to register the slightest variation in the moral atmosphere about me. My prayers must have deeper truth and humility about them than they evidence'. (*Young India* 16-2-22). Like Tolstoy, Gandhi is his own severest critic. He 'confesses his errors', 'retraces his steps.' 'humbles himself before God and man,' every time his movement tends towards violence. 'For, confession of error', he says, 'is like a broom that sweeps away dirt. I feel stronger for my confession. And the cause must prosper for the retracing'. Both Gandhi and Tolstoy are great not because they are free from error, which not even the greatest are, but because they have the frankness and courage to confess their errors. The public confession of Gandhi which followed what he called 'the crime of Chauri Chaura'—of which much capital was made by his enemies—did, in my opinion, much more to raise him in the world's estimation than anything he had done before. 'Let the opponents', said he, on that memorable occasion, 'glory in our humiliation or so called defeat. It is better to be charged with cowardice and weakness than to be guilty of the denial of our oath and sin against God'. I remember a well known Christian Professor of a Christian College, who had never been tried of hurling abusive epithets at Gandhi, such as 'arch-agitator or 'arch-enemy', revising his opinion of Mahatmaji after his grand confession and calling him the Thirteenth Apostle. And, indeed, there was something in it of the agony of Christ which Mahatmaji had to undergo, which made its appeal to all devout Christians all the world over.

What is admirable in Gandhi and Tolstoy is not that they were perfect, but that being deeply conscious of their imperfections, they were incessantly striving after perfection, after absolute purity in thought, word and deed. In the midst of their mortification and sorrow, the first voice that rises is the voice of hope and faith in God, and in His mercy that will enable them to tide over their earthly limitations. 'I wear the same corruptible flesh that the weakest of my fellow-beings wears and am therefore as liable to err as any. My services have many limita-

tions, but God has up to now blessed them in spite of imperfections"—so said Gandhiji in all humility, yet without the least bitterness or resentment against God or man. Almost the same note of hope and faith, not unmingled with a sense of earthly limitations, is struck in the following passage quoted from Tolstoy's Diary, though one misses here the spirit of Gandhian humility:—

"There are wordly people, heavy and wingless. Their sphere is down below. There are among them strong ones: Napoleon. They leave terrible traces among men, and cause an uproar, but it is all on the earth. There are those whose wings grow equably and who slowly rise and fly: monks. There are light people, winged, who rise easily from among the crowd and descend: good idealists. There are strong-winged ones who, drawn by carnal desires, descend among the crowd and break their wings. Such am I. Then they struggle with broken wings, flutter strongly, and fall. If my wings heal, I will fly high. God grant it". Thrown into the vortex of public life, being compelled to 'descend among the crowd', Mahatmaji must have felt likewise.

Such public confessions as those of Gandhi or Tolstoy—(though it may seem paradoxical to say so)—might become the saint, but would hardly become the politician or 'public man' of today. For as Chesterton says in his own ironical way 'the essence of being a public man is that you do nearly everything in private': and, indeed, as I have said before, neither Gandhi nor Tolstoy is fitted for the politicians' game. Politics is based upon compromise, it considers people as more important than principles, and sometimes, if not always, makes creeds conform to deeds, makes principles bend to the passing passions and caprices of people. But both Gandhi and Tolstoy are uncompromising idealists whose soul is bent on serving truth, and nothing but the truth. "The great sin is to compromise in theory—to lower the ideal of Christ to make it attainable", once Tolstoy wrote in reply to Rev. Adin Ballou's criticism that, under certain circumstances, the use of physical force for resistance of evil was justified, "and I consider the admission of force (be it even benevolent) over a madman to be such

a theoretical compromise. In not admitting this compromise I run the risk only of my death, or the death of other men, who may be killed by the madman. And death in fulfilling the will of God is a blessing. But if I admit the compromise, I run the risk of acting quite contrary to the law of Christ—which is worse than death". Compare with this what Gandhiji said in his famous article on the Crime of Chauri Chaura—"I would at any rate, suffer every humiliation, every torture, absolute ostracism and death itself to prevent the movement from becoming violent, or a precursor of violence". If men are unable to follow the doctrine of non-violence in practice, so much the worse for them, they are unfit for Swaraj, and must wait for years and years preparing themselves for the proper non-violent attitude. Yet Gandhiji would not swerve an inch from his ideal! The only 'tyrant' Gandhiji would accept in this world is 'the still small voice within', and even though he has 'the prospect of a minority of one', he humbly believes he has 'the courage to be in such a hopeless minority'. That to him is the only truthful position.

With such a frame of mind, perhaps it is not possible to be a successful public leader. Gandhiji's conception of duty, like that of Tolstoy, is too individualistic to allow him to regard anything but his duty to his God and to his conscience. Like Tolstoy, Gandhiji often acts as if matters lay solely between himself and his God, 'considering actions simply as they are in themselves', and without taking into account 'their natural and probable effect upon minds other than his own'. Perhaps, herein lies the cause of

Gandhiji's failure as a politician, if failure it might be called. The real clue to Gandhiji's failure as well as to that of Tolstoy, is to be found in the following words of Gladstone:—"For years and years, well into advanced middle life, I seem to have considered actions simply as they were in themselves, and did not take into account the way in which they would be taken and understood by others. I did not perceive that their natural and probable effect upon minds other than my own formed part of the considerations determining the propriety of each act in itself, and not unfrequently—at an rate in public life—supplied the decisive criterion to determine what ought and what ought not to be done."

Thus, like Tolstoy, Gandhiji has the defect of his virtues. The same narrow dogmatism is in both, the same inability or reluctance to understand the view-point of the average man. But even these failings lean to virtue's side, for they spring from nothing less than their unquenchable zeal and passion for truth. Viewed from the social and political standpoint, many of the fondly cherished opinions of Gandhi and Tolstoy on important topics of the day may seem to be unsound and unpracticable, utopian dreams that perhaps will not be realised during the lifetime of this generation or the next. But they have their value for us, in so far as they have disturbed our placid dreams and brought us face to face with tremendous issues of life which we can no longer afford to ignore. They are great ideals, however unattainable, towards which humanity must strive from generation to generation, from age to age.

The Story of My Experiments with Truth

BY M. K. GANDHI

CHAPTER X

THE BOER WAR

I must skip many another experience of the period between 1897 and 1899 and come to the Boer War. When the war was declared my personal sympathies were all with the Boers, but I believed then that I had yet no right

in such cases to enforce my individual convictions. I have minutely dealt with the inner struggle in this behalf in my history of the Satyagraha in South Africa, and I must not repeat the argument here. I invite the curious to turn to those pages. Suffice it to say that my loyalty to the British rule drove me to participation with the British in that war. I

felt that, if I demanded rights as a British citizen, it was also my duty as such to participate in the defence of the British Empire. I held then that India could achieve her complete emancipation only within, and through the British Empire. So I got together as many comrades as possible, and with very great difficulty had their services accepted as an ambulance corps. The average Englishman believed that the Indian was a coward incapable of taking risks and looking beyond his immediate self-interest. Many English friends therefore threw cold water on my plan. But Dr. Booth supported it whole-heartedly. He trained us in ambulance work. We secured medical certificates of fitness for service. Mr. Laughton and the late Mr. Escombe enthusiastically supported the plan and we applied at last for service at the front. The Government thankfully acknowledged our application, but said that our services were not then needed.

But I would not rest satisfied with this refusal. Assisted by Dr. Booth I called on the Bishop of Natal. There were many Christian Indians in our corps and the Bishop was delighted with my proposal and promised to help us in getting us accepted.

Time, too, was working with us. The Boer had showed more pluck, determination and bravery than were expected; and our services were ultimately needed.

Our corps was 1,100 strong with nearly 40 leaders. About three hundred were free Indians and the rest indentured. Dr. Booth was also with us. The corps acquitted itself well. Though our work was to be outside the firing line, and though we had the protection of the Red Cross, we were asked at a critical moment to serve within the firing line. The reservation was not of our seeking. The authorities did not want us to be within the range of fire. But the situation was changed after the repulse at Spion Kop and General Buller sent the message that, though we were not bound to take the risk, Government would be thankful if we would take it and fetch the wounded from the field. We had no hesitation and so the action at Spion Kop found us working within the firing line. During these days, we had to march from twenty to twenty five miles a day, bearing the wounded on

stretchers. Among the wounded, we had the honour of carrying soldiers like General Woodgate.

The corps was disbanded after six weeks' service. After the reverses at Spion Kop and Vaalkrantz, the British Commander-in-Chief had abandoned the attempt to relieve Ladysmith and other places by summary procedure, and had decided to await reinforcements from England and India, and to proceed slowly.

Our humble work was, at the moment, much applauded, and the Indians' prestige was enhanced. The newspapers published laudatory rhymes whose refrain was 'We are sons of the Empire after all.'

General Buller mentioned with appreciation the work of the corps in his despatch and the leaders were awarded the War Medal.

The Indian community became better organised. I got into closer touch with the indentured Indians. There came a greater awakening amongst them, and the feeling that Hindus, Mussalmans, Christians, Tamilians, Gujeratis and Sindhis were all Indians and children of the same motherland took deep root among them. Every one believed that the Indians' grievances were now sure to be redressed. The White man's attitude seemed to be distinctly changed at the moment. The relations formed with the Whites during the war were of the sweetest. We had come into contact with thousands of tommies. They were friendly with us, and were thankful to us to know that we were there to serve them.

I cannot forbear from recording a sweet reminiscence of how human nature shows itself at its best at moments of trial. We were marching towards Chieveley-camp, where Lieutenant Roberts, the son of Lord Roberts, had received a mortal wound. Our corps had the honour of carrying the body from the field. It was a sultry day—the day of our march. Everyone was thirsting for water. There was a tiny brook on the way where we could slake our thirst. But who was to drink first? We had proposed to come in after the tommies had finished. But they would not begin first and urged us to do so, and, for a while, a pleasant competition went on for giving precedence to one another.

CHAPTER XI

SANITARY REFORM AND FAMINE
RELIEF

I have always found it impossible to reconcile myself to any one member of the body politic remaining out of use. I have been always loath to hide or connive at the weak side of the community, or to press for its rights without having purged it of its blemishes. I had therefore set about, ever since my settlement in Natal, clearing the community of a charge that had been levelled against it not without a certain amount of truth. The charge had been often made that the Indian did not keep his house and surroundings clean and was slovenly in his habits. The principal men of the community had therefore already begun putting their houses in order, but house to house inspection was undertaken only when plague was reported to be imminent in Durban. This was done in consultation and with the approval of the city fathers who had desired our co-operation. Our co-operation made work easier for them and lessened our hardships. For, whenever there is an outbreak of epidemics, the executive, as a general rule, get impatient, take excessive measures and behave to such as may have incurred their displeasure with a heavy hand. The community saved itself from this oppression by voluntarily taking sanitary measures.

But I had some bitter experiences too. I saw that I could not so easily count on the help of the community in getting it to do its own duty, as I could in claiming rights for it. At some places I met with insults, at some with polite indifference. It was too much for them to bestir themselves to keep their surroundings clean. It was out of the question to expect them to find money for the work. That without infinite patience it was impossible to get the people to do any work was the lesson these experiences taught me better than ever before. It is the reformer who is anxious for the reform, and not society from which he should expect nothing better than opposition, abhorrence and even mortal persecution. Why may not society regard as retrogression what the reformer holds dear as life itself.

Nevertheless, the result of this agitation was

that the Indian community came to recognise more or less the necessity for keeping their houses and environments clean. I gained the esteem of the authorities. They saw that if I had made it my business to ventilate grievances and press for rights, I was no less keen and insistent upon self-purification.

There was one thing, however, which still remained to be done, namely, awakening in the Indian settler a sense of duty to the motherland. India was poor, the Indian settler went to South Africa in search of wealth, and he was bound to contribute part of his earnings for the benefit of his countrymen in the hour of their adversity. The year 1897 was a year of famine, followed by the still severer famine of 1899. South African Indians contributed gladly for famine relief, very much more in 1899 than they did in 1897. We had appealed to Englishmen also for funds and they had responded well. Even the indentured Indians gave their share in the contribution, and the system inaugurated at the time of these famines has since been continued, and we know that Indians in South Africa have never failed in sending handsome contributions to India in times of national calamity.

Thus service of the Indians in South Africa revealed to me ever new implications of Truth at every stage. Truth is like a vast tree which yields more and more fruit the more you nurture it. The deeper the search in the mine of Truth, the richer the discovery of the gems buried underneath, in the shape of opening for a greater variety of service.

CHAPTER XII

RETURN TO INDIA

On my relief from war-duty I felt that my work was no longer in South Africa, but in India. Not that there was nothing to be done in South Africa, but I was afraid that my main business might be only money-making.

Friends at home were also pressing me to return and I felt that I would be of more service in India. And for work in South Africa, Messrs. Khan and Mansukhlal Naazar were, of course, there. So I requested my co-workers to relieve me. After very great difficulty my request was conditionally accepted, the condition being that I should be ready to

go back to South Africa if within a year the community needed me. I thought it was a difficult condition, but the love that bound me to the community made me accept it. 'The Lord has bound me with the cotton thread of Love, and I am His bondsman,' sang Mirabai. And for me too the cotton thread of love that bound me to the community was too strong to break. The Voice of the people is the Voice of God and here the voice of friends was too real to be rejected. I accepted the condition and got their permission to go.

At this time, I was intimately connected only with Natal. The Natal Indians bathed me with the nectar of love. Farewell meetings were arranged at every place, and costly gifts were given me.

Such gifts had been given me in 1896 too, when I returned to India, but the farewell this time was overwhelming. The gifts contained gold and silver things, of course, but there were articles of costly diamond too.

What right had I to accept all these gifts? Accepting them, how could I persuade myself that I was serving the community without remuneration? All the gifts, excepting a few from my clients, were purely for my service to the community, and I could make no difference between my clients and co-workers, for the clients also helped me in my public work.

One of the gifts was a gold necklace worth 50 guineas, meant for Mrs. Gandhi. But even that gift was given because of my public work and so it could not be separated from the rest.

The evening I was presented with the bulk of these gifts I had a restless and sleepless night. I walked up and down my room deeply agitated, but could find no solution. It was difficult for me to forego gifts worth hundreds, it was more difficult to keep them.

And even if I could keep them, what about my children? What about my wife? They were being trained to a life of service, it was always brought home to them that service was its own reward. I had no costly ornaments in the house, we had been fast simplifying our life. How could we afford to have gold watches then? How could we afford to wear gold chains and diamond rings? Even

then I was exhorting people to conquer the infatuation for jewellery. What was I now to do with the jewellery that had come upon me?

I decided that I could not keep those things. I drafted the letter creating a trust of them in favour of the community and appointing Parsee Rustomji and others trustees. In the morning I held a consultation with my wife and children and got rid of the heavy incubus.

I knew that I would have some difficulty in persuading my wife and I was sure that I would have none so far as the children were concerned. So I decided to constitute them my attorneys.

The children readily agreed to my proposal. 'We do not need these costly presents, we must return them to the community, and should we ever need them, we could easily purchase them,' they said.

I was delighted. 'Them you will plead with mother, won't you?' I asked them.

'Certainly,' said they. 'That is our business. She does not need to wear the ornaments. She would want to keep them for us, and if we don't want them, why should she not agree to part with them?'

'But it was easier said than done.'

'You may not need them,' said Mrs. Gandhi. 'Your children may not need them. Cajoled, they will dance to your tune. I can understand your not permitting me to wear them. But what about my daughters-in-law? They will surely need them. And who knows what will happen to-morrow? I would be the last person to part with gifts so lovingly given.'

And thus the torrent of argument went on, reinforced in the end by tears. But the children were adamant. And I, of course, was unmoved.

I mildly put in: 'The children have yet to get married. We do not want to see them married young. And when they are grown up, they can take care of themselves. And surely, we will not have for our sons brides fond of ornaments. And if, after all, we need to make them ornaments I am there. You will ask me then.'

'Ask you? I have known you by this time. You deprived me of my ornaments, you would not leave me in peace with those ornaments.'

Fancy you offering to get ornaments for the daughters-in-law! You who are trying to make *Sadhus* of my boys from to-day! No, the ornaments will not be returned. And, pray what right have you on my necklace?

'But,' I rejoined, 'is the necklace given you for your service or for my service?'

'I agree. But service rendered by you is as good as rendered by me. I have toiled and moiled for you day and night. Is that no service? You forced all and sundry on me and made me weep bitter tears, and I slaved for them!'

These were pointed thrusts and some of them went home. But I was determined to return the ornaments. I somehow succeeded in extorting a consent from her. The gifts received in 1896 and 1901 were all returned. A trust-deed was prepared and they were deposited with a bank, to be used for the service of the community according to my wishes, or to those of the trustees. Often, when I was in deed of funds for public purposes and felt that I must draw upon the trust, I have been able to raise the requisite amount, leaving the trust money intact. The fund is still there being operated upon in times of need, and it has regularly accumulated.

I have never since regretted the step, and as the years rolled on, Mrs. Gandhi also saw the wisdom of it. It has saved us from many temptations.

I am definitely of opinion that a public worker should accept no costly gifts.

CHAPTER XIII

IN INDIA

So I sailed for home. Mauritius was one of the ports of call, and as the boat made a long halt there I went ashore and fairly acquainted myself with the local conditions. I was for a night the guest of Sir Charles Pruce, the Governor of the Colony.

On arrival in India, I spent some time in going about the country. It was the year 1901 when the Congress met at Calcutta under the Presidentship of Mr. (now Sir) Dinshaw Wacha. And, of course I attended it. It was my first experience of the Congress. From Bombay I travelled in the same train as

Sir Pherozeshah Mehta. For I had to speak to him about the conditions in South Africa. I knew the kingly style in which he lived. He had engaged a special saloon for himself and I had orders to take my opportunity by travelling in the saloon for one stage. So I went to the saloon and reported myself at the appointed station. There were in the saloon, besides him, Sir Dinshaw Wacha, and Mr. (now Sir) Chimanlal Setalvad. They were discussing politics. As soon as Sir Pherozeshah saw me, he said, 'Gandhi, it seems nothing can be done for you. Of course, we will pass the resolution you want. But what rights have we in our own country? I believe that so long as we have no power in our own country you cannot fare better in the Colonies.'

I was taken aback. Sir Chimanlal seemed to concur in the view. Sir Dinshaw cast a pathetic look at me.

I tried to plead with Sir Pherozeshah, but it was out of the question for one like me to prevail upon the uncrowned king of Bombay. I contented myself with the fact that I would be allowed to move my resolution.

'You will of course show me the Resolution,' said Sir Dinshaw to cheer me up. I thanked him, and left them at the station where the train stopped next.

So we reached Calcutta. The President was taken to his camp with great *eclat* by the Reception Committee. I asked a volunteer as to where I was to go. He took me to the Ripon College where a number of delegates had been put up. Fortune favoured me. Lokamanya was also put up in the same block as I. I have a recollection that he came a day later.

And, as was natural, Lokamanya would never be without his *darbar*. Were I a painter, I could paint him as I saw him seated on his bed—so vivid is the whole thing in my memory. Of the numberless people that called on him, I can recollect today only one, namely, the late Babu Motilal Ghose, Editor of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*. Their loud laugh and their talks about the wrong-doings of the ruling race cannot be forgotten.

But I propose to examine in some detail the appointments in this camp. The volunteers were clashing against one another. You

asked one of them to do something. He delegated it to another, and he to a third, and so on; and the delegates were neither here nor there.

I made friends with a few volunteers. I told them some things about South Africa and they felt somewhat ashamed. I tried to bring home to them the secret of service. They seemed to understand, but service is no mushroom growth. It presupposes the will first, and then experience. There was no lack of will on the part of those good simple-hearted youngmen but experience they had none. The Congress would meet three days every year and then go to sleep. What training can one have out of a three day's show once a year? And the delegates were all of a piece with the volunteers. They had no better or longer training. They would do nothing themselves. 'Volunteer, do this thing, Volunteer, do that thing,' were their constant orders.

Even here I was face to face with untouchability in a fair measure. The Tamilian kitchen was far and away from the rest. To the Tamil delegates even the sight of others whilst they were dining meant pollution. So a kitchen had specially to be made for them in the College compound, walled in by thatch. It was full of smoke which could choke you. It was a kitchen, dining room, washroom, all in one,—a close safe with no outlet. To me this looked like a travesty of *Varnashram-dharma*. If, I said to myself, there was such untouchability as between the delegates of

the Congress, one could but imagine the extent to which it existed amongst their constituents. I heaved a sigh at the thought.

There was no limit to insanitation. There were pools of water everywhere. Latrines there were few, and their stink still oppresses me. I pointed it out to the volunteers. They said pointblank: 'That is not our work, it is the scavenger's work.' I asked for a broom. The man stared at me in wonder. I procured a broom and cleaned the latrine. But that was for myself. The rush was so great, and the latrines were so few that they needed to be cleaned every time they were used and that was more than I could do. So I had to content myself with simply ministering to myself. And the others did not seem to mind the stench and the dirt.

But that was not all. Some of the delegates did not scruple to use the verandah outside their rooms for calls of nature at night. In the morning I pointed out the spots to the volunteers. No one was ready to undertake the cleaning, and I found no one to share the honour of doing it with me. Conditions have since considerably improved, but even today thoughtless delegates are not wanting who disfigure the Congress camp by committing nuisance wherever they choose, and all the volunteers are not always ready to remove it.

I saw that if the Congress session were to be prolonged, conditions were quite favourable for the outbreak of an epidemic.

Reviews and Notices of Books

ART

PAPERS READ AT THE 1st ALL INDIA DRAMA CONFERENCE 1921: Published by the Amateur Dramatic Association, Bangalore City.

Drama is the art of making ethics and spirituality live before the eyes, on the stage. It is only a seen poem (*Drishya Kavya*). A deep sense of security, idealism, devotion and the unity of the

spirit pervades the art steadfast in its emotional sweetness. It is an art not only of aesthetic emotion but also of creative revelation. It is a graphical and disciplined attempt to bring the world and paradise eye to eye on the stage.

We are glad that "the Amateur Dramatic Association of the Bangalore City (opened by the best among the modern artists, Dr. Tagore himself) is fostering the historic art with a religious fervor."

The book under review is a collection of papers on the histrionic art, read by experts in the art and cultures. The work of the Bangalore Dramatic Association should be a source of inspiration to other provinces.

Srimati Sarojini Devi, Mr. C. R. Reddi, Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Aiyar, Mr. K. S. Ramaswami Sastri; Mr. Justice V. V. Srinivasa Iyengar, Hon Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Mr. Jinaraja Dasa are some of the authors of papers. Specialists have also contributed essays on the Kerala, Hindi, Marati, Telugu and Tamil stages.

"Social life and Drama," "Women and the stage," "Tagore as a dramatist," "Motifs and methods of Indian Drama" and such valuable papers are of great educative value to the public.

The volume is well got up.

SHUDDHANANDHA BHARATI.

BIOGRAPHY

EDMUND BURKE: By Bertram Newman.
G. Bell & Sons. 7/6.

Edmund Burke was one of the earliest friends of India in the British Parliament. More than a century and a quarter have passed after his death; his name, however, is still dear to the heart of educated India because of his memorable services to this country. Burke did not visit India, but his knowledge of and respect for our history and hoary culture—which he gathered from books and historical records—were never affected by distance or lack of personal contact with our people. It was, in fact, his consciousness of the greatness of Indian history and civilisation, his realisation of its value for humanity's progress, that inspired him with the wonderful devotion and indefatigable energy that he displayed during his impeachment of Warren Hastings, and sustained him during the long and dreary years of his fight for Right and Justice on behalf of a subject race. The biographical sketch of such a remarkable statesman is bound to be of interest to every educated Indian.

The author of the book under review does not agree with all that Burke said or wrote on

India and her affairs. He holds that Burke was mistaken in his estimate of Warren Hastings and the general tendency of Hastings' administration. But this disagreement has not stood in the way of his appreciation of Burke's services to India and Britain from a broader stand-point. He recognises that Burke's efforts on behalf of India were not confined to the famous impeachment. Mr. Newman observes, "As must needs be admitted by Hastings' strongest advocates, there was only too much in the history of the British in India up to the very end of the 18th century, which demanded that the principles upon which British dependencies have since been governed should be upheld, as they were upheld, with all the resources of Burke's mind and all the splendour of his eloquence. To have worked for the recognition of those principles to an extent, to have proclaimed them with a power, which was not even remotely approached by any other English statesman of his time, remain Burke's most enduring title to any other than literary fame." Again, on p. 176, the author enters into a defence of Burke's personal sincerity and the motives that impelled him to launch the impeachment. He says: "Whatever may be said, and, as we shall see, there is a great deal to be said, against the manner in which he conducted the prosecution, the motives which impelled him to undertake it defy challenge. He had never seen India and did not know Hastings. Nor had he even any hope of such a personal triumph as a conviction would give him; he had never from the start, expected that Hastings would be convicted. He was concerned rather to secure the enactment, on a stage visible to all England and Europe, of a palpable and spectacular warning that the imputation of grave public crimes against subject races should not pass without a solemn enquiry. He was, in truth, concurring with, and supported by the first strivings of a humanitarian impulse which was already opening men's eyes to the iniquities of the slave trade and was, after a long set-back, to culminate in the social legislation of the third decade of the succeeding century. No man ever acted as Burke acted, toiled as he toiled, spoke as he spoke, whose

spirit was not touched to finer issues than any personal or party advantage."

The above is, no doubt, a modest estimate of what Burke himself considered to be his greatest work in life. But it should be remembered that it comes from one who thinks that Burke adopted "too favourable a view of the conditions of India before the advent of the west", who believes also in the greatness of Warren Hastings and could speak of the great and durable quality of his—Hastings'—total achievement *on behalf of India*. (Italics ours). In fairness to the author, it must be also said that he does not wish to play the Boswell in relation to the subject of his biography. His differences from Burke's political ideas are, naturally, many and deep—not only in regard to India, but also in regard to the American and French Revolution, events which left a lasting impress on Burke's views and political destinies. It is not our intention here to unearth all these differences and raise the impertinent issue as to what other attraction than the literary and the academic the author felt in taking so much pains over the life of one with whom he had so few sympathies in common. Suffice it to say that in spite of such differences, the study is remarkably well-done dispassionate and instructive. We have in the book, not only a vivid picture of Burke the man, the writer, the political orator and idealist, but also an illuminating study of one of the most important epochs of English, American and European history. Mr. Newman's powers as a critic of men and views are of no mean order. The book is a valuable possession for students of both English politics and literature.

B. R.

HISTORY

Christian Power in India

THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE CHRISTIAN POWER IN INDIA: By Major B. D. Basu, I. M. S. (Retd.) R. Chatterjee, Calcutta. Re. 18

This collection of the Major's contributions to the *Modern Review*, successfully supplements,

the version of the foundation and growth of British power in India, he had set forth in the five volumes of his "*Rise*," and in his "*Colonisation of the Christian Power in India*." The Doctor evidently prefers using the term "Christian", rather than the less offensive "British," to give point to his thesis that very "unchristian" principles and methods have gone to the build up of British rule in this country. He cites credible documentary evidence for each of the positions that he takes up: and, though at times, he allows righteous indignation for the sufferings of his Motherland, to overcome the historian's necessary sense for order and proportion, has produced a work, which forms a useful corrective to the many mischievous falsehoods that circulate as Indian History. The "*Rise*" deals particularly with the period immediately before and after the Mutiny.

Excerpts from contemporary documents prove that the "greased cartridges" affair was not alone responsible for the firm conviction the sepoys held that their masters worked at a wholesale conversion of India to the religion of Jesus. Such evangelisation, the Government of the Company pursued in all seriousness, its motive in the business being more political than missionary. "Christian settlements scattered about the country would be as towers of strength for many years to come, for they must be loyal as long as the mass of the people remain either idolaters or Muhammadans." The open encouragement that Lord William Bentinck gave to the missionaries in the Madras Presidency, Major Basu regards as not a little responsible for the Mutiny at Vellore. Herbert Edwards prepared a Memorandum on "The elimination of all unchristian principles from the Government of British India," and among the unchristian principles, he mentions the exclusion of the Bible and Christian teaching from the Government Schools and Colleges, the endowment of idolatory and Muhammadanism by the Government, the recognition of caste, the observance of native holidays, and the administration of Hindu and Mahomedan laws."

It will be interesting to note in this connection portion of a letter that Macaulay wrote to his

father in 1836. "The effect of this education on Hindus is prodigious. No Hindu who has received an English education ever remains sincerely attached to his religion. Some continue to profess it as a matter of policy, but many profess themselves pure Deists and some embrace Christianity. It is my firm belief that if our plans of education are followed up, there will not be a single idolater among the respectable classes of Bengal thirty years hence." The Muhammadan, however, was a different man to deal with. "The Missionary seldom convinces a Mahomedan: the very fact of his Christianity militates against his success. In general the Mahomedan avoids discussion with the Missionaries and he listens with impatience to their arguments, if he does not wholly turn a deaf ear to them." [The Late Rebellion in India, and our Future Policy—Henry H. Thomas. London 1858]

Rightly or wrongly, he was also regarded as the prime-mover in the business of the Mutiny. No wonder, therefore, the *Calcutta Review* headed an article with the war-cry, "*Muhammadanism Must be suppressed*". If policy has changed since then, it is because circumstances have also changed: and as Elphinstone wrote, "*Divide et impera* was the old Roman motto, and it should be ours [English]."

The Mutiny was put down with a severity not fully known to many students of Indian History. In Major Basu we read of a whole regiment hanged or blown at the cannon's mouth, for some suspected treachery: and the chief commissioner of the Punjab congratulating the perpetrator of the massacres, on his 'success against the 26th Native Infantry.' Robert Montgomery wrote, "All honour to you for what you have done, and right well you did it. It will be a feather to your cap as long as you live. There will be some stragglers, have them all picked up, and any you get send us now. You have had slaughter enough. We want a few for the troops here, and also for evidence." And in a Post Script we read, "The other three regiments were very shaky yesterday, but I hardly think they will now go. I wish they would as they are a nuisance: not a man would escape if they do."

In the reorganisation of the army that followed

the suppression, native Indians were completely excluded from artillery-service, and preference in enlistment was given to such of them as happened to be the subjects of Indian princes. This was but part of a policy of encouraging the Native states, not simply for financial reasons, as Major Basu's work would lead us to believe, but because also their absorption in British India had, in many instances, brought on unnecessary trouble to the Suzerain. If left intact, yellow India might prove a formidable series of backwaters in mitigating the fury of any future political storm.

A systematic programme of industrialisation was launched forth, involving vast railway construction, and encouragement to the growth of abundant and good quality cotton, wheat and other commodities, absolutely essential to the welfare of Great Britain. Capital for the purpose was brought in from the "Mother-country", and the strong chain of economic subjection forged to supplement the political bond. In Lord Salisbury's words, "India must be bled."

Today signs of a welcome change in the attitude of our rulers are visible. That change may lead both Great Britain and India on to a destiny, the glory of which is as yet but dimly discerned by the most penetrating of the commonwealth idealists.

G. K. RAMACHANDRAN.

PENOLOGY

The Prison Reform

THE CONVICT OF TODAY: By Sydney A Moseley. Cecil Palmer 49 Chandos street, London W. C. 2. 6/-

Mr. Moseley has established his claim to be heard on the perplexing problems of prison reform by his book on Borstal. The present work is a valuable addition to the latter. It is highly valuable to students of penal reform since it approaches the problem from the practical layman's point of view, avoiding the extremes of the hardened official, cold, callous and sometimes even cruel in his ways of dealing with his helpless victim, as well as of the sloppy senti-

mentalist who does not know the value of disciplined work in the economics of social welfare in general, and in the science of penology in particular.

The book is in the form of a narrative of the author's impressions of his visit to the several prisons in Great Britain. It gives us glimpses of British Jail life, as it obtains to-day. It also describes some of the important reforms in the system, the change from the hard old days of barbarism and brutality in the treatment of the criminal towards a more human, rational and sympathetic method of curing the criminal mind. Throughout, Mr. Moseley has striven to be scrupulously fair to the authorities who are engaged in conducting the experiments in reform amidst great internal difficulties on the one hand, and ignorant criticisms from outside on the other. In answer to those who lightly observe that modern prisons, thanks to the new spirit of reform, tend to become easy abodes of comfort to the criminal, the author constantly refers to the tragic weirdness of jail life, "the appalling fact", as he puts it, of the absence of freedom for its inmates to mix with their fellow-beings in the outside world. Nothing we are told, can make up for this loss of liberty which is terrible, especially in the case of a cultured man. "I pity the man of culture", writes Mr. Moseley, (p. 18) "destined to remain year in and year out in such surroundings. The consciousness of his position must be appalling, and only work, hard, constant, and varied, can lessen the affliction of soul and the reality of one's weird bed-fellows with their dreadful histories." The first three chapters on Broadmoor, the criminal lunatic asylum, are full of deep pathos and poignant human interest in the fate of those condemned to pass their days within the prison walls. Concluding his impressions of Broadmoor the author observes: "Realise, then that to pass through from wing to wing at Broadmoor is the experience of a life-time. One could go on moralising and philosophising endlessly. But the big thing that emerges is that, in the main, these men are as we are except for a kink or a temperamental brain-storm that resulted in their being removed from the company of

their fellows. There are bad cases, it is true, but the majority, by far, are just men with one deeply black stain. Heaven knows they have paid for their sin and the desire of the authorities is to judge them no longer, but to help them eke out their lives in as calm and bearable a manner as possible."

The chapter on "The Women at Broadmoor" presents the most pathetic picture of jail life. It also contains some thoughtful suggestions by the author for a saner treatment of those who have been condemned to, what he describes, as 'living death' for the crime of infanticide. He does not condone the crime which, he admits, is one of unspeakable horror. But he asks us to remember that the women are, in most cases, victims first and last, "betrayed young women whose over-powering mental distress has been the cause of an insane act, an act soon followed by unutterable anguish; for, what sane woman murders the thing she loves. The doctor knows and the Judge realises what that mental state was. Yet the law must take its course." The result is that she is found guilty, though insane, and sent to the asylum for criminals among hopeless lunatics, homicides and imbeciles. The tragedy deepens, he says, when the temporary insanity, caught under the stress of circumstances, disappears and the woman is still asked to undergo the ordeal, kept under lock and key, exposed to the danger of reverting to permanent insanity. Mr. Moseley makes a vigorous plea for the removal of such horrid conditions which, he thinks, tantamounts to a burial of the victim alive.

The problem of the die-hard convict is dealt with in the chapters on Dartmoor. The author's observations on the treatment of the hardened prisoner reveal his remarkable insight into the criminal mind and are marked by a healthy combination of idealism, sympathy, faith in human nature and a practical sense of the possibilities of things. Mr. Moseley has no good word for the old school which was simple, but senseless, in treating all criminals alike, without separating the good from the bad. The key note of the new school of sympathetic reform is this principle of discrimination so as to avoid

injustice to the better class of prisoners. Details of the several experiments in reform are scattered over the volume. We have space here only to make a passing reference to some of the important changes introduced. Among these should first be mentioned the remarkable improvement in the general atmosphere of Jail life, consequent on the disappearance of the old brutalities, the dehumanising tyrannies of the hard school which believed only in the lash, the chain, the lock and key. The new school has more faith in human nature, the civilising effects of education, music and religion. Above all, the reformers put more trust in the better self of the prisoner. They encourage cleanliness, a sense of honour and self-respect in him by permitting him to live in more airy, spacious and sanitary cells, and enjoy the common room at stated intervals, by relaxing the repressive rules relating to conversation, by introducing changes in clothing, abolishing monotonous form of exercise, reducing, as far as possible, hard labour and solitary confinement. The result is, as Mr. Moseley tells us, the British prison today is not the place of horror that it was in old days. There is no secret torture, nor any unofficial punishment. The author does not over-estimate the success or efficacy of these experiments in reform. Nor does he hide from us the many instances of failure, the numerous obstacles to success. But he has no doubt whatsoever that all that is being done is in the right direction and well worth doing if only one criminal in fifty is benefited. He also believes that there is a better type of prisoner today, a new kind of material which will yield to scientific treatment.

Mr. Moseley, although he strongly pleads for human sympathy, understanding and discrimination in handling the criminal, takes care not to err on the side of leniency and sloppy sentimentalism. He does not hesitate to set limits to the new spirit when it threatens to endanger efficiency and discipline in jails. Reform rather than repression is his watch word. But discipline, he holds is vital. The value of strenuous work, education, and disciplined life, he says, cannot be over-estimated.

ed. He agrees with the view that many go to prison because of their lack of discipline in social and civic life. He also believes that much of the trouble inside jails is due to the lack of a proper appreciation of the value of discipline. He is particularly strong in his views about the professional criminal, who "sound in body and mind" persists in breaking the law and injuring other's interests. Mr. Moseley would let the heavy arm of the law to relentlessly deal with such criminals so as to save the society at all costs from these desperadoes. The chapter on debtors who are in prison contain some useful suggestion for change in the law so as to ensure recovery of money from them as well as from those who are convicted for theft and burglary.

"It is all very well punishing wrong doing and even reforming criminals, but what real use" he asks, "is it if crime is made well worth-while, when thieves and burglars retain what they steal?" Mr. Moseley would therefore spare nothing to make crimes unprofitable.

The later chapters of the book deal with some of the important problems of penology in a more abstract manner. The causes of crime are analysed in one chapter so as to find the rational basis of treatment for the different types. The author's conclusions are briefly as follows: He says: "I would treat the four classes of prisoners as under: The victim of poverty, bad environment, slums and unemployment I should deal with most sympathetically and give every opportunity of upliftment and advancement. The second body of pathological cases, sub-normals and abnormals—a rather bigger proportion than people imagine—I would send to hospitals rather than to prison. The third class,—first offenders and young offenders—must be disciplined and, if necessary sent to Borstal, while the professional criminal I should come down upon with the full force of the law, and cut him off from all decent society." Above all, the author asks us to realise the importance of after-care. It is no use, according to Moseley, spending money on the prisoner only while he is in prison and then leave him to himself as soon as the prison gates close. That, we are told, is sheer waste. It

should be followed by sympathetic help and guidance outside.

We have so far found no need to seriously differ from any of the author's views. But on the question of capital punishment we are sorry, as we are surprised to find a person of such deep human sympathies like Mr. Moseley, allying himself with the traditional school. His arguments for retaining the gospel of blood for blood are old and unconvincing. Evidently, as the title of the chapter wherein he discusses the question indicates, he is disturbed by the stupid ways of those who would make martyrs of murderers, forgetful of the dastardliness of the crime. But that, we think, is no excuse for the author, in his turn, to get mentally unhinged and take a false step on such a vital issue. The claims of the society for protection are, no doubt, paramount. But it is quite possible to keep the murderer out of danger without following him in his own act of spilling blood and violating the sanctity of life. There is as little need to demand life for life as there is for diverting public sympathy from the victim to the villain.

Barring this loss of balance, we should say that Moseley has preserved throughout the book a healthy idealism and humanistic philosophy of penal reform.

B.R.

The Religion of Science

SCIENCE AS REVELATION: By John M. Watson. The Macmillan Company, New York. \$ 2'25

The revelations of science have thrown the religious beliefs of the world into the melting pot. The modern mind refuses to accept the tenets of any faith unless they accord with the spirit of scientific knowledge, satisfy the demands of reason and carry conviction not by the commands of authority, but by the compelling weight of the truths embodied in them.

It is an old truism to say that there is no religion higher than Truth. But the dictum has not been adequately recognised by religious heads and ministers of the various faiths in the past. Nor have the men of science properly dis-

charged their sacred trust as disinterested votaries in the Temple of Truth. They have by their past conduct exposed themselves to the charge of leading the world along the path of irreligion and helping the reign in human affairs of Satan and his twin servants Mammon and Moloch. But a new school of thinkers on religion and science are striving to bridge the gulf between the two and approach scientific and religious truths from a new angle so as to establish their underlying unity. The book under review is an eminently successful endeavour in this new synthesis.

The author was no unbeliever in his early days. He was well grounded in Christian orthodoxy by a devout minister before he was twenty. But later on he became interested in the study of nature and as he learned more and more of natural phenomena, he came to depend more and more upon the laws of Nature, revealed by science, as the sure expression of the Divine will. The result was that the conviction grew in his mind that the moral or religious impulse has a truly scientific basis, and that our creeds can be refined and purified to harmonise with the truths of nature. He acquired for himself "a newer, higher, holier view of religious faith, one that is satisfactory to the intellect as well as to the heart."

Mr. Watson starts by defining true religion as "a properly respectful and appreciative attitude toward the One Great Original Cause, the Creator of All things and toward the laws which indicate the manner by which the works of creation are accomplished." He points out how, in the past, religious leaders of different peoples endeavoured to interpret the Infinite on a speculative basis, without any consideration of science. The great problem before humanity to-day, according to him, is the task of spiritual adjustment to scientific facts. Religious thinking is in need of a new purification, and thanks to knowledge made recently available, we are told, the world may approach the renovation of religion and the worship of the Creator more intelligently than ever before. He says: "The scientific viewpoint, to-day, can impart to religion a new purity a new beauty, a new sublimity and a

new stability that were impossible under the old interpretations. By the ladder of the sciences, we may rise, step by step, without the slightest break or gap, from the simplest form of matter and energy and, from Nature at its zenith, obtain the most sublime, beautiful and uplifting religious concepts. For Science, in its delvings into the unknown, is ever coming nearer and nearer to the Great First Cause, and thus nearer to the true fundamental religion.....Science has thoroughly revealed many established natural laws. These natural laws reflect the Supreme Will. We know no beginning of them, we can conceive of no end. They are infinite, eternal and unchangeable. The laws of nature are the thoughts of God, the plan upon which all the works of creation and providence are executed. To know them fully would be to really know God."

In these words, we have the author's central idea. He develops it in the course of the volume by making a broad survey of the progress of science in its several branches, and pointing out how the results of the latest research reveal the reign of Law, Order, Cosmos, God in the entire Universe. In separate chapters, devoted to the study of the main conclusions of Astronomy, Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Geology, Paleontology, Anthropology, Psychology and Ethics, he traces the evolution of Energy, which is at the bottom of all creation, and the law of its working in the physical, chemical, and psychic forms of manifestation. Throughout, he lays stress on the fundamental fact disclosed by science, that, "observe what we will, from the simplest atomic structure to the most complex human organism, and the remotest nebulae or spiral systems in the heavens, everywhere, we find the same rule of Law and Order, the play of the Supreme Will, the Divine Intelligence." Taking a philosophical view of the findings of the several special sciences, towards the end, he points out how they absolutely harmonise with one another, without the slightest conflict and form a perfect Universe. Mr. Watson observes, "The mutuality of all Nature stands clearly revealed. No science stands alone, no science could stand alone. Each is but a cog in the one great wheel, and all join hands to form an orderly systematic Cosmos. No fact

of Nature has ever been discovered, anywhere, which does not harmonise with the other facts of Nature everywhere." Commenting on the significance of this mutuality, he says that this affords us a peep at the work of the Creator in its grandest perspective and forms the grandest thought that can come to the human mind, the thought that everything in existence throughout the Cosmos is inter-related in harmonious fashion by absolute Law with everything else. "Can any flight of fancy, any wildest dream of the imagination, any thought or view point presented by all the creeds of all the Churches" he asks, "approach this one in magnificence and sublimity?"

From this principle that no truth of the Cosmos ever collides with another, the author proceeds to establish that scientific truth deals with moral and spiritual affairs, just as surely as with astronomy and physics and chemistry. He questions the view that science deals only with physical affairs. He says that the religion of the future must drop the old beliefs that are proved to be out of harmony with the laws of Nature, and that it must write a new creed in strict harmony with the truths of the Cosmos. If we would be true to ourselves and true to the Creator of all things, we must reverence the Law and Order operating in the Universe. He says: "We are on the eve of a decided religious advance in our interpretation of the cosmic laws as revelation of Divine Truth. The findings of science now permit men to penetrate still further in their understanding of the nature of Divinity and of the omnipotence and omnipresence of the Deity. The sciences give us a great many specific, very convincing, incontrovertible reasons for religious faith—a faith based upon the massive, solid foundation supplied by a consideration of all the available fact.....This fund of divine truth is, therefore, in the language of the religionist, the word of God: in the vocabulary of the scientist, the facts of Nature; to both, the universal expression of Infinite Intelligence, Power and Goodness. Therefore, the love of Truth is, and should be, recognised as the highest possible moral attitude; and active co-operation with cosmic laws the highest task that can engross the mind of man."

This necessity for co-operating with the cosmic laws, the author deals with at some length in the chapter entitled "The New Religion." Here we are told that all religions, of all times, have been attempts on the part of different races to readjust and harmonise themselves with the Infinite. This, the new religion, the Religion of Universal Truth, helps us to accomplish better than all the other religions, because, in this task of readjustment, it calls for assistance all the knowledge of modern science, so that it may not find itself in conflict with any truth, whereas the old religions have been continually at war with the other truths of the cosmos. "A knowledge of the laws of cosmic energy in its various forms", we are told, "enables a man to know his place in the cosmos; to adjust himself properly to that place in the processes of creation, of evolution and of destruction. They teach him how to hold in highest reverence and praise the majesty, divinity and supreme intelligence of the Infinite whom they unveil."

The creed of the New Religion is, according to the author, clearly expressed in the systems of the laws of cosmic energy. He asks us to look upon Science as a sacred Bible presenting, a philosophy that is invincible, because the truths expounded are demonstrable. It is, besides, in Mr. Watson's view, a believable religion, worthy of acceptance because it harmonises with all truth. It is, above all, he thinks, a liveable religion also. "It asks us to live our lives, day in and day out, in harmony with the known laws of that energy, with various forms but a single identity, which fills the Universe, in the knowledge that when we live that way we are co-operating with the All-powerful for the better furthering of the welfare of humanity. For the Bible of the New Religion demonstrates that the cosmic enforcement of the laws of morality is not a whit less sure than the enforcement of the laws of physics or chemistry: that, if we harmonise our lives with these laws of morality and spiritual health, we shall prosper; and that, if we violate them, we shall be punished by their enforcement."

This cosmic character and enforcement of the moral laws, is of such fundamental importance

in the propagation of the New Religion that we should understand it in more detail. The author deals with it at great length in the chapter entitled "The Voice of Ethics." There he points out that the precarious status of world affairs to-day, the strained relations between Capital and Labour, employer and employee, are sample instances of the voice of cosmic moral law enforcement, calling our attention to glaring failures on our part to co-operate with the basic cosmic laws of morality. He proceeds on the assumption that the science of ethics stands on the same footing as the other sciences, and is no more a creation of man than Physics or Chemistry. The basic moral laws have not been inventions only, but discoveries, even as the laws of electricity. Humanity, he thinks, is terribly in need of a new and sounder appreciation of how the cosmic character of the moral law makes it certain that the violator of the moral law is going to pay the penalty, just as surely as if he violates a law of physics, a law of chemistry, or a law of biology. The religion of the future, according to him, is one in which this truth is believed and followed. As soon as the religion to which the future belongs convinces the masses that a violation of a law of Right never works out well, while obedience to it can never work out ill, religion, Mr. Watson is sure, will be taken with a seriousness for which the world offers no precedent, and its new influence upon its members will greatly accelerate the development of beautiful characters. "By the cosmic laws of psychic energy," the author says, "it is ordained that all normal beings shall be interested in each other's welfare. Our interests are interlocked. I like to call this rule of conduct the Law of Mutuality, for it is decreed of the system to which we belong that the welfare of the individual lies in the welfare of the race.....The law of mutual service is a cosmic law of psychic energy, a God-given law and no man, therefore, can disobey it with impunity. This new realisation, that no man ever gets round a moral law who does not swindle himself badly in the process, will lead men to an immediate decision that their business relations must be subjected to a thorough house cleaning, and the rules of the business game will suffer radical revision. But

the problem is one of education. The religion with a future will have to find ways and means by which to effect a very revolution in the present world's thoughts of morality."

The author rightly suggests the teaching of the ethical principle in the terms of science and natural law, and pleads for instituting courses of moral hygiene in schools on the same footing as courses of hygiene for the body. He also appeals to the established churches to adopt modern methods of interpreting Truth, reorganise its theology in perfect harmony with Nature and present moral and religious truths with all the profoundness and stability of the truths of the other sciences, such as mathematics, chemistry and biology. He pleads: "If we are truly moral, or want to be truly moral, we will endeavour to know as much as possible of all of nature's laws, because of our firm persuasion that co-operation with them is our best course. Only in this way, we know, can we avoid conflicts with the creative will and only in this way can we accomplish best good for ourselves and mankind. By such co-operation with ethical laws must we advance, or else, we shall either stand still, or slip back. This is the only way to success, for we know that Nature's laws cannot be cheated."

Again, from the last chapter entitled "The New Revelation" we would like to share with our readers the following thoughtful passage: "The New Religion recognises and, indeed, is elated over the harmony of the Cosmos, the perfect orderly lawful system that prevails throughout the Universe. Tiny man is but an insignificant part of the one great scheme, and his entire world is as unimportant to its own immediate Universe as a grain of sand is to the seashore. Man, through his ignorance and superstitions, attempts to combat Nature, and thus an element of discord is introduced into it so far as he himself is immediately concerned. But, always, Natural Law applies, and even in the discord introduced by man, through his failure to co-operate with Natural Law, and in his consequent punishment, the absolute harmony and authority of the Cosmos are displayed. Every act of opposition which we may introduce in nature, to combat a natural law, immediately

invokes a higher law which enforces appropriate and exact punishment to the violator. Thus it is absolutely impossible for man to carry his oppositions to the point of introducing chaos into the Cosmos.

"The New Religion, therefore, recognises and stresses the need of Cosmic Co-operation on the part of men. The very highest and best of things that man can do is to put forth his supremest effort to understand the systems of laws that form his environment, and to do his utmost to co-operate with them".

FIRST PRINCIPLES OF CHEMISTRY: By F. W. Dootson and A. J. Berry. Cambridge University Press 6/-

Some of the old text-books of Science, elementary or advanced, suffer from several limitations. Partly because the authors are not always first-rate scientists, and partly because of the dominance of the examination outlook, the books now in the field often proceed to make statements of facts without clear elucidation of the principles underlying them, and even in regard to facts little attempt is made to give a proper, synthetic presentation of them. The effect of such books on the students is that, when they come to the end of their educational course, they show no signs of having imbibed the spirit of their subject, or its first principles. The teachers are also equally handicapped by the absence of really good texts and often betray a narrow vision and an inability to relate facts to theories, and both to life. There is, therefore, great need for teachers as well as the taught for books which create the proper scientific outlook, give principles their proper place, synthesise them with one another and with the facts of the world in general. The book under review is an attempt to satisfy this need and, as such, deserves to be welcomed by all students of science.

The scope of the book will be seen from the division of its chapters under the following heads—(1) the introduction (2) water, hydrogen, oxygen, ozone, hydrogen peroxide (3) the halogens and their derivatives (4) carbon and its

simpler compounds (5) nitrogen and its compounds (6) sulphur and its compounds (7) phosphorus and its compounds (8) arsenic and its compounds (9) boron, silicon and colloids (10) further properties of solutions. The ionic theory (11) metals and their compounds (12) molecular and atomic weight determination.

The introduction gives a general survey of the fundamental concepts of chemistry, their historical development and relation to modern research relating to electrons and atomic structure, radio activity and isotopes. It gives in a nutshell the scope and method of the book. In the interests of a good outline, the author, as he mentions in the preface, leaves out small details. As the grouping and details of the various chapters show, the presentation is synthetic, though reference to the periodic system is left out as not suited to a book of this kind. Facts of physical chemistry are woven throughout the book, the X and XII chapters alone giving special treatment to a few of its important problems, like the properties of solutions including electrolytic dissociation and H-ion concentration and the determinations of the molecular and atomic weights. In connection with boron and silicon, a few pages are devoted to the chemistry of colloids pointing out the importance of colloids to chemistry in preparations and catalysis and to medicine in providing drugs in an easily assimilable state. As the statements are profusely illustrated with experimental facts, the book will be best appreciated by those who do laboratory work. With only 300 pages and odd, the book is easily mastered. The author and subject indexes at the end are quite useful. We should not fail to observe the omission of problems of any kind detailed or suggestive. The inclusion of the same in a judicious form would have added very much to the usefulness of the book.

C. S. NARAYANASWAMY.

MISCELLANEOUS

ADVENTURE AND OTHER PAPERS: By Fridtjof Nansen. Published by Leonard and Virginia Woolf at the Hogarth Press.

This is a small book of about 80 pages containing three addresses delivered by the author. The first on "Adventure" was delivered as the Rectorial address at St. Andrews University last year. Mr. Nansen keenly feels the rottenness of the modern world and appeals to his young hearers to set it right, make it a better place to live in. This, he thinks, cannot be done by sticking on to beaten tracks, but only by young people, with fresh minds, setting themselves to the task, ready to try new trials, to run risks and dare the Unknown. The spirit of adventure is the mainspring of great lives and actions, and the secret of success in this path is, we are told, self-trust. Mr. Nansen abhors the policy of preserving "the much praised line of retreat", which, according to him, "is a snare for people who wish to reach their goal". He says: "Let me tell you one secret of such so called successes as there may have been in my life, and here I believe I give you really good advice. It was to burn my boats and demolish the bridges behind me. Then one loses no time in looking behind, when one should have quite enough to do in looking ahead—then there is no choice for you or your men but forward. You have to do or die." Mr. Nansen illustrates the wisdom of his policy by references to his own Arctic explorations. He, at the same time, warns his youthful audience against obstinacy and foolhardiness, giving the case of the ill-fated balloon expedition to the Arctic of the celebrated Swede Andree as an instance of reckless adventure.

The other two addresses are on World-peace. With his intimate knowledge, gained during his relief work, of the misery brought on the millions of Europe, particularly Russia, Mr. Nansen has no doubt that humanity and civilisation can be saved from the dangers ahead only by adopting "No more War" as the watchword of the future. The addresses prove how richly Mr. Nansen deserved the Nobel Peace Prize that was awarded to him last year. The papers are surcharged with the spirit of political idealism and love of humanity and reveals the celebrated explorer in a light which enhances our respect for him. Mr. Nansen's love of adventure, we see, is equalled

only by his love of peace and humanity. The book is a valuable treasure with an inspiring gospel for young minds and workers for world-peace.

B. R.

THE KINGDOM OF HAPPINESS: By J. Krishnamurti. Published for the Star Publishing Trust, Erde, Ommen, Holland, by George Allen & Unwin Ltd. 3/6

When Mr. Krishnamurti speaks lay critics not endowed with esoteric wisdom, suffer under the disability of not knowing whether the words are his own or that of the World Teacher whose mouth-piece he is proclaimed to be. This difficulty need not, however, stand in the way of understanding his utterances or appraising their value by those who bring an unprejudiced mind to bear on them. It has not, at any rate, prevented the present reviewer from benefitting by the perusal of this volume of Mr. Krishnamurti's talks to his friends at the castle of Erde, with the enchanting title "The kingdom of Happiness."

The book is easy and enjoyable reading. In many parts it is poetic, often soars to a high plane of sublime idealism and occasionally bursts out into profuse strains of spiritual emotion and inspired ecstasy. There is nothing new in the gospel expounded. But that is because there is, in fact, nothing new to expound. The quest for the kingdom of God, is as old as human thought. The solution also is as eternal as Truth, so that there is nothing new for Krishnaji or, for that matter, any World Teacher to discover. The path of spiritual life sketched out in the volume has been trodden for ages by the prophets of old and their disciples. Their foot-prints in the sands of time are still visible and would guide even the seeker of today to the divine destination. The world is in need of no new revelation.

To say this is not, however, to detract from

the value of Mr. Krishnamurti's discourses. Thinkers of every new age, epoch of culture and civilisation, have to make their own re-discovery, re-interpretation of old Truths and teachings, so as to adapt them to the needs of their time, the spirit of their age. The law of spiritual evolution demands that even individuals must needs make their own re-discoveries and re-interpretations of the eternal verities, testing them in the crucible of subjective thought and experience, before adopting them as their own. This law holds good all the more rigidly in this age of science and rationalism, when the spirit of scientific criticism and free thought is much in vogue. The days of dogma and authority in religious as in the other spheres of life are gone and if the spiritual wisdom and experience of our forefathers is not to be lost to the modern world and the coming generations, the heritage must be presented in a form that will best appeal to the modern mind.

There is thus ample scope, as there is urgent need, for a new mode of treatment and presentation of the old truths of philosophy, religion and spiritual life. The reader will not look in vain for such a rational, impressive and appealing mode of treatment in Mr. Krishnamurti's book. He will find therein none of the abstract, dry-as-dust arguments and hair-splitting intricacies of learned Pandits and philosophers, nor the blind, unreasoning, authoritative dogmas of pontifical heads, but the basic home-truths of all the important religions and philosophies of the world presented in an easily digestible and appealing form. The sojourner in the realms of the Spirit, standing on the threshold of the Kingdom of God, will also find in its pages echoes of his own heart's whispers and wailings heard during the trying moments of spiritual travail. We heartily commend the book to all earnest seekers after Truth and Happiness.

M. R. RAMASWAMI.

What Thinkers Think

The Rights of Youth

The future is in the hands of the youth of today. The more this truth is realised by the elders the better it is for them and the world in general. Sir Charles Wakefield, ex-Lord Mayor of London, has some sane observations to make on this question in his recently published book "*On leaving schools and choice of a career*." (Hodder and Stoughton). He says there is need for new blood in all branches of life and observes:

"The world itself is young, throbbing with power which man has yet to release, and it is Youth which must find the key which will open the way for humanity to enter upon its full heritage. It is the mission of parents, pastors and teachers to arm Youth for the work that lies before it, so that it may usefully expand its full energy upon its task, but Youth must go alone upon the path itself.

"When, in its turn, it has expended its fund of creative genius, Youth must be ready to hand on the torch once more to yet another generation. From age to age, Youth is the builder, Age the guardian and preserver. . . .

"However novel the conditions of the changing world, the old truths still stand, a beacon light for us all. However brilliant the vista it offers, it is still wrong to seize an opportunity if it means casting aside a principle. However dazzling the prize, it is worthless, and will prove itself so if the winning of it loses self respect.

"The world of to-day is recognising the rights of Youth, and on every hand agencies are ready to help, to guide and to instruct. And this is wisdom, for whatever the one generation gives in service to Youth will be repaid by that which succeeds it. But for Youth the truth still holds good that, under God, all that is inspiring and worth-while in life must come from within. Take and use whatever help is offered in good faith; learn every moment of every day in the schools both of thought and experience; but see that the inner light burns brightly.

"Trust your own original ideas, and do not fear the thoughtless scorn of others when they prove less good in actual practice than they seemed in the crucible of your mind. It is much braver to act upon your

own initiative and fail, than to be content always to follow the lead of others. And you will not fail.

"They do their Maker wrong,
Who, in the pride of age,
Cry down youths' heritage,
And all the eager throng
Of thoughts and plans and schemes,
With which the young brain teems."

The builder of India's soul

There is evidence that Mahatma Gandhi is being better understood by thinkers all over the world. In the July issue of the *World Tomorrow*, Rufus M. Jones writes on Gandhiji's contribution to India and the world in general. This contribution we are told, is not in any way affected by the success or failure of the specific movements started by him. His real contribution is his life; his service is that of the spirit, the quickening, rekindling of the soul of the people, imparting to it his own high faith, heroic spirit and nobility of purpose. "The greatest gift the hero leaves his race is to have been a hero." So sang George Elliot 75 years ago and Gandhiji's life proves the truth of these fine lines. Says the writer:

"It is possible to count up an impressive list of real achievements which are due to his endeavors, but overtopping all his specific contributions is the contribution of his life. The by-product, which came unconsciously, as often happens, is more important than the definite product which he aimed to get. Gandhi's life is such an immense achievement, his spirit is such a tremendous contribution to the world that there will be an imperishable legacy from him, whether his plans succeed or go away.

"The most important question to ask about a leader is to find out how far he has helped to create a nobler spirit in the hearts of his people, how far he has been able to raise and inspire the souls of his contemporaries and successors. Gandhi stands this test in a very high degree. He is slowly building a new soul in India. He is one of those rare persons who are unconscious of personal interests, unconcerned about what is coming to them. He comes as near as any one I ever saw to a complete abolition of the ego.

focus, the ego-complex. He is absorbed in a cause; he is "lost" in the movement which he leads and inspires. He calls his method non-violence, but that is a very weak word for it. It is not a nay-method; it is a yea-method. It does not negate; it affirms. It is not the renunciation of the use of force; it is the discovery and the application of one of the greatest forces in the universe—the force of love, of human understanding, of unalloyed goodwill, of heroic friendship, of sympathetic co-operation; in short the might of *truth*. Gandhi calls his entire life-work "an experiment in truth." There is no better way to name it. And the greatest thing about his "experiment" will be its contribution to the new soul of India.

According to the writer America also is in need of a similar soul-builder. American reformers, we are told, are too much occupied with reforms to be concerned to raise the inner quality of their lives and to purify and exalt of the spirit of those for whom they labour. The writer observes:

"The method employed by too many of our 'up-lifters' and protagonists of causes is one of violence in Gandhi's sense of the word. He says that to be proud or to feel superior or to get ruffled: i. e., 'mad,' is already to use 'violence.' Anger is violence. Superiority is violence. There are weapon-less ways of attack that are as violent as the use of poison-gas would be. Even if such methods promote the cause in hand, they do not build a new soul in the nation: they do not propagate the spirit of love and co-operation. They engender bitterness and leave behind wounds and scars. It is possible to arrive at a specific objective, to achieve a triumph, and yet to have missed all the order and perfume that should sanctify the victory. It is possible to secure the product and yet to fail with, what is more important, the by-product in the form of a new and radiant spirit.

"This deeper and subtler business is what concerns me. I am not satisfied merely to work reforms and to espouse 'causes.' I want to see the creation of a new atmosphere, the spread and permeation of a new spirit, the building of a new soul. This calls for different methods from the old time well known ones; It means a much more careful preparation of the personal instrument for the service, and it calls, too far—the formation of a group spirit and a fellowship-habit of mind rather than for sheer battering-ram methods of attack upon an external system.

Gandhi is not the only leader in the East

who has discovered this invincible power of Love and Truth. The writer adds:

"I found in Japan, in China, in India, and in the Philippines quiet workers who use his method of creating a new order of life, of building from within, of constructing a new civilization by slowly shifting the level of the life and thought. Gandhi is certainly the foremost living leader of that type and he, more than most who have tried the method, has perfected the personal instrument. He is an unselfish spirit. He has conquered fear, hate, anger, impatience, and self-seeking. He has acquired a second nature of propensity for sacrifice and self-giving. He is unspoiled by the possession of the remarkable qualities of leadership which are his. Fame, controversy, persecution, head-lines, notoriety, exploitation, adoration have all flowed over him and left him simple, natural, spontaneously loving. That is why he so extraordinarily raises the level of life. His love and goodness and truth lift like the forces that raise the tides of the ocean. It is no wonder he is called Mahatma—"great-souled one." It is not strange that he is loved as few men in all the ages have ever been loved. It is quite natural that he should be putting a new soul into the people of India. That is the way it is always done!

I am appealing for the application of his method to our tasks of life and work. William James once wrote: "I am done with great things and big things for great institutions and big successes; and I am for those tiny invisible molecular moral forces that work from individual to individual: creeping in through the crannies of the world like so many soft rootlets or like the capillary oozing of water, but which give them time, will rend the hardest monuments of man's pride." That is exactly the secret. "He will not strive nor cry, nor lift up his voice in the street. A bruised reed he will not break, and the smouldering wick he will not quench." This type of hero believes in little things, in unobtrusive forces. He begins within and works out. His foundations are spiritual. His resources lie deep within the eternal nature of things. The result is that he is more than a conqueror. When he wins, he more than wins. His by-product overflows his product. He creates by an unconscious contagion that indescribable reality which we call *spirit*. He propagates a life-quality. He sets a new energy into operation in the souls of the people who come in contact with him and thus he shifts the level of life. That type of leadership is what we need. One does not need to be a "mahatma" to begin using that method. It works just as well in a

small group as in a large one. It is as suitable for a tiny hamlet as for a teeming nation. It works both in the small and in the large: and our times call loudly for such leadership."

Ethics of Civil Disobedience

One of the cardinal teachings of Mahatma Gandhi is the gospel of Satyagraha or civil disobedience. Here is what an American student of this gospel thinks of the ethics, the philosophy underlying it. Patric Murphy Malin, writing in the same issue of *The World Tomorrow*, says:

"Unjust laws should be broken. To establish this proposition requires defense of a man's right to decide for himself what 'unjust' means. For the government which enacts the law attempts thereby to secure the acceptance of its idea of justice, and our issue arises when a citizen's idea of justice conflicts with that of the government."

"Unjust laws must be violated, or the individual conscience—the ability to envision the ideal society—will atrophy. The individual is the ultimate unit of society. External authority of any kind is in the last analysis merely suggestive. Even that external authority which we call government is only suggestive—though its suggestions, in the form of laws, should have great weight. The state calls on force to give its decrees effect. Yet even here the person himself chooses. He may obey the law and go unmolested or violate it and be coerced. In either instance, unless he conforms out of sheer cowardice, it is his judgment and his conscience directing him.

"Disobedience in the name of justice is not destructive of individual morals. Cowardice—failure to disobey when disobedience seems necessary—is alone thus ruinous. Let a man consistently fail to yield full obedience to the greatest light vouchsafed him, and soon there will be no light at all. The habit of subservience to external authority tends to destroy in the individual the capacity for judgment. Powers not exercised will disappear. Better to make a wrong judgment than to lose the power to make any judgment.

"Again, unjust laws must be violated or society's advance is checked. Traditions solidify and bar the way of progress. Their disciples cloak them with a sanctity which gives them irresponsible power. 'Time makes ancient good uncouth'—in religion, with its early ideas of a vengeful God; in politics

with its divine right of kings, its Monroe doctrines. Governments are not infallible—not even democracies. To check irresponsible power, to expose the fallibility of the governing group, there must be heretics who will break unjust laws.

"In all ages the man who has seemed wrong today has been called right tomorrow. In every day, the heretics have mapped the route of tomorrow's majority—Luther at Worms, Adams and Jefferson at Philadelphia, Garrison on Boston Common. History would seem to teach us also that the revolt of the heretic would have been ineffective had he not actually violated the laws that were to him unjust. Striking dramatic action is necessary to convince others of intense feeling for principle. Jesus had actually to break the binding ceremonial code or the Galileans would never have seen the significance of a God who was concerned with inward righteousness.

"The individual is not more important than the state, but preservation of keen individual consciences is more important than any group which may at a certain time be in control of the state. The state is composed of individuals, and its task is to secure the greatest good for the greatest number. The only real treason is an act which endangers that greatest good. This article contends that loyalty to conscience is a vital element in that greatest good. The state does not today possess all truth. Little truth will be discovered if men and women stop short in their search for it.

"Great caution must be exerted in deciding that a law is unjust. The maintenance of the theory of majority rule is important. Perhaps it, will be outweighed in the minds of some by their abhorrence of war. It should not be outweighed by a desire to drive a motor car at a terrific rate of speed. We must be as certain as possible that it is our conscience—our highest moral sense—that the law offends. In the prohibition controversy many 'consciences' have been made sensitive to the 'injustice' in a restriction solely because it thwarts on appetite.

"Disobedience must be a last resort—after every other means of opposition has been exhausted. The violator must take his punishment and he must try to show his fellow-citizens that his revolt is not against the principles of democratic government, but against a particular unjust law.

"Nevertheless, unjust laws should be broken. In no other way can we progress toward that day when all men shall rule themselves by internal authority and the result still be the greatest good for the greatest number."

Women's call to war-resistance

The offering of civil disobedience to laws enforcing conscription is becoming a live issue among a steadily growing section of peace-loving citizens in the West. Women no less than men are ready to join the ranks of such passive resisters to combat the war-monster. The following appeal by Madame Camille Dravet, Secretary of the French section of the Women's International League, was published in her paper *The Voice of Woman* soon after the publication of the New Defence Bill:

"The world is in chaos. The storm rages. The earth trembles, and just at the moment, as a supreme precaution, women are to be compulsorily enlisted to assist in the use of violence.

"We cannot accept that which we have not voted for.

"We do not want to cooperate in this fratricidal struggle. We are at one with all those who resist war. Women, let us have the courage to resist this barbarism!

"Today we create this group of women who pledge themselves not to do war service, and who will accept prison and death rather than break this pledge. Men going to war against their brothers will have to walk across the bodies of those who will resist until death.

"Send us this simple declaration:

"I promise not to do war service and to resist mobilization, even if it endangers my life."

(Signed) "Camille Dravet.

"Collette Reynaud."

Internationalism in schools

We are at a turning point in educational progress. For the first time in the history of modern education, a definite attempt is being made by educationists all over the world to discard the doctrines of hide-bound nationalism which drive the young mind to think in the narrow terms of caste, country or race, and substitute in its place the gospel of Internationalism. We published in a previous issue a summary of the recommendations made in that direction by a commission of American educationists. We give below some of the proposals for teaching Internationalism in schools made by prominent British educationists at the instance of the Board of Education. The memorandum in which the proposals are made states:

"The future of international relations closely concerns every boy and girl in the modern world. Until the reign of law, to which we are accustomed in our own country, is established throughout the whole Great Society of interdependent nations, man's best work and highest endeavour may be rendered futile by the folly of war; and human life becomes again cheap and purposeless.

"But Governments alone cannot establish the reign of law throughout the world. That can only be done when the public opinion of this and other democratic countries understands the need for the world-wide reign of law and insistently demands that it be established and maintained by the several Governments co-operating in the League of Nations.

"Knowledge which leads to these results is practically useful to individual citizens, to their countries, and to the world. On the other hand, no citizen can be expected to think or act reasonably on questions of foreign policy if he knows nothing of the growth of international interdependence during the last hundred years, or of his country's unprecedented obligations under the League's Covenant.

"To think and act as if things were not what they are, generally leads to trouble; and the young people of to-day may lose civilisation itself if they grow up to think of the modern world as if it were the world of their grandfathers, of international anarchy between sovereign states, or of the history books that end with 1914.

"Moreover, this new knowledge, properly taught, provides a strenuous intellectual discipline just because it links up so many other studies.

"We do not, however, recommend a separate place in the time-table for it. We prefer to see it taught in connection with existing studies in schools of all types. The Universities and the Training Colleges should prepare future teachers for this task. Meanwhile, unwilling or uninterested masters and mistresses must not be entrusted with presenting the new material until their own interest has first been aroused by conferences with expert authorities, or by short courses of training at summer schools.

"Where the teachers understand the facts in question, realise their importance, and are eager to teach them, most will be taught in history lessons. The history of England, or of Scotland, will then be presented in its proper relation to the history of the world. Only so can British children fully appreciate the League of Nations as a fruit long ripened on the tree of time.

"Practically in the teaching of modern history the

growing sense of the interdependence of communities, as shown, for example, in the work of the League of Nations, should receive due prominence," to quote the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education in their recent report on 'The Education of the Adolescent.'

"Pupils should be led to realise the conditions of life, as well of individuals as of communities, among the nations of the world, and especially among those peoples with whom we in Great Britain have most in common; and proper emphasis should be laid upon the economic interdependence of the Great Society, now almost world-wide, of which we form part.

"The body of knowledge with which we are concerned extends beyond history and geography to all the subjects taught in schools. Thus, for example, all the elements of our English speech, like all the elements of our blood, come from abroad. Our modern science is international in origin. And so with art: the great styles of English architecture—Saxon, Norman, Gothic and Renaissance—all come from overseas, they are little chips of the great European block.

"We are naturally averse from any sentimental appeal in school and from any obvious attempt to stir the emotions of the pupils. Yet we recognise that new knowledge alone, without some change of feeling and of purpose, will not suffice to make international co-operation the normal method of conducting world affairs. A sense of world citizenship has to be created.

"President Wilson told a committee at the Paris Peace Conference that 'he looked forward to the time when men would be as ashamed of being disloyal to humanity as they were now of being disloyal to their country.' For the Englishman, for the Briton, for any citizen of the British Commonwealth—itsself a model League of Nations—there can be no reason why the union of nations and the building of larger loyalties out of present patriotisms should not keep pace with the widening of individual human interests to cover the whole shrinking world. Disloyalty to the whole involves disloyalty to every part, including one's own State.

"Along with the change of feeling towards this wider loyalty, we want to see a change of purpose: a will to seek first the welfare of the world-wide society of mankind."

A Christian Policy towards China.

The brother-hood of man, supremacy of the human soul and equality of human beings are some of the principles for which Christianity stands. David Bryn-Jones writing in the *World Tomorrow*, shows how challenging and sometimes revolutionary these principles become in their application to politics. He formulates the following Christian policy to be adopted by the nations towards China. He says:

"The western nations shall avoid intervention in Chinese affairs. They must be patient and must err on the side of patience even, if that be possible. There has been one serious incident already, in which armed force has been called into play by the western

powers. It is not my province to attempt to formulate a judgment as to the actual facts in relation to Nanking. Granted that the bombardment was justified from a purely political or military standpoint—that it saved lives even—one consideration seems to me to have tremendous weight. During the whole campaign extending over eight months, involving the victorious march of enthusiastic armies, no foreign life was sacrificed before the Nanking incident. If any one had told us that that was possible under the conditions prevailing in China a year ago should we have believed it? The surprising thing in China is not that there was a Nanking incident, but that there were not dozens of them.

What shall we do about Nanking—and especially what if there is another incident? You know what the powers actually did. They presented identical notes on April 11 demanding three things: (1) Punishment of the commander responsible, (2) an apology and a promise to refrain from violence or agitation against foreign lives and property and (3) complete reparation for personal injuries and damages done. I don't propose to criticize those demands. The important point is that nothing has been done to enforce them. Intervention just now in China would be worse than any failure of formal justice. No one can tell what dread consequence would follow intervention. The paramount need now is patience and still patience. That, and sympathy and imagination. Strictly and absolutely, if gunboats and troops are in China to protect lives and property, let them keep within the limits of that avowed intention.

"Ought they to be there at all? I doubt it. I doubt whether they have done any good. If the southern government had been entrusted with the task of safeguarding foreign lives and property, that government declares it would have done it. Certainly, they were not foreign soldiers that secured that in Wuchang and Hankow. Not a single foreign life was sacrificed during the capture and occupation of those cities. With the one exception of Nanking the southerners have demonstrated their capacity for maintaining order.

"Is it not clearly Christian policy to act toward China with a view to China's welfare rather than to our own interests? It may be, of course, that a far sighted policy of helpfulness towards China now is the best way to secure our real interests in that country. China has immense resources and tremendous commercial possibilities. Her friendship is going to be worth much even from the economic point of view later on. But I am here stressing rather the supremacy of human values. China has a contribution to make to the world's life—I think a great contribution. She must have freedom to live her own life to develop her own genius, to cultivate her own soul in her own way. She will be hampered if the west tries to keep her in the leading strings of the present treaty system. Extra-territoriality must go, customs control must go, and the nations individually and separately must enter into negotiations with China as an equal, to formulate the treaties that are to govern the status of concessions and settlements.

"My last point is this. Much has been said about reparation and compensation. Always it has been reparation and compensation from China for this thing or the other thing. Do the powers owe China nothing by way of reparation and restitution? Japan returned Shantung. Great Britain has promised to return Wei-hai-wei and France has promised to re-

turn of Kwang-chau-wan. I wish they would hurry and redeem those promises.

"They should go further still. I suppose it is very unwordly and idealistic to long for a generous gesture which would indicate something like penitence on the part of the great powers. I would like to see some morning a statement that Great Britain was prepared to consider terms on which Hongkong could be returned to China! If I saw it I should probably not believe it. Such things are not done. I wish some nation would start doing them—attempting to put into practice the principles of justice which are the foundation of real understanding among nations."

What is Religion?

This question is answered by Dr. Fort Newton in a recent issue of *The Atlantic Monthly*. Dr. Newton thus sums up his conclusions:

"Much of what is called religion, as usually interpreted, conveys nothing real or helpful to the average man; it contains little to link on to life as he knows it. Its outlook is remote, its imagery alien.

"Its ideas and insights need to be restated in the terms of our time, in plain everyday speech, so that men can understand it, lay hold of it, and attempt to live up to it. No idea of religion is worth anything that does not have a vital effect on character, in which the eternal values are revealed and attested.

"One does not forget that life is profoundly influenced by belief, as belief, in turn, is clarified and confirmed by life—matter itself for an essay. Yet a man may believe all the creeds and have little moral worth or spiritual loveliness; he may believe in the resurrection of the body and be dead of soul.

"As Carlyle said, the religion of a man is not the creed he professes; not that necessarily, often not that at all, since men of all degrees of worth and worthlessness sign all kinds of creeds. His religion is his life, what he acts upon and knows of the meaning of life and his duty, in it.

"In the meantime, we want finally to get rid of the idea that a bad man who believes a creed is more religious than a good man who does not. As Jesus put it, the sheep and the goats are not believers and unbelievers, but the unselfish and the selfish; those who serve God better than they know, and those who profess but do not.

"Religion is not safety; it is service. It is not a plan by which we escape Hell and get into Heaven. But a life of fellowship and ministrant good-will. As a rule, the best men are not those who are most sure of their salvation, or think most about it. They are those who, while aware of their own failings and limitations, do not indulge in morbid reflections on their own spiritual state, but put their power into a life of love guided by truth.

"Many a man who has only a hazy idea of what it means to love God is really doing it all the time, in the most real way, by helping his fellows along the road.

"If such words seem to be trite, they are none the less true, truer by far than many a dogma; and it is by such things that we learn that religion is not a thing apart from life, but life itself at its best."

Science and Religion

Science has considerably affected religious values and, in some respects, confirmed them. The inter-relation between these two domains of human thought and endeavour is constantly coming up for consideration before western minds. The question, we are told by the Oxford correspondent of the *Morning Post*, was approached from "an original standpoint" by Dr. Williams Brown, Wilde Reader in Mental Philosophy in a recent address to undergraduates. Dr. Brown is reported to have said:

"In the matter of religious faith nothing was gained by burking the facts of science. The facts and theories must be faced in the form set out by specialists in the various domains."

"In the science of biology, the concept of emergent evolution had been prominent in recent discussion. According to the principle of emergence, new characteristics arose in the course of development of living organisms which could not be completely explained in terms of the nature and properties of their antecedents.

"Thus, from a qualitative point of view, creation appeared to be a fact—the production of something out of nothing. There was more in the consequent than could be inferred from the antecedents.

"Further consideration showed that the temporal process of evolution implied a non-temporal or eternal background which was an invariable factor in every moment of transition.

"Creative evolution," continued Dr. Brown, "is not creation out of nothing, but is a manifestation of Something, namely, the Absolute, or God, in its essence beyond Time.

"Taking a broad view of the physical universe, inanimate as well as animate, we find a general fundamental tendency towards the building up of wholes or totalities.

"In other words, the physical universe is through and through organic, and it is only the abstraction necessarily forced upon the scientist by the conditions of his investigations that the appearance is given of a world of blind mechanism."

"Turning to psychology, which he described as the science of mental activity, Dr. Brown said they found over against laws of mental activity as a sequence in time, systems or hierarchies of values themselves essentially transcending time.

"The good, the beautiful, the true, were the well-known class headings of such values. But although they might say how good, how beautiful, how true, something more than this was needed to do justice to the wealth of experience, and it was one of the problems of the future for psychological science to work out all these values in detail in their relation to life as it was lived by the individual—as satisfactions of desires and aspirations.

"Religion might be defined in many ways. It was a mental attitude towards the entire universe, or the totality of existence, which carried with it the feeling

of complete dependence, and an attitude of worship or appreciation of value.

"Thus, so far as a man was religious, he saw a supreme value in the universe.

"The so-called eternal values of the good, the beautiful, and the true, were abstractions—separate aspects of the real concrete value, the Absolute Itself, or God; not the God of Pantheism, where everything was on a level, but the God within Whom all individual values found their true order of precedence.

"Modern psycho-therapy, or the science of psychology as applied to the removal of mental difficulty in individual life," continued Dr. Brown, "throws confirmatory light upon the teachings of the Gospel story. The beneficial effects of suggestion and auto-suggestion point to the working of a living faith, subconscious where not conscious, as their explanation.

"The results of deep analysis point clearly to a thorough-going unity of the mind, in spite of all its multiplicities.

"The mind under analysis becomes freed from the distorting effect of chance experiences and false values. The result of analysis is that the individual finds his powers of appreciation of the world of values purified and deepened.

"Finally, we can say of religion that it is a life to be lived, and that religious insight comes with the living of it.

"In the Christian religion we have a doctrine of the relative order of values which experience is found to justify. 'He that loses his life shall save it' is a dark saying, but it sums up the truth of moral values."

Can Science Create Life?

Science has made wonderful conquests over nature. But the creation of Life still remains a mystery. Some prophets, however, predict the fall of even this citadel of Nature's workshop and the creation of Life in our laboratories. Such was the confident, though carefully worded, assertion made by Sir Oliver Lodge in one of his recent addresses at the Oxford University. Sir Oliver said:—

"Many of the organic compounds found in living organisms, or secreted by them, have now been made in the laboratory, beginning with urea, and continuing up to sugar and starch and numerous other compounds.

"And it is sometimes said by students of organic chemistry and by the bio-chemists who study protoplasm, that if we could contrive in the laboratory to continue the manufacture of these organic compounds until we had made a mass of protoplasm, and were able to subject it to suitable treatment, they would expect that artificial protoplasm to exhibit vitality and to manifest one or other of the forms of life.

"I would not in the least seek to deny that proposition: I certainly would not contend against it; I would even regard it as probable. Indeed, Sir Oliver continued, 'from some points of view I should regard the contention as inevitable, because of the undoubted facts, first, that living things have appeared on this planet, and second, that this planet was at one

time a mass of molten material, or even glowing gas, in which life as we know it was impossible.

"Hence it would appear that something of the kind has gone on in the past, and what has gone on in the past may be going on in the present, and may possibly be understood and controlled and humanly managed in the future.

"And what then? Many would feel afraid of such a conclusion and think that a self-acting mechanism of that kind would remove from the Universe the need for the planning and creative Mind, so as to be out of harmony with certain deeply implanted instincts and religious ideas.

"Their fears seem to me groundless, and to be based on the mistaken term 'self-acting.' For the process we have assumed as possible—not yet, but some day possible—in a laboratory, is not a self-acting process at all. A chemist who in the future may discover how to construct protoplasm and to infuse it with vitality, is himself no self-acting machine. He, surely, is full of knowledge and contrivance and planning, and is conducting operations full of understanding and design.

"That life will not have come into being without antecedent life. The chemist or the physicist who has done it was alive, and has only accomplished it through the agency of a powerful mind.

"Here and there, in the Universe, things had happened which were credible only because they had occurred. A sun had thrown off a streak of matter, which had consolidated into what we called planets. These, being small bodies, cooled down with some rapidity, and ultimately reached a temperature only a few hundred degrees above absolute zero. They were kept at this reasonable temperature by radiation from the central body which had emitted them.

"Molecules were able to form and to grow in complexity, and ultimately protoplasm made its appearance. Then occurred an incredible thing, or only credible because it had happened. The localised and identifiable particles of matter had become able to receive and incorporate some of the previously unidentified life and mind of which the general ether was full.

"Life thus associated with individual particles, Sir Oliver declared, 'becomes itself an individual isolated from and forgetting its previous unidentified existence, and somehow, by its own inherent properties, making use of the matter and energy which it finds to hand, and building-up an identifiable organism, at first of a lowly kind, and afterwards, through a long process of evolution, into what we have become familiar with as plants and animals.

"Gradually, and through long stages, life develops into mind, or rather mind itself becomes individualised and incarnate in the most highly developed organisms, and thus begins the reign of individual consciousness, and the development of sciences which seek to understand the processes, so far as they have come within their ken.

"The strange problem is how life and mind came into association with matter at all."

The Prophecy challenged

Sir Oliver's prophecy is, no doubt, bold. But it is not indisputable. Mr. J. B. S.

Haldane, a nephew of Viscount Haldane, has already challenged the presumption. In an interview to the *Daily Herald* he is reported to have said:

"If Sir Oliver Lodge had ever tried to make such a relatively simple substance as sugar out of inorganic materials, I think he would be less confident."

"Bio-chemists are gradually building up out of inorganic materials some of the simpler kinds of molecule which are found in living beings. I do not think that any of the organic molecules which have been thus artificially made, and whose structure is known, contain more than about one hundred atoms."

"But the molecules of protein, which are characteristic of living matter, consist of five to 10 thousand atoms arranged in a quite definite manner. Perhaps in a hundred years we may be able to construct molecules of this size according to specification."

"When that is done it will be worth trying to see whether such molecules in a suitable medium show any signs of being alive. Personally, I suspect that we shall have to wait not one, but several centuries before life is created in the laboratory, if it ever is."

"The smallest living organisms at present known to science contain many hundreds of protein molecules of different kinds, and when the proteins have been synthesised, we shall probably only be half way to this goal."

A rational cosmogony

Science may or may not succeed in creating life. That the future alone can show. But the progress already made by it form a substantial contribution to the sum of human knowledge. Its advances have helped us to understand life and the world about us better than ever before and evolve a rational cosmogony. How far this synthesis has been achieved is explained by Prof. Patric Geddes in the 9th Vol. of Chamber's Encyclopædia. Here is an illuminating portion of the Professor's article.

"...What subjects have long seemed less on speaking terms than geography and philosophy?—geography with its naively concrete and mundane explorations, descriptions, and mappings; and philosophy with its lofty abstractions, as from the good, beautiful and true of Plato to the manifold thought systems which have succeeded him, and which still range from frankest materialisms—stopped short at the Unknowable—to idealisms and transcendentalisms, pressing forward towards the Absolute."

"Yet, since evolution becomes more and more discernible throughout this everyday world, our cosmography—physical, organic, and human alike—is now becoming a rational cosmogony, in which all the sciences have their part. Such a comprehensive conception of evolution extending throughout the universe of nature and humanity is thus at once philosophic and scientific, since unifying our studies of nature and life with our best thought. If so, we

can no longer think of cosmography and philosophy as at contrasted poles of thought, but as combined throughout its single sphere, in fact, as cosmosophy; so that even terms like 'geosophy' and 'biosophy' are also needed to express this dual parentage, scientific and philosophic, in harmonious union."

"Again, nature and life are alike rich in beauty; the sciences are ever advancing in the discovery and enjoyment of truth, and the broadening and deepening anew of life we thus attain, despite all struggles, arrests and deteriorations, exhibits above all the increasing dominance of species-regarding and life-regarding processes over simply individual and utilitarian functionings; at briefest, then, the triumph of love over hunger, of altruism over egoism; and thus a predominant evolution of the good."

"In short, evolutionary science is Platonist as well as Aristotelian. Hence philosophy at its best, with its increasing quest of widest and deepest truth—and even religion at best also, with its endeavours to advance and express goodness and love in their ideal union with truth and beauty at their highest—have alike nothing to fear from science. Its at times seeming destructive criticisms are indeed increasingly acknowledged as often of service to religion towards liberation from burdens of tradition and misunderstandings delaying its vital fulfilment."

Room for Pessimism

The Professor is not unaware of some of the undesirable effects of Scientific progress, which give room for pessimists to dread the future. He says:

"Yet, this view of science as it tends to be is too optimistic for science as it yet is. Admission must candidly be made that the advances of the physical sciences—say rather of their applications, as in the unparalleled progress of our industrial age, and also towards its destructive activities of war—have had tragic consequences, and these still far from ended. The explanation of these is not far to seek; It lies fundamentally in the ascending order of knowledge, with its increasing complexities, so that the mathematical and physical sciences, as relatively simplest, are as yet by far the most developed and applied."

"With these sciences we can and do have their ever-increasing applications in material developments, manufactures, transports and communications, and for peace and war alike; also in business exchanges, and pecuniary interests concerned with all these. Thus arise tensions, rivalries and struggles, which oscillate between internal social strifes and external wars; while for these latter especially, the applications of the physical sciences are more and more destructively potent. Hence the frequent dread of science, sometimes even to despair."

"Yet it is this incompleteness of science which is dangerous. Given mathematics, with its conceptions of movement, time, space, and number, and the physical sciences, thus intellectually reinforced for their increasing mastery of the matters and energies of the inorganic world, these cannot yield more than a mechanistic view of life and society. Hence if such range of science and its philosophy be final, there is no escape from more rigorous acceptance and more unsparing application of them than ever, and with the fullest pessimism accordingly."

Wanted a Change of Perspective

"But if the sciences of life and mind, of society and morals, be emancipating themselves, as above noted, from this mechanistic domination, and entering on a fresh period of synthetic progress, the whole perspective of science and its philosophy must also change, to an evolutionary view, demonstrably melioristic. For, as a man must ever strive to put his knowledge to practice and service, and thus has been applying his mechanistic knowledge to the full, so also he cannot but consider and attempt the application of the higher and complexer humanistic sciences, the more since they are now in their turn also advancing towards clearness."

"The social and moral sciences as they progress are thus assured of increasing applications in public and personal life: politics and government, with associated and individual action, thus increasingly advancing into Etho-polity. Such social functioning plainly involves the applications of psychology and biology together, towards re-education, towards health at its fullest, agriculture at its widest, and each to its best."

"It must also more and more fully inspire the physical and mechanical arts and their scientific applications, and thus towards due economy and conservation of energies and more effective constructive results, so reclaiming them from their dissipative and destructive applications. Thus more and truer wealth; and this, above all, in improving environment, even to beauty of cities and regions once more. For, as even the simplest 'good job' has an æsthetic factor, the technic arts evolve towards the eutechnic level; while the fine arts have again to co-ordinate and inspire the simpler, as do architecture and drama for familiar examples."

"Towards aiding this incipient step of human development, all the sciences are required with their increasingly helpful applications, moral and social, psychological and biological, æsthetic and physical, and these clarified by sound logic, and given precision by mathematics as far as may be. Thus the sciences in truest harmony with the arts of life cannot but advance and evolve together, and towards realising the best ideals of humanity."

The Science and art of Living

The sciences are many and study life from different aspects. But living is a science as well as an art on whose study the average man does not devote much attention, although that is more important to him than other matters. In his book "Directing Mental Energy" (University of London Press) Dr. Aveling points out the need for a recognised Science of Living and how we suffer for want of it. He says:

"We leave the sciences which have a bearing, more or less direct, upon life for the most part to others whom we pay to help and advise us when we break down, in one way or another, and need their expert guidance. Thus, when we are sick, we send for the physician, trusting that his knowledge of human ailments will serve to put us right. When we are involved in serious disputes we invoke the

man of law in the belief that he may be able to extricate us. In our doubts as to the rightness or wrongness of actions we may consult the moralist."

"Still, though there may be no science of living, there is an art of life, more or less—but generally less—perfect as to technique, which all of us have to learn for ourselves. We are forced to learn it, since we must live. And in the main, perhaps, we learn this art with some degree of success, by way of imitation of others; by following examples or tradition, or teaching; by methods of trial and error; and by shots of the 'hit or miss' type."

"While we are learning this art of living—a process which goes on as long as we live—most of us are unaware that we are pupils in a school; for there are few of us who have ever definitely set before themselves at all any purpose in life, or ever reflect upon what they have already learned in its regard."

"The canvas which each one of us covers with bright colours or with monotonous greys—the web which each one of us weaves out of the threads of desire and achievement or loss—bears all the marks of our lack of skill and of our failure, as well as those of our success. There is seldom, if, indeed, ever, time to go back in order to put right what in the light of subsequent experience has been found to be wrong. The art of living is the longest of all arts, and in it, more than anywhere else, we find the time at our disposal short. Anything, no matter how little, that will help us to learn it will be useful; for even this art, crude and imperfect as it is often in practice, pre-supposes like any other art a science of some kind."

"The painter knows the effect of contrast in laying his colours on the canvas; and the sculptor of the human form has some acquaintance with anatomy. Even a little child's attempts at drawing show a striving to express something he already dimly knows. The knowledge, indeed, may be inadequate; the conception may be faulty and skilfulness of execution lacking. But knowledge of some sort must be there as well as some degree of skill; or there would be no work of art—good, bad, or indifferent—to contemplate."

"So it is with regard to the art of life. Painted in the most fluid of all mediums, moulded at the outset in the most plastic of materials, the artist of life has some plan, however vague, to which he works—even if it be a plan which changes from one moment to another. It is only later on when habit dries up the paints and the brush becomes clogged and stiff—only when the clay so hardens as to be no longer workable—that the plan, too, becomes seemingly fixed and inevitable. There is a plan; and there is knowledge too fragmentary and scattered perhaps, to be dignified by the name of science, but none the less directive of such means as we employ in the working out of the plan."

"The problem of this book, then, is really one of economy. How, in living, can we best economise our powers? How can we achieve the most with the least effort? How live our lives as fully as we can without exhausting, or unduly draining, our vital energy, physical and mental?"

"The problem is clearly in reality a problem of wastage; for economy, in this respect at any rate, consists in the elimination of waste. It is all very well to save and hoard; but that is seldom, if ever, true economy. We must spend something if we live at all. And if we are to spend, it is generally a fact

here, as elsewhere, that the best things, which may cost more than inferior products, are cheapest in the long run. This is particularly true of life, in which we cannot really hoard at all; though we certainly may be able to eliminate unprofitable expenditure."

A defence of Democracy

The common heresy against Democracy is that it is the rule of the ignorant many over the enlightened few. "Scrutator" writing in *The Sunday Times* examines this charge and comes to the conclusion that, although alternative forms of Government may come to other countries, England, so long as she does not change her national character, cannot have any other form. Here is his defence of democracy. He says:

"The most remarkable attribute of the crowd in politics is that it always wants to do the right thing." Oligarchies tend to be cynical and corrupt; the masses will always respond to an appeal for justice. Nor are they so stupid as is generally supposed. Says Demos in the old play:—

"'Though you see me dote and dream.
Never think me what I seem!
For my confidential slave
I prefer a pilfering knave;
When he's pampered and full-blown
I snatch him up and dash him down!
All the rogues you think so sly,
All the deep, intriguing set,
Are but dancing in a net,
Till I purge their stomachs clean
With the hemlock and the bean!'"

"Would democracy have done what it did in the last war if it had thought only of self-interest and its heart did not beat with quixotic idealism?"

"Democracy, then, is not innately corrupt, though its rulers and its institutions often are; and those who bring this charge against democracy are falsely attributing to it the characteristic vice of oligarchy. Indeed, the whole problem of democracy is to vindicate the general interest against that of any section, however numerous and important, and to prevent its infection by the vice more natural to other systems of government.

"In practice the solution is extraordinarily difficult, dangerous and slow; but it is too soon to give it up as hopeless, for if any nation can accomplish it, it is ours. Other forms of government are in the nature of short cuts—tempting at first, difficult later. The ideal form of government, if only it was permanent, is an all-wise benevolent autocracy, but the autocrat dies, and the choice of a successor is commonly both violent and unfortunate. Oligarchy promises efficiency and consistency, but these virtues are tainted with selfishness, and it is of all forms of government the most impermeable by new ideas.

"We had better, then, even on abstract grounds make shift with democracy, which is the moral judgment of the many on the intellectual ideas of the few, exists to assert the general interest and will over those of a section, and compensates for slowness in execution by relative tranquillity and the avoidance of violent disturbance. But, on particular

grounds it seems assured of a longer life in this country than many people think.

"There are alternative forms of government which come naturally to other countries. The Latins take naturally to Caesarism in its various forms. Even M. Poincaré in France is a species of Mussolini, appointed *ad hoc* it may be, and in argumentative disguise, and American democracy, too, tends to be enamoured with the idea of the one still, strong man ruler.

"But England has only one dictator in its history and will never have another. The decay of democracy for other countries might mean no more than buying a new coat; for us it would mean changing our character. We had better, therefore, realise the virtues of democracy and set to work combating its obvious vices."

Democracy in Business

Democratic principles might hold the field in politics. But do they hold good in industry and business? An emphatic 'No' is the answer given by Mr. Harold Cox in the same journal. The man with the glib tongue, he says, easily obtains leadership in political life, and keeps it—however numerous his blunders, however grave the losses he has inflicted on the Nation. But such a person will not do for business. To attempt to conduct business on democratic principles would, according to him, inevitably lead to disaster. In a democracy authority rests with the inexperienced masses. But in industry, he says, authority must rest only on the experienced leaders. Proceeding, he writes:

"One of the most important of industrial problems, indeed the most important of all in the mind of the average workman, is what is to be his share of the product. To the wage-earner the wages question comes first, and since the wage-earners constitute the majority of parliamentary voters in the kingdom there is a constant tendency on the part of politicians to interfere in wage problems, the result in many cases being that an industry is subjected to legislative provisions which in practice destroy its efficiency.

"The sound method is to allow each industry to form its own organisation for dealing with wage problems, and on this organisation, quite obviously, wage-earners as well as wage-payers must be represented. Such an organisation would at the outset face the fact that wages can only be paid out of the price that the product of the industry brings.

"As regards the way in which the industry itself is to be conducted, both on the manufacturing and on the commercial side, democratic methods are clearly inapplicable to the larger issues, but as regards details of workshop management it is certain that the work people themselves could, very often, if they were freely consulted, make suggestions that would contribute not merely to their own personal comfort, but to the efficiency of the shop.

"As regards the bigger issues, which are dependent on world commerce and scientific industrial de-

velopments, authority must rest with those who have had experience and have the brains to apply the knowledge they have acquired.

"Needless to say, the difficulty will still remain of choosing the right man. That is a problem which cannot be overcome by any enunciation of general principles. The man has to be found, and only experience will show whether he has been rightly chosen. He is judged by results. This, indeed, is the actual practice of successful industries throughout the world, and it is because this is their practice that they are successful.

Compulsory profit-sharing

Let authority in industry rest in the leaders; but does it follow that the profits also should be monopolised by them? If efficiency demands that control should be in a few hands, justice claims that the gains should be distributed as widely and equitably as possible. Otherwise wage-slavery would result and the economic life threatened by constant upheavels of labour. Hence the need for promoting industrial co-partnership, even at the point of compulsion. That is the plea put forth by Mr. J. H. Miall in a recent number of the *Fortnightly Review*. He writes:

"A man working in a profit-bearing industry for a stated wage, unrelated to the success of the industry in which he is engaged, whether he be manager, clerk, or manual labourer, is but part of the machinery of the industry, and if his economic position be such that he dare not leave his employment he can justly be termed a 'wage-slave.' The continuance of this inhuman relationship is becoming a menace to the State—it can be remedied."

"What is needed is that profit-sharing be adopted as a national principle," and that all wage agreements in profit-making industries include a provision that a certain percentage of the profits of a firm must be distributed amongst its employees, from the lowest to the highest.

"This principle should be embodied in a 'Remuneration for Services Act' and form part of the law of the land. Many enlightened employers have voluntarily initiated such agreements, and the result has been all that could be anticipated; but the nation cannot afford to wait for the slow growth of voluntary initiative. Whilst the grass grows the steed starves, and some of our industries are showing signs of steadily increasing inanition.

"The benefits to a nation adopting the principle of universal profit-sharing as an addition to current wages would be enormous.

"(1) Profit-sharing would bridge the present gulf between the interests of capital and labour, reducing to a minimum labour unrest and dissatisfaction which so frequently culminates in disastrous strikes.

"(2) It would promote greater efficiency by increasing the initiative of the workers and so benefit employers, industrial investors and workers alike.

"(3) It would greatly increase production, reduce prices and recover foreign trade.

"The purely wage method of requiring service is immoral in tendency—in brief:—

"(1) It creates an inhuman division of interests between employer and employee.

"(2) Keeps alive the severance of classes.

"(3) Necessitates costly supervision and promotes waste.

"(4) Reduces possible production.

"Even the co-operative system of trading does not reduce these disadvantages. It aims at making the commodity cheaper to members, but as neither management nor labour have any direct interest in profits there is no incentive to initiative or economy."

Results of Profit-sharing in Great Britain

Reviewing the results of the many schemes of industrial co-partnership and profit-sharing in Great Britain in 1926, the Labour correspondent of the *Times* writes:

"The Ministry of Labour has made inquiries as to the operation in 1926 of schemes of profit-sharing and co-partnership then in existence and statistics appear in the *Ministry of Labour Gazette* for June."

"The number of the undertakings of all kinds known to have been practising profit-sharing at the end of 1926 in Great Britain and Northern Ireland was 424. Six firms had each two schemes in operation, and the total number of schemes was, therefore, 430. About 426,000 workpeople were employed in the businesses concerned, of whom 218,000 participated, or were entitled to participate, in the benefits of the schemes. The following table relates to the schemes known to have been in existence in the last four years:—

	No. of Schemes.	Approximate number of employees entitled to participate	Bonuses paid under schemes for which details are available.	
			Number of schemes.	Average amount per head
1923	413	189,000	334	£ s. d.
1924	420	202,000	339	6 16 5
1925	428	211,000	352	7 13 2
1926	430	218,000	351	9 0 6
				8 16 5

"The figures, as a whole, apply to schemes in co-operative societies as well as in ordinary business.

"In businesses other than co-operative societies 270 firms were practising profit-sharing co-partnership at the end of last year, and in addition there were four schemes as to which no recent returns had been made. The number of work people employed by the 274 firms was approximately 400,000, of whom 193,000 were eligible to participate in the benefits of the schemes. In the case of a considerable number of schemes, such participation is available only to those who are able and willing to deposit savings with the firm, or to purchase shares in the undertaking. In most schemes, also, employees have to fulfil

certain conditions, such as serving for a minimum period, in order to qualify for benefit.

"It is pointed out that 'in the majority of industries the number of schemes which are known to have been started is very small in proportion to the total number of firms engaged in the industry. In several of the groups of industries, also, less than one-half of the schemes started still remain in operation. An exception is the gas industry, in which a large proportion of the principal company-owned undertakings have introduced schemes.

"The bonuses paid or credited in respect of the 205 schemes amounted in the total to £1,508,600. Of the 274,400 workpeople employed by the firms concerned 122,100, or about 44 per cent., actually received a bonus in 1926. In respect of almost exactly one-quarter of the schemes, no bonus was available owing to insufficient profits having been made, and the number of employees who did not receive benefit for this reason was 37,900. 'So that in all 160,000, or about 58 per cent., of the 274,400 employees of these firms participated or were entitled to participate, in bonuses.' There are 20 schemes where the bonus consists of interest paid on sums deposited by employees with the firm; and in these schemes, taken as a whole, only about 12 per cent. of the workpeople employed avail themselves of the benefits offered.

"If these 20 schemes are excluded, then 'the proportion of the total number of employees who actually received a bonus in 1926 is increased from 44 per cent. to 63 per cent., and the proportion who either participated or who would have done had profits sufficed is increased from 58 per cent. to 70 per cent.'"

HEALTH NOTES

Sunlight in Summer Milk

"Thanks to many careful scientific researches it is now an established fact that the new grass of summer becomes rich in 'stored sunlight.' The grass possesses a power of absorbing sunlight as blotting-paper absorbs ink. The cattle fed on this grass become possessed of its virtue," writes the Medical Correspondent of the *Times Trade and Engineering Supplement*.

"The milk of these herds is therefore 'rich' in a quality which is nearly absent from winter milk, and which, as is now known, plays a most important part in the strengthening of bodily resistance against disease.

"To drink milk to-day is, in fact, to imbibe sunlight. It is the next best thing to going out into the country and getting 'a dose of the sun' for oneself.

"How valuable such a food is can be judged from the fact that, by means of it, the power of the body to overcome the germs of disease is definitely raised.

"An idea prevails that milk is an unsatisfactory hot-weather drink. This is quite erroneous—provided always that the milk is fresh. But there is no objection to adding a little soda water to the milk. This will not rob it of its valuable qualities.

"Nor need it be feared that milk will exercise the 'binding' effect so often ascribed to it popularly. Nature has constituted her greatest food in such a manner that it serves every requirement of the organism.

"Not the least of the virtues of milk, indeed, during hot spells is the fact that it serves both as 'meat and drink.' A glass of milk taken at midday makes it possible to reduce the usual dimensions of the midday meal and so give the digestive organs a rest at a moment when the atmosphere precludes efficient digestion....

"The truth is that, in this northern climate, there is imposed on each of us the necessity of laying up stores of health in summer to serve when the sun no longer shines.

"Milk affords one of the very best and very easiest ways of accomplishing this all-important task."

OVERHAUL YOURSELF

"In a general way man is careless of health. So long as the machinery of the human body functions without undue friction, he is content to let what is apparently well severely alone," writes Sir William Milligan, M.D., in the *Evening News* of London.

"The mechanical engineer, on the other hand, recognising the strain and stress to which machinery is put in the fulfilment of its daily task, insists on the frequent overhaul and inspection of his plant, in order that any flaw, however small, may be detected and suitable repairs at once instituted.

"Equally necessary is this overhaul of the still more delicate machinery of the human body, machinery which is becoming more and more stressed and strained as civilisation advances and as the fierce struggle for existence increases.

"The prevalence of arterial and cardiac disease, of nervous affections and of cancer, point irresistibly to the conclusion that mankind is paying an increasing price for his short sojourn in this world.

"Statistics show that, despite the reduction in the general death-rate, morbidity from these degenerative diseases has gone up by leaps and bounds during the past decade, and that one-third of the deaths amongst males between the ages of 55 and 65 are due to affections of the vascular (circulatory) system.

"Our unphysiological daily habits and our physical and mental indiscretions undoubtedly lay the foundation of the majority of the chronic ailments from which we suffer.

"In a general way, it may be said that disease is more easily prevented than cured. To prevent disease, or to nip it in its infancy, necessitates a regular overhaul of the various organs of the body, the testing of various secretions, and the giving of advice as to the best way to regulate physical and mental activities.

"If the public realised the importance of such an overhaul, annual or bi-annual, catastrophe in the prime of life would not be so common as it is to-day."

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SEPTEMBER 1927
VOL. III NO. 6

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS

GANDHI AND TOLSTOY
By Animesh Chandra Ray Choudhury, M.A.

INDIA'S HEALING POWER
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Contents

Vol. III

SEPTEMBER 1927

No. 6

	PAGE		PAGE
GANDHI AND TOLSTOY—II		<i>Miscellaneous</i>	
by Animesh Chandra Ray Choudhury, M. A. ...	233	'Ancient Indian Tribes' by T. R. C. Mani ...	267
INDIA'S HEALING POWER		Further Dialogues of the Buddha	
by Francesco Gaeta ...	238	by T. R. C. Mani ...	268
THE DRAIN INSPECTOR'S REPORT		WHAT THINKERS THINK	
By M. K. Gandhi ...	241	The Meaning of Marriage ...	269
THE STORY OF MY EXPERIMENTS WITH		Personal Relationship in Marriage ...	271
TRUTH by M. K. Gandhi ...	247	Success in Marriage ...	271
REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS		The Price of Marital Success ...	272
<i>Economics:</i>		The Sexual Elements in marriage ...	273
Rural Economy of India by B. R. ...	262	Preparation in Marriage ...	273
<i>History:</i>		Pre-Marriage, Sex-relationships and	
Indecisiveness of Modern War		the Pleasure Philosophy ...	275
by G. K. Ramachandran ...	263	How to save Modern Youth ...	276
<i>Literature:</i>		When Marriage May be Broken? ...	277
Wordsworth in a New Light		The Hindu Ideal of Marriage ...	277
by L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar ...	265	Rural Reconstruction ...	278
'Oil' by Blanche Watson ...	266	Letters to the Editor ...	278

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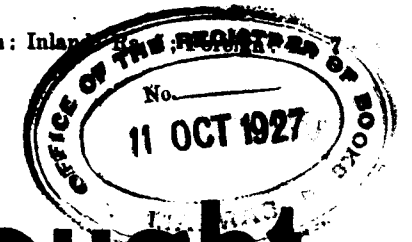
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Current Thought

*That which exists is One
The wise name It variously*

—RIG VEDA

188

Vol. III

SEPTEMBER

No. 6

Gandhi and Tolstoy—II

BY ANIMESH CHANDRA RAY CHOUDHURY, M.A.

COMING to details, we find the opinions of Mahatma Gandhi on all the vital questions of the day almost coincide with those of Tolstoy. Being poignantly conscious of the evils of modern society, both went to the very root of the question and found that those evils lay in the system of organized violence upon which modern Governments rest. As Tolstoy puts it forcibly in his great book, *'What then must we do?'*: "The slavery of our times is caused by the violence, by the army system, the monopolization of land, the exaction of money. And having understood the meaning of these three instruments of the new slavery, I could not but wish to free myself from using them."

In a similar strain, Gandhi spoke when he stood up as the champion of the oppressed people of India during his famous trial:—"The Government rests upon the exploitation of the masses, and the laws are enacted for this object. The administration of law is prostituted for the sake of the exploiters. A subtle and sound system of terrorism has demoralised the people and taught them dissi-

mulation.....Non-co-operation with crime and sin is a duty'. And just as Gandhi, being moved to such righteous indignation by the massacres of Jallianwalla Bagh, and by 'the system of terrorism' employed by the Government of India, presented what he called his 'ultimatum' to the Viceroy, so did Tolstoy once write his famous *Appeal to the Tsar and his Chief Ministers*. In this 'Appeal', after warning the Russian Government that the day would soon come when they could no longer rely on the soldiers or the police, Tolstoy enumerated 'The demands of the people,' which he summed up as follows:—(1) Equal rights for the peasants; (2) abolition of special enactments overriding the Common law; (3) liberty of education; and (4) religious liberty.'

Gandhi's fierce condemnation of 'the Satanic character of the civilisation that dominates Europe today' (*Young India*, 8th September 1920) finds its exact parallel in Tolstoy's contention that Governments which make war, have prisons, maintain penal laws and 'rob people' are fundamentally immoral—a view

which Tolstoy has propounded in his great books on Non-Resistance, viz., *The Kingdom of God is within You* and *The Slavery of our Times*. It is here that Tolstoy asserts that it is our duty to refuse to co-operate with Governments, whether as voters, officials, ministers, policemen or soldiers, an experiment which Gandhi himself made in India for the redress of the Punjab wrongs and the Khilafat.

At the bottom of Gandhi's teaching, as at that of Tolstoy, lies this doctrine of 'non-resistance' by means of non-violence. Tolstoy calls it 'non-resistance', though Gandhi would prefer the title of *Satyagraha* or 'non-violence'. *Satyagraha* means a passion for Truth, and 'non-violence', according to Gandhiji, means 'not a benevolent submission to the evil-doer, but resistance, with all the force of the soul, of the will of the tyrant'. Both Gandhi and Tolstoy are thus believers in soul-force as opposed to brute-force or violence.

It is well to remember (for it is too often forgotten) that like Tolstoy's movement, Gandhi's was directed 'not against the West, but against material civilization and against the exploitation of the weak resulting therefrom'—and this is what Gandhiji once wrote to Rabindranath Tagore.

The doctrine of 'non-resistance' or non-violence led both Gandhi and Tolstoy to reject all customary methods of exploiting the labour of others, and to recognise the necessity, for each one of us, of moderating our requirements and of doing for ourselves what others used to do for us. Like Tolstoy, Gandhiji arrived at the simple conclusion that 'in order not to produce suffering and vice,' he ought 'to consume as little as possible of the work of others, and do as much work as pos-

sible himself.' (*What then Must We Do?*) Perhaps it was some such theory of 'economic morality', the origin of which may be traced to Tolstoy and to Thoreau, that led Gandhiji to insist on each man 'weaving more but wearing less', a theory which seems to puzzle Saklatwala. It seems Gandhiji is convinced, and not without just reason, that 'in the present circumstances in India, unless all men employ themselves in producing more and consuming less, the want of the teeming millions, either in food or clothing can never be supplied. As Gandhiji said recently in his reply to Saklatwala, he did not believe that the multiplication of wants and machinery would lead the world a single step nearer its goal. Yet Gandhiji is no advocate of idleness. Like Tolstoy, he came (to use Tolstoy's language) by a long road, to the unavoidable deduction formulated a thousand years ago by the Chinese in their saying, 'If there is one man idle, there is another dying of hunger.' Tolstoy's poignant cry in *What then Must We Do?* finds an echo in the following words of Gandhiji:—"To a people famishing and idle the only acceptable form in which God can dare appear is work and promise of food as wages. We must think of millions of Indians who are today less than animals, who are almost in a dying state. The spinning wheel is the reviving draught for the millions of our dying countrymen and countrywomen. Hunger is the argument that is driving India to the spinning-wheel.....Give them work that they may have food. 'Why should I who have need to work for food spin?' may be the question asked. Because I am eating what does not belong to me. I am living on the spoliation of my countrymen.....Let each man spin." It is no wonder that such feelings should lead Gandhiji to take to hand-spinning

and hand-weaving with a religious zeal, even greater than that with which Tolstoy once employed himself in agriculture and making boots for his countrymen.

According to Tolstoy, as according to Gandhi, 'property is the root of all evil, of the sufferings of those who possess it or are deprived of it, the reproaches of a conscience of those who misuse it, and the danger of collision between those who have a superfluity and those who are in need.' Property is the means whereby men have enslaved men; it is 'the new form of masked slavery that exists amongst us. Formerly men took the labour of others simply by violence—slavery; in our day we do it by means of property.' Therefore property must be discarded, and the life of a simple peasant is the life that must be lived. Such is the position of Tolstoy, and such is the position of Gandhi, a position which is the outcome of their doctrine of non-resistance or 'non-co-operation' which means non-co-operation with every kind of evil.

But the greatest evils are the baser passions of men, the evils of luxury and intemperance from which they must be freed. Both Gandhi and Tolstoy are loud in the condemnation of such evils, the one making it the subject of various tracts and pamphlets, the other making it part of his non-co-operation propaganda. Chief amongst these Temperance tracts of Tolstoy might be mentioned the following, viz., *The Imp and the Crust*, a story of intemperance; *The First Distiller* and *The Cause of It All*, two short plays; *Culture's Holiday*, a 'philippic' against the way in which the Moscow University celebrated its anniversary; and *Why do Men Stupify Themselves?*, an essay on the subject of stimulants and intoxicants. Not content with merely writing on this very important topic, Tolstoy even went

to the length of establishing a Temperance Society in his own house. Mahatma Gandhi, on his part, did much to free India from 'the malediction of the bottle, partly by preaching a vigorous propaganda against wine, and partly by making Indians aware of the huge waste and annual drain upon their resources which the purchase of liquor meant. It is the strongest conviction of Gandhi, as it was of Tolstoy that 'no improvement in a people's conditions can be effected that does not rest on a moral basis, and both sought to improve not merely the material condition of their countrymen, but also to elevate and purify their morals. Non-co-operation or non-resistance with them is a religion which must touch and transform the daily life of each individual who professes it; it is nothing, if it does not lead to self-purification.

If it is necessary for men to practise total abstinence from liquors and intoxicants, it is also necessary for them to practise *Brahmacharya* or abstinence from sexual intercourse, as far as possible. The vow of celibacy is needed for every true follower of Gandhi, as of Tolstoy, and this vow means not merely that a man must not look upon another woman with a lustful eye, but that he must so control his animal passions that they will not be moved even in thought; 'if a man is married, he will not have a carnal mind regarding his wife, but considering her as his life-long friend, will establish with her the relationship of perfect purity'.

From Tolstoy's *Kreutzer Sonata*, it appears he is also of the same opinion as Gandhi, for he states unequivocally that man must not regard women as an object with which to gratify his lust, for 'sexual love, marriage is a service of self, and consequently an obstacle to the service of God and man, and therefore from a

Christian point of view, a fall, a sin'. In *Kreutzer Sonata*, Tolstoy denounces the use of preventives, for 'where these are used, the normal burdens of matrimony are evaded, the appetites are kept alive, and sooner or later, either the husband or wife is attracted by some one else and evil results follow'. We know from the long-drawn controversy on birth control between Gandhi and Dr. Stopes, how on the sex question as well, the former shows a distinct leaning towards Tolstoy's view, and how according to him the only effective means of birth-control is Brahmacharya.

From all these, it appears, both Mahatma Gandhi and Tolstoy wanted to form a simple rule of conduct, intelligible to every one; and the only rule to fit their case and accord with their principles is the recommendation of absolute chastity. Just as they seek to eliminate the evils of the property system by discarding property, so they try to eliminate the evils of sex by discarding sexual desire, and in so doing they are (as Aylmer Maude points out in connection with Tolstoy) in conflict not merely with the defects of human nature, but with the fundamentals of that nature—the very things that make man man.

This spirit of wholesale rejection of an evil because it is evil finds its vent in their attitude towards institutions such as schools and colleges, law-courts and councils, mills and factories, and machinery and contrivances for annihilating time and distance which modern science and civilization have evolved. Like Tolstoy, Gandhi believes that 'the slavery of our times' is due to these 'institutions, to the idolatrous worship of the machine which is the heart of modern civilisation.' 'The machine enslaves races, money renders a man helpless like the sexual vice'. (*Hind Swaraj*). If India has remained for thousands of years unshaken

in the midst of the changing currents of empires, it is because she has learnt to make the conquest or mastery over self and the knowledge of happiness; it is because she has never wished to possess machinery and great cities. The old spinning wheel and the ancient indigenous education have ensured India's wisdom and her good. Such is the idea of Mahatma Gandhi. Modern civilization is 'Satanic' and there can be no compromise with Satan. Like Tolstoy, Gandhi is not for mere tinkering measures of reform, but for thorough rejection of modern institutions which have infected, with the virus of slave-mentality, all who come under their sway. It is such an idea that led Mahatmaji to make his educational experiment at Sabarmati in Gujarat, an experiment similar to that Tolstoy himself made amongst the peasant boys of Yasnaya. How far such experiments have succeeded in the past or are likely to succeed in the near future it is not for me to judge, but one thing is certain, that both Tolstoy and Gandhi have brought home to their respective countrymen in Russia and India, the evils of the tyrannous and godless educational system of the present day which compels boys to learn things they would have been better without. If in India we are beginning to realise the value of freedom as an indispensable factor in successful education, we owe it in a very large measure to Gandhi and Tagore.

A word need be added on their attitude towards doctors and medical science. We know how Gandhi has written a very instructive book on the preservation of health. According to him, diseases are the results of our thoughts, no less than of our actions; they are due to the violation of nature's laws. With such a notion, it is but natural that Gandhi

should be sceptical about the Western system of medicine which is highly artificial and can hardly extirpate the root causes of diseases which lie in the passions and vices of men. Holding such views as these, what an irony of fate it is that Mahatmaji should have had to submit himself to Western doctors for an operation he had to undergo for appendicitis in the jail hospital at Poona when he was under the treatment of Colonel Maddock. This reminds me of Tolstoy's words to his doctors, spoken after a successful injection of camphor in August 1902, when Tolstoy was in a very weak state of health:—"Well, gentlemen, I have always spoken badly of doctors, but now that I have got to know you better, I see that I did you great injustice. You are really very good men and know all that your science teaches: the only pity is that it knows nothing". This is what Gandhi must have felt with regard to his own doctors and nurses of whose courtesy and kindness he carried away the sweetest recollections from the hospital. It is the good fortune of Gandhi, as well as of Tolstoy, to retain generally the affection of those whose principles they oppose, for the hearts of both overflow with the milk of human kindness and would subdue the hearts of friends and foes alike.

I need not dwell further on these resemblances between Gandhi and Tolstoy which seem to me to be so striking that they cannot fail to attract the notice of anyone who makes a comparative critical study of the lives and teachings of these two great men. In the movement of non-resistance or non-violence, Tolstoy is undoubtedly the pioneer; he is also superior to Gandhi in intellectual power and artistic skill; but in point of humility, and suffering and sacrifice, the disciple seems to have surpassed the master. It is these that have

lent Mahatmaji's name a peculiar halo of romance and divinity, such as surrounds the names of few individuals in the world to-day; it is these that have won him a greater hold on the minds of his countrymen than Tolstoy could have during his lifetime upon his own.

To many people the resemblances between Gandhi and Tolstoy I have spoken of might seem to be superficial, but I think these are deep and fundamental, arising from a similarity of outlook upon life, from similarity of the life-conception they have evolved. What then is this life-conception? I may explain it in Tolstoy's language as follows:

"There are three life-conceptions: firstly, the individual or animal; secondly, the social; and thirdly, the universal or divine. According to the first, a man's life is his personality, and that only, and his life's object is to gratify his desires. According to the second, his life is not limited to his own personality; it includes the sum and continuity of many personalities, of the family, of the race, and of the state, and his life's object is to gratify the will of the communities of individuals. And according to the third, his life is confined neither to his personality nor to that of the aggregate of individuals, but finds its significance in the eternal source of all life, in God himself."

"The man who possesses this divine life-conception neither looks upon life as centred in his own personality nor in that of mankind at large, whether family, tribe, race, nation, or state; but rather does he conceive of it as taking its rise in the eternal life of God, and to fulfil His will, he is ready to sacrifice his personal, family and social well-being. Love is the impelling motive of his life, and his religion is the wor-

ship in deed and in truth of the beginning of all things,—of God Himself”.

Such is the religion of Tolstoy, such is the religion of Gandhi. Love and live for God and you will have loved and lived for humanity, for your country, your community. ‘Seek ye the kingdom of God, and justice, and the rest will be given unto you’—is the message of Christ with which Mahatmaji ends his *Ethical Religion* (Neeti Dharma) ‘My religion’, says Mahatmaji in *Young India* (11th August 1920), has no geographical limits. If I have a living faith in it, it will transcend my love for India herself. Again, ‘My religion has a place for the least creation of God. It is closed only against pride of race, pride of religion, pride of colour’. It has for its object friendship with the whole world. ‘It is the harbinger of the peace of the world’.

When such men as Mahatma Gandhi and Tolstoy have to take part in politics, it is because, in the language of the former, ‘politics encircle us today like the coil of a

snake from which we cannot get out, no matter how much one tries.’ They themselves deplore the necessity and we deplore it too that they have to prepare schemes, preach propaganda, organise campaigns. It is indeed a misfortune, as Rabindranath once said, that ‘such precious treasures should be put into the frail vessel of our politics and amidst the endless waves of mutual recrimination’. Yet though we may deplore the necessity for such men ‘descending among the crowd’ it is such that we need more and more for guiding our erring steps across the infinite void of darkness, for kindling our souls with the fire of their faith, and cleansing us with the waters of their love. It is such men that we need more and more for teaching us the value of sacrifice, for instilling into us the love of truth, in short, for helping us to establish the Kingdom of God on earth. Such are the children of light that come from age to age to wrestle with the powers of darkness. They are the torch-bearers of today, and they shall be the torch-bearers of to-morrow.

India's Healing Power

BY FRANCESCO GAETA

Let us observe the significance of the suggestive legend which makes out that not only the Princess Anastasia, the late Czar's daughter, escaped from the massacre of the Russian Imperial family at Ekaterenburg, but that the Czarevich too survived the calamity, went over to India and lived there as the guest of a Maharaja who having ministered to all his physical ills, educated him along the true path of wisdom so as to (fit him out for)

the reconquest of his lost kingdom and to instruct him as to how to reign like Asoka, the great Indian Emperor who broad casted in a far-off age the *dharma mahamatra* and sent out far and wide the messengers of the law of Universal Compassion.

The legend fits in perfectly with our Aryan tradition in which we often come across cases of recovery of thrones through the strength of wisdom. We have instances

beginning from the personalities of the epics down till the Prince Dighavu whose parents the Prince Brahmadata had reprimanded and deprived of their Kingdom. This prince, it appears, became the elephant-keeper and the trumpeteer of the usurper and, easy as it was for him to kill his master in this sleep, he preferred to follow the paternal teaching: *Hate is conquered not by Hate but by Love*. This story is narrated in the Buddhist Parables translated by Burlingham and introduced to us by the senator Giuseppe de Lorenzo.

The poetry of India is like to a swaying sublime flame; while, amongst us, it is cut up into mere flashes imprisoned within the reflections of mural glass, stunted and rendered sterile into subdivisions. The Buddhist Parables combine in themselves the sublime and the child-like, wisdom and fable. The oneness of universal life is understood there as limitless sympathy while our theorists would confine it to human beings only. “All living beings are considered by Buddha as his children”: So said the mendicant priest who allowed himself to be taken for a thief and beaten to the point of bleeding by the jailor so that no injury might be done to the goose which had swallowed the pearl. Stories of this kind abound in Buddhist literature. For instance, observe the story of a noble elephant gently bending its knees because the wicked and perverse mouse was gnawing its tusk. Or again look at the story of the small rat and the poor mungoose with the blood-smeared jaw, working zealously for the liberation of the antelope from the snare set for its capture by the huntsman. Then again there is the story of a bull stopping on its way to protect the baby *Ghosaka* treacherously destined by a hired assassin to be trampled down by a herd of cattle, or again

the story of a devout she-goat suckling a helpless child abandoned in the cemetery.

The parables or “*itihisas*,” artistically decorated in a characteristic style in Buddhism, form an outward expression of Aryanism or Indianism, magnanimous, soft and profound. In the story of King Sibi lives again that of King Usinara of Mahabharata, who being put to a severe test by the gods Indra and Agni in the guise of a falcon and a dove, offered freely of his flesh so as to save the dove, and readily gave away piece after piece of his own body into a balance which never set itself right. Quite Indian in character is also the delicacy with which the woman is represented—the exile Gotami wandering from door to door in search of a medicine for the dead baby in her hands; the unfortunate Patasara who went away weeping from her dead husband, with the fresh-born baby in one hand and another child by her side;—towards new calamities, so long as Buddha did not console this afflicted one. Quite Indian too is the aroma of maxims like the following: “He who has a joy has also a sorrow,” “possession is the sorrow of man,” “It's bliss to live even though it be but for a day, tasting the fruit of Immortality” and “Better to have an intelligent enemy than a foolish friend.”

II

True or not, the legend of the Czarevich, mentioned above, shows the increasing faith of the world in the healing powers of India. Let us have patience if, for the time being, we Westerners are inclined to misunderstand India's genius and infect her with our artificial mentality which is quarrelsome, sectarian, dogmatic and productive of false worlds continually at war with one another. It is

the function of the native genius of India to spot out our illness, cure us of this distorted mentality and to inculcate in us the sense of sane development which leaves aside the complex and seeks the simple,—a far different ideal from what obsesses us today and what Tagore in his "Thoughts on Religion" calls an active form of Inaction.

Let us study the excellent book of the senator de Lorenzo, "India and Ancient Buddhism". It is not only a methodical and exhaustive treatise but also an incomparable hymn whose lyric *afflatus* legitimises even the assertions from which we may have to dissent. It is not only a work of poetic exposition turned out by a superior contemporary personality in whom the scholar alternates with the scientific and sportive excursionist; it is not only a book where even the footnotes, the bane of learned volumes, are fascinating digressions and where the criticisms, vanities of the erudite, lose their static character and rise to a glorification of Aryanism, everywhere merging the contingent in the eternal. The book is not only all this; but, besides, a magnificent tribute of gratitude to India. The revision, however, has not been thorough enough to eliminate certain contracts,—the one, for instance, between the tendency of the author to a tragic interpretation of Buddhism apparent in the numerous quotations from the pessimists of the West, on the one hand, and the admission that the creativity of Buddhism destroys the dualism of sorrow and joy on the other; or the contrast between suggestions of atheistic and indeed anti-Christian combativeness on the one hand, and the quotations, on the other, from which we see that Buddha merely prescind from Divinity and does not deny it.

III

On Buddhism we have to nourish ourselves, and not merely rest inactive. Degenerate, but yet Aryan we might thereby hope to recreate ourselves in God. Our Culture, in the last stage, should move more on from Buddhism to Brahminism.

Our readers will find this diligently described in Carlo Formichi's new book "Religious thought in India before Buddha" published by Zamichelli. We would exhort our readers, however, to draw for themselves only the informative element in the book and, as for the critical, to exclude the portion which answers others' views and which cannot place us in communion with the sublime spirituality of the Vedas without involving us in all the complications with which we Westerners are obsessed. We would attribute Formichi's historical emphasis and his evolutive conception of Indian religion (with Buddhism as the developed stage) to didactic and professorial exigencies. If what the author says were true, India should today have been Buddhist! On the contrary, it has remained Brahminical, after having exported,—not exiled—Buddhism amongst non-Aryans who were incapable of the theoretical recognition of the Divine in all created beings.

We would like to attach to many of Formichi's terms adopted in the book, only their native significance and not their tendentious values. Otherwise, we should be confounded by the author's insistence on the antithesis between "Brahman" and "Atman", the two equivalents for God which we, along with Deussen, have been accustomed to consider as absolute synonyms in the Upanishad but which are distinguished by Formichi as "clerical" and "rationalistic". We are disconcerted by certain epithets given to the

Upanishadaic teaching such as *secret, esoteric* connected with Greek "mysteries"; while, inasmuch it was imparted to the more intelligent, it had only an eclectic significance. We are embarrassed to read that the "ascetic is a revolutionary"; that the Vedantic seers "grouped themselves in sects"; that "nobody would think of likening the Upanishads to the New Testament"; and that "they are pantheistic".

Let us leave aside such opinions and revel in the gems for which they serve only as strings; let us enjoy the copious passages of which the author, with his skill in Sanskrit, gives us the translations, and which make the book a rare little anthology. Let us cast

aside all subtleties, reading with the author in the *Kathaka*, "Not through words, nor through thought nor through the eyes can the *Atman* be sensed; it only appertains to him who in an inspired moment of clear vision can exclaim: 'It is'." Let us accept the personal observation of the author that the doctrine of the *Atman* signalled the intellectual triumph of the *Kshatram*, of the royal and martial caste. Let us treasure this up, in so far as it serves to lead us back to the above mentioned legend of the Czarevich and in so far as it augurs well for monarchy.

Translated from the original Italian by

L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR.

The Drain Inspector's Report*

BY M. K. GANDHI

"On the lips of the good, vice becomes virtue,
And even virtue appears as vice in the mouth of the
evil-minded: this need not surprise us.
For, do not the mighty clouds drink the salt waters
of the ocean and return it as sweet refreshing
rain,
And does not the cobra, drinking sweet milk, belch
it forth as the deadliest poison?
"Rivers drink not of their own waters, the trees do
not themselves eat the fruit which they bear.
Nor do the clouds partake of the grains they grow;
even so the good devote their powers to the good
of all.

Several correspondents have sent me cuttings containing reviews of or protests against Miss Mayo's *Mother India*. A few have in addition asked me to give my own opinion on it. An enraged correspondent from London asks me to give him answers to several questions that he has framed upon the authoress's

references to me. Miss Mayo has herself favoured me with a copy of her book.

I would certainly not have made time, especially when I have only limited energy, and caution has been enjoined upon me by medical friends against over work, to read the book during my tour. But these letters made it obligatory on me to read the book at once. The book is cleverly and powerfully written. The carefully chosen quotations give it the appearance of a truthful book. But the impression it leaves on my mind is that it is the report of a drain inspector sent out with the one purpose of opening and examining the drains of the country to be reported upon or to give a graphic description of the stench exhaled by the opened drains. If Miss Mayo

* Advance copy of an Article by Mahatma Gandhi appearing in Young India of 15th September.

had confessed that she had gone to India merely to open out and examine the drains of India, there would perhaps be little to complain about her compilation. But she says in effect with a certain amount of triumph, "The drains are India". True in the concluding chapter, there is a caution. But her caution is cleverly made to enforce her sweeping condemnation. I feel that no one who has any knowledge of India can possibly accept her terrible accusations against the thought and the life of the people of this unhappy country.

The book is without doubt untruthful, be the facts stated ever so truthful. If I open out and describe with punctilious care all the stench exuded from the drains of London and say "Behold London", my facts will be incapable of challenge, but my judgment will be rightly condemned as a travesty of truth. Miss Mayo's book is nothing better, nothing else.

The authoress says she was dissatisfied with the literature she read about India and so she came to India "to see what a volunteer unsubsidised, uncommitted and unattached could observe of common things, in daily human life."

After having read the book with great attention, I regret to say that I find it difficult to accept this claim. Unsubsidised she may be. Uncommitted and unattached she certainly fails to show herself in any page. We in India are accustomed to interested publications patronised—"patronised" is accepted as an elegant synonym for "subsidised"—by the Government. We have become used to understanding from pre-British days that the art (perfected by the British) of government includes the harnessing of the secret services of men, learned and reputed to be honest and honourable, for shadowing suspects and for

writing up the virtues of the Government of the day as if the certificate had come from disinterested quarters. I hope that Miss Mayo will not take offence if she comes under the shadow of such suspicion. It may be some consolation to her to know that even some of the best English friends of India have been so suspected.

But ruling out of consideration the suspicion, it remains to be seen why she has written this untruthful book. It is doubly untruthful. It is untruthful in that she condemns a whole nation or, in her words, "the peoples of India" (she will not have us as one nation), practically without any reservation as to their sanitation, morals, religion, etc. It is also untruthful because she claims for the British Government merits which cannot be sustained and which many an honest British officer would blush to see the Government credited with.

If she is not subsidised, Miss Mayo is an avowed Indophobe and Anglophil refusing to see anything good about Indians and anything bad about the British and their rule.

She does not give one an elevated idea of Western standard of judgment. Though she represents a class of sensational writers in the West, it is a class that I flatter myself with the belief is on the wane. There is a growing body of Americans who hate anything sensational, smart or crooked. But the pity of it is that there are still thousands in the West who delight in "shilling shockers." Nor are all the authoress's quotations isolated facts truthfully stated. I propose to pick up those I have personal knowledge of. The book bristles with quotations torn from their context and with extracts which have been authoritatively challenged.

The authoress has violated every sense of

propriety by associating the Poet's* name with child marriage. The Poet has indeed referred to early marriage as not an undesirable institution. But there is a world of difference between child marriage and early marriage. If she had taken the trouble of making the acquaintance of the free and freedom-loving girls and women of Shantiniketan, she would have known the Poet's meaning of early marriage.

She has done me the honour of quoting me frequently in support of her argument. Any person, who collects extracts from a reformer's diary, tears them from their context and proceeds to condemn, on the strength of these, the people in whose midst the reformer has worked, would find no hearing from sane and unbiassed readers or hearers. But in her hurry to see everything Indian in a bad light, she has not only taken liberties with my writings but she has not thought it necessary even to verify through me certain things ascribed by her or others to me. In fact she has combined in her own person what we understand in India as the judicial and the executive offices. She is both the prosecutor and the judge. She has described her visit to me and informed her readers that there are always with me two "secretaries," who write down every word I say. I know that this is not a willful perversion of facts. Nevertheless the statement is not true. I beg to inform her that I have no one near me who has been appointed or is expected to write down every word that I say. I have by me a co-worker called Mahadev Desai who is striving to out-Boswell Boswell and thus whenever he is near me takes down whatever he considers to be wisdom dropping from my lips. I can't repel his advances even if I would, for the relation-

* Dr. Tagore.

ship between us is, like the Hindu marriage, indissoluble. But the real crime committed against me is described by her at pages 387, 388. She ascribes to the Poet 'a fervent declaration that Ayurvedic science surpasses anything that the West can offer'. (She has this time no quotation to back her statement.) Then she quotes my opinion that hospitals are institutions for propagating sin and then distorts out of all recognition a sacred incident, honourable to the British surgeon and, I hope, to myself. I must ask the reader to excuse me for giving the full quotation from the book.

As he happened to be in the prison at the time, a British Surgeon of the Indian Medical Service came straightaway to see him. "Mr. Gandhi," said the Surgeon, as the incident was then reported, "I am sorry to tell you that you have appendicitis. If you were my patient, I should operate at once. But you will probably prefer to call in your Ayurvedic physician."

Mr. Gandhi proved otherwise minded.

"I should prefer not to operate," pursued the Surgeon, "because in case the outcome should be unfortunate, all your friends will lay it as a charge of malicious intent against us whose duty is to care for you."

"If you will only consent to operate," pleaded Mr. Gandhi, "I will call in my friends, now, and explain to them that you do so at my request."

So Mr. Gandhi willfully went to an institution for propagating sin, was operated upon by one of the "worst of all", an officer of the Indian Medical Service, and was attentively nursed through the convalescence by an English sister whom he is understood to have thought after all rather a "useful sort of person."

This is a travesty of truth. I shall confine myself to correcting only what is libellous and not the other inaccuracies. There was no question here of calling in any Ayurvedic physician. Col. Maddock who performed the operation had the right, if he had so chosen, to perform the operation without a reference to me, and even in spite of me. But he and

Surgeon-General Hooten showed a delicate consideration to me and asked me whether I would wait for my own doctors who were known to them and who were also trained in the Western medical and surgical science. I would not be behind-hand in returning their courtesy and consideration, and I immediately told them that they could perform the operation without waiting for my doctors to whom they had telegraphed and that I would gladly give them a note for their protection in the event of the operation miscarrying. I endeavoured to show that I had no distrust either in their ability or their good faith. It was to me a happy opportunity of demonstrating my personal goodwill.

So far as my opinion about hospitals and the like is concerned, it stands, in spite of my having subjected myself and my wards to treatment more than once by physicians and surgeons, Indian and European, trained in the Western school of medicine. Similarly I use motor cars and railways, whilst holding to my condemnation of them as strongly as ever. I hold the body itself to be an evil and an impediment in my progress. But I see no inconsistency in my making use of it while it lasts, and trying in the best manner I know to use it for its own destruction.

This is a sample of distortion of which I have a personal knowledge. But the book is brimful of descriptions of incidents of which an average Indian at any rate has no knowledge. Thus she describes an ovation said to have been given to the Prince of Wales, of which Indian India has no knowledge, but which could not possibly escape it if it had happened. A crowd is reported to have fought its way to the Prince's car somewhere in Bombay. "The Police," Miss Mayo says, "tried vainly to form a hedge

round the car moving at a crawl unprotected now through a solid mass of shouting humanity which won through to the railway station at last." Then at the railway station while there were three minutes for the train to steam out, the Prince is reported by Miss Mayo to have ordered the barriers to be dropped and the "mobs" to be let in. The authoress then proceeds, "like the sweep of a river in floods, the interminable multitude rolled in, and shouted and laughed and wept, and, when the train started, ran along side of the Royal carriage till they could run no more." All this is supposed to have happened in 1921 on the evening of November 22, whilst the dying embers of the riots were still hot. There is much of this kind of stuff in this romantic chapter, which is headed, "Behold a Light."

The nineteenth chapter is a collection of authorities in praise of the achievements of the British Government almost every one of which has been repeatedly challenged both by English and Indian writers of unimpeachable integrity. The seventeenth chapter is written to show that we are a 'world menace'. If, as a result of Miss Mayo's effort, the League of Nations is moved to declare India a segregated country unfit for exploitation, I have no doubt that both the West and the East would be the gainers. We may then have our internecine wars. Hindus may be eaten up as she threatens by the hordes from the Northwest and Central Asia. That were a position infinitely superior to one of ever growing emasculation. Even as electrocution is a humaner method of killing than that of the torturous method of roasting alive, so would a sudden overwhelming swoop from Central Asia upon the unresisting, insanitary, superstitious and sexually-ridden Hindus as Miss Mayo des-

cribes us to be, be a humane deliverance from the living and ignominious death which we are going through at the present moment.

Unfortunately, however, such is not Miss Mayo's goal. Her case is to perpetuate white domination in India on the plea of India's unfitness to rule herself.

The picturesque statements that this clever authoress puts into the mouths of the various characters read like so many pages from a sensational novel in which no regard has to be paid to truth. Many of her statements seem to me to be utterly unworthy of belief and do not put the men and women to whom they are ascribed in a favourable light. Take, for instance, the statement put in the mouth of a prince:

"Our treaties are with the Crown of England," one of them said to me with incisive calm. "The Princes of India made no treaty with a government that included Bengalee Babus. We shall never deal with this new lot of Jacks in office. While Britain stays, Britain will send us English gentlemen to speak for the King Emperor, and all will be as it should be between friends. If Britain leaves, we the princes will know how to straighten out India, even as princes should." Page 316.

However fallen Indian princes may be, I should want unimpeachable evidence before I could believe that there can be in India a prince so degraded as to make such a statement. Needless to say, the authoress does not give the name of the prince. A still more scandalous statement occurs on page 314 and reads as follows:

"His Highness does not believe," said the Dewan, "that Britain is going to leave India. But still under this new regime in England, they may be so ill-advised. So, His Highness is getting his troops in shape, accumulating munitions and coining silver. And if the English do go, three months afterward not a rupee or a virgin will be left in Bengal."

The reader is kept in darkness as to the name of His Highness or of the enlightened

Dewan. There are many statements which Miss Mayo puts into the mouths of Englishmen and Englishwomen living in India. All I can say with reference to these statements is that if some of them were really made by the authors, they are unworthy of the trust reposed in them and they have done an injustice to their wards or patients as well as the race to which they belong. I should be sorry indeed to think that there are many Englishmen and Englishwomen who say one thing to their Indian friends and another to their Western confidants. Those Englishmen and Englishwomen who may chance to read the sweepings gathered together by Miss Mayo with her muckrake will recognise the statements I have in mind. In seeking to see an India degraded Miss Mayo has unconsciously degraded the characters whom she has used as her instruments for proving her facts which she boasts cannot be 'disproved or shaken.' I hope I have given sufficient *prima facie* proof in this article to show that many of her facts stand disproved even in isolation. Put together they give a wholly false picture.

But why am I writing this article? Not for the Indian readers, but for the many American and English readers who read these pages from week to week with sympathy and attention. I warn them against believing this book. I do not remember having given the message Miss Mayo imputes to me. The only one present who took any notes at all has no recollection of the message imputed to me. But I do know what message I give every American who comes to see me. "Do not believe newspapers and the catchy literature you get in America. But if you want to know anything about India, go to India as students. Study India for yourself. If you cannot go, make a study of all that is written about

India, for her and against her, and then form your own conclusions. The ordinary literature you get is either exaggerated vilification of India or exaggerated praise." I warn Americans and Englishmen against copying Miss Mayo. She came not with an open mind as she claims, but with her preconceived notions and prejudices which she betrays in every page not excluding even the introductory chapter in which she recites the claim. She came to India not to see things with her own eyes, but to gather material three-fourths of which she could as well have gathered in America. That a book like Miss Mayo's can command a large circulation furnishes a sad commentary on Western literature and culture.

I am writing this article also in the hope, be it ever so distant, that Miss Mayo herself may relent and repent of having done, I hope unconsciously, atrocious injustice to an ancient people and equally atrocious injustice to the Americans by having exploited her undoubted ability to prejudice without warrant their minds against India.

The irony of it all is that she has inscribed this book "To the peoples of India." She has certainly not written it as a reformer and out of love. If I am mistaken in my estimate, let her come back to India. Let her subject herself to cross-examination and if her statements escape unhurt through the fire of cross-examination, let her live in our midst and reform our lives. So much for Miss Mayo and her readers.

I must now come to the other side of the picture. Whilst I consider the book to be unfit to be placed before Americans and Englishmen (for it can do no good to them), it is a book that every Indian can read with some degree of profit. We may repudiate the charge as it has been framed by her, but we may not

repudiate the substance underlying the many allegations she has made. It is a good thing to see ourselves as others see us. We need not even examine the motive with which the book is written. A cautious reformer may make some use of it. There are statements in it which demand investigation. For instance, she says that the Vaishnava mark has an obscene meaning. I am a born Vaishnavite. I have perfect recollection of my visits to Vaishnava temples. Mine were orthodox people. I used to have the mark myself as a child, but neither I nor any one else in our family ever knew that this harmless and rather elegant-looking mark had any obscene significance at all. I asked a party of Vaishnavites in Madras where this article is being written. They knew nothing about the alleged obscene significance. I do not, therefore, suggest that it never had such a significance. But I do suggest that millions are unaware of the obscenity alleged to be behind it. It has remained for our Western visitors to acquaint us with the obscenity of many practices which we have hitherto innocently indulged in. It was in a missionary book that I first learnt that Sivalingam had any obscene significance at all, and even now when I see a Sivalingam, neither the shape nor the association in which I see it suggests any obscenity. It was again in a missionary book that I learnt the temples in Orissa were disfigured with obscene statuettes. When I went to Puri it was not without an effort that I was able to see those things. But I do know that the thousands who flock to the temple know nothing about the obscenity surrounding these figures. The people are unprepared and the figures do not obtrude themselves upon your gaze. But let us not resent being made aware of the dark side of the picture wherever it exists. Over-

drawn, her pictures of our insanitation, child marriages, etc. undoubtedly are. But let them serve as a spur to much greater effort than we have hitherto put forth in order to rid society of all cause of reproach. Whilst we may be thankful for anything good that foreign visitors may be able honestly to say of us, if we curb our anger, we shall learn, as I have certainly learnt, more from our critics than from our patrons. Our indignation which we are bound to express against the slanderous book must not blind us to our obvious imperfections and our great limitations. Our anger will leave Miss Mayo absolutely unhurt and it will only recoil upon ourselves. We too have our due share of thoughtless readers as the West has and in

seeking to disprove everything Miss Mayo has written, we shall make the reading public believe that we are a race of perfect human beings against whom nothing can be said, no one can dare say one word. The agitation that has been set up against the book is in danger of being over-done. There is no cause for fury. I would close this review which I have undertaken with the greatest reluctance and under great pressure of work with a paraphrase of a beautiful couplet from Tulsidas:

Everything created by God, animate or inanimate has its good and bad side. The wise man, like the fabled bird who, separating the cream of milk from its water, helps himself to the cream leaving the water alone, will take the good from everything leaving the bad alone."

The Story of My Experiments with Truth

BY M. K. GANDHI

CHAPTER XIV

CLERK AND BEARER

There were yet two days for the Congress session to begin. I had made up my mind to offer my services at the Congress office and gain some experience. So as soon as I had finished the daily ablutions on arrival at Calcutta, I proceeded to the Congress office. A Babu Bhupendranath Basu and Mr. Ghoshal were the Secretaries. I went to Bhupenbabu and offered my services. He looked at me and said: 'I have no work, but possibly Mr. Ghoshal might have something to give you. Please go to him.'

So I went to him. He scanned me and said with a smile: 'I can give you only clerical work. Will you do it?'

'Certainly,' said I. 'I am here to do everything that is not beyond my capacity.'

'That is the right spirit, young man,' he said. Addressing the volunteers who surrounded him, he said, 'Do you hear what this young man says?'

Then turning to me he proceeded: 'Well then, here is a heap of letters for disposal. Take that chair and begin. As you see, hundreds of people come to see me. What am I to do? Am I to meet them, or am I to answer these busybodies inundating me with letters? I have no clerks to whom I could entrust this work. Most of these letters have nothing in them but you will please see them. Acknowledge those that are worth it, and refer to me those that need a considered reply.'

I was delighted at the confidence reposed in me.

Mr. Ghoshal did not know me when he gave me the work. Only later did he enquire about my credentials.

I found my work very easy—the disposal of that heap of correspondence. I was done with it in no time and Mr. Ghoshal was very glad. He was talkative. He would talk away for hours together. When he learnt something from me about my history, he felt rather sorry to have given me clerical work. But I reassured him:

'Please don't worry. What am I before you? You have grown gray in the service of the Congress and are as an elder to me. I am but an inexperienced youth. You have put me under a debt of obligation by entrusting me with this work. For I want to do Congress work, and you have given me the rare opportunity of understanding the details.' 'To tell you the truth,' said Mr. Ghoshal, 'that is the proper spirit. But young men of to-day do not realise it. Of course, I have known the Congress since its birth. In fact, I may claim a certain share with Mr. Hume in bringing the Congress into being.'

And thus we became fairly good friends. He insisted on my having my lunch with him.

Mr. Ghoshal used to get his shirt buttoned by his bearer. I volunteered to do the bearer's duty; and I loved to do it, as my regard for elders was always great. When he came to know this, he did not mind my doing little acts of personal service for him. In fact he was delighted. Asking me to button his shirt, he would say, 'You see, now, the Congress Secretary has no time even to button his shirt. He has always some work to do. Mr. Ghoshal's naivete amused me, but did not create any

dislike in me for service of that nature. It is simply impossible to calculate the benefit I had from this service.

In a few days I came to know the working of the Congress. I met most of the leaders, I observed the movements of stalwarts like Gokhale and Surendranath. I also noticed the huge waste of time there. I observed too, with sorrow even then, the prominent place that the English language occupied in our affairs. There was little regard for economy of energy. More than one did work of one, and many an important thing was no one's business at all.

Critical as my mind was in observing these things, there was enough charity in me, and so I always thought that it might be after all impossible to do better in the circumstances, and that saved me from undervaluing any work.

CHAPTER XV

IN THE CONGRESS

In the Congress at last. The immense pavilion and the volunteers in stately array, as also the elders seated on the dais, overwhelmed me. I wondered where I should be in that vast assemblage.

The presidential address was a book by itself. To read it from cover to cover was out of the question. Only a few passages were therefore read.

After this came the election of the Subjects Committee. Gokhale took me to the Committee meetings.

Sir Pherozeshah had of course agreed to admit my resolution, but I was wondering who would put it before the Subjects Committee and when. For there were lengthy speeches to every resolution, and all in English to boot. And every resolution had

some well-known leader to back it. Mine was but a feeble pipe amongst those veteran drums, and as the night was closing in, my heart was beating fast. The resolutions coming at the fag-end were, so far as I can recollect, rushed through at aeroplane speed. Every one was hurrying to go. It was 11-0'clock. I had not the courage to speak. I had already met Gokhale who had looked at my resolution. So I drew near his chair and whispered to him: 'Please do something for me.' He said: 'Your resolution is not out of my mind. You see the way they are rushing through the resolutions. But I will not allow yours to be passed over.'

'So we have done?' said Sir Pherozeshah Mehta.

'No, no, there is still the resolution on South Africa. Mr. Gandhi has long been waiting,' cried out Gokhale.

'Have you seen the resolution?' asked Sir Pherozeshah.

'Of course.'

'Do you like it?'

'It is quite good.'

'Well then, let us have it, Gandhi.'

I read it trembling.

Gokhale supported it.

'Unanimously passed,' cried out every one.

'You will have five minutes to speak to it, Gandhi,' said Mr. Wacha.

The procedure was far from pleasing to me. No one had troubled to understand the resolution, every one was in a hurry to go, and because Gokhale had seen the resolution, it was not thought necessary for the rest to see it or understand it!

The morning found me worrying about my speech. What was I to speak in five minutes? I had prepared myself fairly well, but the words would not come to me. I had decided

not to read my speech but to speak *ex tempore*. But the facility to speak that I had acquired in South Africa seemed to have left me for the moment.

As soon as it was time for my resolution Sir Dinshaw called out my name. I stood up. My head was reeling. I read the resolution somehow. Some one had printed and distributed amongst delegates copies of his poem in praise of foreign emigration. I read the poem and referred to the grievances of the settlers in South Africa. Just at this moment Sir Dinshaw rang the bell. I was sure I had not yet spoken for five minutes. I did not know that the bell was rung in order to warn me to finish in two minutes more. I had heard others speak for half an hour or three quarters of an hour and yet no bell was rung for them. I felt hurt, and sat down no sooner than the bell was rung. But my childlike intellect thought then that the poem contained an answer to Sir Pherozeshah. * There was no question about the passing of the resolution. In those days there was hardly any difference between visitors and delegates. Every one raised his hands and all resolutions passed unanimously. My resolution also fared likewise and so lost all its importance for me. And yet the very fact that it was passed by the Congress was enough to delight my heart. The knowledge that the imprimatur of the Congress meant that of the whole country was enough to delight any one.

CHAPTER XVI

LORD CURZON'S DURBAR

The Congress was over, but as I had to meet the Chamber of Commerce and various people in connection with work in South Africa, I stayed in Calcutta for a month.

Cf. Chapter XIII Para 2.

Rather than stay this time in a hotel, I arranged to get the required introduction for a room in the India Club. Among its members were some prominent Indians and I looked forward to getting into touch with them and interesting them in the work in South Africa. Gokhale frequently went to this club to play billiards, and when he knew that I was to stay in Calcutta for some time he invited me to stay at his own house. I thankfully accepted the invitation but I did not think it proper to go there by myself. He waited for a day or two and then took me personally. He discovered my reserve and said: 'Gandhi, you have to stay in the country and this sort of reserve will not do. You must get into touch with as many people as possible. I want you to do Congress work.'

I shall record here an incident in the India Club, before I proceed to talk of my stay with Gokhale.

Lord Curzon held his *darbar* about this time. Some Rajas and Maharajas who had been invited to the *darbar* were members of the club. In the club I always found them wearing fine Bengalee dhotis and shirts and scarfs. On the *darbar* day they put on trousers befitting *Khansamas** and shining boots. I was pained and inquired of one of them the reason for the change.

'We alone know our own unfortunate condition. We alone know the insults we have to put up with in order that we may possess our wealth and titles,' he replied.

'But what about these *Khansama* turbans and these shining boots?' I asked.

'Do you see any difference between *Khansamas* and us?' he replied; and added, 'they are our *Khansamas*, we are Lord Curzon's *Khansamas*. If I were to absent myself from

the *levee* I should have to suffer the consequences. If I were to attend it in my usual dress, it would be an offence. And do you think I am going to get any opportunity there of talking to Lord Curzon? Not a bit of it!'

I was moved to pity for this plainspoken friend.

This reminds me of another *darbar*.

At the time when Lord Hardinge laid the foundation stone of the Hindu University, there was a *darbar*. There were Rajas and Maharajas there of course, but Pandit Malaviya specially invited me also to attend it, and I did so.

I was distressed to see the Maharajas bedecked like women—silk *pyjamas* and silk *achkans*, pearl necklaces round their necks, bracelets on their wrists, pearl and diamond tassels on their turbans and besides all this swords with golden hilts hanging from their waist-bands.

I discovered that these were insignia not of their royalty but of their slavery. I had thought that they must be wearing these badges of impotence of their own freewill, but I was told that it was obligatory for these Rajas to wear all their costly jewels at such functions. I also gathered that some of them had a positive dislike for wearing these jewels, and that they never wore them except on occasions like the *darbar*.

I do not know how far my information was correct. But whether they wear them on other occasions or not, it is distressing enough to have to attend viceregal *darbars* in jewels that only some women wear.

How heavy is the toll of sins and wrongs that wealth, power and prestige exact from man?

CHAPTER XVII.

A MONTH WITH GOKHALE—I

From the very first day of my stay with him Gokhale made me feel completely at home. He treated me as though I was his younger brother, he acquainted himself with all my needs and requirements and arranged to see that I got all I needed. Fortunately my wants were few, and as I had cultivated the habit of self-help I needed very little personal attendance. He was deeply impressed with my habit of tending for myself, my personal cleanliness, perseverance and regularity, and would often overwhelm me with praise.

He seemed to keep nothing private from me. He would introduce me to all the important people that called on him. Of these the one who stands foremost in my memory is Dr. P. C. Roy. He lived practically next door and was a very frequent visitor.

This is how he introduced Dr. Roy: 'This is Prof. Roy, who having a monthly salary of Rs. 800, keeps just Rs. 40 for himself and devotes the balance to public purposes. He is not and does not want to get married.'

I see little difference between Dr. Roy as he is today and as he used to be then. His dress used to be nearly as simple as it is, with this difference of course that whereas it is Khadi now, it used to be Indian mill-cloth in those days. I felt as though I never had too much of talks between Gokhale and Dr. Roy, as they all pertained to public good or were of educative value. Some of them were painful too, containing as they did strictures on public men. As a result, some of those whom I had regarded as stalwart fighters began to look quite puny.

To see Gokhale at work was as much a joy as an education. He never wasted a minute.

His private relations and friendships were all for public good. All his talks had reference only to the good of the country, and were absolutely free from any trace of untruth or insincerity. India's poverty and subjection were matters of constant and exclusive concern to him. Various people sought to interest him in various matters. But he gave every one of them the same reply: 'You do the thing yourself. Let me do my own work. What I want is freedom for my country. After that is won, we can think of other things. Today that one thing is enough to engage all my time and energy.'

His reverence for Ranade could be seen every moment. Ranade's authority was final in every matter and he would cite it at every step. Ranade's death anniversary occurred during my stay with Gokhale who seemed to be regularly observing it. There were then with him, besides myself, his friend Prof. Kathavate and a Sub-Judge friend. He invited them to take part in the celebration, and in his speech he gave us his reminiscences of Ranade. He compared incidentally Ranade, Telang and Mandlik. He eulogised Telang's charming style and Mandlik's greatness as a reformer. Citing an instance of Mandlik's solicitude for his clients he told us an anecdote of how once having missed his usual train he engaged a special train to be able to attend the court in the interest of his client. But Ranade, he said, towered above them all, as he was a universal thinker. He was not only a great Judge, he was equally great as a historian, economist and reformer. Although he was a Judge he fearlessly attended the Congress, and every one had such confidence in his sagacity that they unquestioningly accepted his decisions. Gokhale's joy knew no bounds as he described these qualities of head and

heart which were all combined in his master.

Gokhale used to have a horse-carriage in those days. I did not know the circumstances that had made a horse-carriage a necessity for him, and so I remonstrated with him: 'Can't you make use of the tramcar in going about from place to place? Is it derogatory to a leader's dignity?'

Slightly pained he said, 'So you also have failed to understand me! I do not use my Council allowances for my own personal comforts. I envy your liberty to go about in tramcars, but I am sorry I cannot do likewise. When you are the victim of as wide a publicity as I am, it will be difficult, if not impossible, for you to go about in a tramcar. There is no reason to suppose that all that the leaders do is with a view to personal comforts. I love your simple habits. I live as simply as I can, but some expense is almost inevitable for a man like myself.'

He thus satisfactorily disposed of one of my complaints, but there was one which he could not.

'But you do not even go out for walks,' said I. 'Is it surprising that you should be always ailing? Should public work leave no time for physical exercise?'

'Whenever do you find me free to go out for a walk?' he replied.

I had such a great regard for Gokhale that I never strove with him. Though the reply above mentioned was far from satisfying me I remained silent. I believed then, and I believe even now, that no matter what amount of work one has, one should always find some time for exercise as one does for one's meals. It is my humble opinion, that far from taking away from one's capacity for work, it adds to it.

CHAPTER XVIII

A MONTH WITH GOKHALE—II

Whilst living under Gokhale's roof I was far from being a stay-at-home.

I had told my Christian friends in South Africa that in India I would meet the Christian Indians and acquaint myself with their condition. I had heard of Babu Kalicharan Bannerji and I had a high regard for him. He took a prominent part in the Congress, and I had about him none of the misgivings that I had about the average Christian Indian who stood aloof from the Congress and isolated himself from Hindus and Mussalman. I told Gokhale that I was thinking of meeting him. He said: 'What is the good of your seeing him? He is a very good man, but I am afraid he will not satisfy you. I know him very well. However you will certainly meet him if you like.'

I sought an appointment which he readily gave me. When I went I found that his wife was on her deathbed. His house was simple. In the Congress I had seen him in a coat and trousers, but I was glad to find him now wearing a Bengal dhoti and shirt. I liked his simple way of life, though I myself then wore a Parsi coat and trousers. Without much ado I presented my difficulties to him. He asked: 'Do you believe in the doctrine of original sin?'

'I do,' said I.

'Well then, Hinduism offers no absolution, therefrom, Christianity does,' and added: 'The wages of sin is death, and the Bible says that the only way of deliverance is surrender unto Jesus.'

I put forward the *Bhakti-marga* (the path of devotion) of the Bhagavad Gita, but to no avail. I thanked him for his goodness. He

failed to satisfy me but I benefited by the interview.

During these days I walked up and down the streets of Calcutta. I went to most places on foot. I met Justice Mitra and Sir Gurudas Bannerji, whose help I wanted in my work in South Africa. Just about this time I met Raja Sir Pyari Mohan Mukerji.

Kalicharan Bannerji had spoken to me about the Kali temple which I was eager to see, especially as I had read about it in books. So I went there one day. Justice Mitra's house was in the same locality, and so I went to the temple the same day that I visited him. On the way I saw a stream of sheep going to be sacrificed to Kali. There was a long line of beggars of course, and even in those days I was stoutly opposed to giving alms to sturdy beggars. A crowd of them pursued me. One of them accosted me: 'Whither are you going, my boy?' I told him where I was going to.

He asked my companion and me to sit down, which we did.

I asked him: 'Do you regard this sacrifice as religion?'

'Who would regard killing of animals as religion?'

'Then, why don't you preach against it?'

'That's not my business. Our business is to worship God.'

'But could you not find any other place to worship God?'

'All places are equally good for us. The people are like a flock of sheep, following where you lead them.'

Without prolonging the discussion we reached the temple. We were greeted by rivers of blood. I could not bear to stand there. I was exasperated and restless. I have never forgotten that sight. That very evening I had an invitation to dinner at a

party of Bengali friends. There I spoke to a friend about this cruel form of worship. He said: 'The sheep don't feel pain. The noise and the drum-beating there deaden all feeling of pain.'

I could not swallow this. I told him that if the sheep had speech they would tell a different tale. I felt that the cruel custom ought to be stopped. I thought of the story of Buddha, but I also saw that the work was beyond my capacity.

I hold to-day the same opinion as I held then. To my mind the life of a lamb is no less precious than that of a human being. I should be unwilling to take the life of a lamb for the sake of the human body. I hold that the more helpless a creature the more it is entitled to protection by man from the cruelty of man. But a man who has not qualified himself for such service is unable to afford to it any protection. I must go through more self-purification and sacrifice before I can hope to save these lambs from this unholy sacrifice. To-day I think I must die pining for this self-purification and sacrifice. It is my constant prayer that there may be born on earth some great spirit, man or woman, fired with divine pity to deliver us from this heinous sin and save the lives of the innocent creatures, and purify the temple. How is it that Bengal with all its knowledge, intelligence, sacrifice, and emotion tolerates this slaughter?

CHAPTER XIX

A MONTH WITH GOKHALE—III

The terrible sacrifice offered to Kali in the name of religion enhanced my desire to know Bengali life. I had read and heard a good deal about the Brahmo Samaj. I knew something about the life of Pratap Chandra Mazum-

dar. I had attended some of the meetings addressed by him. I secured his life of Keshub Chandra Sen, read it with great interest, and understood the distinction between Sadharan Brahmo Samaj and Adi Brahmo Samaj. I met Pandit Shivanath Shastri and went in company with Prof. Kathavate to see Maharshi Debendra Nath Tagore, but as no interviews with him were allowed then, we could not see him. We were, however, invited at a celebration of the Brahmo Samaj held at his place, and there we had the privilege of listening to fine Bengali music. Ever since I have been a lover of Bengalee music. Having seen enough of the Brahmo Samaj, it was impossible to be satisfied without having seen Swami Vivekanand. So with great enthusiasm I went to Belur Math, mostly or may be all the way on foot, I forget now which. I loved the sequestered site of the Math. I was disappointed and sorry to be told that the Swami was ill and could not be seen and that he was at his Calcutta house. I then ascertained the place of residence of Sister Nivedita, and saw her in a Chowringhee mansion. I was taken aback by the splendour that surrounded her, and even in our conversation there was not much meeting-ground. I spoke to Gokhale about this and he told me that he did not wonder that there could be no point of contact between me and a volatile person like her.

I met her again at Mr. Pestonji Padshah's place, I happened to turn up just as she was talking to his old mother, and so I became an interpreter between the two. In spite of my failure to find any agreement with her I could not but notice and admire her over-flowing love for Hinduism. I came to know of her books later.

I used to divide my day between seeing

the leading people in Calcutta regarding the work in South Africa, and visiting and studying the religions and public institutions of Calcutta. I once addressed a meeting presided over by Dr. Mullick on the work of the Indian Ambulance Corps in the Boer War. My acquaintance with *The Englishman* stood me in good stead on this occasion too. Mr. Saunders was ill then, but he rendered me as much help as in 1896. Gokhale liked this speech of mine, and he was very glad to hear Dr. Roy praising it.

Thus my stay under the roof of Gokhale made my work in Calcutta very easy, brought me in touch with the foremost Bengali families and was the beginning of my intimate contact with Bengal.

I must needs skip over many a reminiscence of this memorable month. Let me but mention my flying visit to Burma and the Foongis* there. I was pained at their lethargy. I saw the golden pagoda. I did not like the innumerable little candles burning there, and the rats running about the sanctum of the temple brought to my mind thoughts of Swami Dayanand's experience at Morbi. The freedom and energy of the Burmese women charmed me, and the indolence of the men pained me. I also saw, during my brief sojourn, that as Bombay was not India, Rangoon was not Burma, and that as we in India have become commission agents of English merchants, even so in Burma we have combined with the English merchants, in making the Burmese people our commission agents.

On return from Burma I took my leave of Gokhale. It was a wrench to be separated from him, but my work in Bengal, or rather Calcutta, had been finished, and I had no occasion to stay any longer.

* Monks.

Before I settled down I had thought of making a tour through India travelling third class, and of acquainting myself with the hardships of the third class passengers. I spoke to Gokhale about this. At first he ridiculed the idea, but when I explained to him what I hoped to see, he cheerfully approved of it. I first planned to go to Benares to pay my respects to Mrs. Besant who was then ill.

I had to equip myself anew for the third class tour. Gokhale himself gave me a metal tiffin-box and got it replenished with sweetballs and *puris*. I purchased a canvas bag worth twelve annas, and got a long coat made of Chhaya† wool. The bag was to contain this coat, a dhoti, a towel and a shirt. I had a blanket too to cover myself with, and a water jug. Thus equipped I started on my journey. Gokhale and Dr. Roy came to the station to see me off. I had asked them both not to trouble to come but they insisted on coming. 'I should not have come if you had gone first class, but now I must come,' said Gokhale.

No one stopped Gokhale from going on to the platform. He was in his silk turban, jacket and dhoti. Dr. Roy was in his Bengali dress. He was stopped by the ticket collector, but on Gokhale telling him that he was his friend, he was admitted.

Thus with their good wishes I started on my journey.

CHAPTER XX IN BENARES

The journey was from Calcutta to Rajkot, and I wanted to halt at Benares, Agra, Jaypur and Palanpur *en route*. I had not the time to

† A place in Porbunder State noted for its wool-len fabrics.

see any more places than these. I stayed a day at each one of these places, and in *dharmashalas* or with Pandas like the ordinary pilgrims, excepting at Palanpur. So far as I can remember I did not spend more than Rs. 31 (including the train fare) on this journey.

In travelling third class I mostly preferred the ordinary to the mail trains, as I knew that the latter used to be crowded, and there was of course the objection of the fare being higher for third class by mail.

The third class compartments were as dirty and the closet arrangements were as bad as today, though there might be a little improvement now. But the difference between the facilities provided for the first and the third classes is out of all proportion to that between the fares for the two classes. Third class passengers are treated like sheep and their comforts are sheep's comforts. In Europe I travelled third—and only once first, just to see what it was like—but there I noticed no such difference between the first and the third classes. In South Africa third class-passengers are mostly negroes, yet the third class comforts are better than here. In parts of South Africa third class compartments are provided with sleeping accommodation, and cushioned seats. The accommodation is also regulated, so as to prevent overcrowding, whereas here I have found the regulation limit mostly exceeded.

The indifference of the railway authorities to the comforts of the third class passengers, combined with the dirty and inconsiderate habits of the passengers themselves, makes third class travelling a trial for a passenger with cleanly habits. These uncleanly habits commonly include spitting and throwing of rubbish in the compartment, smoking at all

hours and in all places, betel and tobacco chewing and converting the whole carriage into a spittoon, shouting and yelling, and using foul language, regardless the convenience or comfort of fellow passengers. I have noticed little difference between my experience of the third class travelling in 1902 and that of my unbroken third class tours from 1915 to 1919. I can think of only one remedy for this awful state of things, and it is this that educated men should make a point of travelling third class and reforming the habits of the people, as also of never letting the railway authorities rest in peace by complaints wherever necessary, never resorting to bribes or any unlawful means for the sake of their own comforts, and never putting up with infringements of rules on the part of any one concerned.

This, I am sure, will bring about considerable improvement. My serious illness in 1918-19 has unfortunately compelled me practically to give up third class travelling, and it has always been a matter for pain and shame to me, especially because the disability should have come at a time when the agitation for the removal of the hardships of third class passengers was making fair headway. The hardships of poor railway and steamship passengers, accentuated by their bad habits, the undue facilities allowed by Government to foreign trade, and such other things, make an important subject by itself worthy to be taken up by one or two enterprising and persevering workers devoting their full time to it.

But I shall leave the third class passengers at that, and come to my experience in Benares. I reached there in the morning. I had decided to put up with a *Panda*. Numerous Brahmans surrounded me, as soon as I got out of the

train, and I selected the house of one of them who struck me to be comparatively cleaner and better than the rest. It proved to be a good choice. There was a cow in the courtyard of the house which had a storey where I was given my lodging. I did not want to have any food without ablution in the Ganges in the proper orthodox manner. The *Panda* made preparations for it. I had told him beforehand that on no account could I give him more than a rupee and four annas as *dakshina*, and that he should therefore have that in view in making the preparations.

The *Panda* readily assented. Be the pilgrim rich or poor,' said he, 'the service is the same in every case. But the amount of *dakshina* we receive depends upon the will and the ability of the pilgrim.' I did not find that the *Panda* at all abridged the usual formalities in my case. The *Puja* was over at twelve O'clock, and I went to the Kashi Vishvanath temple for *darshan*. I was deeply pained by what I saw there. When practising as a barrister in Bombay in 1891, I had occasion to attend a lecture on 'Pilgrimage to Kashi' in the Prarthana Samaj hall. I was therefore prepared for some measure of disappointment. But my actual disappointment was greater that I had bargained for.

The approach was through a narrow and slippery lane. Quiet there was none. The swarming flies and the noise made by the shopkeepers and the pilgrims were simply insufferable.

Where one expected an atmosphere of meditation and prayer, this was conspicuous by its absence. If one wanted to meditate, one must fall back upon oneself. I did observe devout sisters, who were absorbed in meditation, entirely unconscious of the environment. But for this the authorities of the temple could

scarcely claim any credit. The authorities should be responsible for creating and maintaining about the temple a pure, sweet, and serene atmosphere, physical as well as moral. Instead of this I saw a *basar* where cunning shopkeepers were selling sweets and toys of the latest fashion.

When I had reached the temple, I was greeted at the entrance by a stinking mass of rotten flowers. The inside was paved with fine marble, which was however broken by some devotee innocent of aesthetic taste who had set rupees in it. And the rupees served as an excellent receptacle for dirt.

I went near the *Jnana-vapi* (the Well of Knowledge). I had searched here for God but failed to find Him. I was not therefore in a particularly good temper. The surroundings of the *Jnana-vapi* too I found to be filthy. I had no mind to offer any *dakshina*. I therefore offered a pie. The *Panda* in charge got angry and threw away the pie. He swore at me and said, 'This insult will take you straight to hell.'

This did not perturb me. 'Maharaj,' said I, 'whatever fate has in store for me, it does not behove one of your class to indulge in such language. You may take this pie if you like, or you will lose that too.'

'Go away,' he replied. 'I don't care for your pie.' And then followed a further volley of abuse.

I took up the pie and went my way, flattering myself that the Brahman had lost a pie and I had saved it. But the Maharaj was hardly the man to let the pie go. He called me back and said, 'All right, leave the pie here. I would rather not be as you are. If I refuse your pie, it will be bad for you.'

I silently gave him the pie and went away with a sigh.

I have since been to Kashi Vishvanath twice, but that was after I had already been afflicted with the title of *Mahatma*, and experiences, such as I have detailed above, had become impossible. People eager to have my *darshan* would not permit me to have a *darshan* of the temple. The woes of *Mahatmas* are known to *Mahatmas* alone. Otherwise the filth and the noise were the same as before.

If any one doubts the mercy of God, let him have a look at these sacred places. How much hypocrisy and irreligion does the Prince of Yogis suffer to be perpetrated in His holy name? He announced long ago that :—

Whatever a man sows, that shall he reap. The law of Karma is inexorable and impossible of evasion. There is thus hardly any need for God to interfere. He laid down the law and retired, as it were.

After this visit to the temple, I waited upon Mrs. Beasant. I knew that she had just recovered from illness. I sent in my name. She came at once. As I wished only to see her, I said, 'I am aware that you are in delicate health. I only wanted to have a look at you. I am thankful that you have been good enough to see me in spite of your indifferent health. I will not detain you any longer.'

So saying I took leave of her.

CHAPTER XXI SETTLED IN BOMBAY?

Gokhale wanted very much that I should settle down in Bombay, practise at the bar and help him in public work. Public work in those days meant Congress work and the chief work of the institution which he had assisted to found was carrying on the Congress administration.

I liked Gokhale's advice, but I was not over-confident of success as a barrister. The unpleasant memories of past failure were still

with me, and I still hated flattery for getting briefs as poison.

I therefore decided first to start work at Rajkot. Kevalram Mavji Dave, my old well-wisher, who had induced me to go to England, was there, and he started me with three briefs at once. Two of them were appeals before the Judicial Assistant to the Political Agent in Kathiawad and one an original case in Jamnagar. This last was rather important. On my saying that I could not trust myself to do it justice, Kevalram Dave exclaimed: 'Winning or losing is none of your concern. You will simply try your best, and I am of course there to assist you.'

The counsel on the other side was the late Mr. Samarth. I was fairly well prepared. Not that I knew much of Indian law, but Kevalram Dave had instructed me very thoroughly. I had heard friends say, before I went out to South Africa, that Sir Pheroze Shah Mehta had the law of evidence at his finger-tips and that was the secret of his success. I had borne that in mind, and during the voyage had studied the Indian Evidence Act with commentaries thereon carefully, and there was of course the advantage of my legal experience in South Africa.

I won the case and gained some confidence in myself. I had no fear about the appeals which were successful. All this inspired a hope in me that I might not after all fail even in Bombay.

But before I set forth the circumstances in which I decided to go to Bombay, I shall narrate my experience of the inconsiderateness and ignorance of English officials. The Judicial Assistant's was a peripatetic court. He was constantly touring and vakils and their clients had to follow him wherever he moved his camp. The vakils would charge

more whenever they had to go out of headquarters and so the clients had naturally to incur double the expenses. This inconvenience was no concern of the judge.

The appeal I am talking of was to be heard at Veraval where plague was raging. I have a recollection that there used to be as many as fifty cases daily in that place with a population of 5,500. It was practically deserted and I had put up in a deserted *dharmashala* at some distance from the town. But where were the clients to stay? And if they were poor, they had simply to trust themselves to God's mercy.

A friend who also had cases before the court had wired that I should put in an application for the camp being moved to some other station, as there was plague at Veraval. On my submitting the application the *Sahib* asked me: 'Are you afraid?'

I answered: 'It is not a question of my being afraid. I think I can shift for myself, but what about the clients?'

The *Sahib*—'The plague has come to stay in India. Why fear it? The climate of Veraval is lovely. [The *Sahib* lived far away from the town in a palatial tent pitched on the seashore.] Surely people must learn to live thus in the open.'

It was no use arguing against this philosophy. The *Sahib* told his Shirastedar: 'Make note of what Mr. Gandhi says, and let me know if it is very inconvenient for the vakils or the clients.'

The *Sahib* of course had honestly done what he thought was the right thing. But how could the man have an idea of the hardships of poor India? How was he to understand the needs, habits, idiosyncrasies and customs of the people? How was one accustomed to measure things in gold sovereigns all at once to make

calculations in tiny bits of copper? As the elephant is powerless to think in the terms of the ant, in spite of the best intentions in the world, even so is the Englishman with the needs of an elephant powerless to think in the terms of or legislate for the Indian with the needs of an ant.

But to resume the thread of the story. In spite of the success, I had been thinking of staying on in Rajkot for some time longer, when Kevalram Dave one day came to me and said: 'Gandhi, we will not suffer you to vegetate here. You must settle in Bombay.'

'But who will find work for me there?' I asked. 'Will you find the expenses?'

'Yes, yes, I will,' said he. 'We shall bring you down here sometimes as a big barrister from Bombay, and drafting work we shall send you there. It lies with us vakils to magnify or belittle a barrister. You have proved your worth in Jamnagar and Veraval and I have therefore not the least anxiety about you. You are destined to do public work, and we will not allow you to be buried in Kathiawad. Well, then, tell me when you will go to Bombay.'

'I am expecting a remittance from Natal. As soon as I get it I go,' said I.

The money came in about two weeks and I went to Bombay. I took chambers in Payne Gilbert and Sayani's offices and it looked as though I had settled down there.

CHAPTER XXII

FAITH ON ITS TRIAL

Though I hired chambers in the Fort and a house in Girgaum, God would not let me settle down. Scarcely had I been in my new house for a few days, when my second son Manilal, who had already been through an acute attack of small-pox years ago, had a severe attack of

typhoid, combined with pneumonia and signs of delirium at night.

The doctor was called in. He said medicine would have little effect, but that eggs and chicken broth might be given with profit.

Manilal was only ten years old then. Consulting his wishes was out of the question. Being his guardian I had to decide. The doctor was a very good Parsi. I told him that we were all vegetarians and that I could not possibly give either of the two things to my son. Would he therefore recommend something else?

'Your son's life is in danger,' said the good doctor. 'We could give him milk diluted with water, but that will not give him enough nourishment. As you know I am called in by many Hindu families, and they do not object to anything I prescribe. I think you also will be well advised not to be so hard on your son.'

'What you say is quite right,' said I. 'As a doctor you could not do otherwise. But my responsibility is very great. If the boy had been grown up I should certainly have tried to ascertain his wishes and respected them. But here I have to think and decide for him. To my mind it is only on such occasions that a man's faith is truly tested. Rightly or wrongly it is part of my religious conviction that man may not eat meat, eggs, and the like. There should be a limit even to the means of keeping ourselves alive. Even for life itself we may not do certain things. Religion as I understand it does not permit me to use meat or eggs for me or mine even on occasions like this, and I must therefore take the risk that you say is likely. But I beg of you one thing. As I cannot avail myself of your treatment, I propose to try some hydropathic remedies which I happen to know. But I do not know how to examine the boy's pulse, chest, lungs etc.

If you will kindly look in from time to time to examine him, and keep me informed of his condition, I shall be grateful to you.'

The good doctor appreciated my difficulty and agreed to my request. Though Manilal could not have made his choice, I told him what had passed between the doctor and myself and asked him his opinion.

'Do try your hydropathic treatment,' he said, 'I will not have eggs or chicken broth.'

This made me glad, though I knew that if I had given him either of these he would have taken it.

I knew Kuhne's treatment and had tried it too. I also knew that fasting too could be tried with profit. So I began to give Manilal hip baths according to Kuhne, never keeping him in the tub for more than three minutes, and kept him on orange juice mixed with water for three days.

But the temperature persisted, going up to 104. At night he would be delirious. I began to get anxious. What would people say of me? What would my elder brother think of me? Could we not call in another doctor? Why not have an Ayurvedic physician? What right had the parents to inflict their fads on their children?

I was often having thoughts like these. Again a contrary current would start. God would surely be pleased to see that I was giving the same treatment to my son as I would give myself. I had faith in hydropathy, and little in allopathy. The doctors could not guarantee. At best they could experiment. The thread of life was in the hands of God. Why not trust it to Him, and in His name go on with what I thought was the right treatment?

My mind was torn between these conflicting thoughts. It was night. I was in Manilal's

bed lying by his side. I decided to give him a wet sheet pack. I got up, wetted a sheet, wrung all the water out of it and wrapped it about Manilal, keeping only his head out, and then covered him with two blankets. To the head I applied a wet towel. The whole body was burning like hot iron and quite parched. There was no perspiration at all.

I was much tired. I left Manilal in charge of his mother, and went out for a walk on Chaupati to refresh myself. It was about ten o'clock. A very few pedestrians were there. I scarcely looked at them, plunged in deep thought. 'My honour is in Thy keeping, Oh, Lord, in this hour of trial,' said I to myself. Ramanama was on my lips. After a short stroll I returned, my heart beating within my breast.

No sooner did I enter the room than Manilal said, 'You have returned, Bapu?'

'Yes, darling,'

'Do pull me out, please. I am burning,'

'Are you perspiring, my boy?'

'I am simply soaked. Do please take me out.'

I felt his forehead. It was full of beads of perspiration. The temperature was going down. I thanked God.

'Manilal, your fever is sure to go now. A little more perspiration and then I take you out.'

'Pray, no. Do please deliver me from this furnace. Wrap me some other time if you like.'

I just managed to keep him under the pack for a few minutes more by diverting him. Perspiration streamed down his forehead. I undid the pack, dried the body and father and son fell asleep in the same bed.

And we slept like a log. Next morning

Manilal had much less fever than before. He went on thus for forty days on diluted milk and fruit juices. I had no fear now. It was an obstinate type of fever, but it had been got under control.

To-day Manilal is the healthiest of my boys. Who can say whether his recovery was due to God's grace, or to hydropathy, or to careful dietary and nursing? Let every one decide according to his own faith. For my part I was sure that God had saved my honour and that belief remains unaltered to this day.

CHAPTER XXIII

TO SOUTH AFRICA AGAIN

Though Manilal was restored to health, I saw that the Girgaum house was not habitable. It was damp and ill-lighted. So in consultation with Sjt. Revashankar Jagjivan I decided to hire some well-ventilated bungalow in a suburb of Bombay. I wandered about in Bandra and Santa Cruz. Its slaughter-house prevented us the choice of Bandra. Ghatkopar and places near it seemed to be too far from the sea. At last we hit upon a fine bungalow in Santa Cruz which we hired as the best from the point of view of sanitation. I took a first class season ticket from Santa Cruz to Churchgate, and remember having often felt a sort of pride in being the only first class passenger in my compartment. Often I walked to Bandra in order to take there the fast train going straight to Churchgate.

I seemed to prosper in my profession better than I had expected. My South African clients often entrusted me with some work and it was enough to help me pay my way.

I had not yet succeeded in securing any work in the High Court, but I attended the 'moot' that used to be held in those days, though I never ventured to take part in it. I

recall Jamiatram Nanabhai taking a prominent part. Like other fresh barristers I made a point of attending the hearing of cases in the High Court, more, I am afraid, to enjoy the soporific breeze coming straight from the sea than to add to my knowledge. I observed that I was not the only one to enjoy this pleasure. It seemed to be the fashion and therefore nothing to be ashamed of.

However I began to make use of the High Court Library and make fresh acquaintances and felt that I should soon secure work in the High Court.

Thus whilst on the one hand I began to feel somewhat easy about my profession, on the other Gokhale whose eyes were always on me had been busy making his own plans for me. He would peep in at my chambers twice or thrice every week, often in company with friends whom he wanted me to know, and he would acquaint me with his mode of work.

But it may be said that God has never allowed any of my own plans to stand. He has disposed them in His own way.

Just when I seemed to be settling down as I had intended, I received an unexpected cable from South Africa: 'Chamberlain expected here. Please return immediately.' I remembered my promise and cabled to say that I was ready to start as soon as they put me in funds. They promptly responded. I gave up the chambers and started for South Africa.

I had an idea that the work there would keep me engaged for at least a year and so I kept the bungalow and left my wife and children there.

I believed then that enterprising youths who could not find an opening in the country should emigrate to other lands. I therefore took with me four or five such youths, one of whom was Maganlal Gandhi.

The Gandhis were and are a big family. I wanted to find out all those who wished to leave the trodden path and venture abroad. My father used to accommodate a number of them in some state service. I wanted them to be free from this spell. Not that I could secure other service for them, I would not even if I could. I wanted them to be self-reliant.

But as my ideals advanced, I tried to persuade these youths also to conform their ideals to mine and I had the greatest success in guiding Maganlal Gandhi. But about this later.

The separation from my wife and children, the breaking up of a settled establishment, and going from the certain to the uncertain,—

all this was for a moment painful, but I had inured myself to an uncertain life. I think it is wrong to expect certainties in this world where all else but God that is Truth is an uncertainty. All that appears and happens about and around us is uncertain, transient. Only there is one Supreme Being hidden therein as a Certainty, and one would be blessed if one could catch a glimpse of that Certainty and hitch one's waggon to it. The quest for that Truth is the *Summum Bonum* of life.

I reached Durban not a day too soon. There was work waiting for me. The date for the deputation to wait on Mr. Chamberlain had been fixed. I had to draft the memorial to be submitted to him and accompany the deputation.

Reviews and Notices of Books

ECONOMICS

Rural Economy of India

RURAL ECONOMY OF INDIA: By Prof. Radhakamal Mukerjee, M.A. PH. D. Longmans Green & Co. Rs. 3-12

Rural reconstruction is on the lips of many in India to-day. Thanks to Mahatma Gandhi, a new interest in the welfare and uplift of the Indian Masses has been awakened in the minds of the public. This is attended by the recognition of the fact that the nation lives in the villages and that the foundations of our future progress and freedom should be laid in the rural parts. But, beyond a vague idea of the need for reorganising rural life and agriculture, no definite programme of work, based on a study of rural problems has yet been placed before the public. In fact, much attention has not been

devoted in the past to rural economy as an independent subject of study. Authoritative books on the subject are yet scarce. Under these circumstances, while the field of Indian rural economy, is still largely unexplored, the appearance of a book like the one under review is doubly welcome.

The author has already established his claim to be heard as an assiduous student of economics and sociology. The present book is, we are informed in the Preface, the outcome of a course of Readership Lectures delivered last year before the Patna University. Prof. Mukerjee tells us he has tried in the book to deal with rural economy as a separate subject, and not as an adjunct of a set of doctrines derived from the city and industrial conditions. He has analysed the geographical and social factors which have governed the distribution and management of fields or the ancient

adjustment of crops the conditions of soil and climate. He has also sought to establish the connection between rural organisations and different types of farming. The fact that problems of agriculture vary in India and in the west and that there is need to exercise caution in the adoption of methods and solutions applied in Europe and America are also brought out and emphasised in the volume.

The grinding poverty and indebtedness of the ryot has been the subject of wide and frequent lament, for a long time past among politicians as well as economists. But there is not as much as unanimity of opinion in regard to the causes that underlie the malady and the cure therefor. In the opinion of Prof. Mukerjee the chief explanation for this poverty is in the incredibly small scale on which farming is carried on in India. Co-operative credit, he holds, can offer little promise where the holding itself is uneconomic and agriculture becomes a losing concern from year to year, the remedy that he suggests for improving this state of things is neither simple nor easy. He lays out a broad and comprehensive programme in the following lines. He says: "The general level of tillage and culture in India has to be raised and the agricultural practices and methods of the more efficiently cultivated regions introduced to the less advanced tracts. The rehabilitation of peasant farming on the basis of an appropriate land settlement; intensive scientific cultivation and utilisation of human waste; the consolidation of holdings and co-operative irrigation; agricultural co-operation; the improvement of fodder supply; forestry and river conservancy; land construction and agricultural engineering; the development of rural transport; the improvement of technical conditions of villages and the attainment of equilibrium between rural and urban interests, are matters of pressing importance, which demand the attention of the expert and the villager alike that rural economy may be rationalised."

The author goes into some of the important of these problems in detail in separate chapters under the following heads: 1. Study of rural economics. 2. Geography of agriculture. 3.

Economy of small farming. 4. Organisation of agriculture. 5. Agriculture and population. 6. Robbery of the soil. 7. Permanent agriculture. 8. Crime against tree and water. 9. Use and abuse of water. 10. Regional balance of occupations. 11. Famine. 12. Equilibrium of village and City. 13. Revival of cottage industries. 14. Rural reconstruction.

The book is useful alike to the agriculturist and the students of economics and rural welfare. It brings together much valuable information based on the experience and research work of agricultural experts and economists both in India and the West. The subject is also dealt with in a manner easily understood by the lay reader. We heartily welcome it as a pioneer work on the field and commend it to all those who are interested in the promotion of India's rural wealth and welfare.

B. R.

HISTORY

Indecisiveness of Modern War

THE INDECISIVENESS OF MODERN WAR AND OTHER ESSAYS—By Dr. Holland Rose. G. Bell and Sons. 10/6.

It is now notorious that no combatant in the late War is better off for it. "The victors" feel pinch of its horrors perhaps no less than the the vanquished!

Why has it been so? Dr. Holland Rose, in the first two of his papers presented here, throws the light of History on the problem and arrives at certain interesting conclusions. He believes that man has become more and more the victim of the vast and complex mechanical monster he himself has created, and especially that the modern democratic state is not at all well-adapted to working it, since democracy, often brings to the front, the ablest debaters rather than the most capable administrators, and generally subordinates naval and military experts to Parliamentary managers.

So far as the Navy is concerned, the feat of surprising the enemy's fleet, which alone could secure its destruction, has become progressively

more difficult, owing to recent developments in scouting by aircraft and submarines, which, by means of wireless, transmit news instantaneously to the Admiralty and to the officer's in command. Even should the weaker fleet be caught unawares, escape is easy under cover of a smoke screen and a resolute charge by light craft. Pursuit may prove fatal to the fanciful victor, who might be led into a carefully prepared mine-field. For these emergencies, an increase in the size of capitalships will be of no avail. They would only mean battles at longer range, with proportionately better chances for the enemy to escape, under cover of his light craft. Naval warfare today has practically resolved itself into a prolonged blockade, exerted in reality against the enemy's civil population.

On land, the events of the War have given the lie direct to the saying that "Providence is on the side of big battalions." Big battalions do not fail to rouse in opposition an equal or greater armed force. Technically, they increase the difficulty of reaching a decisive issue. Increasing reliance on artillery tells against their mobility, even when mechanised transport is perfected. The war of movement tends, therefore, to give place to trench warfare: and when that stage is reached the struggle becomes one of slow attrition. Inventions have thus taken back modern fighting essentially to the time of tribal warfare when tribe killed off tribe. Aircraft has become a governing factor, and aircraft deals with large cities—'direct action with a veneer.' These developments in modern warfare, therefore, open up hideous vistas, unless mankind regains its sanity, and comes to see that the whole ghastly business is a colossal force'.

The next essay treats of the various plans for invasion of the British Isles that her enemies have planned since the time of the advent of the sailing ship. The causes of the failure of the Spanish Armada, and the abortive schemes of the Seven Years' War, the War of American Independence, and the French Revolution are dealt with in detail, and the lesson is drawn that, the failures of the continental nations to swallow up the 'Island on the Seas', were due as much to the

inherent difficulties of the attempts, as to the opposition of British sea-dogs.

The influence of sea-power on Indian History, between the years 1740 and 1802, when the crucial contest between Great Britain and France for commercial and colonial supremacy was being waged, forms the subject-matter of another brilliant essay. "India was not won by the English and lost by the French, because in one battle a commander marched up a hill when he should have marched down, or marched down a hill when he should have marched up;" but the last word lay with sea-power. The French Admiral La Bourdanais might capture Madras, as he did in 1746; but this conquest could avail him nothing, as his supplies from Europe were cut off, and he and Dupleix entered into long and bitter disputes as to the disposal of the place. Besides, the exploits of Anson and Hawke on the sea had wearied out France already, and when war broke out she had only twenty-two sail of the line to put up for the mighty venture. And by a strange irony of fate, Dupleix was succeeded in the governorship by the choleric General Lally, whose violent temper destroyed all chances of cordial co-operation between the naval and military services.

During the Seven Years' War, the position in India was still further weakened for France, by her forward moves in Canada and in the Mississippi Valley. Her navy was unequal to the strain of war in three continents, America, Europe and India. Spain would not help her until early in 1762. She had, moreover, to encounter the skill and tenacity of Lawrence in the Carnatic, and the genius and capacity of Clive and Admiral Watson in Bengal. That province fallen into British hands, France's adversary got control of the treasures of the most fertile parts of India: while her own naval base was in the far off Isle d'France, and the sluggishness of her Admiral D'Ache irretrievably lost Chandernagore to her.

During the War of American Independence, by an unfortunate miscalculation, France sent mediocre Admirals to the West with powerful fleets, while in the East Indies, her ablest seaman, Suffren, commanded a squadron only equal

in size and inferior in quality to the British. The naval results were, therefore, indecisive in both quarters. Besides, Suffren arrived off Pondicherry a year too late to be able to co-operate effectively with Hyder Ali, when that brilliant soldier was at the summit of his fortunes. The Frenchman was badly seconded also, and the slackness, cowardice and treachery of his subordinates, unnecessarily increased the difficulties on his path to success.

The last struggle of the century was the most dramatic and decisive of the Anglo-French episodes. It arose out of the conviction—that Napoleon also held—of the extreme Republicans who leaped to power in June 1793 that Britain's power rested very largely on her control of India. But by the victories of Nelson, the foresight and resource of Wellesley, the recklessness of the Governor of the Isle of France, and the looseness of the French Indian programme, that continent was for ever lost to France.

The other essays included in the book are, "The struggle for the Mediterranean in the Eighteenth century," "Napoleon and Sea-power," "The Prophetic instinct in Nelson", "The state of Nelson's Fleet before Trafalgar", "The British Title to Malta", "Admiral Duckworth's Failure at Constantinople in 1807" and on "chivalry and the sea".

The lesson of Admiral Duckworth's failure at Constantinople, the author regards as having been lost on the English war-lords in the year 1915. That lesson was that any attempt to coerce Constantinople by an expedition up the Dardanelles was madness without the aid of an adequate landing force to guard the narrows.

The writings are throughout marked by a rare activeness of analysis, and lucidity of expression and treatment, and justify the honoured place that Professor Rose holds among the students of naval history.

G. K. RAMACHANDRAN.

Literature

WORDSWORTH IN A NEW LIGHT: By Emile Legouis, Cambridge Press, Harvard.

34 (a)

Prof. Emile Legouis is a sympathetic and ardent student of English Literature—rather a rare phenomenon in France now-a-days. His monographs on Wordsworth and his "History of English Literature" are wellknown works. In the book under review which is the reprint of a lecture delivered at the Cambridge Harvard University, Prof. Legouis puts in an earnest and intensely sympathetic defence of Wordsworth's conduct in the matter of his relations with his French mistress and natural daughter. The story of Wordsworth's *liaison* with a French lady in France was published to the world for the first time by Prof. Harper, an American scholar in his "Life of William Wordsworth." Prof. Legouis made further investigations into the matter and brought out the results in the columns of a French periodical in 1922. Was the moral transgression of the great poet who was himself a staunch exponent of the essential principles of morality, inexcusable? Does the discovery of the relationship involve a "*Preis-sturz*", a fall in our estimation of the poet, as Prof. Alois Brandl puts it in a recent article in the "Deutsche Rundschau"? Prof. Legouis is of opinion that it does not "as Wordsworth's responsibilities are singularly diminished by the pressure of circumstances." And what are the circumstances of the episode?

Wordsworth, fresh from the university went to Orleans in 1791 with no ideas of entering upon a regular career in life. The ardour of the young poet's blood was very great in those days, as is evident from passages in his later poems depicting his erstwhile feelings. At Orleans he picked up an acquaintance with Annette Vallon, a young lady older than himself by two years, and from her he learnt French. The young woman gave him that sympathy and love which the preternatural animal sensibility and the fresh poetic ardour of his youth seem to have then stood in so much need of. In 1792 a daughter was born. Financial difficulties prevented a regular union. Wordsworth returned to England probably to seek assistance from his guardians. In the meantime war broke out between England and France. Annette appealed to Wordsworth to come to her, and though Wordsworth actually went over to France, the danger of political

complications that lurked for him there, prevented him from doing justice to Annette. "He kept waiting and fretting for many weary months, doing nothing while the war raged on." He gave vent to his afflicted feelings and found solace in writing poems like "The Mad Mother." But the lapse of time had sufficiently changed Wordsworth's perspective to make him realise that his alliance with a lady from whom he was separated by language, taste and temperament, was a mistake. The crisis came in 1802 when he fell in love with Maty Hutchinson, his future wife. He probably made a clean breast of the affair to her and, before marriage, started for Calais to meet Annette and his natural daughter. With his daughter by his side at Calais he thought out the sonnet beginning with the lines. "It's a beauteous evening calm and free." "During that month everything seems to have passed simply, gently, quietly, without either transports or outbreaks." The English lover and the French sweetheart probably agreed to resume their independence and absolve each other from their old views.

Do these facts not sufficiently justify Wordsworth's conduct which certainly was not one of coldness? As Prof. Legouis puts it. "It was the suddenness of the war rather than his own will that prevented him from making amends for his youthful error. It was the long duration of the war that made him turn his thoughts towards another woman, when the ten years that elapsed since 1792 has almost changed his identity. He did not hide the past from the wife he elected after a long delay; and, on the other hand, he knew how to turn his former beloved into a friend for life".

At the end of the essay, Prof. Legouis enters into a discussion as to whether it is proper for critics to raise the question about the morality or personal details of the life of an eminent artist—a nature-sent messenger. Should truth be made subservient to a higher object? Prof. Legouis gives the answer in unequivocal terms: "It is impossible for the critic to put up with such omissions to deform the image of Truth". The question can be viewed from another standpoint. How far will our knowledge of the

personal life of the artist affect our estimation of his work, especially when the artist's message runs or appears to run against the course of his personal example and life? Straight-laced puritanic views are of course to be ruled out of order here; yet if between profession and practice a great gulf yawns, is not our estimate of the artist bound to suffer?

Be this as it may, in Wordsworth's case, his reputation does not suffer in the least, for his conduct, as we have seen above, is amply justified by circumstances. Besides, we may be sure that this early episode in his life will certainly have enabled him to transmute all that there was of dross in him into pure gold!

L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR

OIL: By Upton Sinclair, published by the Author, Pasadena, Cal.

The unsavory facts of the Teapot Dome scandal have spread. That is a quality that belongs to oil. A somewhat less commonplace circumstance is that certain of the men implicated have already been apprehended, and this fact has rather heightened than lessened public interest in the matter.

Many different views of this picture of a nation's shame have been presented; and it is only to be expected that the novelist, should sooner or later try his hand. The book "Revelry" which was brought out this spring—apparently in considerable haste—was nevertheless so effectively written that threats were made to suppress it,—a fortunate circumstance which no doubt doubled its sale.

Now comes Upton Sinclair, one of the very few American novelists who has an international reputation, with "Oil", a book which takes its place easily in the forefront of American achievements in the field of fiction even as it jumps to first place in his own list of memorable novels. "Oil", says one critic, "cannot help but make an impression in America". He might better have said, in the world at large, for, wherever the greasy trail of oil is found, the fame of this amazing book is bound to follow.

It is not necessary to be an American, for instance, to enjoy the description of the visit of one of the oil kings to "Paradise",—the home of

another oil magnate, a visit which took place one day when it was "a hundred and fourteen in the shade, and no shade." Very interesting were the disclosures that took place that day, and—if one is to believe these two gentlemen—similar disclosures may any day, take place in any country that is blessed, or cursed, with oil. Bunny never divulged what he heard that day; but the author of "Oil" tells, and he tells the tale extremely well, letting the reader see the inside workings of the machinery that brought Teapot Dome to the centre of the political stage in American life.

Said Bunny's father, that day at the ranch after his distinguished visitor had gone:

"There has got to be oil and we fellers that know how to get it out of the ground are the ones that are doing it. I'm on the inside where I can watch it. You may talk about laws, but there's economic laws, too, and no government can stand against them, no more than anybody else. When the government does fool things, then people find a way to get around it, and business men that do it are no more to blame than any other kind of men. This is an oil age and when you try to shut oil off from production it's just like you tried to dam Niagara Falls. We're playing the game on a national scale, that's all."

"Oil", be it said, is an up-to-date novel,—(up to date American, I suppose I should have said) though 'perhaps-up-to-the minute, is better. One prayerfully hopes that not all Americans, and more particularly, not all American young folks, conduct themselves as to Upton Sinclair's characters; but that the book presents certain trends in the United States today, no one can deny. There are episodes in it that will shock Boston but which will cause Hollywood to scream; and there are others that Boston will acclaim, but which Hollywood will not like at all.

May well one critic speak of the Tolstoyan ease with which the author grasps the big theme of the novel. This reviewer was struck with the truly Dickensian artistry shown in the delineation of the many characters that crowd the pages; but one does not think of a "novel" and of "characters" as much as of a passing show of

living, breathing human beings. Good and bad, rich and poor, radical and reactionary, honest and dishonest, strait-laced and vulgar,—everyone claims the sympathy and the understanding,—if not the approbation of the reader. It is not life as most of us would live it, not even perhaps as we would have it lived: but it is life. These are no puppets that this brilliant and fearless craftsman has designed. They live and move and, have their being; and they will continue so to do, one suspects, long after Teapot Dome has gone the way of all political infamies.

One follows the development of the hero's history,—this poor rich young man—with almost breathless attention. It is an amazingly complex pattern of present day life in the U. S. that the writer has created. He has woven across the warp of business, religion, politics, diplomatic intrigue, war, jails and jazz, the woof of chance friendships, ephemeral loves, age-long hates and broken lives. It is at once a strange and bizarre, and a conventional design that Upton Sinclair has given us in this the first full length novel that has come from his pen in several years. Here and there in the bewildering fabric of human joys and woes, absurdities and tragedies, run seemingly broken threads that appear and reappear with their scarlet shame, their yellow trickery and chicanery, their drab prosaicism or their black brutality. But these are all a part of the fabric. They belong in it,—every one of them. They are an intrinsic part of the colour scheme and the design of the cloth. Herein lies the cleverness and skill of the author. It is because of this that "Oil" is one of the outstanding novels of this generation of "flaming youth", perhaps, indeed, of several generations to come. Upton Sinclair has again put his country and the world in his debt.

BLANCHE WATSON.

MISCELLANEOUS

ANCIENT INDIAN TRIBES By Bimal Churn Law, M.A., B.L., PH.D. Published by Motilal Banarsi Dass, Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot, Lahore.

Mr. B. C. Law deals with fine ancient Indian

Tribes in this volume. They are the Kasis, the Kosalas, the Asmakas, the Magadhas and the Bhojas. The author, has utilized all available materials found both in Sanskrit and Pali literature. He has shown the importance of the study of Pali to the re-construction of much of the untrodden path in the history of India. He has drawn his information mainly from original sources, but he has not taken the pains to have them properly arranged. Facts there are, but they are not systematically presented.

Passing on to the illustrations found in the book, we have the figure on the frontispiece consisting of some men, a woman drawing water, a number of trees, a cow and so on represents, the author suggests, Anathapindika, one of the wealthy merchants and ardent disciples of the Buddha. Mr. Law would have been nearer the truth if he had said that the figure represents the Jetavana Monastery of which Anathapindika was the renowned donor. The details of the sculpture bear sufficient testimony to it. The figure opposite page 24, consisting of five figures, two in the sitting posture with a halo of light around their head and the rest standing has been identified as representing Bodhi suttas or Bodhi sattvas. Scholars, who know something at least of ancient Indian sculptures, may be aware of the fact that only Buddhas are represented with the halo and not Bodhi sattvas. The latter is the stage previous to that of the Buddha. How the author saw in those figures Bodhi sattvas, it is hard to imagine. The tuft of hair on the head could not have misled him for that is a common feature of all Gandhara sculpture. The illustration facing page 54 has been wrongly identified with Pasenadi or Prasajit of Kosala. That illustration consists of a Royal Prince riding upon a horse with attendants on all sides; one of them is holding an umbrella over the head of the prince; some are holding the hoofs of the horse; others are seen reverentially bowing down with *anjali* bandha. What could this figure represent? In any life of Gautama Buddha we find that he stole out of his palace at Kapilavastu at dead of night upon the horse Kantaka; the Gods were then in attendance on him; some of them held in the

palm of their hands the hoofs of the horse lest it should make noise and awaken the inmates of the palace and thereby prevent his marching out of the palace. The illustration on page 45 depicts all these facts. It is therefore clear that the figure represents Gautama going out, and has nothing to do with Pasenadi of Kosala.

The title of the series "the Punjab Oriental (Sanskrit) Series" is rather misleading. In this series we find some valuable Sanskrit and Prakrita Texts printed; certain other works like the English Translation of the Jaina Jatakas, the Principles of Indian Silpaśāstra. Ancient Tribes of India, Ancient Indian colony of Siam etc. These works cannot it seems to us, appropriately come under the general name of the series i. e., the Punjab Oriental (Sanskrit) series.

T. R. C. MANI.

FURTHER DIALOGUES OF THE BUDDHA
PART II, TRANSLATED: By Lord Chalmers. Oxford University Press.

The first part of this translation has been already reviewed in the columns of this journal. The second part continues to maintain the high literary level and accuracy of the first part. It is evident, the translator, has been put to some difficulty on account of the poverty of expressions in the English Language to connote certain ideas which are peculiarly Indian. Lord Chalmers might perhaps have done well if he had not attempted to translate such words and phrases, but had put them in their original form.

Some of the suttas in this work, may dispel some of the misconceptions which people entertain with regard to the doctrines propounded by the Buddha. Nihilism is not what was taught by Gautama. It was the ingenuity of philosophers like Nagarjuna that gave rise to the conception of *Sunya*. In this connection, attention may be invited to the following suttas in the translation: "Omniscience and Omnipotence" "The real super-man" (V-91), "The real Union with Brahma" (V-99), "Yes, there are Gods" (V-100) and so on. Besides providing evidence of Brahminical influence on Buddhist thought, thereby showing that Buddhism is only a

rebel child of Brahminism, these suttas reveal clearly that the original doctrines of the Buddha were materially different from the Buddhism of modern times—Buddhism which is the result of the teachings of such scholars as Nagarjuna, Dingnaga, Dharmakirti, Santarakshita and so on.

T. R. C. MANI.

What Thinkers Think

The Meaning of Marriage.

Marriage continues to be a burning topic of current thought in the Western world. It is engaging the attention of some of the best thinkers and is being discussed both in the press and the pulpit with a frankness which is indicative of the anxious interest aroused on the question. The Rev. John Hayans Holmes delivered some time ago a series of thought-provoking sermons on the subject at the Community Church, New York. These have now been published in pamphlet form. We give below some interesting excerpts relating to the fundamentals of the problem. Dealing with the meaning of marriage and the motives that lead to the union between man and woman in the status of the family the Rev. Holmes said:

In the first place, there is the function of Reproduction. Sex relationship is a means to the perpetuation of the race. It is the one means nature seems to have devised for the continuance of life upon this planet. . . . In the beginning it would seem as though nature had no means of insuring her survival except by extending the results of the reproductive process into terms of infinity. But gradually there came a change. . . . Quantity gave way to quality. Nature, of her own volition, seemed to be narrowing the range of sex relations, putting limitations and restrictions upon the reproductive process, that life might not merely expand in area, but climb in level of aspiration and attainment.

It is at this point that man and his control of the sex relationship come along. What nature seems

to have begun by some blind instinct for race improvement, man now took up with conscious and deliberate purpose. His argument was perfectly simple. The fruit of the sex relation is offspring. The advent of offspring is fruitful in its turn for good or evil to humanity. . . . The idea, says Bernard Shaw, that sex intercourse "is a private concern between the two parties with which society has nothing to do," is too ridiculous to be considered. What has, or what may have, social consequences of unmeasured good or ill, must inevitably be put under the control of social sanctions. And it is the recognition of this fact that has given us the institution of marriage! From earliest times to the present day, society has insisted upon its right to regulate the sex relation in the interest of the race. This regulation, in the past, has taken various forms. . . . Promiscuity has yielded to polygamy or polyandry, to temporary monogamy and these have been followed, in all higher societies, by the system of monogamy which we have today.

But this is not the whole of the story. Marriage, in any full and perfect sense of the word, cannot be confined to reproduction. The most beautiful part of a true marriage, in the closing years, comes after the reproductive process is over. Many wonderful marriages, for one reason or another, prove to be unfruitful. Many persons enter into the marriage relation without any thought of children, or definitely with the thought of not having any children at least in the early years. All of which means that there is something else involved in marriage besides reproduction! And we find this something else when we recognize that there is a second aspect of function of the sex relation—that aspect or function which we call "Love." By this is meant the practice of sex intercourse as an end in itself as well as a means to the end of procreation.

The idea of Love as a definite function of sex, as an experience having a validity and a beauty of its

own, is an idea which runs precisely counter to many of our most cherished traditions. Especially in religion is there an understanding of life which makes this altogether abhorrent to the spiritual mind. In Christianity, for example, there has always been the ascetic ideal which has presented the sex relation as something shameful and wrong, an evidence of the sinful nature of man, a token of the fall of the human race in Adam. It is true that its exercise is necessary to the continuance of the human race and thus to obedience to God's command to "increase and multiply." But an evil is no less an evil because it is a necessary evil. The true man of God will not indulge in it, and the ordinary man will do so only as a means to the end of procreation. Nor is this idea confined to Christianity! We find it also in India, in the person of Mahatma Gandhi, for example, who teaches nothing more rigorously than the doctrine that there must be no intercourse between men and women, even in the marital relation, except for purposes of offspring. This idea always appears in any philosophy of religion which presents in sharp antithesis the flesh and the spirit. If we believe as Paul believed that "the flesh lusteth against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh," then we must assent to the conclusion that the practice of the sex relation is a sin, except as a necessary means to the reproduction of human kind.

But men have never been willing to assent to this counsel of perfection. They have always insisted that the instincts of the body are not base; that these instincts, on the contrary, must have an essential quality of their own which is good and beautiful. A sort of divine common sense, in other words, has taught the race that, whatever theology may say, flesh and spirit are not antagonistic, but the two sides, so to speak, of the same great reality of being. So men have practiced love by an instinct as wholesome as that of procreation. In the beginning, of course, this practice moved on the low plane of physical indulgence. As with the animals, it was all a matter of appetite. Man ranged abroad indiscriminately and promiscuously, and took his mate wherever chance allowed or impulse dictated. Then gradually the same experience transpired with the lover that had already transpired with the parent. This lover began to discover the virtue of quality as contrasted with quantity as an end and aim of life. Rising constantly in the scale of being, he learned to measure experience in terms not of multiplicity but of intensity. He began to see that when love was practiced with anybody and everybody, it became a

cheap and worthless thing; whereas, when it was guarded and controlled as something precious in itself, as a gift to be bestowed rarely and then with all the heart, it revealed possibilities of ecstasy and beauty never dreamed of in previous experience.

Slowly but surely, in other words, there dawned upon man's mind the great discovery that it is concentration and not dispersion of energy, singleness and not variety of purpose, a plumbing of the depths and not a skimming of the surface, which opens up the real secret of happiness. Whereupon man began to do deliberately, by definite intention, what certain of his animal progenitors, such as the birds and the higher mammals, had learned to do blindly, by some unerring instinct of nature—namely, to seek a single mate with whom love might be an exclusive possession and experience. He did it feebly and haltingly in the beginning—the primitive appetites of the flesh were still strong within him. But the trend was there. There might be many mates, but there was only one at a time. There might be a harem, but there was always a favourite wife. There might be a mistress, but one mistress for love as one wife for the family. Then came that final step which we are still in process of taking today—that climax of the whole evolutionary progress of the sexes—that the mistress shall be the wife and the wife the mistress, that we shall make the woman we love the mother of our children and the mother of our children the woman we love.

It is here that marriage appears in fulfilment of its function as the regulator and controller of the sex relation between men and women. From this point of view, marriage is not merely the proper condition for procreation, to the end of the best and highest interests of the human race; it is also the proper condition for sex intercourse, to the end of the best and highest interests of the individual. With marriage as the sanctification of love, there has come for the first time the full discovery of what was only suggested before, in the indiscriminate and therefore unsatisfactory conditions of free relationship—that love is an art, which must be practised and mastered like any other art. Sex experience, in other words, is so delicate a thing, it contains such depths of mystery and such potencies of beauty, it is so all compact of wonder and delight, that, like painting, or music, or the dance, it requires a life-time of concentration, of undivided devotion, to reveal its holy secrets. One cannot plunge into singing or oratory, by virtue of mere instinct, and expect to know what it is all about.

Two things have with these two become forevermore impossible. The one is separation; they are what Plato describes so wonderfully as two hemispheres which live only as they combine to make the perfect round. The other is division of affection, the sharing of love with others; they are what Count Keyserling describes so vividly as two foci in a single elliptical field of force which can share their attraction with no third. In these higher reaches of sex experience, in other words, we have a relation which is permanent and exclusive. All of which means that the spiritual fulfilment implicit in the sex relation, that successful practice of the art of love through the mastery of the technique of intercourse, necessarily incarnates itself at the end in the institution of monogamous marriage! Hence the futility, in the last analysis, of all our rules and regulations, our penalties of law and custom, for the protection of the marital relation. If it exists at all, it exists because of its own inherent worth and inner sanctity. We can say of it, as Voltaire said of God, that if it did not exist, it would be necessary to invent it.

Marriage, therefore, as an attempt to control and dignify the sex relation, has to do not merely with reproduction but with love; and from this stand-point may be defined as the method of regulating love to the end of purifying and exalting the individual personality. "Sexual intercourse," says Count Keyserling, "not only operates productively as regards the birth of children, but also in the case of the parents themselves." This shows why we get married. To beget and rear children, undoubtedly, and therewith to enrich the outer life of human kind; but also to practice the disciplined and consecrated ways of love that we may enrich our own inner lives as individuals! Marriage, that is, has to do not only with parents but with lovers, and with both on the basis of the monogamous relation.

Personal Relationship in Marriage

The World Tomorrow for June is a special number on Marriage with more than half a dozen articles on the various aspects of the problem, but with particular emphasis on the aspects of personal relationships. The first article makes a survey of some typical instances of unsuccessful marriages and draws the following conclusion as a working hypothesis:

Marriage is a functional relationship between a male and a female organism, involving normally sexual intercourse and the bearing of children. "The twain shall become one flesh." But it is more than this; it is a functional relationship between two personalities, made up of habits, friendships, aversions, property, ideals, attitudes, purposes, possibilities. Love is the emotion which arises when two personalities stimulate, facilitate and reinforce each other—when they function together in progressive integration. But if they thwart each other—in physical functioning, in spiritual aspiration, or even in seemingly trivial tastes and wishes; if they hamper, or coerce, or defraud, or enslave one another, then marriage becomes a disaster. No man and woman perfectly inspire and supplement each other. Marriage is a creative undertaking—progressively to eliminate the thwartings and increase the points of mutual release and joint attainment. To that end love is not merely an emotion, but also a method—the method which must underlie all permanently creative social relations.

Success in Marriage

Another writer, Mr. Frederick Harris, considers in the factors that contribute to success in marital partnership and the possibilities of creative companionship. In the course of a closely reasoned article he says:

The opinion of the present writer is that the personal relationship involved in marriage is on the way to success when the depth and range of the interest shared between the two partners are sufficient to make the common enterprise significant and rewarding to both. It is obvious that on such a definition, success means something different to people and to the same people at progressive stages of their experience. It involves not an achievement but a process. As so strange a mentor as H. L. Mencken has observed, marriage is not like selecting an automobile or joining the Elks; it is like entering a monastery or enlisting for a war. It is a way of living with another person. It is a partnership whose meaning, as in the case of all partnerships, depends upon the area of interest which is shared.

The ordinary theory is that man and wife form a partnership in which all of life is shared. If this completeness of sharing were taken as the test of successful achievement, there would be little success to record. As a matter of fact, casual observation tends to impress one with the narrow range of

the interests which most husbands and wives do share. To whom does the house usually belong? Whose taste is displayed in its furnishings? In the midst of modern city life, children may actually command little interest on the part of either parent. Companionship and recreation are essentials of a balanced life. Taking a dozen married couples selected at random, what is the proportion of actual sharing in these activities? Religion has been a puzzle of many children because practices which one parent seems to regard as fundamental are entirely neglected by the other. The sex experience itself may be highly distasteful to one while it is eagerly sought by the other. There is plenty of evidence, too, of another type of difficulty. A man and woman who share much at the start grow older: new interests emerge and suddenly they awaken to the fact that they are leading separate lives. Again, some striking experience may transform one partner and leave the other cold. Even under the best of circumstances, there are ranges of experience which are not shared between husband and wife and some few perhaps which never can be shared.

The facts are plain enough, but the matter cannot be left at this point. How much sharing is necessary? Where does success leave off and failure begin?

There are no fixed points. We can estimate success in such a personal relationship only with regard to the persons concerned. One can imagine that in the early days of most marriages romantic affection is the supreme interest; and for a while this may be sufficient. Success at the moment makes an intense but very narrow demand. As the days go on, husband and wife begin to face real situations. Homely needs arise—place to live in, food, companionship, recreation, religion, love; and then there emerge the new interests. As this experience proceeds from the wedding, presumably different people are reasonably well satisfied at different levels. Since we have to consider not only range but also depth of interest, in some cases the sharing of a very few vital concerns may create a stable arrangement. It is extremely precarious to make positive statements where our knowledge is so strictly limited, but one may suspect that the marital relationship between a man and a woman becomes more and more successful as the number of shared interests steadily increases. Such a procedure suggests that these two have found partnership such an interesting experience that they are continuing their explorations. Each new interest of one is submitted to the other as a possible basis for further extension of the relationship.

The picture usually drawn of a successful marriage represents a mild peace gradually deepening to deadly monotony. This is not the case with those who are ever expanding the area of their shared interests. Life is adventurous and exciting. The whole attempt to form a real co-operation involves many disagreements, some trivial, some really serious—"the tragic tension of marriage" of which Count Keyserling speaks. It is the personal adjustment over many contacts that is difficult and dangerous, holding alike the possibilities of the noblest satisfaction and of the deepest degradation. Let our too-confident radicals ever bear in mind that the profound conflicts of life appear not where each goes his own way but where the two are trying to work together.

While it may be a sound insight which suspects that a marriage in which the shared interests are steadily dwindling is on the way to dissolution, it is surely necessary to remember that some people are temperamentally unfit for any extensive sharing. These suave armed neutralities which have received so much publicity of late, wherein the husband simply visits the wife at more or less regular intervals, are quite possibly sound arrangements for certain men and women. How is any outsider to determine what exact bounds should be set in any particular case?

But personal relationships do break down, publicly and privately. When husband and wife have ceased to share interests that are of real moment, the marriage as a personal relationship breaks down, whether or not the man and woman continue to live under the same roof. They may grin and bear the misery and nuisance—basking in the urbane approval, perhaps, of their moral and religious mentors—but the partnership, the new creation, the contribution to the development of the universe, is gone. A man and a woman may both be doing a splendid work in the world and yet fail to make good in a marital relationship with each other. It is the partnership which counts always in the end.

The Price of Marital Success

But success in this, as in every other partnership, demands its own price and time. Mr. Harris says:

It is idle to deny that an extensive marital partnership does involve a certain sacrifice of individuality. It seems quite clear that perfectly happy marriages, successful on any test, in some cases have actually destroyed the effectiveness of individual genius not only in women but also in men. The

delightful notion that marriage makes a man more successful in everything else in life has an element of truth in it, but it is to be feared that it is based on the theory that a woman's function is simply to serve this general success of her husband. Actually, if marriage is to be really a partnership and not a stereotyped form of slavery for either one or other, then time and effort and individuality must be freely offered. One must risk his wealth to win a prize.

This question of individuality is probably not so serious where there is true mutuality. We know that it is a dream that we can keep all our individuality and yet share completely in a marital experience. Possibly, however, no one minds surrendering it to the other person which arouses our just protest. When one partner gives up to the other, partnership ceases: this is a revival of the ancient slavery. On the other hand to face a new situation hand in glove with a real husband or wife—bah, what is individuality after all? Most of us are rather streaky in our distinctiveness. We are individualistic at one point and purely conventional at another. If we are to pull out of these complex situations, we cannot be too finicky. A working relationship would provide for a real freedom where the shoe pinches either man or wife and an equal sharing elsewhere. Those who will hold out on their principles of individuality, however, must be prepared to accept a narrower and less rewarding experience in marriage. It all depends upon what they want in life.

It is plain that on this view of marriage, the personal relationship must be entirely experimental from the wedding to the grave. Again, let it be emphasized that no reference is intended here to divorce or to trial marriage. Humanity is so passionately sure that some new social device will get us out of the present crisis in marriage that it is almost impossible to secure any consideration for an attempt to work the means that we possess. What we shall do with the failures is no concern of this present consideration. Here we are endeavouring, somewhat laboriously perhaps, to say how one may possibly make a go of it. It does seem that the personal relationship is doomed unless we can enter it with open mind. If either partner has a previously-formed pattern of what the other must be, there are stormy times ahead.

Marital slavery is, indeed, hell on earth; but marital partnership is a personal experience which is capable of yielding supreme satisfaction. To be associated with another person in any useful enterprise is the saltiest kind of fun. To be asso-

ciated with the same person in a whole variety of vital enterprises is real living. Is it not an enrichment of life when it is discovered that any interest of ours also interests another person? The closer it concerns us, the deeper is the satisfaction in sharing. We rightly repudiate the outrages committed on personality in the domestic prisons of human history. But that should not lead us to a failure to appreciate what may result from an utter and complete pledging of one personality with another in the creation of a new and far-reaching experience.

The Sexual Element in Marriage

The writer has the following advice to give regarding the strictly sexual element in marriage which, according to him, is a superb opportunity for sharing and enriching experience. He says:

The strictly sexual element in marriage, however, is its distinctive feature; and it is a superb opportunity for sharing an enriching experience. Contrary to ordinary opinion, this is the place where we can least trust the so-called guidance of Nature. We are not flowers or bees or birds or domestic animals; we are human beings. Our deeper impulses are the raw materials out of which we can create the artistic structure of our experience. The biological needs of our bodies, for example, require food to meet them; but man at his best does not gorge like the animals. We have expended much effort to make eating attractive. Even the homely ham sandwich is high art compared with a tiger's meal. Hunger has been used as a basis for the enrichment of experience. The sexual impulse lies ready for such use.

Preparation for Marriage

The third article, entitled "Before Marriage—what?" is a joint contribution by Ernest R. Groves, Professor of Sociology in the Boston University and his wife. The writers deal with the importance of training in the early years of the individual for making marriage a success. What constitutes a proper preparation according to them, is brought out in the following picture they depict of the early training of a contented pair. They write:

The weaning of the children from parental fixation was begun in earliest childhood, when the little

ones were encouraged to depend on themselves in every possible way and to meet strange persons and situations with confidence. The baby in his bassinet kicked and wriggled contentedly in his waking time, contented whether alone or attended by an admiring relative since he had always been used to making the most of his powers instead of calling on someone else for amusement. The toddler took his bumps with becoming calm, not expecting them to be productive of dramatic cuddlings and kisses, for no connection had even been established between the two series of happenings. At three and four the child enjoyed playing with other children and made friends easily with older people outside the family, unhampered by self-consciousness or timidity, as he learned by experience, reinforced by the attitude of home, that there was much to be gained and little to be feared from new contacts.

Throughout his school life the child that was being trained to be emotionally independent developed whatever special abilities he had, even if they ran counter to his parents' preconceived hopes for him; in this way he took out an insurance against excessive feelings of inferiority in the inevitable experiences of being snubbed by circumstances or his mates.

As pre-adolescent he was given all the freedom he could use in his choice of friends and leisure activities, and in the period of adolescence he naturally moved still farther out from the shadow of parental protection, counselling with his father and mother as to the value of this and that course of action, but making his own decisions whenever feasible.

At no point in his stumbling progress from the dependence of babyhood to the self-reliance of adult life was he urged by his parents to express for them more affection than he was spontaneously moved to show, never was he held down to the level of behavior supposed to be suitable for his tender age: always he was allowed to go forward as fast as he would in casting off the supports that must otherwise have acted as hindrances to his maturing powers.

In this way the home has made its finest contribution to the preparation of its young for the successful establishment of their own family life. Freedom from emotional bondage to their parents is the most useful wedding present ever given to any young couple, but it is not a condition that can be brought about by effort of will on the eve of the wedding day; it is an end-product of a gradual

substitution of self-guidance for home-supervision that has been going on for years.

Besides this freedom from emotional bondage those in charge of the home have to give the child also the proper conception of the basic facts of life, including knowledge of sex-functions. The writers say:

Aside from its chief opportunity in the training of its children for the assumption of adult responsibility, that they may leave behind them the home of their youth and enter the experiences of their own married life unshackled by infantile attachments. The family holds a strategic place in the marriage preparation of young people since it is in a position to color their acceptance of the basic facts of life which necessarily form so large a part of any marriage. The family that derides its four-year-old son's love of dolls on the ground that it is unmanly and refuses to permit the boy of five or six to have a dog as pet because of the annoyance this causes some other member of the family is doing its utmost to quench at its source the future father's paternal affection, so that he will at least be hesitant in the expression of tenderness for his children.

That home where sex knowledge is relegated to the byways of news mongering, thereby getting coated with morbid interest, makes it hard for the children as they grow up to have wholesome attitudes toward love and marriage. The position of the home in regard to sex is likely to affect the girl more than her brother; the pronouncements of the family heads are specifically directed toward her as a rule, and she usually seems to feel less free than the boy to talk over such matters with her mates. The girl who is taught at home that sex is not to be spoken of nor thought about is being given a bad sendoff for her honeymoon in the years to come. Since the first days of marriage tend to give the keynote for those that are to follow, this is a serious matter.

The home that is truly democratic, with no one person—be it child or mother or father—too much in control, is preparing its young members for the give and take of married life. The transient friction that is likely to accompany the free interplay of the different personalities within the family circle is more than offset by the tolerant companionability developed through the constant making of new adjustments between brothers and sisters, children and parents.

Mrs. and Prof. Groves ask us to note one important point in regard to this period of

preparation. It is that, whatever may be the programme of training planned by the parents, which is given in response to the youngsters' demands is most effective. They observe:

No parent can refuse to let the awkward four-year-old help in the doing of odd jobs about the house, and find the same child ten years later an eager learner when the adult considers that the time has come to teach the alphabet of housekeeping, either at the kitchen work-table or the handy-man's workbench.

At each age level the needs of the children in their home training for marriage change. As soon as they have mastered the elements of the work they see going on around them they want new fields to conquer. For efficiency's sake the parent is tempted to require of each child the doing of those daily tasks which he does most satisfactorily, regardless of the fact that the development of the child in self-reliance is best served by his turning from the easy assignment to one that till now has just eluded his grasp. How many daughters help in the household routine for half a dozen years by "doing dishes," when they long to be experimenting with the practical chemistry of cooking. "It helps me more to have you wash the dishes," says Mother. "I can get the meals in half the time it would take to show you how to do it; and besides, I can't afford to have you wasting things. Sugar and butter and eggs are too expensive for you to fool around with. Wait till you get married and have to pay for them yourself; then you'll be a little more careful." What Mother does not see is that the strain of untried responsibility she is putting on the early days of married life for her daughter adds measurably to the difficulty of the bride's adjustment to her new status.

Not only should the girl have a chance to learn to cook in her mother's kitchen, both she and her brother need practice in managing the finances of a household. The canny parents will see that the adolescent child has an occasional opportunity to run the house with a free hand, doing all the ordering and taking account of every expense incurred. This experience would naturally come when the mother is sick or away, though it might be an advantage to have a preliminary tryout at some time when she is especially busy, as she could then be consulted on questionable points. It is unfair to the future homes of the boy and girl to handicap them in their begin-

ning with the anxiety and irritation so likely to be engendered by unaccustomed financial burdens.

Pre-marriage Sex-relationships, and the Pleasure Philosophy

The authors then refer to the importance of health as a pre-requisite to marriage and proceed to deal with the delicate question of pre-marriage sex-relationships. Here is their grave warning to American youth on the dangers of indulging in such freedom and adopting the pleasure-philosophy that lies behind it:

Young people who think themselves modern in the nonchalance with which they engage in promiscuous necking as distinct from tentative courting are apt to be surprised at the rapidity with which their courtship possibilities diminish. Wasting their time in the desultory pursuit of mere physical stimulation, they squander the years when they are best fitted to attract a mate, and have to show for their expenditure of youthful vitality only an increased appetite for a type of pleasure which their advancing age makes them less and less able to win. The girl perhaps feels that she must "have a good time while she can before settling down to married life," never supposing that she is in danger of being left high and dry as a permanently single woman unless she accepts the alternative of marriage with a man who does not greatly appeal to her—just because she ignored her deep craving for a lifemate, while toying with passion alone. The man may persuade himself that he is "in no position to marry" until he has saved a definite number of hundreds or thousands of dollars or attained a salary that he considers sufficient to support a wife and family "suitably"; when this point has been reached he may be so set in the rut of bachelorhood that he continually postpones marriage on one pretext or another until he has lost confidence in his ability to adjust to the strange role of a family man. In either case, the man who has waited unnecessarily before marrying seldom thinks of seeking a wife from among his acquaintance of his own age, but goes to the ranks of the younger women, thus narrowing the marriage chances of the women who have stopped to sample life's wares before attending to the serious business of finding a mate.

Although many of our youth use these pre-marriage experiences of passion as a means for temporary

pleasure during the years of waiting, without any intention of relinquishing their matrimonial opportunities, it is becoming clear, as the new freedom gets a longer testing, that the girls especially run risk of losing the husband and children their hearts desire by playing with a poor substitute.

In a period of transition such as the American family is now passing through, experimentation and conflict of ideals are bound to occur. It is easy to exaggerate the practical effect of this on the behavior of young people, but there is certainly among youth who possess social standing a code of conduct talked by some and practiced by others which justifies pre-marriage sex relations. This is in part a consequence of the prevailing pleasure philosophy which colors all social experience and in part the result of the passing of the taboo basis of sex control as the idea of contraception is popularised.

The advocates of the new freedom claim that sex expression is more natural and more wholesome physically, socially and morally than attempts at control or sublimation during their pre-marriage period of waiting. They maintain that it harms no one and gives, through experience, a basis for maturity of understanding and judgment which makes later marriage more likely to succeed. They interpret the code of sex control as merely society's method of avoiding illegitimate children and argue that with birth control there is no longer reason for the former restrictions.

The various stages of sex relationship seem to be: petting, not unlike that carried on by the present generation of adults in their youth when they were courting; petting of a more intimate sort which in the past was contrary to the standards, of good taste, sex relations for mere transitory entertainment; sex relations accompanied by temporary comradeship; sex relations in a legal, companionate marriage with the understanding that either person has the right to demand release; companionate marriage with no reservations as to permanence; marriage with the idea of a possible divorce; and orthodox marriage with confidence and willingness to have children.

How to Save Modern Youth?

In the closing portion of their article, Prof. and Mrs. Groves address themselves to the difficult question of how to save present day youths from the pit that yawns before them. They ask:

In an atmosphere of such anarchistic trends

respecting family values what shall we who believe in marriage say to present-day youth, many of them sincerely perplexed as to what course to pursue? An appeal to moral authority is, of course, unconvincing to those who have repudiated our code.

First of all it must be said that the confidence of youth in their freedom from risk in pre-marriage intercourse is, in the light of actual cases of pregnancy, excessive. If the authors' knowledge of pregnancy of extraordinary pathos among girls of social opportunity is fairly representative of widespread conditions, the program of freedom is not so safe as youth assume. Sex relationships also are only in theory easily begun and easily ended by mutual agreement. When affection is already present the pre-marriage relationship by its inherent limitations, in contrast with full fellowship, frequently destroys what had all the marks of true affection; where real affection has not existed there is always the possibility of either the man or woman discovering that his or her deepest cravings are for something passion cannot satisfy and then the inevitable separation brings bitterness and loss of idealism.

The most serious result of the code of freedom is its necessary emphasis of sex in the association of youth and its tendency to retard or destroy the normal development of love. Out of sex attraction civilization has brought forth the affection of men and women for each other and now by stress upon one element in the relationship lovers are replaced by males and females seeking each other for the mere pleasure of passion. Such a program, once it is popularised, will quickly empty the reservoir of idealism which, stored under the former code, is at present concealing from some the moral risks of the new freedom.

We adults who believe in marriage need to recognize that social conditions for which youth are not responsible are victimising them and tempting them to exchange fundamental values for temporary pleasure. Youth today are not merely experiencing the normal difficulties of sex adjustment. On every hand they are artificially sex stimulated. Our generation has learned to capitalize sex and our youth have to form their ideals at a time when a considerable portion of the power to direct the press and popular recreation and other forms of social suggestion is in the hands of persons who so long as money can be made out of sex cravings care not how sex is exploited or with what consequences to human happiness.

Industrial conditions, wasteful educational methods and false standards of living delay marriage while

youth are brought under the influence of suggestions that are exciting human nature. Explosive conduct is the natural result. The seduction comes primarily from a materialism which in its spoiling of the natural cravings of youth for love, experience and family satisfaction reveals how quickly, if given right of way, it would destroy all spiritual values.

When Marriage May be Broken?

Before answering this last, but not the least important question, Prof. Qubank, head of the department of Sociology in the University of Cincinnati, the writer of the concluding article in the series, probes into the fundamental objects of marriage and the functions that the family fulfills in human progress. Here are his main conclusions:

First: *The propagation of the species.* While of course biologically children may be born as well out of wedlock as within, it is safe to assume that as a general rule those born of unmarried parents are unwanted. That accidental and undesired children are often born of married parents is true but in general the thoughts of those who wed are "childward."

Second: *The protection and care of the members of the family, and especially of the offspring.* The experience of the race has found no adequate substitute for the home. The home as an economic entity, and as a group of persons united by affectional bonds of peculiar strength, gives an interest and a security which is rarely found in any other relationship. Because of this the whole trend of modern social service in regard to the care of dependent children is to find for them a foster home when a parental home is lacking.

Third: *The socialization of the members of the family, and especially of its children.* The family is a little social world of its own. Here, more effectively than anywhere else, are to be learned those elementary but basic lessons in the adjustment of persons to one another, and in the fine art of living together, without which that peculiar complexity known as human society could not continue. Once more, we are confronted with the age-long experience of mankind that no effective alternative for the family can be found in this socializing process.

Fourth and most important of all, spiritually considered: *The life enrichment of the members of the family.* This function could not come to fruition so

long as women and children were considered as mere property. Not until emancipation gave women a status of equality with their mates, and their own altered attitudes, together with educational opportunity, made it possible for them to be companions of their husbands. Could this fourth objective be attained. One of the glories of modern civilization is the creation of a situation in which men and women upon marriage can become spiritual comrades and co-equal participants in a fellowship of the fruits of affection.

The four functions of marriage above listed may be reduced to this single statement: *The purpose of the human family is to bring into being, to conserve and to develop human personality.* It is impossible, of course, to define this mysterious and elusive thing, just as it is impossible to define life itself; but we recognize it as that element in the human being which gives validity to his existence. In spite of its limitations and defects, which are all too apparent, the family more adequately fulfils this great, complex purpose than does any other human institution. As such it is in truth "divine," being born of "the nature of the world and of man." And marriage is the formal expression of individual and social sanction of family life.

When, then, may marriage be broken? *Only at the point where its continuation is a genuine, irremediable and permanent violation of the personalities of its members.* Not otherwise!

The Hindu Ideal of Marriage

It would be of interest with reference to the views expressed above to know the Hindu ideal of marriage. Prof. Radhakrishnan thus summarises that ideal in his book *The Hindu View of Life*.

The Hindu ideal emphasises the individual and the social aspects of the institution of marriage. Man is not a tyrant nor is woman a slave, but both are servants of a higher ideal to which their individual inclinations are to be subordinated. Sensual love is sublimated into self-forgetful devotion. Marriage for the Hindu is a problem and not a datum. Except in the pages of fiction we do not have a passage, only with each other in everything, tastes and temper, ideals and interests. Irreducible peculiarities their will always be, and the task of the institution of marriage is to use these differences to promote a harmonious life. Imagination and passions are the raw material which are to be worked up into an ideal whole. Though there is some choice with regard to

our mates, there is a larger element of chance in the best of marriages. Carve as we will that mysterious block of which our life is made, the black vein of destiny, of chance, whatever we may call it, appears again and again in it. That marriage is successful which transforms a chance mate into a life companion. Marriage is not the end of the struggle, it is but the beginning of a strenuous life where we attempt to realise a larger ideal by subordinating our private interests and inclinations. Service of a common ideal can bind together the most unlike individuals. Love demands its sacrifices. By restraint and endurance, we raise love to the likeness of the divine.

Rural Reconstruction

Mr. K. T. Paul writes:—

In connection with the Rural Service Exhibition held in Madras about the end of August, the Trustees administering the Rural Reconstruction Fund instituted by the Hon. Mr. A. Ranganatha Mudaliar have decided to offer two prizes of Rs. 50 each for the best paper in the English language on the following topics:—

- I. How a teacher can most constructively assist the Rural Reconstruction Movement in South India?
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The merits of the papers will be judged by a Committee consisting of

1. Rao Bahadur N. Gopalaswamy Iyengar, B.A. (Registrar-General of Village Panchayats, Madras.)
2. Mr. K. T. Paul (of the Y. M. C. A.) &
3. Mr. V. Venkatasubbiah, B.A. (of the Servants of India Society, Royapettah, Madras.)

On the recommendation of this Committee the final decision will be made by the Trustees. Competition is open to anyone of either sex in

the Madras Presidency, Mysore, Travancore and Cochin. A competitor may attempt both subjects if he chooses to do so.

Papers should not exceed 4000 words and should be submitted by the 15th November 1927 to Mr. V. Venkatasubbiah by registered post.

The idea is commendable and we hope a good number of essays would pour in.

Letter to the Editor

To the Editor of CURRENT THOUGHT:

Sir,

In the little article I contributed to your June issue, entitled 'Worthy Names and the Nameworthy', I stressed certain words as important to be borne in mind in our growing towards higher, worthier conceptions of our supreme Good or Well than we can express in negations, such as 'immortality', nirwana'. These words were 'will, worth, way, ward, *werden*, well'. The last but one was misprinted as 'warden'. We have lost our equivalent of the German 'werden'.

But *werden* is perhaps the strongest, the most precious of all those strong precious words. It expresses our humanity in its most essential, its most indispensable aspect: that of growing, or coming to be. We can say 'becoming', but it is a weaker word with a dual meaning. Whenever we 'will' the better, the 'more-well,' whenever we 'worth' that, whenever we choose the way 'thereto, whenever we 'ward' the worth the way has so far brought us to in the will to the better, we thereby and therein *werden*, we are what we were not before, we have been growing. We are without hope if there be for us no *Werden*, no becoming, no coming to be!

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