

VOL. 3

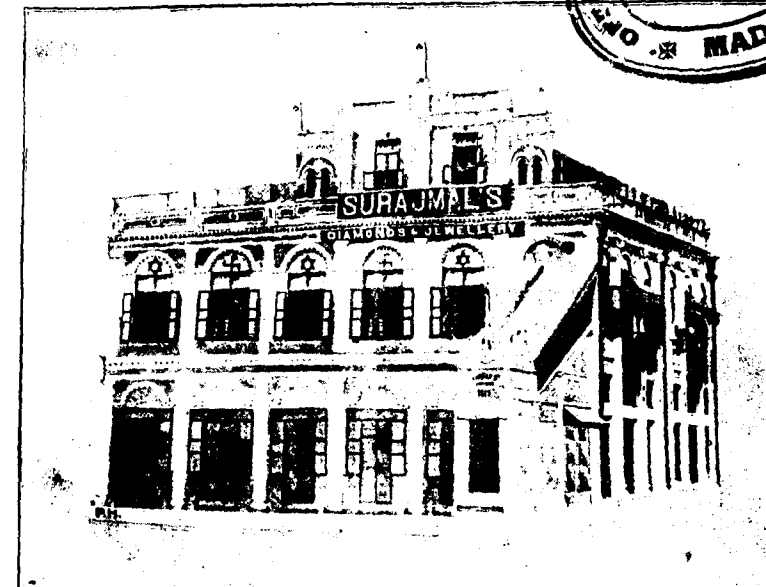
NO. 6

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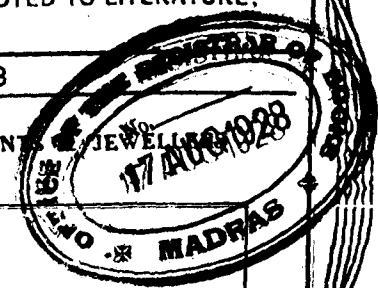


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EDITORS:

V. K. SUBRAMANIA IYER, B. A.

E. H. PARAMESWARAN, M. A., L. T.



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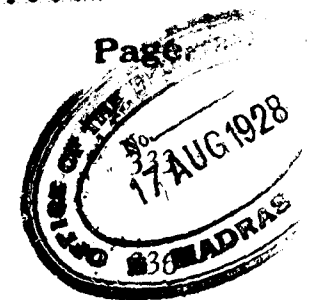
VOL. III

MARCH 1928

NO. 6.

CONTENTS:

1. Late Lord Oxford and Asquith By E. V. S.	
2. Law and Life By V. Sundaram. B. A.	
3. Pioneers of Modern Science By S. Venkataraman, B. A.	340
4. The Statutory Commission and the Swaraj Constitution By E. N. Subrahmanyam, M. A., B. L.	347
5. Message to Young Men By T. L. Vaswani	353
6. On a Razor By Mr. K. Iswara Dutt	357
7. The Horse's Prayer	359
8. A Song By Mrinalini Bonnerjee	360
9. The Conqueror and the Conquered in Kautilya By N. S. Viswarathier	361
10. Impressions of Sabarmati By Aurthur Holitscher	368
11. The Next Step By Duncan Greenlees, M. A.	372
12. Some Thoughts on Gokhale By A. V. K. Krishnan Menon, M. A., L. T.	376
13. For Whom Dost Thou Sing? By C. N. S.	380
14. Reviews and Notices of Books	381
15. Our Competitions	384



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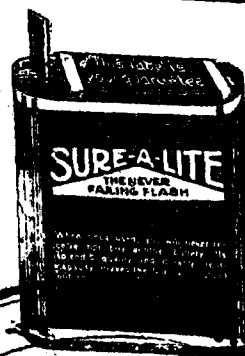
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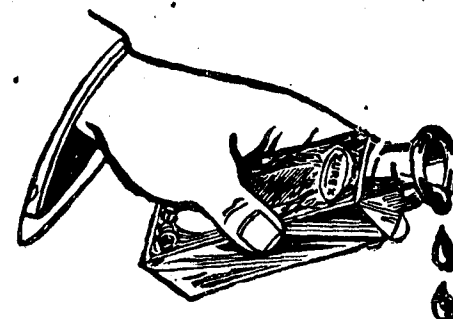
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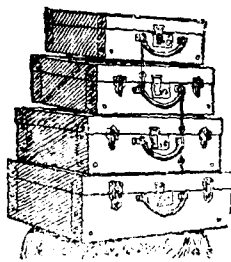
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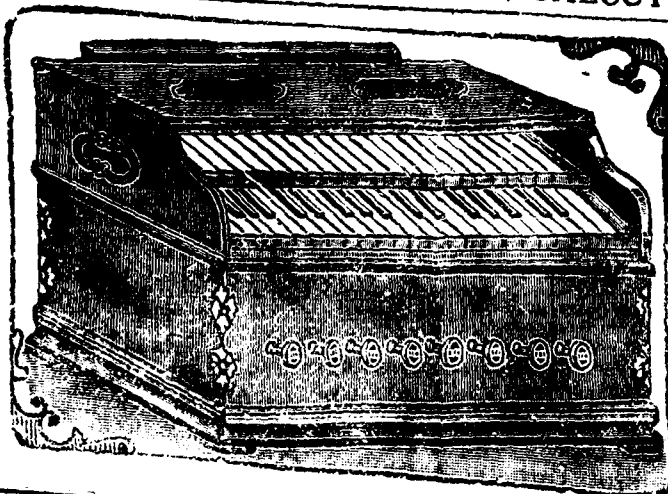
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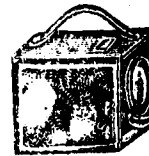
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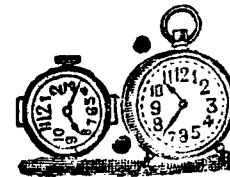
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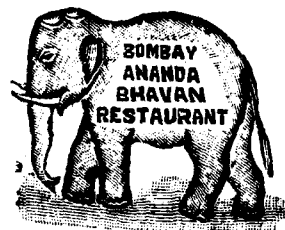


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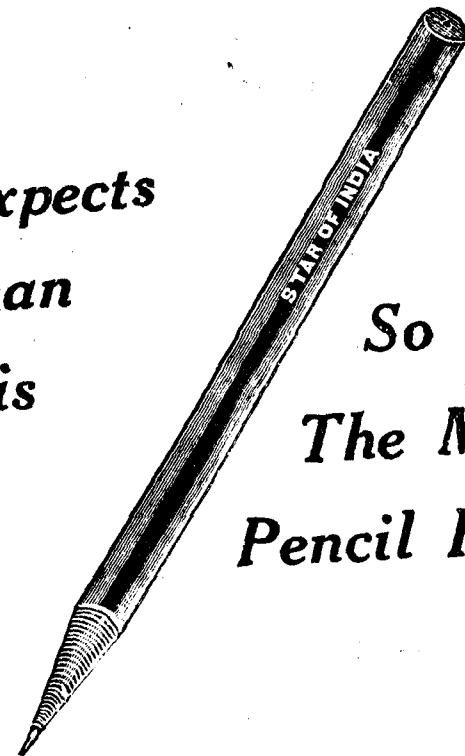
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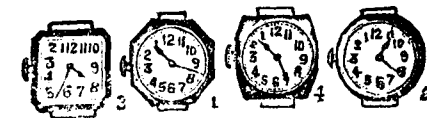
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LATE LORD ASQUITH AND OXFORD.

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LATE LORD OXFORD AND ASQUITH



WITHIN a few weeks of each other, two figures prominently connected with the greatest event of modern history have left this world for a better one. Hardly had the British Nation time to recover from the shock of the death of the veteran Field Marshall Earl Haig, when the news of the passing away of, perhaps, the greatest and most intellectual of British Statesmen plunged the nation once again into the deepest grief. The death of Lord Oxford and Asquith does not merely mark the end of an illustrious career; it also signifies the close of that epoch which witnessed the rise of a galaxy of Victorian statesmen who shed lustre on the British name. He was indeed the 'last of the great Parliamentarians', as Mr. Ramsay MacDonald called him. He was an institution in himself and represented what is best in the English political world. For nearly half a century, he played a most important part in the political life of Great Britain. For full eight years, he directed the Ship of State as the Premier of England and it fell to his lot not merely to take the awful and fatal step of deciding to plunge his country into the greatest war of history but also to undertake the much graver responsibility of guiding it for half the period during which the convulsion lasted. The universal tributes paid everywhere his name is known, is

sufficient index to the greatness of the departed statesman. It is significant also that in the paeans of praise that are sung now, it is those who differed from him more often than they who saw eye to eye with him and fought with him for other things, that figure most.

It is very interesting to trace the career of this illustrious life. He was born at Morley in Yorkshire in 1852 and was thus 76 years old when he died. Educated at the City of London school, he went with a scholarship to Balliol and followed up a brilliant career at Oxford by making an enviable reputation at the Bar. He married in 1877, but his first wife died in 1891 leaving three sons and one daughter. In 1894, he married again the accomplished Emma Alice Margaret (now famous to the world as 'Morgot' Asquith) and by her, Lord Asquith has one son and one daughter.

A distinguished scholar and litterateur, he was an Hon. D. C. L. of Oxford and Durham and Hon. L. L. D. of Edinburgh, Glasgow and Cambridge, Leeds, St. Andrews and Bristol. He was also Lord Rector of Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities, and Elder Brother of Trinity House, since 1909. The most important of his publications is his "Fifty Years of Public Life".

But though he made his mark as a successful lawyer, his real field of work lay in politics. He entered Parliament in 1886 and relinquished a fine practice at the Bar when he was appointed by Mr. Gladstone as Home Secretary in 1892, though he had to resume it afterwards. He became the Chancellor of Exchequer in 1905 and was responsible for introducing Old Age Pensions and the Licencing Bill. He was elected Prime minister in 1908 from which post he directed the Ship of State for a period of eight years, during which period he succeeded in forcing through Parliament despite the most strenuous opposition, the Parliament Bill of 1911, abolishing the veto of the House of Lords and introduced the Home Rule Bill of 1912.

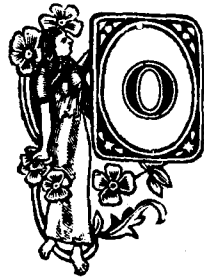
But these achievements in the domestic domain pales into insignificance by the side of the part he was called upon to play in the great war. When the world crisis came at the end of July 1914, it found in Lord Asquith a man equal to the occasion. It is not necessary here to trace the circumstances that led to his resignation in April 1916 and to the rise of Mr. Lloyd George. With his fall from power, he retired voluntarily into the background though he continued to lead the Liberal Party of which,

he was such an illustrious exponent until 1926 when he formally resigned the leadership. Only a few other points remain to be noted in his later career. He was translated to the Peerage in January 1925 and became the Earl of Oxford and Asquith. Never a rich man, a group of friends in 1927, subscribed for him a lump sum of £ 10,000 and an annuity of £ 3,500, so that he might spend the rest of his life in dignity and comfort. It is significant that among the donors figured prominently many who did not belong to the Liberal School of politics.

It only remains for us to trace in as brief a compass as possible the salient traits which distinguished him. Lord Asquith was incomparably the most powerful debator in the House of Commons. Dignity of presence, an almost unrivalled mastery of language, a trenchant dialectic, a just and honourable mind, a personal character which was above reproach--these marked him out as the great man that he was. His capacity for work was remarkable; his strength of mind was backed up by a physic which was equal to any burden. But he was devoid of the ambition that spurs lesser men though he pitched his aim pretty high and steadily worked and fought for it. "No statesman", says Mr. A. G. Gardiner, 'ever came to greater distinction with less pushfulness and self advertisement, or with a mere deliberate avoidance of the arts of the demagogue. He leaves the lime light to those who love it. He has a wholesome scorn of the lime light, and a dislike for all the insincerities and affectations that make for popularity. His public bearing is some what stiff and unbearing. It is the attitude of one who is always on guard over himself, who fears that geniality is only another word for weakness, and who refuses to wear his heart on his sleeve for daws to peck at. He does not invite enthusiasm nor easily respond to it, and if he makes a railway journey he avoids way-side demonstrations and draws the window blind of the carriage'. In these characteristic words Mr. A. G. G. points to the clue as to why Lord Asquith, with all his brilliant attainments, was not exactly a popular figure. Such an attitude can only spring up from the consciousness of innate power which Lord Asquith possessed in no small measure. Be it as it may if the fickle public will not give his due, posterity will certainly give it to him in full measure. The passing away of one such as he is, is a loss not merely to the political party or country to which he belonged but to the world in general.

LAW AND LIFE

A Study in Comparative Jurisprudence



BY

V. SUNDARAM, B., A.

OF the various conceptions in modern thought, there is none more profound than the conception of the universality of Law. We are coming to recognise that from the smallest electron to the mightiest solar system "nothing is that errs from law". The scientist speaks of the law of nature. To the religionist there is a law which arises from and leads the creation to God. But I do not pause to consider here the religious law or the law of nature. In the course of this article I propose to examine the relation of positive law to National and International life from the point of view of European and Hindu Jurisprudence.

Every political Government frames its own laws. The existence of law presupposes the existence of the sovereign. The existence of the sovereign implies the existence of the state. Western jurists start the study of law with an examination of the origin of the state, the relation of the state to the sovereign and the connection between the sovereign and law. The inception or the source of law is in the sovereign whether such sovereign be an individual or a body of individuals. In every civilised country the constitution of the state provides for an equitable mode of making laws and impartial method of interpretation and execution of them. But these three agencies—the legislature, the judiciary and the executive are sovereign bodies in themselves and give rise to the law of the state. Law confers on the individuals in the state certain rights. The creation and the protection of Rights may be called the Play or expression of law. The fulfilment of law consists in the establishment of peace, order and security in society. The function of law is to harmonise the interest of the individual with the overpowering demands of the state. Law restricts the false freedom of the individual for the attainment of the highest good to the state. As Kant expresses it "Law ensures the condition in which the free will of one individual can be united with the free will of another". I do not wish to enter into the different theories of the origin of the state,

the views of Austin and his critics on the question "whether the sovereign is limited by his own laws," and the excellent classification of law into public law, private law and International law. But it is necessary to point out that even in the case of International law, there is a substantive portion setting out the antecedent and remedial rights between states and an adjective portion of the law which sets out the rules relating to war, negotiation and arbitration.

I wish to dwell at some length on the relation of law and life according to the Hindu jurists. The Hindu jurists explain the origin of *Rajya* (the state) by the theory of "the logic of the fish" (*Matsya Nyaya*). When the state was not formed the logic of the fish prevailed. The strong devoured the weak like fishes, and the old, the child and the woman were unsafe. And the escape from the difficulties of perpetual warfare was found in the evolution of the state. According to the Hindu jurists, the existence of the state implies that of *Danda* or sanction and *Dandadhara* (King). But from the Mahabharata we gather that the people (*Prakriti*) were the King-makers. A compact or *Samaya* was entered into between the people and the King. The King was to take an oath or *Prathingya* "to regard the country (*Bhumi*) as *Brahma* (the highest God)." In the Mahabharata we have instances of Kings being deposed because of their incapacity to keep up the coronation oath. Some of our Smriti writers recognise the right of the people to revolt against an unjust ruler even as they enjoin on the people the duty of obedience to the commands of a just ruler. The Hindu Jurists never believed in the divine right of Kings. The King can do wrong as any other individual. The Mahabharata tells us that only a virtuous King was considered to be a part of the Gods. But a King who did not keep up his coronation oath (*Prathingya-Darbala*) was despised as a veritable demon on earth. Quite in keeping with this view of the Sovereign and his function as the administrator of law the ancient jurists of India regarded the taxes to the King as merely wages for the security which the ruler affords to the subjects. It is sometimes said that Positive law or the law of the Sovereign is unknown to the Hindu system of jurisprudence. Nothing would be farther from the truth. Hindu Sovereigns issued *edicts* and *Sasanas* to the subjects, after due consultation

with the ministers. But there was a check imposed on the autocracy of the rulers in the conception that Law in essence is of divine origin which the sovereign has to obey in common with the subjects.

The Mahabharata says "Law is the King of Kings. With its assistance the weak can prevail over the strong." Law according to the Hindus is doublefaced. The King as Dandhara is exempt from the operation of Danda. But the King as a person is still subject to punishment for disobedience to law as every other person. It is necessary to point out here that according to the Hindu conception Law invests individuals in the state with duties rather than with rights. When the king takes his oath, a duty is cast upon him to protect the people. The subjects (*Praja*) have reciprocally a duty to obey the laws of the sovereign. The end of law is twofold. In the first place Law protects the person and property of individuals in the state. In a nonstate existence there can be no property and "the child, the old and the woman would be preyed upon." Secondly, Law looks to the maintenance of *Varnashrama-dharma** or the national system of organic life by mutual functioning of the units of society on the basis of caste.

Between states, the Hindu jurists believe the logic of the fish prevails. Every King (*Raja*) aspires to become the lord of the earth (*Chakravarti*). There is thus the perpetual warfare on earth, which we witness today. The end of this warfare would mean the reign of a *Sarva-Bhuvan* (world-sovereign). The concept of *Dig-Vijaya*, or conquest in all directions implies world Sovereignty.

The Hindu system of jurisprudence is not as perfect as one would wish it to be. But in the main it would compare favourably with any system of jurisprudence ancient or modern. It is not as an ex-judge of the High Court of Madras said "a phantom of the brain imagined by Sanskritists without law and lawyers without Sanskrit." The conception of the Sovereign obeying Divine law in common with the subjects is an effective solution for the puzzles which confront the jurist at every stage of his

* Vide the present writer's articles in the "Indian Thinker" 1928 on "Indian Freedom and the Caste Ideal" for a full discussion of the system of Varnashrama Dharma.

enquiry into the relation of Sovereignty and Law. According to the conception of the Western Jurists even a Nero could be a ruler by divine right. And a King can do no wrong. Some of us, however feel rapturous at the very mention of Hume and Austin, but impatiently criticise the laws of Manu "as cruel absurdities." If we lack the wisdom or patience to appreciate the laws and usages of Ancient India, let us at least be given the good sense not to be uncharitable towards our sages and seers whose proudest achievements in the realms of culture we have no opportunity to understand. We need to recognise that in the laws of Moses as in the laws of Manu, in the laws of Mahomet as in the code of Justinian, there is a divine touch that makes the whole world kin. The sun of wisdom rose in the East and travelled on to the West, though supercilious critics may say "East is East and West is West, And never the Twain shall meet."

"No man is good enough to rule another man, and no nation is good enough to rule another nation. For a man to rule himself is liberty; for a nation to rule itself is liberty. But for either to rule another is tyranny. If any nation robs another nation of its freedom it does not deserve freedom for itself and under a just God it will not long retain it"

* * *

"These are the same arguments that kings have put forth for enslaving the people in all ages of the world.... Turn it whatever way you will, whether it comes from the mouth of a king, or from the mouth of men of one race as a reason for their enslaving the men of some other race, it is the same old serpent. They all say that they bestride the necks of the people not because they want to do this but because the people are so much better off for being thus ridden. You work and I eat. You toil and I will enjoy fruits of your toil. The arguments are the same and the bondage is the same."

Abraham Lincoln.

PIONEERS OF MODERN SCIENCE

1. Galileo Galilei, Founder of Modern Physics.



BY
S. VENKATARAMAN, B. A.

TODAY, in the little church of Santa Croce at Florence, there stands a monument to the memory of a very great man. In his own time, however, this man was denounced as a heresiarch who tried to teach people "his false, impious and heretical opinions, repugnant with Holy Scripture", and was made a victim to a long list of ecclesiastical persecutions. That man was no other than Galileo Galilei, the founder of modern physical science.

Galileo Galilei was born at Pisa, in the north of Italy, on 18th of February 1564, of poor but highly cultured parents. He had his early education at a convent school in his native city and at the age of seventeen years he was sent to the University of Pisa to qualify himself for the medical profession. But very soon he abandoned the study of medicine and gave himself up whole heartedly to the study of mathematics and physics, which certainly suited him much better.

As a little boy Galileo manifested a strong inclination for making toy contrivances, so true is Wordsworth's assertion that,

"The child is father of the man"

During a service in the Cathedral at Pisa, young Galileo's attention was drawn by the swinging of the chandeliers above him. He noticed that while the amount of swinging or "the amplitude of vibration" as we say now, diminished, the rate of swinging appeared to remain the same. In order to verify this, he felt his pulse and used it as his time-index, for, clocks and watches were unknown then. By counting the number of pulse beats between one swing and the other he found that the time of oscillation remained exactly the same, until the chandelier came to a stand-still. To Galileo, who was then a medical student, this observation was a kind of revelation. He performed

a number of experiments with a metal ball suspended by threads of varying lengths and determined the time of oscillation in each case. He found that the time of swing changed with the length of the thread, being faster for shorter lengths and slower for longer lengths. The result of this discovery was the invention of his "pulsilogium" an instrument for measuring the pulse-rate of a patient. It consisted of a pointer which could be moved over a graduated circular disc. To the pivot of this pointer was attached a simple pendulum. By moving the pointer the thread was either wound up or unwound until the time of oscillation coincided with the pulse-rate of the patient. When the pointer had been adjusted thus, the pulse-rate could be directly read off from the scale.

A few years after Galileo left the University, he published a thesis on the hydrostatic balance, suggesting some improvements on the original design of Archimedes. This brought him to the notice of Ferdinand dei Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany, through whose influence he became, at the age of twenty-six, the professor of mathematics at the University of Pisa.

It now becomes necessary to see what was the method of scientific enquiry followed in the Middle Ages, in order to appreciate Galileo's work fully. In those days whenever a problem turned up for solution, the thought of solving it independently never occurred to any scholar; all that he did was to consult the books written by old masters like Plato and Aristotle. The people in the mediaeval times felt convinced that old masters were as infallible as the God Himself, and what they did not know was not worth knowing! If a learned man in Galileo's time were asked "Which would reach the earth first, a hundred pound weight or a one pound weight, when they are dropped together from the same height?", "The heavier one, surely" he would say "for Aristotle says that heavier bodies fall quicker than lighter ones". And if one incautiously suggested 'Let us try the experiment, if only to test the truth of Aristotle's statement', he was sure to be branded as a heretic and condemned to death at the stake to "have his soul cleansed", if he did not recant. Yet this simple experiment performed by Galileo was the starting point of a revolution in the scientific history. It is simply astounding to think that a simple

experiment like this had not been performed for over two thousand years.

Galileo went to the top of the famous leaning tower of Pisa—the tower is so called because it leans on one side, having been built on a weak foundation—taking with him a cannon ball weighing hundred pounds and a shot weighing one pound. He put these weights in a box, and released them together by overturning the box. The people who had gathered at the foot of the tower could not, of course, deny that the two weights hit the ground at the same instant. Still, they refused the evidence of their own visual senses, for had not the Church sanctioned the doctrines of the great Aristotle? The outcome of this experiment which was as simple as it was convincing, was that at the very beginning of his career Galileo had a very large number of enemies. Quite unmindful of the ever increasing howl of his enemies around him, Galileo persevered in his study of the motion of falling bodies and discovered, at the end of a long set of ingeniously contrived experiments, all those laws which were afterwards re-stated by Newton in his *Principia* (1687) in the form now known as Newton's Three Laws of Motion.

In the meanwhile, his enemies were doing all they could to make his professorial chair too hot to hold him and the climax was not long in coming. A very influential person of Pisa had devised a scheme for cleansing the port of Leghorn. When Galileo's opinion on the scheme was asked, he could not say anything in its favour. This very much enraged the originator of the scheme and his hostile influence made Galileo quit his chair at Pisa.

In 1592 he was appointed as the professor of mathematics at the University of Padua, by the Senate of Venice. It was whilst Galileo was at Padua that he came into world-wide prominence as the inventor of the telescope. In the year 1609 Galileo heard a rumour of a remarkable contrivance made by an optician in Holland, which not only magnified objects at a distance but also made them appear as if they were near. Galileo sat up for a whole night thinking about this marvellous instrument and before dawn he had found out its secret. He took two lenses, one a magnifying glass or a double convex

lens and the other a double concave lens or a lens which made things appear smaller than they were. These lenses he fixed at the two ends of a leaden tube. Looking through the concave lens and varying the distance between the lenses by moving the magnifying glass to and fro along the tube, he found a position in which the distant objects appeared magnified three times their size. By selecting suitable lenses he very soon succeeded in constructing a telescope which magnified distant objects a thousand times and brought them thirty times nearer. The honour of the invention of the telescope has been claimed for the Dutch optician as being the first to construct the instrument. It must be stated, however, that Galileo's telescope was of a different type altogether; this gave an erect image of a distant object, but the Dutch form gave an inverted one. It is also worth recording that Galileo's form of instrument is still in use in binocular or opera-glass. Writing to a friend about his telescope, Galileo says: "I was commanded to show it to his Serenity and to all the members of the Senate, to their infinite amazement. Many Gentlemen and senators, even the oldest, have ascended at various times the highest bell-towers in Venice to spy out ships at sea making sail for the mouth of the harbour, and have seen them clearly, though without my telescope they would have been invisible for more than two hours".

Galileo's telescope involved him in a good deal of trouble. Although the members of the Senate of Venice used it to watch the ships or some other objects at a great distance, Galileo put it to a far more important use, by turning it to the heavens for the examination of the celestial bodies. He discovered a series of most surprising revelations and each new fact encouraged him to controvert the Aristotelian doctrine of the Solar system, universally held at that time, which said that the earth stood still and that the sun, the moon and all the planets moved round the earth.

He first turned his instrument towards the moon which was regarded to be "steadily even and uniformly bright". But to his great surprise he found irregularities both in brilliance and in surface. He recognized at once that the markings on the face of the moon were mountains, craters and level plains. He next

turned his telescope to the planet Jupiter and found to his true amazement that it had four moons revolving round it. This discovery was opposed to the accepted opinion that there were only seven planets or "moving stars", viz the Sun, the Moon, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn, and that all of them revolved round the earth. On pointing the telescope to the Sun he saw spots on its surface. He examined these spots and observed that they were moving and so proved that the Sun revolves on its axis. He next examined Venus, and contrary to all accepted notions, the planet showed phases like the moon. He also discovered Saturn's "appendages", now known as Saturn's rings.

These observations of Galileo elicited a good deal of adverse criticism and some of the arguments used by his opponents are indeed very amusing. Thus, a learned Aristotelian argued that since the moons revolving round Jupiter were invisible to the naked eye, they were non-existent to the people on the earth! A dignitary of the Church rebuking Galileo said: "I have searched through Aristotle and can find nothing of the kind mentioned. Be assured, therefore, that it is a deception of your senses or your glasses". About one of his colleagues who declined even to look through his telescope Galileo wrote to his friend Kepler, the great astronomer: "Oh my dear Kepler, how I wish that we could have one hearty laugh together. Here at Padua, is the principal professor of philosophy whom I have repeatedly and urgently requested to look at the moon and planets through my glass which he pertinaciously refuses to do. Why are you not here? What shouts of laughter we should have at this glorious folly! And to hear the professor of philosophy at Pisa labouring before the Grand Duke with logical arguments, as if with magical incantations, to charm the new planets out of the sky".

In the year 1610, not long after his discovery of Jupiter's satellites, Galileo was offered the appointment of Mathematician and Philosopher to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and he readily accepted it. This very much offended the Venetians, for they had treated him very kindly in spite of his revolutionary doctrines and it was scarcely a year since their Senate had voted him

an annuity for life. Hence some of his best friends now turned his worst enemies.

His clerical enemies, the cream of the Aristotelian talent of the day, backed up by some influential members of the Venetian Republic were working most strenuously for many years to stir up Rome against him, and at last they got in the harvest on 26th of February 1616, on which day Galileo was enjoined by the Council of the Pope under pain of death "to abjure and cease to teach his false, impious and heretical doctrines."

The following year Galileo, after resigning his appointment, retired to a small villa in Arcetri in the vicinity of Florence, so as to be near his daughter Polissena who had become a nun in the convent of St. Matthew at Arcetri. The philosopher's letters to his daughter, which are still extant, throw a flood of light on the latter part of his life.

At Arcetri he wrote his great book *Dialogues on the Ptolemaic and Copernician Systems*, which was published in the year 1632. The book, as its name implies, was set in the form of a dialogue between a Copernician, an Aristotelian and another person, a good-natured Gentleman. The tense feeling of the public on reading the book can easily be imagined. As might be expected, the Church ordered its sequestration. Pope Urban, a good friend of Galileo, was induced to believe that he had been satirized under the name of Simplicio, the champion of the Aristotelians.

The Inquisition—an assembly of Cardinals which tried if possible to restore the heretic "to the pale of salvation" peremptorily summoned Galileo to Rome to answer the charge of heresy brought against him. The Inquisition condemned his book as expressing views contrary to divine revelations and in consideration of his readiness to recant it merely imposed the sentence of imprisonment for life.

In the meanwhile the anxieties of the trial had shattered the health of his daughter and she was now lying on her death bed. Galileo's wish to have a last look at her was mercifully granted, and she died in his arms.

After the death of his daughter, the broken-hearted old man was confined a prisoner in his own villa in Arcetri, his warder being—so it had been ordained by the miraculous working of Fate—his own son. Galileo devoted the last years of his life in the preparation of his work *Dialogues on Motion*, which was published under great difficulties in Amsterdam in 1639. He was nearly seventy-five years old now and his health was rapidly failing him. Only a couple of years before his death he became blind and to the infirmity of blindness he soon added the infirmity of deafness. It was about this time that Milton, the great English poet who was himself doomed to blindness, visited him as though to see a relic of some by-gone glory. Merciful Death, however, relieved Galileo of further pain by calling him away on 8th January of 1642 at the age of seventy-eight years.

We are very much distressed to be told that the activities of Galileo's persecutors did not stop with his death. The Church at first refused his dead body a burial, but later it permitted an obscure one with "no monument over the grave." Then, all his unpublished papers with the family were seized and his will was disputed. The greater part of his papers were burnt and what escaped the ordeal of fire was given back in a much damaged condition to Cosimo, the philosopher's grandson, when he took orders some years later.

As already stated there exists to-day a monument to the memory of Galileo at Florence, although the Church did not allow one to be raised when he died. One of his biographers asks: "What finer monument to Galileo's memory can there be than the old leaning tower of Pisa—that silent witness of a great experiment by the man of whom it may truly be said 'he was the founder of the experimental science'?"



THE STATUTORY COMMISSION AND THE SWARAJ CONSTITUTION

BY

E. N. SUBRAHMANYAM, M. A., B. L.

This article is particularly intended for the numerous student readers of *The Scholar*. Most of them, I am sure, would be thinking and furiously thinking about the Statutory Commission. Many of them would have even participated in the demonstrations organised all over the country on the 3rd February when the Simon Seven landed in Bombay. But I am not sure if all of them, nay, even a majority of them know fully what is meant by the Statutory Commission, why it has been appointed and why practically the whole of India has decided to have nothing to do with the Commission at any stage or in any form. I am certain that they will be still less who know the several attempts that have been made by our leaders for drafting a constitution, a constitution securing Swaraj for India. It is not enough if we go on a procession shouting *Bande Mataram*, or waving black flags. We must realise fully what we are about and why. Students should study and study intelligently all about the Commission. I propose therefore in the following pages to explain in simple language the questions I have referred to above.

What do we understand by a Statutory Commission? The word Statutory means provided for or established by Statute. What is the Statute that has provided for the appointment of the Simon Commission? The Statute that provides for it is the Reforms Act of 1919. Sec. 84. A of the Act provides:

At the expiration of a decade after the passing of this Act the Secretary of State shall submit for the approval of both Houses of Parliament the names of persons to act as a Commission for the purpose of inquiring into the working of the system of Government, the growth of education, and the development of representative institutions in British India, and matters connected therewith and the Commission shall report as to whether and to what extent it is desirable to establish the principle of responsible government, or to extend, modify or restrict the degree of responsible government then existing therein including the question whether the establishment of Second Chambers of the local legislatures is or is not desirable.

The section says that the commission should be appointed at the expiration of a decade after the passing of the Statute of 1919 and so strictly speaking the commission ought to have been appointed only towards the close of 1929 or early in 1930. In order that the provisions of the Statute may not be violated in appointing the commission two years earlier, the section referred to above had to be amended. A bill called the Statutory Commission Bill was introduced in Parliament in order to amend the section providing for the appointment of the commission *within a decade* instead of *at the expiration of a decade* after the passing of the Act. The Bill had its three readings in both the Houses and thus Parliament approved of the appointment of the Commission in 1927. "What is behind this sudden rush into hurried action?" asks Dr. Besant and answers in her own inimitable manner, "The fear of the General Election of 1929 in Great Britain. That is the Tory day of Judgment. They want to push legislation through the dying Parliament, to preserve English autocracy and privileges while they have a crushing majority."

I shall now proceed to consider the composition of the Commission and the reasons that have been offered here and in England for such a composition. The readers of *The Scholar* would be familiar with the names of Sir John and his six colleagues and also their appearances. The personnel of the Commission is

Sir John Simon (Chairman), Lord Burnham, Col. Lane Fox, Lord Strathcona, Major Cadogan, Stephen Walsh and Hartshorn in place of Major Atlee. Sir John is a great constitutional lawyer and a leading member of the Liberal Party. The rest are dark horses. It will be seen that the Commission is a Parliamentary Commission for all the members belong to one or the other House of Parliament. The Act of 1919 is silent as to the composition of the Commission. The section says "The Secretary of State shall submit for the approval of both Houses of Parliament the names of persons to act as a Commission." It does not say persons belonging to Parliament. Though the Act is silent on the matter, Lord Birkenhead said that the Parliament of 1919 could have contemplated only such a composition and Lord Chelmsford, one of the authors of the Report

on which the Act of 1919 is based, agreed with the opinion of Lord Birkenhead. So a strictly All-white Parliamentary commission has been appointed. What are their qualifications? They are all Englishmen; they have never studied India or its problems and they will go with open ears to listen to Indian opinion. Why is it a strictly Parliamentary Commission has been appointed instead of a mixed or Royal Commission? It is quite interesting to study the reasons that have been adduced.

The first objection raised is the difficulty of securing a fairly representative Commission. It was argued it would be necessary to appoint a Hindu, a Mohammedan, a Sikh, a Non-Brahmin, a Christian, a Panchama and special representatives of the aborigines and the backward tracts and of the cotton trade. 'No body who knows India' remarked Earl Winterton in moving the resolution regarding the appointment of the Statutory Commission in the House of Commons, 'will suppose that two Indian gentlemen, whatever their position or intellectual attainments could possibly represent all the political, racial and economic factors in India.' Even Mr. MacDonald put forward the difficulty of 'selection.' As Sir Sankaran Nair has rightly observed in his article contributed to *The Contemporary Review*, Indians did not want on the Commission representatives to urge the claims of their special interests but Indian Statesmen who were above class interests and had the knowledge and ability to frame a Constitution. 'Lord Birkenhead had no doubt his tongue in his cheek' remarks Sir Sankaran Nair, 'when he said that on a mixed commission he might have to put a representative of the aborigines who did not know how to read and write, who did not know according to Lord Birkenhead himself that there was a Montagu—Chelmsford Report or any reform scheme framed thereunder: who had never seen a school or court or listened to any political speech or address and who might be one coming straight from the woods and practically naked to take part in the deliberation and to instruct Sir John Simon. The whole thing is ludicrous and comic but for the tragedy involved in it.'

Another objection advanced against a mixed Commission is that there would be a multiplicity of minority and mutually contradictory reports and that the joint Parliamentary Committee

would have no real guidance. Said Lord Birkenhead, "Let us attempt to imagine the resulting situation had a body of Indians so unwieldy been appointed. Does any one suppose there would have been a unanimous report? It is indeed curious that Mr. MacDonald should echo the same sentiments. Said the leader of the Laborites and he was warmly complimented for his able speech, "It would be absolutely impossible to get a report. They would get reports. There would be a majority report and a whole series of minority reports. They would also have a series of reports signed with various paragraphs in them, with asterisks and foot-notes." Is it not preposterous that Mr. MacDonald should maintain that he still stands for the principle of self-determination?

One other reason that has been urged in support of a strictly Parliamentary Commission is that such a Commission alone would be an unbiassed body free from preconceived notions and that would be the only body whose report Parliament would be prepared to accept without any mental reservation. To say that a Commission consisting of a majority of Tories is an unbiassed body and has an open mind is as unconvincing as it is untenable. Lord Burnham is the proprietor of the *Daily Telegraph* which stoutly opposed even the Reforms of 1919. From Lord Burnham and from the three conservative members, if they are true to their principles, we may expect a report proving that the introduction of Reforms of 1919 was a great blunder and India is not yet ripe for any measure of democratic responsible Government and so that there may be a unanimous report Sir John and his two Labour Colleagues will either have to completely yield or compromise on essentials.

Though last but the most vital reason urged in support of a Parliamentary Commission is that Parliament alone has the right to determine our constitution, that upon Parliament lies the responsibility and ultimate decision a responsibility, which Earl Winterton contended, could not be shared with or handed over to any authority. India did not accept this Preamble of the Act and has emphatically denied the right of Parliament to determine our constitution.

The announcement of the appointment of the Commission on the 8th of November, 1927 was received with great indignation in the country. It did not find favour with any section of the Indian public. All our leaders, Swarajists, Moderates and others, protested loudly against the constitution of the Commission. In fact, the loudest of protests came from the moderates, men who had co-operated with the Bureaucracy in working the Reforms. They were *at last* undeceived. They expected bread; they got stone instead. Thanks to the British Government, unity was created in India as if by magic. All parties joined together to defend India's Honour. The manifesto issued by our leaders on the 14th of November put the case for the boycott of the Commission briefly but most strongly. The manifesto said: India was appealed to during the Great War to fight in it with the cry of Self-Determination. Lloyd George declared that it applied to tropical countries also. A million Indians died outside India in defence of that principle, trusting to the word of Britain pledged by her Prime Minister. Now that Britain is safe, for the time, from aggression she breaks her pledged faith with India and demands that India shall confide her immediate destiny into the hands of a Parliamentary Commission which wounds India's self respect. India will refuse to do this. We reject the Commission, we will have nothing to do with it now or hereafter. As Parliament boycotts us, we boycott the Parliamentary Commission.

Practically the whole country is on the side of boycott. In December last the Indian National Congress at Madras, the Liberal Federation at Bombay, the Muslim League at Calcutta passed unanimous resolutions to have nothing to do with the Commission at any stage or in any form. Since then three Provincial councils, the Central Provinces, Madras and U. P. and the Indian Legislative Assembly have stood by the interests of the Country and expressed their want of confidence in the Commission as at present constituted. The Hartal on the 3rd of February was a phenomenal success and Sir John and his team if they had only eyes to see, should have been convinced by now that they are not wanted in India.

The Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India have been at pains to explain that the boycott is a wrong move and that it

is based on a misunderstanding of the functions and a misconception of the intentions of the Commission. Lord Birkenhead declared that we had been given an opportunity which in his judgment had never before been given to any people who are in our position. To quote His Lordship, "We afford them (referring to the members of the Central and Provincial Committees to be set up to co-operate with the Commission) an opportunity of confronting our Commission with their own proposals which can be made public, which can be analysed and criticised and can be accepted or rejected after that analysis or criticism" and again, "We invite them, the Central Government to appoint a Committee to come and sit with our Joint Committee. They can examine the Commission's report. They have been even given a function, if they could only understand it more important than that of the commission itself." There is absolutely no difficulty to understand the hollowness underlying these words. Sir John's letter to the Viceroy and the slight changes he has suggested in the procedure of the Commission were no doubt couched in sweet and suave language but it concedes nothing in substance and confers neither any equal status nor any powers to the Indian wing. His suggestion of a joint free Conference, when analysed, is neither free nor joint. Sir John and his colleagues will have secret consultations from which Indian members will be shut out. He concedes the same right to the Indian Committees. We have no secrets to reveal. The equality conferred is verbal and not real. Our opposition to the Committee still stands. We oppose it on principle. We oppose the constitution and the whole scheme of the Commission. We deny the right of Parliament to determine our Constitution. We will make our Constitution and present it to Parliament to be passed into an Act. The nature of that constitution and the attempts that have been made in framing Constitution will form the subject of my next article.



MESSAGE TO YOUNG MEN*

BY T. L. VASWANI

Friends,

You have said many kind things about me but several of them, I am afraid, are not true. In your love for me, you speak of me as a Sadhu. I am not a Sadhu. And you have used a number of other epithets with regard to me. They are not true. I will tell you what I am. I will tell you how I conceive of myself, what is the picture of myself in my heart. I am a farmer. One of my many names is a farmer. And why do I speak of myself as a farmer?

Enter the brotherhood of the poor.

There is a pretty little story that I have read in one of those ancient books that are the inspiration of my life. In one of those ancient books we read of how one day Buddha the Blessed One stands before a rich man, a prosperous man. Buddha stands before this man with a begging bowl in his hand. He who renounced his palace, He who gave up his claim to the throne, He who forsook even the ordinary comforts of life, He who renounced all riches in order that he might enter that most blessed of human brotherhood, the brotherhood of the poor—He the Buddha stands before the prosperous man as a mendicant and says to him: "I come to you asking for alms. Give me food to eat." The prosperous man, as unfortunately the prosperous men of today are, the prosperous man is intoxicated with the thought of his riches and his power. The prosperous man, intoxicated with the idea of power, taking Buddha to be a mere beggar speaks to him insolently and says to him. "Get thee gone. Trouble me not. Thou art a beggar. Get thee gone." And Buddha like the great one that he is, is patient with the man. For this is a mark of true greatness—patience, patience with human weaknesses, patience with human limitations and frailties, patience even with the sins of man.

*Full text of the address delivered by Sadhu T. L. Vaswani at the Native High School, Palghat on the occasion of his recent visit to this place. We are indebted to Mr. G. C. Ramasubramania Iyer, B. A. L. L. R. for the full text of the address.

Have patience with the sinners

The truly great ones are patient with the worst of sinners, for evil in the eyes of the truly great ones is the light of compassion, the light of sympathy, the light of love; and Buddha is not annoyed because the rich man speaks to him insolently. Buddha with humility in his heart says to him again: "You are rich, you are blessed with abundance. Out of your great store give me a few grains and I shall be happy, for I need food to sustain my body" and the prosperous man gets more irritated. The more patient Buddha is, the more proud this prosperous man becomes and he says to the Blessed One: "What right have you to eat? I eat my daily food because I cultivate the ground, I till the soil, I sow the seed, I work, I labour—and I take my food after work. What work do you do?" And Buddha says: "Oh prosperous man! It is I who am a farmer, it is I who till the soil and sow the seed" and the rich man is half curious and is unable to understand the beggar, for He the Buddha though clothed as a beggar has divine dignity, a majestic calm about himself. He speaks the words with such authority that it immediately goes within him with its silent influence. For a moment even the heart of this proud prosperous man is touched, and he says to Buddha: "You say that you are a farmer. You say that you sow the seed. What is the seed that you sow? Let me see your seed." And Buddha says "I go from place to place sowing the seed of faith in human hearts"

Develop Shakti.

Even so, my friends, I go from place to place as a humble servant of the Buddha sowing the seed of faith in human hearts, the humble servant of all the Buddhas, of all the mighty Ones of humanity, I may say in deep humility of the heart that my true name is a farmer. I am a farmer, I am a child of silence and in my silence and seclusion I scatter the seeds. I go from place to place, from town to town, from village to village striving to scatter the seeds which the Master has given to me. I seek to send the seed into the hearts of the young in the hope and with the aspiration that in God's Providence, even in some hearts the seeds that I sow may bear some fruits. And what is the seed the Master hath given me? It is the seed of Shakti. I go

about from place to place that young and youthful men may develop Shakti, that they may be strong. I wander from village to village saying to my countrymen "Build up your manhood: for petitions and paper resolutions will not give you Swaraj." *They will not give you* the liberation you are all hungering after. Liberation is through Shakti, and the seed of Shakti I strive to scatter, I strive to sow into the hearts of some of you—I am a farmer and I have to come to your beautiful little town to sow this seed of Shakti and you have been kind enough, loving enough to let the seed be with you. I pray that the seed may grow into a beautiful mighty Youth Tree in this Town of Palghat.

The Youth Movement

One of the dreams of my life is to see youth trees planted in a number of places, youth trees under the shade of which young men may come and take rest. I know today that students and young men in many walks of life are not happy. I know the atmosphere in which they move is not one of happiness though they long for happiness. I know young men feel unhappy since their home environment is not that which gives them joy, and in schools and colleges too I am afraid they move in an atmosphere of repression. I long for the day when many young men in many parts of the Country will rest beneath the shade of the youth trees I seek to plant throughout the length and breadth of India, youth trees the shade of which will give happiness, the fruits of which will be the fruits of labour. I long for the day when the youth tree in this little town of yours may give a rich fruitage, the fruitage of Service to the poor, for believe me, the secret of the Scriptures is service to the poor, the secret of the Prophets' Songs is fellowship with the poor and wisdom implies the service of the poor.

What is wisdom?

This is the one great difference between wisdom and scholarship. A man may be a great scholar, he may have great learning but he may not have wisdom. Wisdom comes to you when knowledge is wooed with love; wisdom is born out of the union of knowledge with love, and I want to see you young men grow not merely in knowledge but also grow in the Spirit of Love. When you shall have wisdom and when you shall have this

true love in you heart of hearts, you will do true service to the nation and on the spirit of true service of the poor alone may you hope to reconstruct India. I have poured out to you one of the dreams of my heart. My friends, how may the seed that is sown, how may it grow into a beautiful youth tree! Give the seed water. Water it with love. I leave with you the water of mine eyes. Day after day at the Lotus feet of My Lord do I pray for the youth of the nation. Day after day do I pray for the coming of the day when India may be herself again, when India may recover her soul. Day after day do I pray to my Lord that India may be great again, strong again, vital again, for the service of the nation, for the service of humanity, and even as I pray tears trickle down mine eyes, and these tears are the water that I leave for the seeds to grow: tears of my prayers, tears of my silent aspirations, tears of my heart, these I leave with you. What water will you give?

Water the Youth Tree with love

My dear friends, what water will you give to nourish the tree, to let it grow into a mighty Youth Tree? I ask you the water of your love. Young men, I know, have beautiful emotions; young men, I know, have beautiful sentiments; but very often these emotions are not allowed to translate themselves into action. Very often I find young men have feelings of a far-seeing character. Several years ago there came a great man to India from another country and his observation concerning India was the observation which I know several Eastern Countries and Western Countries have made. He said Indians are over-emotional. And I do not want you to be merely emotional. I want you to translate emotion into action. You have started a youth centre. See that you keep it up. You have started a branch of this Association. See that the branch does not wither but blossom. This is my affectionate appeal to you.

(To be continued)

ON A RAZOR

BY MR. K. ISWARA DUTT

"Breathes there a man with soul so dead
Who never to himself hath said,"—

"The razor is a thing which I can never really avoid." Time was when it was the barber's pride and monopoly but alas "the times are out of joint" for him. Now it is here, there, and everywhere. And particularly the table of a fashionable gentleman is incomplete without a razor. It is as indispensable to him as a walking stick, the only difference being that he keeps the one inside and carries the other outside. The razor has indeed, a wide clientele in all parts of the globe. Without distinction of caste, colour, and creed, all, to avoid the bristling ridicule of bearded growth, submit to its universal sweep.

I wonder if the universal craze for the razor is due to man's desire for self reliance. If it were really so, he can be self-reliant in a wider measure by growing a sharp nail which is according to the ingenious Chestertonian discovery, a potential razor. Or does the razor owe its unrivalled popularity to man's sense of economy? Perhaps so. But in that case, the volume of discontent is bound to swell to dangerous dimensions to this woe-beegone country. We have unemployed doctors; we have heaps of unemployed lawyers; we have hosts of unemployed graduates. Shall we in all seriousness, perpetuate a system of self-shaving and establish a class of unemployed barbers? I invite every expert in self-shaving to consider this aspect of the question under qualms of conscience.

Be that as it may, the razor has come to stay even in a conservative country like India. It enjoys a long monarchical flight over land and sea, and appropriately enough, the privilege of a retinue—the soap-stick, the brush, and the soothing 'snow'. It makes the beard smooth and soft and imparts a youthful hue to the face. And dear reader, if it so pleases you, it wipes off "the shoe-brush stuck beneath the nose" and carries you back to "the days of the Romans and the clean shave."

An assiduous apprenticeship to the razor seems to be necessary before one can be confident of its use with perfect ease and dexterity. One has to pass through a few trying and critical moments before one can say "the razor is mine." Otherwise it is quite on the cards that his would be the plight of Hodges in the poem, who,

".....in a passion, stretched his jaws,
 Vowing the direst vengeance, with clenched claws,
 On the vile cheat that sold the goods;
 Razors! A base confounded dog!
 Not fit to scrape a hog!"

Poor Hodge! He tried one and found it wanting!

"T was a vile razor! Then the rest he tried,
 All were impostors...."

What a warning to all those who are uninitiated into the
 mysteries of self-shaving!

In his fretful experiments, the novice "unsheathes" the
 razor, draws it a few inches up and down the cheek, looks into
 the mirror at times, an inconvenient and unpalatable truth-teller,
 and finds that he has left behind one or two dark patches and
 crimson streaks. Then begin the shaking of the hand and the
 palpitation of the heart. He may be induced to try that dainty
 instrument with an appendage of blades but he is apt to find, as,
 indeed, I once did to my cost, that the safety razor has all the
 attributes of the adjective and none of the qualities of the
 noun. He might like to rush to the saloon but the fear of
 public gaze pulls him back.

Nor is the saloon in any way a piece of tonsorial paradise
 that it is advertised to be. Let a cultured friend of mine who
 was victimised there narrate his "bleeding" experiences:—"In
 the din of much crooning melody, I was soaped to ears and eyes.
 The barbers were lustily independent in their way and I went
 away musing thus:—

It is hard to part with friends
 While our hearts are full of hope
 But it is harder still to find a towel
 When our eyes are full of soap.

And how I get uneasy at the sight of that little boy who dusts
 us with a dilapidated brush!"

What an agony all this is! Verily, as Mr. Chesterton
 observes, "It would be good if we would be shaved without
 annoying any body. It would be better still if we could go un-
 shaved without annoying anybody."

Oh! how happy is the woman, the beardless wonder of
 creation, who is not confronted with the problem of the razor!

The Cosmopolitan.

THE HORSE'S PRAYER

TO THEE, MY MASTER, I offer my prayer. Feed me
 water and care for me, and, when the day's work is done, pro-
 vide me with shelter, a clean dry bed and a stall wide enough
 for me to lie down in comfort.

Always be kind to me. Talk to me. Your voice often
 means as much to me as the reins. Pat me sometimes, that I
 may serve you; the more gladly and learn to love you. Do not
 jerk the reins, and do not whip me when going up hill. Never
 strike, beat or kick me when I do not understand what you
 want, but give me a chance to understand you. Watch me,
 and if I fail to do your bidding, see if something is not wrong
 with my harness or feet.

Do not check me so that I cannot have the free use of my
 head. If you insist that I wear blinders, so that I cannot see behind
 me as it was intended I should, I pray you be careful that the
 blinders stand well out from my eyes.

Do not overload me or hitch me where water will drip on
 me. Keep me well shod. Examine my teeth when I do not eat.
 I may have an ulcerated tooth, and that, you know, is very pain-
 ful. Do not tie my head in an unnatural position, or take
 away my best defence against flies and mosquitoes by cutting
 off my tail.

I cannot tell you when I am thirsty, so give me clean cool
 water often. Save me, by all means in your power, from that
 fatal disease the glanders. I cannot tell you in words when
 I am sick, so watch me, that by signs you may know my condi-
 tions. Give me all possible shelter from the hot sun, and put a
 blanket on me, not when I am working, but when I am standing
 in the cold. Never put a frosty bit in my mouth: first warm it
 by holding it a moment in your hands.

I try to carry you and your burdens without a murmur,
 and wait patiently for you long hours of the day or night.
 Without the power to choose my shoes or path, I sometimes
 fall on the hard pavements which I have often prayed might
 not be wood but of such a nature as to give me a safe and sure

footing. Remember that I must be ready at any moment to lose my life in your service.

And finally, O MY MASTER, when my useful strength is gone, do not turn me out to starve or freeze, or sell me to some cruel owner, to be slowly tortured and starved to death; but do thou, MY MASTER, take my life in the kindest way, and your GOD will reward you here and hereafter. You will not consider me irreverent if I ask this in the name of Him who was born in a stable. Amen.

A SONG

By MRINALINI BONNERJEE

(Translated from a song by Dr. Rabindranath Tagore.)

To her I love, could I but show my heart,
Display therein the wound that she has made,
Then laughing lightly would she thus depart
Or pause to see the havoc she has played?

Ah! all my love and all my fond desires,
Are they but doomed to perish in this maze?
My secret to the haven of my heart retires,
Only I know it—lone I go my ways?

Could I but pluck my heart out like a flower,
And lay it at my lady's lovely feet,
Perchance then she would sense my love's great power
And pick it up and may be, find it sweet.

Else all unnoticed would my offering lie,
To wither in obscurity away,
What is this token of my love should die?
At least she'd know what it was meant to say.

"THE CONQUEROR AND THE CONQUERED IN KAUTILIYA"

BY N. S. VISWANATHIER.



THE test of a high-souled people is its avoidance of injury though possessed of the power and facilities therefor. No situation is more tempting to spend one's passions than that which a conqueror discovers in his relations with the conquered. Ancient history has hardly a few instances of the Conqueror that found in his conquests opportunities for real service. Neither medieval nor modern history furnishes illustrations of the spiritual efficacy of political conquest.

There is obviously nothing surprising if conquests were used for personal or national exploitation. More often than not, greed has dictated conquests in history. How could a conquest out of greed be free from the impulse that led to it? European history is but a record of achievements nurtured in passion and fed in malice. European statesmanship has yet to discover root principles sufficiently enduring and vital that could constitute foundations for a healthy fraternity of political relationships. There is not available in all the political literature of Europe or America any classical work on "Polity" that lays down sound and healthy canons of how to erect a political edifice of love and peace wherein the conquerors and the conquered can freely take part for the evolution of both on easy terms of equality and brotherhood.

The expansion of Europe in America has resulted in the extinction of the "Red Indian" and the African negro is certainly no factor to count and survives barely physically only to serve the white. The brown races are getting devitalised not, being able to put forward the needed energy and endurance to face the competition of the Westerner. Under cover of march of Civilization, languages, institutions, industries, creeds of the weaker nations get paralysed and ceasing to function get to be extinct. A dead level imitation of the ideals, manners and fashions of Europe on the part of the conquered and a supercilious commendation of the same on the part of the ruling races are visible even to the most superficial observer of men and things.

In India, this disaster seems to be more and more getting accentuated. The native languages of the country are fast sinking into insignificance and in the rush for "English education" of a barely literary type. A generation of "literate fashionables" is coming into existence with ideals and standards completely out of tune with the inherent traditions of the country. The faith of these 'fashionables' in their own mother-tongue is little. Their ways of life are expensive and fashioned after the pattern of the Englishmen. Their patriotism is of a volatile type, safe and sure so long as the need for sacrifice does not arise.

There is need, therefore, for a clear perception of the situation and for a correct appreciation of the problem of the political relationships of the conquerors with the conquered in its real and useful aspects. Chanakya, the author of the renowned work "Arthashastra" deals with this problem in Chapter V of Book XIII of his work.

The Chapter itself has an alluring name. It is styled "Labdhaprasamana". This word covers all details that go to contribute to the formation of peace and good-will amongst the conquerer in their attitude towards the conquerors.

The primary function of the conqueror in regard to newly acquired territory is

(a) where the enemy conquered had vices, to transplant them by virtues (b) where the enemy had virtues, himself as conqueror to be possessed of double the enemy's virtues. This is a psychological statement in a pretty loose form of what ought to be in the mind of the conqueror if the good-will of the conquered had to be acquired.

Details as to what should be done to achieve the end are specifically given. It is sufficient if in the course of this article a few of these details of pretty striking significance are dealt with.

The conqueror is enjoined by Chanakya to follow the friends and leaders of the people. This is proof of the higher mentality of ancient Indian politicians. Conquest is not to be understood as affording opportunity for the conqueror to inflict upon the people his own mechanism of administration

and personnel. Though conquered, every group of people, according to Kautiliya has to be understood as an organism and the conqueror that gets an opportunity to rule over the same, has to take care that he does not disturb or paralyse its growth at all.

Hence the duty on the part of the conqueror to adopt the same mode of life, the same dress, the same language and customs as those of the conquered arises as a legitimate functioning of honest and high statesmanship. It is an obvious truth which few have the vision to discern that a living people reveal their life and vitality in their language, dress, manners and customs. Whatever happens to a nation to affect prejudicially its development in these details, is certainly a hindrance to the progress of the nation.

Judged by this test, the India of to-day presents a woeful spectacle. For the last two hundred years, a process of disintegration is visible in the country which is bound to result in complete extinction of whatever could be said to contribute to a nation's life.

India has survived up till two hundred years ago the onslaughts of invaders keeping her languages, dress and manners intact. In the last three quarters of a century, schools for disseminating English education have so numerously sprung up and instruction in an alien medium has become so fashionable and necessary that any culture without its expression in English language receives no recognition worth the name. The consequence is that quite a host of young men are trained up to handle the alien medium for purposes for which the old vernaculars would more than do. Public business is not done in the language of the country with the result that a number of costly administrative institutions have come into existence with salaried functionaries whose pay is out of all proportion to the needs of their business or the economic capacity of the country. It is an irony that whereas in other countries people profitably spend their energies in the acquisition of useful knowledge that adds to their wealth, in India her children spend the best years of their life in learning an alien medium of expression. There is no more effective

denationalising process in this country than what you discover in High Schools and colleges. Year in and year out, thousands of young men are moulded in a factory-system of education into a costly complicate life that needs to depend for sustenance on the ploughman's fruits of labour. The tendency is everywhere visible for the ploughman to evolve himself into the fashionable citizen and the ultimate perfection of this phenomenon is likely to be reached when, with more literacy, more schools, more law courts and legislatures, and with plenty of elections and council debate, the country shall sink into extinction out of sheer starvation.

It is just this failure to recognise the elementary principle as to language that is responsible for the multiplication of litigations in this country. A poor country like India cannot stand litigation under the expensive conditions in which it is run. As a matter of fact, the complexity it acquires is by reason of the alien medium (English) in which it is worked. Is it not legitimate to have the Statute book in your own vernaculars and is it not just that law-courts should function only in the languages of the people for whom the courts themselves are intended? A proceeding in a law court where the judge records in English, decides in English while the materials for decision are in the language of the litigants—the paymasters of the judges, is a tragic specimen of enormous waste of time, money and energy. Those who have experience of law courts in this country do know that it is difficult to reach a finality as to adjudication in a cause for the simple reason that the adjudication that is meant to decide the dispute is dubiously worded as to give rise to fresh arenas of fight. Instances are not rare of how extravagant obiters of some emotional judges paved the way for an abundant supply of fresh litigation. The most tragic of all is that a swarming mass of heavy case-law founded on no definite basic root-principles but expressive of mental projections of particular high placed functionaries known as judges and writ in confused alien tongue is growing in bulk and is quite a good enough material to hoodwink the adjudicating functionaries whose faith in themselves is little but in the printed out-put known as reports is abundant.

The aforesaid observations are sufficient in themselves to make out a case for languages of the country to be retained

and developed as the media of public business. Chanakya with the true insight into things, makes insistence on the preservation and development of the languages of the conquered.

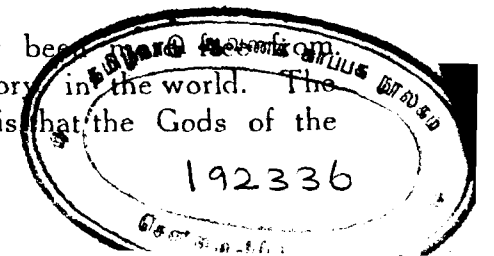
The next is where Chanakya insists on the conqueror adopting the dress of the conquered. In India the reverse is happening into perfection. A uniform with a hat to crown is becoming the badge of efficiency. A "sticking on" to the dress of the country is inefficiency and inertia and the general impression seems to be that to have the old apparel is to court extinction with an order of things that is passing away.

As a consequence of a general mentality of this kind, there is more expenditure now in clothing in this country than it was some years ago. Clothing superfluous, cumbrous and costly has in many cases become the normal apparel with the result that what should have been food for the starving land-less labourer gets out of the country with its substitute in the costly, glossy apparel imported from abroad. Chanakya could never reconcile himself with a functioning of this kind in a conqueror. Bread is the root of life and no right of conquest can be pleaded to deprive a people of what they are entitled to their bread and their labour.

A commercial civilization cannot in the very nature of things appreciate this elementary canon of political justice that a right by conquest does never give the right to impose the conqueror's goods on the conquered and take out of them their bread. Chanakya, Brahmin, as he was, fully conversant with a philosophy that discerns God everywhere, could not and did not maintain that conquest meant exploitation. How much of blood-shed could be avoided if only modern statesmen have a tithe of Chanakya's vision!

The brilliance of Chanakya is again easily visible in that he enjoins the conqueror to respect the religions of the conquered and to favour with gifts of land and money those amongst the conquered who deserved them by reason of their education, piety and character.

Indian political history has certainly been more religious wars than any other history in the world. The cardinal principle of Kautilya's politics is that the Gods of the



conquered are just as good as those of the Conqueror. Indian History abounds with illustrations of how tribes of people mercilessly driven by fanatic races had to seek shelter in our country and found a warm welcome with grants of land from the then reigning functionaries. There are numerous grants of more than some hundred years old in favour of Christian Missions, Mussalman Mosques from Hindu Rajas. The Moghul princes too under the influence of an elevating culture of this kind had granted endowments to Hindu temples and charities. There have been grants of Dharmasanam villages to Brahmin Srothriyas for preservation of Vedic learning by Mussalman Nababs. Hence facts are fairly obvious to show that this ideal of respecting other religions has been sought to be kept in view as far as possible. It is doubtful whether Modern Europe or America recognises this principle. At any rate tolerance, even in its most passive form, is only a civic necessity in Europe or America and certainly not a positive attitude of mind. Chanakya would not be content with 'tolerance' but would insist on an attitude of vital appreciation of other religions, and high reverence for their followers.

The excellence of Chanakya's statesmanship reaches its high water-mark when he says that every guild, village, caste of the conquered shall be made to feel that in their permanent affluence and progress lies the well-being of the conqueror himself. It is just this attitude that discloses the root principle of ancient Hindu political philosophy. Is it not a painful spectacle that for the last one hundred years our villages have been disintegrating, and ancient business guilds have ceased to function and are extinct? Modern city in India is a challenge to the village and the development of urban life, in reference to population or activities is but a confession of the extinction of the Indian village in its organic aspect. Possibly the most regrettable administrative blunder in the history of British Rule is the institution of the ryot-wari system with no link like the village community between the Government and the ryot. If the Government is efficient, it is tragically so; for, the ryot for whom it is intended has in the last few decades lost courage, endurance and initiative and power of organisation and has no organisation to look to of which he can be a part and in which he can function with profit to himself and to his government.

A good many other interesting canons of sound political advice on various other matters of detail find place in the said chapter V of the 13th book of "Artha Sastra." The basic principle of them all is "conquest is opportunity for the conqueror to be of use to the conquered."

How much of a statesmanship, of this kind, founded on a higher vision than the barely commercial, or the arrogant racial is necessary now?

It is an obvious fact that time and distance are no longer factors to count in the history of the world. Either a nation is alert and finds its place in the competing welter of nations or gets extinguished in inanition. Should it not be that nations are made to realise the easy crisp French Maxim "Noblesse oblige"? Kautilya, more than 2500 years ago, discovered with a Brahmin's vision that conquest meant opportunity for doing good. How much of a beacon light could Brahminism be if the modern Brahmin would avoid his hankering after office and, in the fashion of his great ancestor of old, give wisdom to conquerors in the council halls of the Nations that conquest is opportunity for doing good but not exploitation?

—*—

We do not need more material development, we need more spiritual development. We do not need more intellectual power, we need more moral power. We do not need more knowledge, we need more character. We do not need more government, we need more culture. We do not need more law, we need more religion. We do not need more of the things that are seen, we need more of the things that are unseen"—President Coolidge.

—

The greatest principle of the Aryan culture is freedom of thought. In Hinduism you have people having different conceptions of God and yet they are all Hindus because they know that all men are not in the same stage of evolution. Every one believes according to his state of evolution. Hinduism, is, therefore, a democratic religion. --Swami Satyadev.

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IMPRESSIONS OF SABARMATI

By Arthur Holitscher

Translated from the German by

L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR

(Continued from the last Issue)



GAIN for a moment I held the hands of this man in mine own. Our looks crossed each other in the nearest proximity. Then I departed.

Kasturibai, the Mahatma's wife is short of stature and soft as a child, like a very young maiden. She had been betrothed to her husband even while they were children. She looked as if she had suddenly stopped growing in her childhood. She was dressed in a red Sari which was wound round her body. She folded her small, still, wet hands in front of her smiling mouth, in token of greeting, this was the inexpressibly charming gesture with which the Hindus greet each other.

The same youthful glow in her eyes, as in her husband's, illuminative of the shining soul within the same unmentionable sweetness in this old, young face, as in that of the man whom I had just then left. We exchanged a few words. I inquired about her husband's health, after the strain of his journey through Cutch. She thanked me. Why? For friendliness and good wishes.

Yet for a while we spoke on.

Behind the small child-like hands folded as if for prayer, the noble face of the elderly wife smiled to me a greeting of farewell. The beaming brown eyes on the dark lovely face radiated goodness and love.

Then I left that holy spot.

The disciples of the Mahatma showed me over the Ashram which was constituted of a group of low-built houses.

On a veranda lay musical instruments, a Bin, a harp and a stringed instrument. Near the wall were stables where cows stood. Cotton plants, fruit trees, orchards, kitchen gardens with an old draw-well and flower-plants extended as far as the steep slope of the dry bed of the river Sabarmati.

IMPRESSIONS OF SABARMATI

369

Where the garden approached the banks, there were three descending terraces plastered with bricks. Here does the Mahatma hold the morning prayer, with his family, his disciples and the servants of the Ashram.

I found the workers at the charka in a large thatched building. In another spacious shed were very small charkas, made of wood, resembling, in their shape, the wheels of a wind mill or toy ship-screw; in a corner were big weaving looms with incompletely woven cloths on them. Everything stood still; for it was evening and the time for rest.

As we went past the buildings in which the foreign disciples of the Mahatma stayed a young Chinaman stepped out of the door, a very handsome, distinguished man who, as I heard, had been residing here for long. Besides there were two Englishmen,—an American and an English admiral's daughter—a recent arrival—permanently by the side of the Mahatma. A young French lady sauntered along with an Indian towards us from the garden. We entered into a conversation and talked for a while about the stress and the unbearable strain of life on the continent of Europe stricken as it was with Lies, Delusions, Greed and Despair.

Where had I seen such eyes, such questfully restless, probing eyes in which a soul's thirst showed through clear and far? Was it in Adyar, recently?

Outside, opposite to the Ashram gate, on the main road, is situated a large incomplete structure. The majority of the disciples of the Mahatma reside there, about a hundred of them, who work in the Ashram during day-time.

A group of Hindus marched towards us and stepped into the garden, a silent throng. These were returning after a funeral and were descending into the river for a bath.

My guide showed a broad red pile of buildings, a tower, plump and red, which appeared behind the trees at a turning of the main road; it was the Sabarmati Jail.

That was the prison-house into which the Mahatma was led on that eventful day of March. On the road lay worshipful men, with their foreheads pressed on the dust!

It stands there, the prison-house a short distance off from the Satyagraha Ashram, the favourite place of the Mahatma.

Darkness was falling already. We were returning to the University where I wished to be amongst the professors for some time longer and as we walked along the main road—an ancient one with ruined mosaics and falling streams—I ruminated on the fate of the great man whom I had just then left, whose look was still radiant within my soul.

The judge who had sentenced him to six years' imprisonment was Mr. Bloomfield a courteous but somewhat embarrassed official who with regretful gestures and apologetic words excused himself to the accused that he had to sentence him then on the three counts, in accordance with English legal requirements.

Mr. Bloomfield—Had he cast away his office, had he said, "I shall not do it, not I," his name might have gone down to immortality as that of Pontius Pilate who too was a small officer of the then greatest imperialistic regime but had the courage to wash his hands at the decisive hour.

Mr. Bloomfield—Now, he drinks his tea comfortably in the midst of his family, his career secured and his future assured. God bless his soul!

Yet in all India there was not one native, no Hindu, no Muslim, not even a white man who then cried out as centuries ago in that small land by the Mediterranean Sea. "We wish for Barrabas. Give us Barrabas!"

Again not one there was amongst all the Khadi-clad followers of the Mahatma who, as in that highly-civilised European city from which I hail, might have fisted down the Apostle of the Mankind with the butt-end of a musket. No, None!!

The Mahatma lives!

And on my own life I pondered, while we in dumb silence wended our way back. This life of mine is favoured above many others, lonely and unhappy as it is, grieved and pained by Sorrow,—blessed with much knowledge but racked too by many a doubt.

A small flickering flame burns here within, weak and not visible to many. But it does burn, here within. And a Will too burns here, not great, but overridden, often pressed hard by a stronger Will. But it is the will, all the same.

What am I then? What are we? Tiny fragments, particles of that Greatness, Purity, Power and Eternity which I with these mine own eyes saw shining benignantly at the portals of the future of mankind, illumining centuries to come; the impersonations of Hardness and Softness, the earthly embodiments of God, in whom I have never ceased to believe, Lenin of the West and Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi of the East!

THE ROSE

By Swami Yogananda

There is the rose—its petals, perfumed gloriously with the perfume of the Soul behind the veil of petals, we find Beauty; behind the veil of perfume, we find the suggestion of some attractive secret; behind the color, the resplendent color of some hidden beauty.

The rose came, born of the Great Beauty; the rose died melting into a Great Beyond: the rose is the language of the hidden Soul; the rose is the soft, tender, alluring, everlastingly giver of joy; and as such the rose will not fail to give joy to all those millions of human beings that are going to come in the future; the rose has charmed and pleased millions of Souls who have gone beyond; the rose is still charming millions of Souls that are now here; the rose is the preacher of eternal Joy; the rose is a bringer of pleasure; the rose is the window of eternal beauty; the rose is a reflection of God; the rose is sweet, because the God in it is sweeter still.

Love the rose, but love the Maker of the rose more, much more, for without His beauty the rose could not manifest in its resplendent beauty; the rose is visible, visibly alluring, but the beauty behind the rose is invisible. With Vision behind the mortal veil, watch the INVISIBLE BEAUTY, the Beauty which is invisibly alluring, which is the home of all roses, flowers, all beauty, all life.

THE NEXT STEP

BY DUNCAN GREENLEES, M. A.



INDIA has set before herself calmly, steadily, the only Goal in keeping with the dignity of a great Nation. How far has she realised the full meaning of that Goal? When once a Nation has declared its aim to be full independence in the shortest time, it has taken a step from which there is no retreat.

The resolution welcomed by nearly all in the Congress of Madras may be understood in various ways, so far as details are concerned. But the word *Independence* at least has only one possible meaning. Through her one truly national House of Representatives India has solemnly proclaimed that she shall be mistress in her own house. No longer will she allow interference, however kind and fatherly from England, she is resolved to guide and rule her own destiny.

How may this Independence be achieved? There are several roads open to her at the present moment and she must soon make her choice, a choice that cannot later be recalled. The story of many struggles for freedom in countries of the modern world Ireland, Egypt, Italy, America, the Spanish colonies and Greece, among others, is available for her to study, and from each of these she may learn much. But the lesson common to them all is that a people may never be freed without the deliberate consecration of an inspired few to the Cause, careless of life and safety, careless even of honour from those of their own day, and giving all that the Motherland may live.

AMERICA'S STRUGGLE.

The tale of America's fight for freedom may prove the best for India today. She too was weak and unarmed, she too was stung by unbearable wrongs to take up arms at length against the rulers of an Empire whereof she once had formed a willing part, she too began with a boycott of English goods and finally was driven to aim at Separation and Independence.

The foolish old King, George III, and his equally foolish ministers had insisted that the colonists should pay the hated tea duty, and to voice their protest a few men seized a large supply

of tea in Boston and threw it in the sea. In vain some statesmen begged their King to yield in time; the Government slowly drifted to coercion, and one day the colonists likewise took up arms. George Washington became their commander in chief, and a handful of ill-armed and undisciplined farmers met the regular troops in action near to Lexington, and secured a decisive victory on Bunker's Hill. By a special Congress called in Philadelphia a Committee was chosen to prepare a Home Rule scheme for the thirteen rebel colonies, and in that Committee Thomas Jefferson one day drew up the glorious Declaration of Independence. On the historic Fourth of July in 1776 it was signed by all the leaders of the colonies and the great Nation of America was born.

When this grand Declaration was read outside that little hall in Philadelphia, and when the mighty bell was rung in joy that now hangs honoured in the hearts of all, the whole land was thrilled with eager hope and courage. Hitherto but few had stood by the national cause; most had withheld from fear, from selfishness, or mistaken loyalty to that distant German King. Now thousands were inspired by the call to defend the freedom of the Nation newly-born; no longer was the call to rebel against the settled Government of the Land, but to defend the true National Government against the foreigners that held the country. Now thousands rushed to join colours, and Washington was sorely tried to train the recruits that crowded into the Army.

The mighty English army, supported as it was by some colonists, slowly crumbled before the insurgent people. From French and Irish, ever England's most bitter foes, aid was freely sent; and at last came the crowning triumphs at Saratoga and York Town. The English armies of occupation handed in their arms, and unwillingly the English Government acknowledged that America was free, seven years after that was first proclaimed. Today America is great and truly honoured for her gallant fight in those early days.

Ireland's Example.

Slowly the stranglehold of England on Irish culture, language, law, religion had tightened, and the national life was near its

end. Ireland's leaders for almost a century had played the futile game of sending Bill after Bill before the English Parliament never learning from their unending failures that they followed an immoral, because un-National policy. England could not respect the sincerity of a Nation's claim for freedom presented by humble suppliants at her door, and she has never learned to change dependencies to equal partners.

Only a small and much persecuted minority clung to the real tradition of an Ireland free and Irish, free as the unfathomable skies above her and filled with the fragrance of Gaelic art and chivalry. These ceaselessly kept the holy patriot fire alight,—through verse that thrilled with its depths of love and worship for the Motherland, through newspapers often crushed but always renewed in another name and town, in little village schools that dared defy the English will to anglicise the Gael.

At last, when England was busy enthroning herself more firmly in the seat of Empire, in 1916 this little band of devotees and heroes rose out in deliberate self-sacrifice, so that by their death beneath the flag of an Irish Republic, proclaimed and sanctified for ever in their blood, the Nation might be saved.

Their offering was not in vain. At first angry with these mad schoolmaster-poet rebels, the Nation swiftly rallied to their Cause as one by one they were shot in English prisons. In January 1921 the Independent Republic of Ireland, first born in the fires of Easter Week on the pens of the immortal Pearais, Conolly, Macdonagh and their comrades, was solemnly recognised in the Nation's Dail, elected by English law to be the English puppet-House. The noble act of 1916 was ratified by the united voice of Ireland's people, and Ireland stood before the world free as the sea itself. During those years the land had been almost cleared of English troops by slow guerilla war, supported more and more by the peasants as English terrorism drove them to the National Cause; slowly the Republican Government and courts replaced the English, and foreign states were on the verge of giving recognition to the Irish Government. England sued for peace, beaten by the courage of a tiny island, and by the prayers of a dying hunger-striker, Mac Suibhne; and only the

craft of a Welsh lawyer, the threat of a yet more ghastly war, and the timidity of the Irish representatives in London, ruined the Irish Cause in the very hour of triumph and saved the Empire. The condition of the country became even more miserable than before wherein her own renegade sons have become her gaoler. Yet the Republic lives on in the hearts of all who are loyal to Gael Ireland and to the deathless work of Tone and Pearais.

And India.

Is India prepared to tread that path, the only path that ever yet has led to freedom, the path of sacrifice and courage, of firmness and passionate devotion to the Motherland? Before she plunge into the fires of this holy struggle let her solemnly commune with her own heart and answer that mighty question.

How many sing "Vande Mataram" to day with fervent tongues and run next moment from the place lest their loyalty to the foreigner should be suspected? Have we in India even ten thousand men who really love their Mother more than their own lives? Have we yet our Washington, our Bolívar, our Garibaldi, Pearais?

For without such an inspired band of devotees, ready to give their all to the victory of the Cause of Right and Freedom India dare not proclaim her Independence. India's Charter of Liberty may not be signed, the bells of India's dawning dare not ring, until many are ready to guard the Mother with their lives. But if, in quiet truthfulness, her answer may ring out a Joyous "Yes!", if India's sons and daughters still remember Sivaji and Lakshmi Bai, Chandbibí and Prithvi Raj, then all joy be with her as she enters the holy struggle. If her young men and women are firm and full of faith and courage, she will surely soon be free.

Acts of Parliament have never yet availed, Independence Resolutions are a cruel farce if unsupported by sacrifice and action. Parallel Government systems are unworkable without a strong and enlightened mass-support, and only in the flames of sacrifice, only on the altar of faithfulness even unto death, can a worthy freedom ever come to birth.

SOME THOUGHTS ON GOKHALE

BY A. V. K. KRISHNA MENON M. A., L. T.



TODAY is the 19th day of February. This very day, just thirteen years ago, there passed away from our midst one of the greatest scholars and statesmen of India, Mr. G. K. Gokhale, casting a gloom over the length and breadth of this country and creating a void never to be filled up. Let me, an ardent and devoted admirer of his, on this day sacred to his memory, write out the thoughts uppermost in my mind and thus pay my humble, but none the less sincere, tribute to the beloved founder and first President of the Servants of India Society.

The study of the life history of a great and good soul is always very useful and instructive. As the poet has put it,

Lives of great men all remind us
We can make our lives sublime,
And departing, leave behind us
Footprints on the sands of time,

Footprints, that perhaps another,
Sailing o'er life's solemn main,
A forlorn and shipwrecked brother,
Seeing, shall take heart again,

The life of Gokhale is full of useful lessons for us. He has left behind him "footprints on the sands of time" which can never be effaced. It is for us, his "forlorn and shipwrecked brethren sailing over life's solemn main," to follow them and reach our goal. I do not propose here to give any sort of a life sketch of this distinguished statesman, for it is too well known to require any reiteration. What I propose to do is simply to touch on some of those characteristics of his which have made him truly great and famous.

In the first place, he was an ardent and selfless patriot. His love for India knew no bounds. As Mrs. Sarojini Naidu in her own inimitable style has said, "His heart would always return with swift and certain flight to the one immutable passion of his life, his love for that India which to him was mistress and mother, God and child in one". He himself used to say that we must "muse by day and dream by night" about the future of

SOME THOUGHTS ON GOKHALE

377

our motherland. The Servants of India Society which he founded for silent, selfless service to his mother country, bears ample testimony, if testimony were needed, to his patriotic fervour. Two other important matters wherein he rendered signal and inestimable service to his country are also worth mentioning. They are, first, his advocacy of the introduction of free and compulsory education and secondly, his warm espousal of the cause of suffering Indians in South Africa. I cannot but make a short reference here to his connection with the Fergusson College which was opened in 1885 when Gokhale had just taken his degree. He was called upon to lecture to the College classes on English Literature and Mathematics. He soon made his name. His command of the English language, his thorough grasp of the subjects he handled and his masterly manner of exposition very soon attracted a large number of students. On a very small salary which was practically a living wage, he worked for 19 years when he retired, not to take a well-earned rest, but to devote his time entirely to the service of his mother country. It is impossible to imagine a nobler example of public service and self-sacrifice.

A second noteworthy feature about him was his selfless and single-minded devotion to duty. He was indeed a true Karma-yogin. A Karmayogin, as we know from the Bhagavad Gita, is a person who performs Karma out of a sense of duty without caring for the results. Says Bhagavan Sree Krishna,

“कर्मण्येवाधिकारस्ते मा फलेषु कदाचन” (chapter II slokam 47)

“Thy right is to work only; but not to the fruits thereof”. Furthermore, as the Gita points out, a Karmayogin, even if he has no need to perform action will not sit quiet at least in the interests of the less enlightened members of society whose understanding he has no business to unsettle. This obligation to the world was recognised by sages like Janaka who, having attained perfection along the path of knowledge had no need to perform action but who did perform it for the sake of mankind. Lord Krishna says,

न मे पार्थास्ति कर्तव्यं त्रिषु लोकेषु किञ्चन

नानवाप्तमवाप्तव्यं वर्त एव च कर्मणि (chapter III slokam 22)

उत्सीदयुरिमे लोका न कुर्याम् कर्म चेदहं (Do slokam 24)

"I have, O son of Pritha, no duty, nothing that I have not gained and nothing that I have to gain, in the three worlds; yet I continue in action. If I did not do work, these worlds would perish". Thus a true Karmayogin does work out of a sense of duty and nothing else. This was what Gokhale did and hence it is that I say that he was a Karmayogin. In his touching farewell speech to the Fergusson College students, he himself said "We must seek the content that comes from duty done without thought of self".

Thirdly he was a typical example of silent, steady work. If one reads his life history, one will find that he was quite an ordinary man in the beginning of his career. The question may well be asked, "How then did he attain the eminence that he did?" The answer is, "By sheer force of steady silent work". Here then is an example for us to copy. Let us not spend our precious time in idle talk and useless discussions, in noisy excitements and spectacular demonstrations—noise and excitement, as Sadhu Vaswani has told us, never made a nation—but let us work hard and silently for the good of our mother-country as Mr. Gokhale did. An embodiment of silent work, he passed away after a glorious career of service to his country. Let us too follow his footsteps and do our best for our motherland.

A fourth characteristic of Gokhale was that he was always thorough and accurate in what he did. He was a statistician and a financier and had facts and figures at his fingers' ends. He never went wrong even in the minutest details and always won the admiration of his colleagues who found it a privilege and a pleasure to work with him. When in 1913, owing to ill health he was absent in the Council, Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson observed that his absence had created a void in Council and that that day they were, as it were, playing Hamlet with the part of the Prince of Denmark left out—a compliment which he very well deserved.

A fifth point to be noted in his life—none the less important though mentioned last—was his moral fervour. He was strongly of opinion that in moral reform and the development of character lay the foundation of our national progress. His firm conviction was that if India was to rise from her present condition, she must advance morally as much as politically and economically. His saintly character stood above everything else and he often

and special stress on the fact that public life in this country must be spiritualised. And he himself lived the life of a perfect saint—a noble example of plain living and high thinking.

These then are some of the outstanding characteristics of this most illustrious statesman, this political Sanyasin, this selfless Karmayogin, this ardent patriot, this jewel of India. Let all of us try to emulate him. It is only very few—and Gokhale is one among them—who have had the good fortune of rendering before God an honest account of honest work honestly done. Every one of us ought to try to follow his example and to fill up the gap caused by his departure. The loss of a great man like Gokhale is irreparable but we must make heroic effort to work as he did. Death faces us all; why should we not then work strenuously so long as life lasts? All may not be Gokhales. But surely all can cultivate his qualities of sincerity and single-minded devotion to duty. During the short span of his life, his achievements have been so great and varied that it is not possible to find another who can challenge comparison with him.

To sum up then, his patriotic fervour, his noble self-sacrifice, his strong sense of duty, his silent industry, and last but not least, his saintly character—all these will make his name remembered for ever by all true sons of India. PEACE BE TO HIS SOUL:

I shall conclude with a poem of Swami Vivekananda.

Requiescat in Pace.

Speed forth, O Soul! upon thy star-strewn path;
Speed, blissful one! where thought is ever free,
Where time and space no longer mist the view,
Eternal peace and blessings be with thee!

Thy service true, complete thy sacrifice,
Thy home the heart of love transcendent find;
Remembrance sweet, that kills all space and time,
Like altar roses fill thy place behind!

Thy bonds are broke, thy quest in bliss is found,
And one with That which comes as Death and Life;
Thou helpful one! unselfish e'er on earth,
Ahead! still help with love this world of strife!

For Whom Dost Thou Sing?

1.

For whom dost thou sing,
Pretty little bird,
For whom is thy heart stirr'd,
For whom thy descants ring,
So full and superbly,
So soft and tenderly?

2.

In the tide of Spring,
In the silent grove,
Thy strains float and swing
From end to end of the grove.
All things are mute,
Wrapt in thy flute,

3.

For whom thy heart pours
Such sweet amours?
For thy unkind lover,
Who stays in distant bower,
Heedless of his mate,
His warmth much abate!

4.

Thy solemn notes inspire
A glowing thrill in others
Who in vain aspire
For thy rare powers
Of Love and song
To hold them long.

5.

All intent and hush
The flowers hide their blush
And long for thy pipe
To breathe their ardours ripe
In liquid symphonies
To match thy harmonies.

6.

Thy song is not for him
Who hath left thee lone,
And all quite forlorn,
I ween it is for Him,
Thy maker, Lord of all,
Whose love hath never a fall.

7.

Thy song is but a voice
Among the many that rise
Mingled to the skies—
A choir of grateful joys—
In praise of God's glory
So vast and hoary.

8.

Like a dome, true and good
Thy slender chords resound
The eternal song profound,
With thee, poet of the wood,
A while my soul bends,
And with God blends.

C. N. S.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Underlying Principles of Modern Legislation

BY JETHRO BROWN:-

This is a very valuable treatise dealing with certain phases of the science of politics from the pen of a fairly unprejudiced and openminded Australian writer who has already distinguished himself by other writings on politics and jurisprudence. Such widely opposed and controversial topics as anarchism and laissez faire as an active principle of state policies have been delicately treated by the author, and the joy of the reader in progressing through these chapters consist in discovering the note of sympathy and tolerance with which the author labors to see opposing points of view. The progress of thought throughout the book proceeds by argument as well as by exposition, and the analysis is searching and clear—often the author condenses his arguments in the shortest space without the sacrifice of clarity. The book reads mostly like notes prepared by a learned professor for his class room lectures. The fundamental mainsprings of ameliorative legislation in modern times have been very ably dealt with by the writer. There are pages in the book where the author's knowledge of the principles of science, sociology, statecraft, religion and economics is requisitioned to tackle the complicated problems of modern society.

The humaner treatment of criminals, legislation for the disabled and disqualified, factory laws, improvement of the legal and political status of women, universal education and various other matters which the increasing sense of humanity of modern times has brought within the ambit of modern legislation are dealt with in appropriate places by the author with the satiny of a progressive thinker. On the controversial issue of Representative Government versus direct Democracy, the author inclines to the former form of Government as the more suitable one, but after all a great deal may be said on both sides. The study of the book is of great value to every student of politics as helping to broaden out his intellectual horizon. The references and quotations scattered throughout the book and taken from classical writers are most telling.

THE DIALOGUE DIVINE AND DRAMATIC

BY BRAHMACHARI GITANANDA

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This work is an exposition of chapters 1 and 2 of the "Song celestial" followed by a dialogue between Krishna and Arjuna traversing almost the same ground as the exposition. The author of this work has been a student of the Gita for years—, and he is one of the earliest of the intellectual products of Malabar to turn his attention from things to thoughts. The author has to his credit many sustained acts of self-sacrifice.

and it would do one's heart a great deal of good to know that the author stands for a vision, for an ideal and that in pursuit of it, he has rejected the help of a partner in life, a feat staggering to the eye of every average man who enters on life. The author's love of knowledge is consuming and there is perhaps no other in Malabar to mention in the same breath with him for the limitless vastness of his reading. The author is in the vanguard of the thinkers and reformers of India who want to lick into shape our institutions without violence to the race-ideal. While these are the great virtues and qualities that equip the author for his task, we are sorry to say that the author's general Bohemian manner has affected also his style, and considerably detracts from the value of the writing. We know that the author's earliest literary favorite was "Carlyle," but it is a pity that the author should not have freed himself from the influence of Carlyle's manner. The use of obscure words, of redundancies, of high-sounding mouth-filling words in preference to smooth-flowing anglo-saxon, exaggerated conceits, the absence of reservations and qualifications from the expression of opinion on controversial issues, the ferment of thought in the brain more than its assimilation, the filling in of many tedious details in the elaboration of a conception, and many more defects of a kindred character make the work singularly inartistic, while the only saving virtue of the writing is the earnestness and sincerity of purpose that breathes through it, the deep passion of soul with which the author speaks, and a certain elemental energy that marks the writing. The discussion of the principle of Ahimsa is a very valuable part of the book—but many of the general defects of the writing are apparent here too. We find a great deal of the fury of the prophet and so little of the sweetness of the artist.

PERIODICALS

The Cosmopolitan—edited by J. M. Bannerji

83, Durga Charan Mitter St. Calcutta. Annual Subscription: Rs. 7.

This is a very bold venture into the field of Indian journalism. As its name indicates, it aims at promoting very large and universal interests, at the same time that on matters of national importance its tone of self-respect and its eager eye for preserving every point of strength cannot be mistaken. Editorial notes are both crisp and sensible. The range of its contributors is vast and the writers who have made them are men of note and acknowledged merit. "Universal religion" is dealt with by so eminent a writer as Abhedananda with a foreign fame, while on the topic of birth control Mr. Phaoke, who has already distinguished himself by his book on the sex problem of India writes a very able note, although his reasoning on the ethical merit of contraception leaves us unconvinced. The learned contribution on the study of Buddhism in Japan brings out the extraordinary literary activity of the Japanese and it shows too the stages in the growth of

Buddhistic thought in China and Japan. It does our hearts a great deal of good to know that at least in regard to the study of Buddhistic works preserved by the Chinese and the Japanese, European scholars did not trench upon the Japanese realm as they have done on the Indian. The article on The coming Renaissance in Bengal, while being valuable for its suggestions seems to us to be too diffuse! We invite the reader's attention to a striking contribution on Our Arts and their patrons, every remark made in which has to be pondered over by the reader. "Delhi past and present" is a contribution of marked merit and is written by one who has both historical knowledge and vision. The illustrations are superb, the one on the "professional witness" being the work of a master hand. The magazine starts under the best auspices and we for our part wish it god-speed.

The Zamorin's College Magazine, Calicut.

We welcome this bilingual organ into the ranks of Indian journalism. We are pleased to learn that this magazine rises on the ruins of many of its predecessors which came out of the Zamorin's College. The journal attracts the literary powers of college students and there are contributions of interest from their pen. "The last words of Aurangzeb" by Mr. Nambudiri in Malayalam is an article of great educative value and the writer cannot better serve the reading public than take up theme after theme from the ample spaces of Indian History that lay hitherto unexplored but have now yielded invaluable results to our Indian researchers. The Malayalam contribution on "The literature we require" is marked by much healthy minded thinking and ought to give a turn to literary aspirations in Kerala. We join with the writer in desiring more and more works of scientific thought, of problem-studies, and of mental and moral sciences and of scriptural authority. As the author rightly says we want more works of instruction and edification, and less of books which merely please and divert and engage us for the passing hour. The passionate appeal of the great poet Vallathol in "my language" for the cultivation of the vernacular medium moves us deeply. We should be pardoned if we do not share all the feelings of the Editor of the English section about the future of the English language. The English editorial notes are marked by great mastery of English idiom. On the whole we should say that the vernacular section of the magazine is stealing a march over the English section.

The printing and the get-up leave nothing to be desired and we have no hesitation in recommending the magazine to the students in other schools and colleges.

OUR COMPETITIONS.

Results of January Cross-word

The Prize goes to

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c/o Mr. K. M. Subramania Iyer, Vakil, Coimbatore.

Correct Solution.

Across.

1. Sappho 5. Option 9. Amy 10 Oliver 12. Oneiro 13. Dom 15. Hag. 16. Sati. 18. Terek. 20. Acal. 21. Hom. 23. Tin. 24. Icy. 26. Nip. 28. Ant. 30. Nap. 31. Gristle. 32 Hip. 33. Oho. 34. Epi. 37. Strokes. 38 Has. 40. Tea. 43. Adit. 44. Tight. 46. Ruby. 47. Gut. 48. Yea. 50. Suitor. 52 Drouth. 53. Lob. 54. Ranger. 55. Kalyan.

Down.

1. Spouse. 2. Plinth 3. Heed 4. Imp. 6. Pang 7. Idioey. 8. Noodle. 11. Rot. 12. Oak. 14. Met. 15. Hen. 17. Ion. 19. Riksdag. 20. Act. 22. Might. 24. Inept. 25. Map. 27. Pro. 28. Ale. 29. Sin. 33. Oat. 35. Ier. 36. Caesar. 37. Pinion. 38. Hit 39. Shy. 41. Augury. 42. Hypen. 44. Fur. 45. Ted. 47. Gone 49. Area. 51. Sot.

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The solutions should be addressed to, "Anagrams", The Scholar, Palghat and should reach the office not later than 15th April 1928.

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Entrance Fee. ANNAS EIGHT ONLY]

CLUES (Across.)

1. To correct
5. To rub
8. Verb. 1st. pers. Sing.
9. To mistake.
10. Shilling.
11. Alternative
12. Pr noun. Pl.
13. Preposition.
15. A male sheep.
17. Prepared
19. Member of the Legislative Assembly. (rever)

20. Level.

22. To crack.

23. A Preposition.

24. Pr. noun. Pl.

25. Something Ludicrous.

28. When, as, if compared with.

31. Partly open (curt)

32. Not within

34. A unit. (rever)

35. Royal Navy (abbr.)

36. Be happy (curt.)

37. See! Behold!

38. Doctor. (abbr)

39. Old style. (abbr)

41. Metal as it comes from the mine. (rever)

42. Saturday (abbr.)

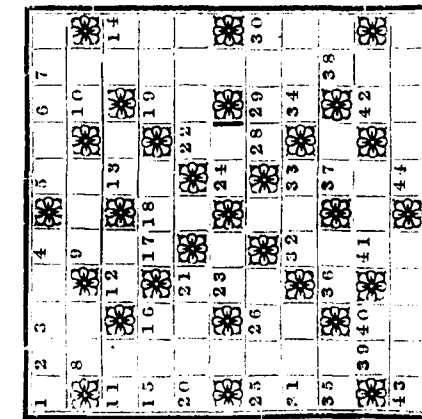
43. To happen

44. To rivet

COMPETITION [III] AN EASY CROSSWORD ENIGMA.

Consolation Prizes:—

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RULES

a. The entrance fee of 8 as. must be sent by M. O. b. The management is not responsible for loss of entries. c. Each qualifying entry is entitled to a share in Prize. d. A correct solution is one which agrees with the Key solution verbatim. e. The decision of the competition editor must be accepted as final. f. In case of ties the prizes will be divided g. Give your address in the M. O. coupons also. h. Results will be sent to all competitors. i. Entries may be on plain paper. j. Solutions and Fees must be sent to.—T. S. Ramiah, Thenkarai, Sholavandan (S. I. R.) so as to reach him on or before 30th Apr. '28

N. B. Leaflets on application.

Second Prize Rs. 50.

CLUES (Down)

2. A town 50 miles away from Madras (rever)
3. Name of the letter M.
4. An act.
5. To wear away. (curt)
6. The latin unit of wt.
7. The place from where this enigma comes
11. Metal as it comes from the mine.
14. Emperor. (abbr)
16. Mining Engineer. abbr
18. The verb 'to be'
19. One.
21. A word expressing denial.
22. Fixed.
25. To quarrel.
26. South America abbr.
37. Gold. abbr.
29. Pronoun. Sing.
30. Correlative to neither.
32. Across.
33. A Young Horse. rever.
40. Supreme Court. abbr.
42. South India. abbr.

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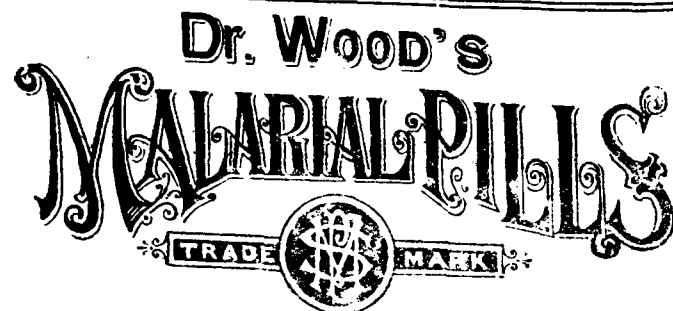
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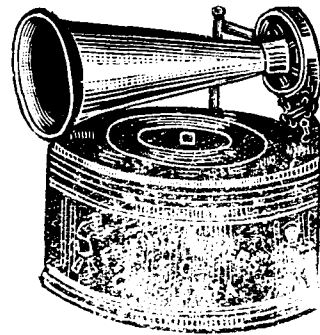
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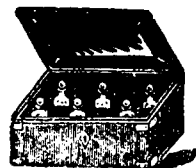
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