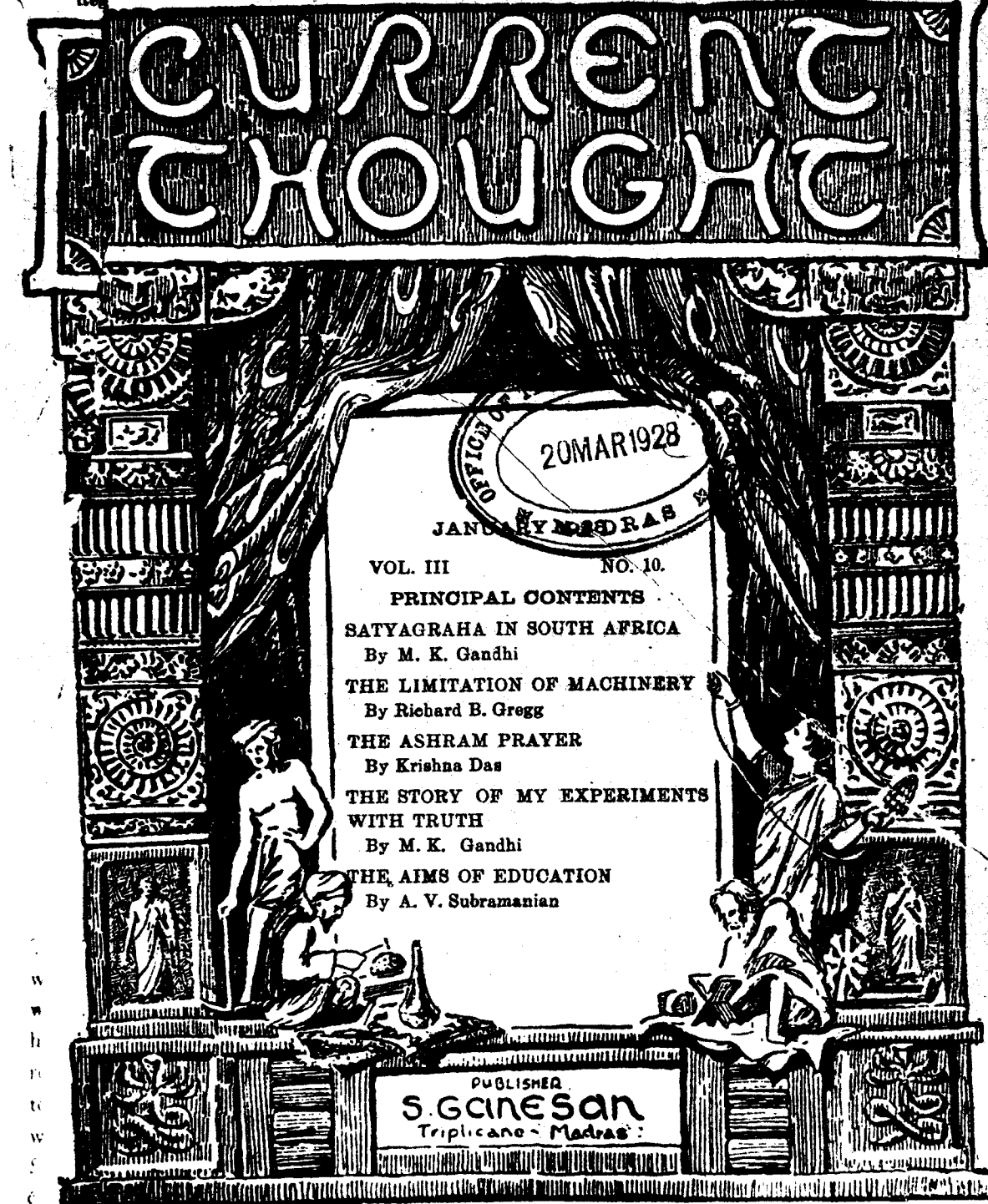




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Current Thought

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

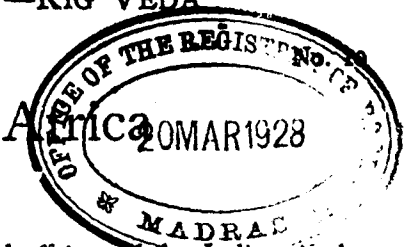
—RIG VEDA

Vol. III

JANUARY

Satyagraha in South Africa

BY M. K. GANDHI



CHAPTER XXIV

FURTHER INTERNAL DIFFICULTIES

We have had some idea of our internal difficulties in Chapter XXII. When I was assaulted in Johannesburg, my family lived in Phoenix and were naturally anxious about me. But it was not possible for them to expend money on the journey from Phoenix to Johannesburg. It was therefore necessary for me to see them on recovery.

I was often on the move between my Transvaal and Natal in connection with the work. From the letters of Natal friends I was aware that in Natal too the settlement had been grossly misunderstood. And I had received a sheaf of correspondence addressed to *Indian Opinion* in which adverse criticism was passed on the settlement. Although the Satyagraha struggle was still confined to the Transvaal Indians, we must seek the support and enlist the sympathies of the Natal Indians also. The Transvaal struggle was

not a mere local affair and the Indians in the Transvaal were really fighting the battle on behalf of all the Indians in South Africa. And therefore also I must go to Durban and remove the misunderstandings prevalent there. So I took the first opportunity to run up to Durban.

A public meeting of the Indians was called in Durban. Some friends had warned me beforehand that I would be attacked at this meeting and that I should therefore not attend it at all or at least take steps for defending myself. But neither of the two courses was open to me. If a servant when called by his master fails to respond through fear, he forfeits his title to the name of servant. Nor does he deserve the name if he is afraid of the master's punishment. Service of the public for service's sake is like walking on the sword's edge. If a servant is ready enough for praise he may not flee in the face of blame. I therefore presented myself at the meeting at the appointed time. I explained to the meeting how the settlement had been effected, and also

answered the questions put by the audience. The meeting was held at 8 o'clock in the evening. The proceedings were nearly over when a Pathan rushed to the platform with a big stick. The lights were put out at the same time. I grasped the situation at once. Sheth Daud Muhammad the chairman stood up on the chairman's table and tried to quell the disturbance. Some of those on the platform surrounded me to defend my person. The friends who feared an assault had come to the place prepared for eventualities. One of them had a revolver in his pocket and he fired a blank shot. Meanwhile Parsi Rustomji who had noticed the gathering clouds went with all possible speed to the police station and informed Superintendent Alexander, who sent a police party. The police made a way for me through the crowd and took me to Parsi Rustomji's place.

The next day Parsi Rustomji brought all the Pathans of Durban together in the morning, and asked them to place before me all their complaints against me. I met them and tried to conciliate them, but with little success. They had a preconceived notion that I had betrayed the community, and until this poison was removed, it was useless reasoning with them. The canker of suspicion cannot be cured by arguments or explanations.

I left Durban for Phoenix the same day. The friends who had guarded me the previous night would not let me alone, and informed me that they intended to accompany me to Phoenix. I said, 'I cannot prevent you if you will come in spite of me. But Phoenix is a jungle. And what will you do if we the only dwellers in it do not give you even food?' One of the friends replied, 'That is not our business. Then again the strength of the frighten us. We are well able to look after ourselves. And so long as we are a soldier-

ing, who is there to prevent us from robbing your pantry?' We thus made a merry party for Phoenix.

The leader of this self-appointed guard was Jack Moodaley, a Natalborn Tamilian well known among the Indians as a trained boxer. He and his companions believed that no man in South Africa, whether white or coloured, was a match for him in that branch of sport.

In South Africa I had for many years been in the habit of sleeping in the open at all times except when there was rain. I was not prepared now to change the habit, and the self-constituted guard decided to keep watch all night. Though I had tried to jest these men from their purpose, I must confess that I was weak enough to feel safer for their presence. I wondered if I could have slept with the same ease if the guard had not been there. I suppose I should have been startled by some noise or other. I believe that I have an unflinching faith in God. For many years I have accorded intellectual assent to the proposition that death is only a big change in life and nothing more, and should be welcome whenever it arrives. I have deliberately made a supreme attempt to cast out from my heart all fear whatsoever including the fear of death. Still I remember occasions in my life when I have not rejoiced at the thought of approaching death as one might rejoice at the prospect of meeting a long lost friend. Thus man often remains weak notwithstanding all his effort to be strong, and knowledge which stops at the head and does not penetrate into the heart is of but little use in the critical times of living experience. Then again the strength of the spirit within mostly evaporates when a person gets and accepts support from outside.

A Satyagrahi must be always on his guard against such temptations.

While in Phoenix I did just one thing. I wrote a great deal with a view to removing misunderstandings about the compromise, including an imaginary dialogue for *Indian Opinion* in which I disposed of in ample detail the objections advanced and criticisms passed against the settlement. I believe that this dialogue produced a good effect. It was found that the Transvaal Indians, whose misunderstanding of the settlement, if persistent, would have led to really disastrous results, did not long misunderstand it. It was only for the Transvaal Indians to accept or to reject the settlement. They were on their trial as well as myself as their leader and servant. In the end there were hardly any Indians who had not registered themselves voluntarily. There was such a rush of the applicants for registration that the officers concerned were hard pressed with work, and in a very short time the Indians had fulfilled their part of the settlement. Even Government had to admit this, and I could see that the misunderstanding, though of an acute nature, was quite limited in its extent. There was no doubt a great deal of stir when some Pathans violently took the law into their own hands. But such violent stir, when analysed, often turns out to have no bottom at all and is equally often only temporary. And yet it is a power in the world today as we are apt to be unnerved in the face of violence. If however we calmly think about it, we shall find that there is no reason for nervousness. Just suppose that Mir Alam and his friends, instead of only wounding, had actually destroyed my body. And suppose also that the community had deliberately remained calm and unperturbed, and forgiven the offenders, perceiving

that according to their lights they could not behave otherwise than they did. Far from injuring the community, such a noble attitude would have greatly benefited them. All misunderstanding would have disappeared, and Mir Alam and party would have had their eyes opened to the error of their ways. As for me, nothing better can happen to a Satyagrahi than meeting death all unsought in the very act of Satyagraha, i.e., pursuing Truth. All these propositions are true only of a struggle like the Satyagraha movement, where there is no room for hatred, where self-reliance is the order of the day, where no one has to look expectantly at another, where there are no leaders and hence no followers, or where all are leaders and all are followers, so that the death of a fighter, however eminent, makes not for slackness but on the other hand intensifies the struggle.

Such is the pure and essential nature of Satyagraha, not realised in practice, because not every one of us has shed hatred. In actual practice the secret of Satyagraha is not understood by all, and the many are apt unintelligently to follow the few. Again as Tolstoy observed, the Transvaal struggle was the first attempt at applying the principle of Satyagraha to masses or bodies of men. I do not know any historical example of pure mass Satyagraha. I cannot however formulate any definite opinion on the point, as my knowledge of history is limited. But as a matter of fact we have nothing to do with historical precedents. Granted the fundamental principles of Satyagraha, it will be seen that the consequences I have described are bound to follow as night the day. It will not do to dismiss such a valuable force with the remark that it is difficult or impossible of application. Brute force has been the ruling

factor in the world for thousands of years, and mankind has been reaping its bitter harvest all along, as he who runs may read. There is little hope of anything good coming out of it in the future. If light can come out of dark-

ness, then alone can love emerge from hatred.

Translated from the original Gujarati

BY VALJI GOVINDJI DESAI

(To be continued)

The Limitation of Machinery

BY RICHARD B. GREGG

In a pamphlet entitled *Indian Home Rule* written in 1908, Mr. Gandhi said, "Machinery is the chief symbol of modern civilization: it represents a great sin." In the introduction to its 1921 edition he qualified his remarks on machinery as follows:—"Still less am I trying to destroy all machinery and mills. It requires a higher simplicity and renunciation than the people are to-day prepared for."

In an article in *Young India* for January 19, 1921 he wrote, "I would not weep over the disappearance of machinery or consider it a calamity. But I have no design upon machinery as such. What I want to do at the present moment is to supplement the production of yarn and cloth through our mills, save the millions we send out of India, and distribute them in our cottages." His Presidential address at the National Congress at Belgaum (reported in *Young India* for Dec. 26, 1924) contained this passage: "I wish, too, you would dismiss from your minds the views attributed to me about machinery. In the first instance, I am no more trying to present for national acceptance all my views on machinery, than I am presenting the whole of my belief in non-violence".

Again, in *Young India* for November 5,

1925 he wrote, "Machinery has its place: it has come to stay. But it must not be allowed to displace the necessary human labour. An improved plough is a good thing. But if by some chance one man could plough up the whole of the land of India and control all the agricultural produce, and if the millions had no other occupation, they would starve, and being idle, they would become dunces, as many have already become. There is hourly danger of many more being reduced to that unenviable state. I would welcome every improvement in the cottage machine, but I know that it is criminal to displace the hand labour by the introduction of power-driven spindles unless one is at the same time ready to give millions of farmers some other occupation in their homes." In the same paper for September 17, 1925 he stated,—"The movement of the spinning wheel is an organized attempt to displace machinery from that state of exclusiveness and exploitation and to place it in its proper state." In the issue of June 17, 1926, in reply to a correspondent's question, "Are you against all machinery?", he wrote, "My answer is emphatically, No. But I am against its indiscriminate multiplication. I refuse to be dazzled by the

seeming triumph of machinery. I am uncompromisingly against all destructive machinery. But simple tools and instruments and such machinery as saves individual labour and lightens the burden of the millions of cottagers I should welcome."

Still more recently, in an article in *Young India* for March 12, 1927, he remarks,—"I do not believe that multiplication of wants and machinery contrived to supply them is taking the world a single step toward its goal.—It (the charkha) does not seek to destroy all machinery but it does regulate its use and check its weedy growth. It uses machinery for the service of the poorest in their own cottages. The wheel is itself an exquisite piece of machinery."

His attitude for all practical purposes, then, is that the use of machinery ought to be limited.

Inasmuch as these views have laid Mr. Gandhi open to much adverse criticism and even ridicule, and thereby raised doubts in some minds as to the validity of the rest of his economic thinking, it may be desirable to examine their possible reasonableness more closely.

It is indisputable that the modern extensive use of machinery depends upon ample supplies of power,—chiefly coal and oil. It is also indisputable that Western nations are facing a gradual decrease in their fuel supplies. In England and Wales there has been since 1883 a gradual increase in cost of mining coal. In Europe the output of coal has been practically stationary for some years.

"The evidence shows that Europe is approaching the actual point of increasing costs of energy, if indeed she has not passed it.

"Though the day of ultimate exhaustion

is measured in hundreds or thousands of years, the day of increasing costs and failing supplies in our (U. S.) Eastern centres of production is measured in scores of years.—

"At the present rate of mining a generation will see the end of the Pittsburgh coal in Pennsylvania." (1)

"The present supply of energy in the United States is derived chiefly from fuel, the contribution from water, power and other sources being relatively small. The several sources of power and heat in 1923 yielded energy as follows:—

	British Thermal Units (in trillions)	per cent of total
Coal	17,300	65
Domestic Oil	4,400	16
Natural Gas	1,080	4
Imported Oil	490	2
Water power	1,140	4
Work Animals	850	3
Firewood	1,500	6
Windmills	20	0.1
Total	26,780 (approx)	100.

"Eighty-seven per cent of our energy is supplied by the mineral fuels. Although the United States has a third of the developed water power of the world, we derive from water but four or five per cent of our total supply of energy. The price of fuel oil over long periods is also controlled by the price of coal. The day of increasing costs in this our most convenient source of energy is imminent. Daniel White goes

(1) F. G. Tryon and Lida Mann, of Division of Mineral Resources, U. S. Geological Survey,—*"Mineral Resources for Future Population"*; being Chap. VIII of *"Population Problems"*, edited by L. I. Dublin, Houghton Mifflin & Co., Boston, U.S.A., 1926., pp. 131, 134, 135.

so far as to predict a world shortage of petroleum in twenty years. Not the least important result will be to throw increased burdens upon coal." (1)

"Nor do the substitute sources of energy promise to furnish power and heat on such easy terms as coal. The water power of the United States is sufficient to meet only a part of the burden already carried by coal. The tides and winds can no doubt be drawn upon, but so far as we now know, only at great cost, in which one unit of labour and capital yields fewer units of energy than now."

"It may be possible to harness directly the energy of sunlight; yet, so far, no man-made engine can do this as cheaply as the living plant. But we need the plants for materials and food, and our whole corn crop would not make alcohol enough to replace gasoline. The energy in an entire year's production of human foods in the United States is equal to only three per cent of that in our annual output of fuels."

"There remains the possibility of utilizing the energy locked up in the atom. (Then follows a quotation from Rutherford, the great British physico-chemist, to show that this is a fading hope). "To count upon atomic energy to support our future population is an act of faith. The realities of the world as we now know it leave us dependent on coal."

"As far as the minerals are concerned, the evidence forecasts in the not distant future a period of diminishing abundance and rising costs, in which—barring some revolutionary discovery of science that will free men from dependence on fuel and water-power it will be harder to

maintain even our present population at present standards of living." (1)

As to the dangers of rapid exhaustion of fuels there is some difference of opinion among the authorities. For example, see the article by Jams O. Lewis, late Chief of Petroleum Division of U. S. Bureau of Mines, in *The Literary Digest* (New York), Sept. 4, 1926, also Anton Mohr—"The Oil War", published by Martin Hopkinson, London, 1926, the last chapter. But there seems to be no dispute as to the increasing costs of power. Indeed, nowadays, a part of the expense of the armies and navies of the United States and Great Britain may fairly be included in estimating the costs of petroleum. (Cf. Anton Mohr—"The Oil War"; La Travaye—"The World Struggle for Oil"—Allen & Unwin, London R. P. Arnot "The Politics of Oil" Labour Publishing Co, London, 1927). The situation is doubtful enough at least to make the idea of limitation of machinery in a country like India not unreasonable.

If these things be so, Mr. Gandhi's idea of limiting machinery does not appear so fantastic. He merely proposes to do voluntarily now that which others will eventually be forced to do. True, his reasons are different, but that does not diminish the wisdom of his proposal. (2)

Those to whom such a prospect seems dismal may find comfort in the fact that "The glory of Greece did not rest upon coal, and there are many worse things

(1) Ibid, pp. 135, 137. See also preliminary Report of the Federal Oil Conservation Board, Sept., 1926; Superintendent of Government Printing, Washington, D. C., U.S.A. Parts are quoted in *Literary Digest*. (New York) for Sept. 25, 1927.

(2) It is interesting to note that the old Indian Law-giver, Manu, condemned the ownership and operation of large machines by private individuals as

than a reduction in the standard of living." (1)

We need to correct our perspective. As James Fairgrieve in his "Geography and World Power" remarks (p. 349):—

"Stores of coal and petroleum are of the nature of capital which has been accumulated long ages past, and in using them we are not really accumulating energy at all; they are on a somewhat different footing from the energy which man makes his own, in almost the only way possible till 130 years ago, by eating food which has grown by the sun's energy within a few days or months of its consumption. The use of coal energy is something in the nature of an incident. In the midst of the changes which the Industrial Revolution has brought, we are in danger of forgetting that it is an incident, and that solar radiation is the final source of by far the greatest amount of energy available on the earth's surface, and especially that vegetation now growing supplies the energy in the most convenient forms; culture of the soil, horticulture and agriculture and arboriculture, whether it be the oldest trade or not, is certainly the most fundamental."

Machinery is one mode of using solar energy. Handicrafts are another. Machinery uses more energy than Handicrafts, but not necessarily for finer or higher purposes or with better aesthetic or moral results. After all, science itself by one of its most recent developments,—the theory of relativity,—teaches us that mere size or quantity or speed are only relative and nothing to be especially proud about. They are wholly a matter of the position or attitude or

movement of the observer, and probably do not count as ultimate values.

Machinery has in itself defects as well as advantages. Most of these defects are very ably explained by Mr. Austin Freeman in his "Social Decay and Regeneration", referred to earlier in this book. One such weakness which he does not discuss is the heavy "overhead" burden of expense for machine repair, maintenance depreciation, obsolescence, insurance, interest, and taxes. In conjunction with capitalistic control this burden tends to create financial instability and very great concentration of economic power. As a tendency to the avoidance or mitigation of such evils, ideas as to the limitation of machinery may not be altogether foolish or repugnant.

Limitation of machinery seems desirable to Mr. Gandhi on both economic and moral grounds. Formerly I fully agreed. (1) but on further thought it seems to me that most of the evils involved, or those which are most serious, are due more to capitalism than to machinery. Doubtless the power working through machinery makes the evils greater, more widespread and glaring. But the intrinsic evil is in men, not in externals. Part of the harm arises also simply because people do not really understand what are the real full implications and results of the uses of machinery and its connections with capitalism and the institution of Property.

Of course nobody is so silly as to imagine that one man can put an end to machinery or industrialism, but nevertheless, history has often shown that one man may focus and express the inarticulate attitude of millions of his contemporaries, and may voice the posture and tendency of other-

(1) See my article "The Morals of Machinery" in *Current Thought*, Madras, for July, 1926.

(1) Tryon and Mann, above cited.

(1) Ibid.

wise unnoticed social or economic forces. It is conceivable that Mr. Gandhi, through an unusual intuitive sensitiveness, is expressing the peasants' instinctive recognition of the soundness of utilizing annual solar energy income to the utmost; or is stating an Asiatic preference in favour of a decentralized social life and culture and those things which make it possible; or is giving shape to a selective tendency in favour of some new type of integration of social and economic units which may promote a more organic wholeness among mankind. Presumably machinery will run its course in America, at least. Asia may not put an end to industrialism even in her own house, but she may divert its course or manner of action sufficiently to make it of more service to ultimate human values. Simple peasant conservatism is sometimes more profoundly wise than we realize.

Whatever modification or limitation thus may come about would of course not be by moral or legislative fiat, but by the positive actual development and widespread use of other methods of transforming solar power and of distributing the results, and the organization of both.

If the use of machinery or power ought to be controlled or restricted, it is very difficult to see what principle to follow. To me the surest basis would seem to be on the assumption of some sort of a symbiosis or mutual support and aid between man and Nature, and the recognition of a far closer symbiosis between man and man than is implied in capitalism. This may of course be stated in purely moral or spiritual terms also. Machinery and power must be subordinated to the true welfare of humanity. Such a concept would involve dropping the idea of man's "conflict with Nature," of his "conquest of Nature", and

developing instead an active belief in an actual unity and harmony with Nature and matter, and between men of all nations. Such an idea is quite acceptable to Indian thought, however strange or absurd it may seem to Western readers who have not followed closely the most recent developments of science. (1)

It is because of this failure in symbiosis or of balancing energy accounts that machinery, with its unrestrained use of stored-up power, may be said, in terms understandable in the West, to "represent a great sin" (mistake), as Mr. Gandhi has said. (2) The creation of unemployment in both England and India by machinery and the actually greater inefficiency of power-driven machinery in terms of total units of solar energy consumed (as explained in the foregoing chapters) may also represent mistakes.

"What is, humanly speaking, profitable may involve a dead natural loss, and this loss may inflict great injury to the community or the race as a whole in the long run. In the interests of the solidarity of the race itself, man has his obligations to Nature as the matrix of the community, and such obligations involve the social use of the gifts of the earth (*munera terrae*) and socialized satisfactions, which alone can satisfy the lofty ideal of communalism, the participation of every man in the

(1) See A.N. Whitehead—"Science and the Modern World"—Cambridge Univ. Press, 1926, and J.C. Bose—"Plant Autographs and Their Revelations."—Longmans Green, London, 1927.

(2) In this connection it is interesting to note that in the original Greek of the Christian New Testament, the word which in the English version has been translated as "sin" meant literally "to miss the mark" or "to err."

common inheritance of the earth and the fruits of humanity." (1)

"A permanent civilization must learn to balance its energy budget, to collect each year from the inexhaustible sources of water, wind and sun as much power as it expends." (2)

It may well be that the great stability

(1) R. Mukerjee—"Principles of Comparative Economics," P. S. King & Son, London, 1921, Vol. I, pp. 88 et seq.

(2) Tryon and Mann, Chap. VIII of "Population Problems" ed. by Dublin, above cited.

of the civilizations of China and India has rested upon their closer approximation to such a balance of energy resources or to a symbiosis with Nature than there was or is in the case of other civilizations, together probably with their decentralized, small-scale, loosely integrated economic and social organizations. Even in matters of economics Europe and America may yet find that they have much to learn from Asia. (3)

(3) See F.H. King—"Farmers of Forty Centuries"—Harcourt, Brace & Co. New York, 1927.

The Ashram Prayer

BY KRISHNA DAS

At the sacred hour before sunrise, the Ashram bell rings to rouse the inmates from their sleep. That ringing sound penetrates your ears and wakens your slumbering consciousness. But this call, is it merely a call to you to shake off the slumber of your body, or does it betoken also a call to awaken your slumbering soul? From every quarter of the Ashram are heard voices of awakened people, and soon with rapid steps they are seen repairing to the place of prayer meeting, where they all assemble at the proper time. The Dawn is still fast asleep in the lap of Night, her beloved maid of honour, who protect her sleeping queen from the world's gaze with her thousand flashing eyes. The keen rays of those eyes fill every quarter of the heavens. In front the sweet murmur of the running brook heard like an indistinct sound of music wafted from afar through some unknown region breaks in upon the solemn stillness.

On a sudden, blending its harmony with this note of music is heard the note of prayer uttered in chorus by a hundred throats.

"This morning I worship the great being who is beyond the reach of Mind and speech, by whose favour the Eternal sound receives its primal energy, to whom the Vedas point by the words, "Not this; not this"; who is the great Lord whom all guards bow in reverence; who is the self-existent (uncreate), Immutable and primal being."

Then follow songs of praise in salutation to the Earth, to Saraswati, to the Guru, to Vishnu, and to Siva. Then, the devotee places at the Lotus feet of his Lord the yearnings of his heart in the following terms:—"I yearn not for earth, nor heaven nor even freedom from rebirth, but my heart's yearning is to relieve the woes of suffering humanity. May the peoples be

happy ! May the rulers of the earth following the path of righteousness protect their peoples ! May good ever attend the Cows and the Brahman ! May the whole world be happy !

Lastly the devotees recite in chorus the following hymn of complete self-surrender to the feet of the Lord :—

"I bow to Thee, the creative Energy. I bow to Thee, the spiritual Energy that sustains the whole of creation. I bow to Thee, the Great Being who sets free all from the fetters of finite life. I bow to Thee, the one all-pervading reality. I bow to Thee, the Omnipresent, Eternal Truth."

"Thou alone art our fittest refuge ; Thou alone, the worthiest to be desired ; Thou alone art the revealer of created existences ; Thou alone art self-revealed ; Thou alone art creator, sustainer and destroyer of all existence ; Thou alone art beyond all limitation, Immutable, Transcendental."

After the scriptural part of the prayer is over, the Ashram musician will teach you through his bhajans "O Man, you are not an isolated unit in this world, standing apart from everything else ; but you are vitally united with the whole. Let it be your endeavour in a living manner to realise this oneness. You will have to purify your life through work and service to the world ; and when your life is purified should you be able to shake off the antagonism born of a separate, selfish existence. For when this antagonism of spirit ceases, then truly do you become one with the whole world. Therefore, the shastras make a threefold division of action, e.g. Satvik (altruistic or other-regarding) Rajasik (or self-regarding and Tamasik neither selfish nor unselfish but the product of self-delusion). Therefore try to realise the full significance of this teaching of the shastras, and while devoting yourself the whole of the day to work try

to bring the same in conformity with that teaching. No one remains without work even for one single moment ; nor is it possible for him to do so. Work alone would lift you ; and work also may lead you down to hell. The good and the evil of diverse types of action have been explained to you. Let this teaching be imprinted on your mind, and let all your daily work conform to it."

Thus shared you begin the day's work at the Ashram. If you have any doubts, you may have those cleared up by the Acharya. It is your duty to equip your mind as efficiently as you can, so that you may carry out the day's work with the necessary energy and strength of purpose.

Again, at the close of the day's work in the evening is heard the summons for prayer. You will hear again the sound of the prayer bell enjoining you to leave work. The sun has just sunk below the horizon lighting up the western sky with his crimson rays. The same river bank, the same open sky, and the fresh gentle breeze of evening all appear to be anxious to cooperate in allaying your fatigue after a heavy day's work. The joyous, buoyant shouts of Ashram children are heard like the blended notes of birds repairing to their nests. All on a sudden all sounds are hushed, and the loud chanting of a hymn of praise to the Almighty is heard "He who is the Lord of the universe, in whom all subsist ; and without whom nothing can subsist. Let all our heart's devotion and love be laid at his feet. O Lord to thee whose praises come forth in celestial strains from the lips of Brahma, Varuna, Indra, Rudra, Marut, whose glories are sung by the upanishads through the chanting of the Sama hymns ; whose presence is realised by the followers of the yoga system through transcendent meditation on the Lord ; and whose infinitude is beyond the

powers of Devas and Asuras to realise, to thee, O Lord ! we bow our heads in adoration." After this will be recited in chorus in sweet musical tones some sacred verses from the scriptures. These will teach you that if you seek to attain peace you will have to control your lust for material enjoyment ; you will have to turn the cause of your desires inward, so that they may change their character and get spiritualised. In the morning you were roused to throw yourself whole heartedly into work and it was pointed out to you what type of work was truly conducive to your welfare. Now when you have finished your day's labour and are returning for rest, it is necessary to tell you that sleep alone cannot give you rest. For bodily rest is not the only kind of rest. During your day's work you have had to come under many external influences, and these must have affected your mind in diverse ways. If you can shake them off, and so cleanse your spirit then indeed will you be able to earn true rest. It is for you to place before yourself the high ideal of an active life in which while engaged in outward work you nevertheless retain your equanimity of mind. You will have to bring under your control the wayward passions and impulses lusting for outward gratification, and steadily to develop the power of your inner self. Even as the

waters of rivers find their resting place in the great Ocean, so also may the passions and impulses be turned away from their courses and made to enter the regions of the spirit within, so that they may be transmuted into spiritual energies. Thus, for him alone is true peace who has chained and spiritualised those desires of his which are seeking to find an external outlet through self-indulgence. He who lets himself be at the mercy of such outgoing desires and impulses, for him indeed there is no peace."

It would be simply impossible to have a true insight into the deeper springs of Mahatmaji's activities, slowly struggling toward self-expression in the shape of this Ashram if we left out of our consideration these morning and evening prayers, devotions and teachings. Mahatmaji's genius for organisation and work has captured the imagination of the whole of India and has created in a universal awakening. His clarion call has been heard from one end of the country to the other. But if we seek to weigh and measure him merely by this external standard we shall hardly be able to enter into the secret of his real greatness ; we shall hardly be in a position to comprehend those spiritual forces of character which lie at the very root of the external manifestation of Mahatmaji's power and influence

The Story of My Experiments with Truth

BY M. K. GANDHI

CHAPTER XIX

THE PHOENIX SETTLEMENT

I talked the whole thing over with Mr. West, described to him the effect *Unto this Last* had produced on my mind, and proposed that *Indian Opinion* should be removed to a farm, on which every one should labour drawing the same living wage, and attending to the press work in spare time. Mr. West approved of the proposal, and £3 was laid down as monthly allowance, irrespective of colour or nationality.

But it was a question whether all the ten or more workers in the press would agree to go and settle on an out of the way farm, and be satisfied with a bare maintenance. We therefore proposed that those who could not fit in with the scheme should continue to draw their salaries and gradually try to reach the goal of becoming members of the settlement.

I talked to the workers in terms of this proposal. It did not appeal to Sjt. Madanjit who considered my proposal to be foolish and opined that it would ruin a venture on which he had staked his all, the workers would bolt, *Indian Opinion* would come to a stop, and the press would have to be closed down.

Among the men working in the press was also Chhaganlal Gandhi, one of my cousins. He had broached the proposal to him at the same time as to West. He had a wife and children, but he had from childhood chosen to be trained and work under me. He had

full faith in me. So without any argument he agreed to the proposal, and has been with me ever since. There was the machinist Govindswami who also fell in with the proposal. The rest did not join the scheme, but agreed to go wherever I removed the press.

I do not think I took more than two days to fix up these things with the men. Thereafter I at once advertised for a piece of land situated near a railway station in the vicinity of Durban. An offer came in respect of Phoenix. Mr. West and I went to inspect the estate, and within a week purchased twenty acres of land. It has a nice little spring and a few orange and mango trees. Adjoining to it was a piece of 80 acres which had many more fruit trees and a dilapidated cottage. We purchased this too, both costing a thousand pounds.

The late Mr. Rustomji was always my help in such enterprises of mine. He liked the project. He placed at my disposal secondhand corrugated iron sheets of a big godown and other building materials with which we started work. Some Indian carpenters and masons who had worked with me in the Boer war helped me in erecting a shed for the press. This structure which was 75' x 50' was ready in almost a month. Mr. West and others at great personal risk stayed with the carpenters and masons. The place which was uninhabited and thickly overgrown with grass was infested with snakes, and was obviously dangerous to live in. At first all lived under canvass. The main building

was ready in a month. We carted most of our things to Phoenix in about a week. It was thirteen miles from Durban, and two and a half miles from Phoenix station.

Only one issue of *Indian Opinion* had to be printed outside in the *Mercury Press*.

I now tried to carry with me and to draw to Phoenix those relations and friends who had come with me from India to try their fortune and who were engaged in some business or other. They had come in search of wealth and it was a difficult job to persuade them, but some agreed. Of these I can single out only Maganlal Gandhi's name here. The others went back to business. Maganlal Gandhi left his business for good to cast in his lot with me, and by his ability, sacrifice and devotion he stands foremost among my original coworkers in my ethical experiments, and as a self-taught handicraftsman his place is unique among them.

Thus the Phoenix Settlement was started in 1904, and in spite of numerous odds *Indian Opinion* continues to be published at the Settlement.

But the initial difficulties, the changes made, and the hopes and disappointments demand a separate chapter.

CHAPTER XX

THE FIRST NIGHT

It was no easy thing to issue the first number of *Indian Opinion* from Phoenix. Had I not taken two precautions, the first issue would have had to be dropped or delayed. I had little inclination to have an engine to work the press. I had thought that hand-power would be more in keeping with the atmosphere where agricultural work too was to be done by the hand. But as it had not appeared feasible, we had installed an oil-engine. I had however,

suggested to West to have something handy to fall back upon in case the engine failed. He had therefore a wheel which could be worked by the hand. The size of the paper was that of a daily and was considered unsuitable in an out of the way place like Phoenix. So it was reduced to the foolscap size, in order that in case of emergency copies might be struck off with the help of a treadle. In the initial stages, we had all to keep late hours before the day of publication of the paper. Every one, young and old, had to help in folding the sheets, and we usually finished our work between ten o'clock and midnight. But the first night was unforgettable. The pages were locked but the engine refused to work. We had got out from Durban an engineer to put up the engine and set it going. He and West tried their hardest, but to no avail. Every one was anxious. West in despair at last came to me, with eyes wet, and said, 'The engine will not work, and I am afraid we cannot issue the paper in time.'

'If that is the case, we cannot help it. But it is no use shedding tears over it. Let us do whatever else it is humanly possible to do. What about the handwheel?' I said comforting him.

'Where have we the men to work it? We are not enough to cope with it. It requires relays of four men each, and our own men are all tired.'

Building work had not yet been finished, and so the carpenters were still with us. They were sleeping on the press floor. I said pointing to them, 'But can't we make use of these carpenters? And we may have a whole night of work. I think this device is still open to us.'

'I dare not wake up the carpenters. And our men are really too tired,' said West. 'Well, that's for me to negotiate,' said I.

'Then it is possible that we may get through the work,' said West.

I woke up the carpenters and requested their co-operation. They needed no pressure. They said, 'If we cannot be called upon in an emergency what use are we? You rest yourselves and we will work the wheel. For us it is easy work.' Our own men were of course ready.

West was greatly delighted and started singing a hymn as we set to work. I partnered the carpenters, and all the rest joined turn by turn, and thus we went on until 7 a.m. There was still quite a lot to do. So I suggested to West that the engineer might now be asked to get up and try again to start the engine, so that if he succeeded we might finish in time.

West woke him up, and he immediately went into the engine room. And lo and behold! the engine worked almost as soon as he started it. The whole press rang with peals of joy. 'How could this be? How is it that all our labours last night were of no avail, and this morning it has been set going as though there was nothing wrong with it?' I enquired.

'It is difficult to say,' said West or the engineer, I forget who. 'Machines also sometimes seem to behave as though they required rest like us.'

For me, the failure of the engine had come as a test for us all, and its working in the nick of time was the fruit of our honest and earnest labours.

The copies were despatched in time, and every one was happy.

This initial insistence ensured regularity of the paper, and created an atmosphere of self-reliance in Phoenix. There came a time when we deliberately gave up the use of the engine and worked with the hand-power only. Those were, to my mind, the

days of the highest moral uplift for Phoenix.

CHAPTER XXI

POLAK TAKES THE PLUNGE

It has been a perpetual regret with me that though I started the settlement at Phoenix I could stay there only for brief intervals. My original idea was gradually to retire from practice, go and settle at Phoenix, earn my livelihood by manual work there and find the joy of service in the fulfilment of Phoenix. But it was not to be. I have found in my experience that man makes his plans to be often upset by God, but I have also seen that where the ultimate goal is the search of truth, no matter how one's plans are frustrated the issue is never injurious and is often better than expected. The unexpected turn that Phoenix took and the unexpected happenings were certainly not injurious though it is difficult to say that they were better than our expectations.

In order to enable every one of us to make a living on manual labour, we parcelled out the land round the press in pieces of three acres each. One of these fell to my lot. On all these plots we in spite of ourselves built houses with corrugated iron. Our desire was to have mud huts thatched with straw or small brick houses such as would become ordinary peasants, but it could not be. They would have been more expensive and would have meant more time, and every one was eager to settle down as soon as possible.

The editor was still Mansukhlal Nazar. He had not accepted the new scheme and was living in Durban where there was a branch office for *Indian Opinion*. Though we had paid compositors, the idea was for every member of the settlement to learn type-setting, the easiest, if the most tedious

of the processes in a printing press. Those, therefore who did not know it already, learnt it. I remained a dunce to the last and Maganlal Gandhi surpassed us all. Though he had never before worked in a press, he became an expert compositor and not only achieved great speed but to my agreeable surprise quickly mastered all the other branches of press work. I have always thought that he himself was not conscious of his own capacity. We had hardly settled down, the buildings were hardly ready, when I had to leave the newly constructed nest to go to Johannesburg. I was not in a position to allow the work there to remain unattended to for any length of time.

On return to Johannesburg, I informed Polak of the important changes I had made. His joy knew no bounds to learn that the loan of his book had been so fruitful. 'Is it not possible,' he asked, 'for me to take part in the new venture?' 'Certainly', said I. 'You may if you like join the settlement', 'I am quite ready, if you will admit me.'

His determination captured me. He gave a month's notice to his chief to be relieved from the *Critic*, and reached Phoenix in due course. By his sociability he won the hearts of all and soon became a member of the family. Simplicity was so much in his grain that far from feeling the life at Phoenix in any way strange or hard, he took to it like fish to water. But I could not keep him there long. Mr. Ritch had decided to finish his legal studies in England, and it was impossible for me to bear the burden of the office single-handed, and so I suggested to Polak to join the office and qualify as an attorney. I had thought that ultimately both of us would retire and settle at Phoenix, but that was not to be. Polak's was such a trustful

nature that when he reposed his confidence in a friend he would try to agree with him instead of arguing with him. He wrote to me to say that though he loved the life there, and was perfectly happy, and had hopes to develop the settlement, still he was ready to leave and join office to qualify as an attorney if I thought that thereby we would realise our ideals quicker. I heartily welcomed the letter. Polak left Phoenix, came to Johannesburg and signed his articles.

About the same time a Scotch Theosophist whom I had been helping to get ready to qualify for a local legal examination also joined as an articled clerk, on my inviting him to follow Polak's example. His name was Mr. MacIntyre.

Thus with the laudable object of quickly realising the ideals at Phoenix I seemed to be going deeper and deeper into a contrary current, and had God not willed otherwise I should have found myself entrapped in the net spread in the name of simple life.

It will take a few more chapters before I describe how I and my ideals were saved in a way no one had imagined or expected.

CHAPTER XXII

WHOM GOD PROTECTS.

I had now given up all hope of returning to India in the near future. I had promised to my wife to return home within a year. The year was gone without any prospect of my return, and so I decided to send for my wife and children. On the boat taking them to South Africa, Ramdas, my third son, had in playing with the Captain of the boat broken his arm. The Captain had looked after him well and had him attended to by the ship's doctor. Ramdas had therefore landed with his hand suspended in a sling. The doctor had advised that as soon as we reached home the wound should be dressed

by a qualified doctor. But this was the time when I was full of faith in my experiments in earth treatment. I had even succeeded in persuading some of my clients who had faith in my quackery to try the earth and water treatment.

What then was I to do for Ramdas? He was just eight years old. I asked him if he would mind my dressing his wound. With a smile he did not mind it at all. It was not possible for him at that age to decide what was the best thing for him, but he knew very well the distinction between quackery and proper medical treatment. And he knew my habit of home treatment and had faith enough to trust himself to me. In fear and trembling I undid the bandage, washed the wound, applied clean earth poultice and tied it up again. This sort of dressing went on daily for about a month until the wound was completely healed. There was no hitch, and the wound took no more time to heal than the ship's doctor had said it would under the usual treatment.

This and other experiments enhanced my faith in such household remedies, and I now proceeded with them with more self-confidence. I widened the sphere of their application, trying the earth and water and fasting treatment in case of wounds, fevers, —dyspepsia, jaundice, and other complaints, with success in most cases. But now I have not the confidence I had in South Africa, and experience has even shown that these experiments involve obvious risks.

The reference here therefore to these experiments is not meant to demonstrate their success. I cannot claim complete success for any experiment. Even doctors can make no such claim about their experiments. My object is only to show that he who would go in for novel

experiments must begin with himself. That leads to a quicker discovery of truth, and God always protects the honest experimenter. The risks involved in experiments in cultivating intimate contacts with Europeans were as grave as those in the nature-cure methods. Only those risks were of a different kind. But in cultivating those contacts, I never so much as thought of the risks.

I invited Polak to come and stay with me, and we began to live like blood brothers. Mrs. Polak and he had been engaged for some years, but the marriage had been postponed for a propitious time. I have an impression that Polak wanted to put some money by before he settled down to a married life. He knew Ruskin much better than I, but his Western surroundings were a bar against his translating Ruskin's teaching immediately into practice. But I pleaded with him: 'When there is a heart union, as in your case, it is hardly right to postpone marriage merely for financial considerations. If poverty is a bar, poor men can never marry. And then you are now staying with me. There is no question of household expenses. I think you should get married as soon as possible.' As I have said in a previous chapter, I had never to argue a thing twice with Mr. Polak. He appreciated the force of my argument, and immediately opened correspondence with Mrs. Polak who was then in England. She gladly accepted the proposal and in a few months reached Johannesburg. Any expense over the wedding was out of the question, not even a special dress was thought necessary. They needed no religious rites to seal the bond. Mrs. Polak was a Christian by birth and Mr. Polak a Jew. Their common religion was the religion of ethics.

I may mention in passing an amusing

incident in connection with this wedding. The Registrar of European Marriages in the Transvaal could not register marriages between black or coloured people. In the wedding in question, I acted as the bestman. Not that we could not have got a European friend for the purpose but Polak would not brook the suggestion. So we three went to the Registrar of Marriages. How could he be sure that the parties to a marriage in which I acted as the bestman would be Whites? He proposed to postpone registration pending inquiries. The next day was Christmas day, and to postpone the date of a solemnly arranged wedding on such a flimsy pretext was more than one could bear. I knew the Chief Magistrate who was head of the Registration Department. So I appeared before him with the couple. He laughed and gave me a note to the Registrar, and the wedding was at last duly registered!

Up to now the Europeans who lived with me had been more or less known to me before. But now an English lady who was an utter stranger to us entered the family. I do not remember having ever had a difference with the newly married couple, but if Mrs. Polak and my wife had some unpleasant experiences they were no more than what happen in the best regulated homogeneous families. And let it be remembered that mine would be considered an essentially heterogeneous family where people of all kinds and temperaments were

freely admitted. When we come to think of it, the distinction between heterogeneous and homogeneous is discovered to be merely imaginary. We are all one family.

I had better celebrate West's wedding also in this chapter. At this stage of my life, my ideas about *brahmacharya* had not fully matured, and so I was interesting myself in getting all my bachelor friends married. When in due course, West made a pilgrimage to Louth to meet his parents, I advised him to return married if possible. Phoenix was the common home, and as we were all supposed to have become farmers, we were not afraid of marriage and its usual consequences. Mr. West returned with Mrs. West, a beauteous young lady of Leicester. She came of a family of shoemakers working in a Leicester factory. Mrs. West had herself some experience of work in this factory. I have called her beauteous, because it was her moral beauty that at once attracted me. True beauty after all consists in purity of heart. With Mr. West had come his mother-in-law too. The old lady is still alive. She put us all to shame by her industry and her buoyant, cheerful nature.

Just as I persuaded these European friends to marry, I encouraged the Indian friends to send for their families from home. Phoenix thus developed into a little village half a dozen families having come and begun to increase there.

The Aims of Education

BY A. V. SUBRAMANIAN

A thing of beauty is a Joy for ever :

—Keats

The educational system, that obtains at present in India, has been the subject of criticism, for a long time, at the hands of persons of varying degrees of experience, eminence, and competency. Its merits and demerits have been discussed in such a threadbare manner, that there is no excuse for anyone to write on it, unless he feels confident that he has something new to say. There is one important aspect of the educational system and effort in India, that has escaped the attention of its critics and that will be dealt with here.

The objects of education are manifold ; to define them all with precision is an impossible task ; yet, we must have some definition, to indicate, in a broad and general manner, our ideas and conception. The object of education is to develop all the inherent faculties of Man, in accordance with their own laws, through exercise and knowledge, in such a manner, as it may fit him, to so perceive and discharge his duties and responsibilities in life, as to ensure the highest degree of social well-being, and to draw out of life, the highest enjoyment, he is capable of. No educational system is worth the name that does not tend to foster and develop at least the major faculties of Man.

Every human being has got in him or her, an inborn instinct and tendency, to respond emotionally to Beauty in Nature or Art, or in any other form in which it

stands embodied ; like the ocean, which responds to the silvery moon, by rising up in rolling waves, our emotional being heaves up in waves of feelings of joy, at Beauty. This response is natural ; beginning in a feeling of curiosity, it develops into wonder and finally takes shape in simple delight, which is experienced by both the mind and the body. This faculty of Man, which is generally called the aesthetic faculty, has a peculiarity, that has to be noted. The aesthetic faculty is not a simple one like that of speech, hearing or sight ; in fact, it has no independent existence ; it works through the faculties of the ordinary human senses, the mere development of which, however, is no indication of the corresponding growth of the aesthetic sense. Its development depends on a well-regulated and harmonious growth of the senses in an environment of Beauty and Order. It must, however, be noted that the theory that the aesthetic emotion is an non-essential appetite of man, and that all works of Art or manifestations of Nature, to which, this emotion is generatively related and responsive, have got an uniform quality of beauty or excitability, cannot fully explain either the reality behind Nature and Art or the neural activity of Man, while enjoying them. The belief, that all that great works of art can do, end in creating pleasurable excitement in Man, which is difficult of analysis, though varying in degrees of intensity, according to the capacity for response, has been shaken. The

experiences, given expression to, by many of the greatest artists, would seem to indicate that Art in the most concentrated moments of its birth and illumination, can give some knowledge of the ultimate reality. Critics, to whom, the springs of all great creative art and activity, must be ordinarily dark, have not enough materials to discount such experiences, or to frame any theory, that can fully explain all the relevant phenomena.

Any rational system of education must aim at developing this faculty in every child and youth. It is impossible for any youth, in whom this instinct remains dim and inactive, to have a healthy outlook on life, an outlook that ought to be aglow with the joy of living and sympathy for fellow man. It is the aesthetic faculty, that supplies to life, the colour, the hope and the buoyancy, that weave a web of repose and harmony around the soul ; it liberates the imagination from the cobwebs of dull and rusty thought ; it kindles the creative impulse and finds scope for its free play ; dissolving all dissonance and disharmony from life, it makes Man perceive his Oneness with Nature, in a sense much more real than the most sublime beauty of the highest spiritual contemplation could make him realise his oneness with the Godhead. He, who does not realise, that this Universe rests on a fundamental basis of beauty, order and harmony, cannot get at the truth of ultimate reality, whatever its nature and appearance may be. This realisation gives life, in spite of its evanescence in the world of Time, its permanence and immortality, in the world of the creative mind of Man. It is difficult for him to build up good life, if he is not able to realise that life, amidst much that seems unwholesome, jarring and ugly, is essen-

tially beautiful and joyous. The aesthetic view of life is its completest and most comprehensive view, for it includes the ethical, spiritual and the religious view. Aesthetic feeling, divorced from its religious and spiritual texture, is a course aberration and will only be a bundle of ill-developed and artificially intoxicated emotions, through which, no organic chord, rhythm or harmony can run.

How to nurture the aesthetic sense of Man, is the next question to be faced. Beauty, in its myriad forms, is the water of life for this faculty. The greatest manifestation and the most enchanting expression of Beauty are in Nature and Art ; the one is God-made ; the other is man-made. While Nature is the everlasting abode of Beauty, in all its primal splendour, transcendent glory and super-human lineament, Art is the culmination of the eternal aspiration of Man, in all ages, to respond to Nature's call for unison and fellowship, in forms of wonder and delight. Absorbing the beauty which Nature radiates, Man creates it again, in ever so many forms of loveliness, with his skill, trained in orderly exercise, and intensified by the power of vision and imagination.

It follows then, that the aesthetic development of Man, has to be effected, through his increasing association and communion with Nature. On the mind of Man, Nature acts most powerfully. Take, for instance, a group of young men to a mountain with its ever-green forest of luxuriant vegetation, its massive trees and thick shrubs, its peaks, around which black clouds move like aerial ghosts, its streams of cool crystal and pellucid waters, its running brooks and leaping cataracts and its wild flowers, that shake the air with their perfume and shed a shower of multi-

coloured light and see how this grand scenery on the green canvas acts upon their minds: the effect is simply magical; their response to the beauty of the scenery and environment is immediate; delight wells up from their minds, as from a gushing fountain and makes them forget themselves in Joy. Next to Nature, the most potent factor, in building up the aesthetic being of Man is Art, in its widest sense. By Art is meant, the fine arts, as contradistinguished from the useful arts; not that the two need necessarily be opposite; merely because a fine thing has a utility value; its fine quality does not disappear thereby nor is it the less worthy of appreciation on that account. The fine arts, which include music, poetry and painting, have a great value in drawing out the aesthetic capacity of youth. It is not possible for every one to be a musician, poet or painter; but, it is possible for everyone to cultivate the capacity for appreciating fine music, good poetry and great art and enjoying them. This is understandable when we remember that what the artist treasures for us, is not something, that is new and entirely foreign to our experience, but only a better organisation and illumination of that experience, and what he has been able to draw out of it by the force of his genius and intuition. What ought to be developed in youth is an art-sense, if it can be so called, by which is meant the capacity to appreciate beauty in Art, in an enthusiastic, though a discriminating manner, coupled with a natural taste, for objects that expresses beauty, order, and loveliness.

The popular conception that art is not for the multitude, but only for the aristocratic and the leisured rich, is gravely erroneous. The error is due to three causes. The first is the monstrous in-

equality, not only in the possession of, but also in the opportunities of creating, wealth, of the present capitalistic structure of society, which has placed a large majority of mankind, in material want, and prevented them from having a reasonable share of the good things of life. If freedom from want is the first indispensable requisite for any kind of human activity, its necessity, for the pursuit of innocent pleasure cannot be over-estimated. The second cause lies in the popular conception of art itself. According to this conception, a knowledge of art is not a necessity to human life, and that it is an "ornament and an added grace, lending charm and colour to an existence that would otherwise be sordid, mechanical and dull." Art is conceived of as something separate and dealing with elements of imagination and fancy that are not vitally related to ordinary human nature, and that art is art, because of its distance and aloofness, from the practical monotony of life. This view is not entirely correct. The function of art in life, in the words of a writer in the *Hibbert Journal*, "is not ornamental but structural; and that if art has an essential place in life, it must have an essential place in education." The third cause lies, in the greater importance, which is generally attached to objects and objective experience, as a source of joy. Whether objects and objective experience have the quality of producing pleasure inherent in themselves and independent of the human mind, is a question, into the philosophic depths of which, it is not necessary to dive, for the simple reason that metaphysicians have failed to reach a demonstrably true conclusion. What should, however, be pointed out, is that joy is a subjective mental state. Objects and objective experience undoubtedly stimulate the

mind, and under certain conditions, they may even be essential; but, they do not constitute the paramount factor in the creation of subjective mental states.

The development of the aesthetic sense of man, is not a mechanical process; it is a part of the organic growth of the mental being. Therefore, it is the human personality that has to respond to the stimulus and grow, though Nature and Art, can accelerate it powerfully. In the case of persons in whom the personality is feeble, even Nature and Art cannot help much, though they can never fail to move.

India is a country, where the aesthetic side of life had received attention from early times. If one fact, more than any other, stands out in bold relief, in the history of India from its very beginning, it is that life was enjoyed by her people, with fullness variety and zest, in spite of the constant operation of great disintegrating elements in the shape of foreign invasions and the consequent insecurity to life and property and dynastic and religious quarrels, that threw people into opposing camps. Religion War and Love were the three great major forces that shaped their lives and absorbed their interest, calling forth all their best qualities and talents. Art and Literature received the greatest impetus and homage by the free play of these forces. No greater evidence of the high level of the aesthetic development of the people of India is necessary than the immortal legacies that her masterminds have left us in thought, song, marble and colour. In no period of Indian history until recently did the national interest in Art flag; a national art-atmosphere and a powerful art-tradition were prevalent throughout inspiring the people to mighty effort. Decadence in the aesthetic life and habits of the people, which began towards

the close of the Moghul Empire, is now complete. There is now no live national art-atmosphere. The people's energies, physical and intellectual have been sapped to their very foundation. They are now in a condition in which they can neither love passionately, fight valiantly nor think profoundly. Our modern literature is mostly of the parasitic variety.

The fire of the national genius has become almost extinguished. The capacity for creative activity is at the lowest ebb. The impulses of the people, are losing their creative element and assuming a possessive and vegetative aspect. For the people of India to come to their own and take up the lost thread a powerful renaissance is necessary and in bringing into existence conditions favourable to the birth of such a renaissance, the educational system of the country has a large share to contribute.

Having said so much in a general way, an examination of the particular problem, can be taken up. The question to be discussed is how far the present educational system in India, contributes, if anything, to the aesthetic development of youth. One need not wait long for an answer. Our educational system, with the environment that it has created in our schools and colleges does not contribute anything towards the aesthetic side of our boys' training; what is worse, it has not even recognised the need for such a development; the question of scientific emotional culture, on an organised basis, has been simply ignored. By ignoring this aspect, our educational system has done great harm to the intellectual and moral stamina of Indian youth.

From the point of view of aesthetic development, the first thing that strikes one, about our schools and colleges, is the utter unsuitability of the places in which they

have been built. The location of schools and colleges has got a very important bearing, not only on general educational efficiency, but also on the mental make-up of the pupils. The place in which a school is located, determines in a great measure, the environment, in which, the pupils have to think and grow. Our schools and colleges have invariably grown in crowded and thickly populated towns. The thick of a city atmosphere is the last thing, in which a quiet educational environment can grow. In cities, some of the biggest schools and colleges are situated at the heart of the busiest centres, where the din and the dust of traffic are unceasing, and where it is impossible for the teachers and the taught, to practise that amount of concentration, that is absolutely essential for the school-room or the lecture hall. What aesthetic sense the students possess, withers under the chilling effects of the brick-and-mortar giants, under whose protecting wings they have to work. The first reform necessary to recast our educational effort on sound lines must relate to the choice of localities for educational institutions. The building of schools and colleges, in the cities ought to be given up altogether. Seminaries of learning ought to be in places of natural beauty far away from populous centres. In places where Nature is not bountiful in her charms, the spots where schools and colleges have to be built should be made beautiful by the creation of lawns, avenues and parks around them. The atmosphere then will be quiet, pure and bracing, besides being conducive to the aesthetic development of the pupils. Half a century ago, Ruskin pleaded, with an authority and power peculiarly his, that educational centres ought not to be defiled by being erected at populous localities. In a lecture delivered at Oxford he said :—"I will even

venture to tell you my hope, though I shall be dead long before its fulfilment, that one day the English people, will indeed so far recognise what education means, as to surround this University with the loveliest park in England, twenty miles square; that they will forbid in that environment every unclean, mechanical and vulgar trade as any man would forbid them in his own garden, that the streams of the Isis and Cherwell will be kept pure and quiet among their fields and trees; and that within this park, every English wild-flower that can bloom in lowland will be suffered to grow in luxuriance and that every living creature that haunts wood and stream know that it has happy refuge." It may here be pointed out that in India, before the advent of modern civilisation and industrialism, with their monster towns and ugly slums the sanctuaries of learning were in places of quiet forest retreat, in a setting of lovely scenery and tranquil environment. Abounding in great mountains, rivers and forests as India has been, her sons had sanctified all beauty spots and built their temples of Religion and learning near them. To them true religion consisted in the spiritual realisation of the infinite God in the finite world through joy; to them Nature had been a teacher and revealer, often more potent and illuminating, than Man. The aesthetic realisation of God was their ideal; religion, in its purer and spiritual aspect, was a fine art to our ancient sages, a finer art than music and poetry; it is this ideal that shaped their ideas regarding education.

Coming to Art, its place in Indian Education has been anything but satisfactory. Excepting poetry no fine art, finds even a remote place in any school or college curriculum. The worst part of it is, that music

has been rigourously excluded; it is not even an optional subject; within the precincts of the school and the college, the pupils and music have to be utter strangers. Nothing kindles the aesthetic element in man, so powerfully and so completely as music; its domain is supreme and universal; to the learned as well as to the unlearned it appeals with equal force; its moving quality is something irresistible. In our educational system, the exalted influence that a course in music brings, is denied to youth, in its most impressionable period. This defect is fatal to all that is best in Man, and cannot be too strongly condemned. An educational institution, that has not got on its staff, musicians and artists, forfeits its title to that name it degenerates into a market-place where third-rate knowledge is vended to those who seek it for purposes of professional or official preferment. It is a matter for gratification, that in the educational institutions, that have been started by some of our great idealists and leaders of thought, in revolt against the official machine-ridden system, the claims of music have been recognised. In the educational course at the celebrated Shantiniketan, at Bolpur, founded by Rabindranath Tagore, music has a very important place; it would indeed be a surprise, if it were not so. It has been said that, there, the signal for the inmates to rise up at the prescribed time in the early morning, is given by the musical strains of a singing choir. Just imagine for a moment the elevating influence of this beautiful item in the daily routine. When a boy wakes up after his day's sleep with his mind pure and brain unclouded, dawn is heralded to him, not by the proverbial cock's crow, but by the sweet on rushing melodies of the human voice. Perhaps, the song is a hymn of invocation

to the Sun, the giver of all life and the dispeller of all mist. Blessed are the youths who grow under such an environment.

The only subject, in the curriculum of studies, that can be said to help, in a manner, the aesthetic development of boys, is poetry. But, under the present condition of things, the teaching of poetry becomes ineffective for this purpose. Good poetry comes in usefully only at a very advanced stage of a student's college career. Even here, except in the case of students who take a vernacular as an optional subject, only poetry of a foreign language and literature is taught. It is not suggested here that English poetry is not sufficiently great and rich; no one with the slightest acquaintance with that literature, will venture a statement of that kind; to the world's heritage of great poetry, English literature, that has produced a Shakespeare and a Shelley, not to speak of other illustrious names, has a respectable share to contribute: nor can it be forgotten, that the power and appeal of all great poetry are universal, irrespective of the language, in which it is enshrined. What has to be urged however, is that the value of English poetry in awakening the aesthetic sense of the Indian pupil is in practice, inconsiderable. The verbal music, the haunting melody and the elusive rhythm of English poetry, are in a great measure lost on us and with them, a considerable portion of its beauty and moving power; they cannot affect us in the same way as they can affect people whose mother tongue is English. While the externals of the poetic form are generally explained the beauty and depth of the poetic substance are not dived into by the teachers, though the meaning of the lines is explained in a manner. What the teachers of poetry in

Indian Colleges have failed to do, is to create an imaginary back ground in the minds of the pupils, before a poetry class begun. This is indispensable because poetry appeals to us, as Walter Pater has said, through some medium other than the pure intelligence. The boys' minds, ought to be attuned in a spirit of sympathy to enter into the poet's world. Otherwise, the totality of the effect that a good poem ought to produce in a sympathetic and responsive mind, is not reproduced on the pupils' mental canvas even in a feeble manner. Poetry is great, because of the infinite nature of its suggestiveness. Mere understanding of a poem does not make one realise its whole beauty the poetic instinct in every youth, which is potential though often dim ought to be roused. The fortune of a small number of students who have the privilege of the poetry of their mother tongue being taught to them, is not better, in any sense. The reason is not far to seek. Taking the case of Tamil literature, it can be said without any fear of contradiction that its poetical riches can compare favourably with those of any other literature of the world, for quality, bulk and for variety too, if the drama is excluded; but, literary critics has not been a field where Tamil literature is strong, though it has a highly evolved system of grammar, poetics and aesthetics, which treated poetry more as an art of the intellect, than as an expression of the creative and spiritual energy of Man. Secondly, there is not a considerable quantity of poetry and creative literature in Tamil, embodying the work and the aspirations of the modern spirit, to be fully satisfying to the aesthetic needs of the modern age. Thirdly, the teaching of poetry is in the hands of the pandits of the old type, who, it must be stated, with due

deference to their learning and erudition, are not quite competent for the task, on account of their general ignorance of modern literature and of the art of literary criticism; their methods of teaching poetry are of the quack variety, though they have been sanctified by hoary tradition. Life, literature and the human mind are growing; and any literary method that does not keep itself abreast of the times, is bound to be defective. In spite of these factors, Tamil poetry can kindle the aesthetic emotion of our boys much better than English poetry. The music and the rhythm are sure of their deepest appeal; the race-mind, the development and growth of which through ages have been mirrored in immortal poetry, touches in the minds of the readers, a sympathetic chord, that vibrates with joy; our heritage of legend, history and culture that have nurtured our poetic minds and supplied them with materials, stand vividly before our eyes, and make us realise that organic link, that binds the past, present and the future.

Though the teaching of poetry in our colleges has been a failure, the blame does not entirely rest with the teachers but with the system, that obliges them to coach the pupils for an examination, the inexorable requirements of which have made poetry teaching a mechanical and an insipid affair. The fault lies in prescribing poetry as a subject for examination. For any subject, a trying examination is bad enough, but for poetry, it is worse. Examinations effectively hinder the students from catching the poetic spirit and illumination, by diverting their attention to a dissection of the poetic texture and form, in which questions are generally asked. The general effect of the institution of examinations, which form the most characteristic feature of our educational system

on the aesthetic tendencies of youth, can also be considered. There is now a consensus of enlightened educational opinion that frequent examinations of the type we have, are a blot on our educational system. So far as the purpose of finding out comparative merit in competitive activity, is concerned, the examinations are a failure. The physical strain to the pupils, which frequent examinations cause, makes them, an institution of very doubtful value. When examination stands as a frightening goal, the joy in study ceases; the freedom and the buoyancy of spirit disappear; the aesthetic sense is smothered. In a lecture at Oxford Ruskin said:—"This then, I repeat, is the sum of education. All literature, art, and science are vain, and worse, if they do not enable you to be glad; and glad justly. And I feel it distinctly my duty, though with solemn and true deference to the masters of education in this University, to say that I believe our modern methods of teaching, and especially the institution of severe and frequent examination, to be absolutely opposed to this great end; and that the result of competitive labour in youth is infallibly to make men know all they learn wrongly and hate the habit of learning."

Nowhere can the truth of these words be illustrated better than in India where a large majority of graduates have lost their interest in study altogether after coming out of the University, for the reason that education has been so imparted there as to minister to other ends than the life-long pursuit of a humanising culture.

Economic causes have placed a majority of students, in this country under the compelling necessity of passing examinations at all cost, as they have been opening the doors for employment. The mental worry and the high nervous tension to which most boys reduce themselves at examination time are sufficient to condemn this institution in the eyes of all reasonable men, who care for the welfare of the youth of the country. Many of the enlightened modern universities have given up this institution. If it is not possible for our universities to follow their foot-steps immediately, at least, a beginning can be made in the right direction. Our educational atmosphere should be so far elevated and improved, as to permit of a large measure of trust, being placed in the discretion, of experienced and skilled professors; for hall-marking educational attainment.

The foregoing criticism is of a general nature, the points dealt with being capable of further elucidation and elaboration; but enough has been said, to draw the attention of the public interested in educational reform, to a very vital aspect of it. That education should give an aesthetic bent and colour to the general outlook of boys, is absolutely necessary, if it is to discharge its function properly; otherwise, to the stigma of being God-less, will be added that of being beauty-less; of the two defects, the latter is certainly worse, for if a sense for beauty is cultivated, and churned, the moral sense will be its certain cream.

Reviews and Notices of Books

MUSICAL APPRECIATION

THE SPELL OF MUSIC by J. A. Fuller-Maitland. John Murray, 3s. 6d.

"Music hath charms," E we are assured by the poet, even if we do not admit "savage breasts" in our equipment. The man that hath not "music in his soul" is not much, in the opinion of another poet. These two declarations cover the ground of musical appreciation, expression and response. If music has no charm, it cannot charm you. On the other hand, if you have not the capacity to be charmed, the most charming music in the world may as well retire into the fundamental silence as far as you are concerned. There are people who have no ear for music. As another poet (of a sort) sings:

There was an old lady of Sheen
Whose musical ear was not keen.
She remarked: "It is odd
That I cannot tell 'God
Save the Weasel' from 'Pop goes the Queen'."

But such cases are rare. The normal human being has the capacity to enjoy music in some degree, though in many it may be rudimentary. This book is not intended to create what does not exist, but to assist into full exercise the capacity that circumstances may have kept dormant. It seeks to do so by an analysis of the various elements that go to make up music in the western sense and by the giving of suggestions as to how the special beauties of these elements may be looked for and enjoyed, until finally the developed

lover of music passes beyond the need of attention to the outer aspects of music, and touches its spiritual element whereby he gets glimpses of something beyond the ordinary world.

The appreciation of music seems nearly always to follow a particular order, the author tells us. That order is—melody, harmony, rhythm, form, colour. Melody came alone to the world, he says. It was developed by "savage nations" and "primitive peoples." It persisted until quite recently as "all-sufficient for musical enjoyment." Curiously enough, notwithstanding the "savage" and "primitive" origin of melody, the author likens it to the soul of music, which either sounds bad for the melody or good for the primitive savage! "Harmony is one of the latest children of music, matured very quickly, and seems now to have reached a stage of senile decay..." Harmony he regards as the mind of music. Rhythm comes next. "The most enchanting succession of melodic notes, even though accompanied by the richest harmonies, would fail to convey any definite impression were the element of rhythm lacking."

It is interesting to remember that Indian music has developed melody and rhythm far beyond western music, but has left harmony quite undeveloped. But Indian psychology does not regard rhythm as the body of music. It is its *tanmatra* or measure, a pulsation placed upon it like that of the circulation of the blood. It is its vital aspect. The physical or bodily aspect is the sound itself.

Form is the next point to be appreciated. This arises, says our author, from the need for variety. It is, he says, appreciated by the mind. With the development of harmony and many instruments played together there came the pleasure of change from the special sound quality of one instrument to another, from the flute to the violin, for example. Then came the special qualities of tone in the grouping of certain instruments and in the change from one group to another. This brought about a special flavour in musical appreciation which has been called "musical colour." It was, so to speak, a change from the line-work of drawing to the juxtaposing of masses of colour in oil-painting. This, the author says, is appreciated by the intellect.

There is something not quite certain in the author's psychological parallels to the elements of music, but this cannot be dealt with in a short review. It must suffice to hint that, while the aesthetic of India would be useful in the elucidation of the psychological problems involved in the enjoyment of music, it would also provide a problem of special interest in the Indian lack of harmony and full colour. The author indicates that the glimpse of something beyond, which is the spiritual reward of the music lover, comes after the mastering of all the elements. But western lovers and understanders of music have enjoyed that glimpse also through Indian music. This would seem to show that enjoyment is an elastic experience whose psychology is not yet understood.

The book is clearly and pleasantly written.

James H. Cousins.

AN EXPERIMENTAL STUDY OF THE MENTAL PROCESSES INVOLVED IN JUDGMENT.—by S. P. Stevanovic, Ph. D. London: Cambridge University Press, 1927. Pp. 138. 10s. net.

This study which is Monograph Supplement XII to the British Journal of Psychology, was a thesis approved by the University of London for the Ph. D. degree. As is always the case with doctor's dissertations it is a technical study of a specialized subject. It is not intended as a book for the layman, but it is a study in which the teacher or advanced student of psychology will be deeply interested. It is another bit of evidence to the fact that psychological science is becoming more and more precise, and is making increasing application of the methods of exact science to the study of the mental life.

It was the aim of the author to endeavour to escape as far as possible from preconceptions, to shut out to a maximum degree experiences of the past which might in any sense give colour to the direction of the mental processes under investigation. In order to do that, thirty-five pictures were used, these being divided into seven sets, five to the set. There was a similarity of pattern, but differences in colouring among the members of each set. None of the pictures represented any known objects, and so had no meanings attached to them from past experience. To each set a nonsense name was given, again the object being to have names which would have no meaning in past experience. In each case the name was of two syllables and five letters, and they were so formed as to avoid possible mnemonics. These pictures and their names were painted on squares of white cardboard of a uniform size. The first part of the experiment was observation of the processes involved in learning this

nonsense material which was to be used subsequently in the making of judgments. The learning was performed under controlled conditions, the experimenter paying particular attention to any point which might arise in the developments of meanings. Quantitative data was also taken into consideration by taking the reaction-time with the aid of a stop-watch.

The second part of the experiment was to confront the subjects with a series of eight part-sentences to be completed. Each completion of a sentence involved the formation of a judgment in regard to the pictures. The experimenter had well arranged his part sentences so that the various types of logical judgments were represented. There were examples of the individual affirmative, the particular affirmative, the universal affirmative, the general affirmative, the universal negative, the particular negative, and the individual negative judgments. In this part of the experiment Hipp's chronoscope was used to measure the time intervals, and photographic records were taken of the changes in the electrical resistance of the observers during the performance of the task. The observers in this case were required to complete each part-sentence as rapidly as possible by an adjective or some word of adjectival value. The observers were given twenty sittings for each, seven completions being taken at a sitting. The total data thus assembled for critical analysis consisted of 1216 protocols, an equal number of reaction-times, and 856 drawings performed by the observers in different stages of the learning, and in the second part 140 completions, the number of protocols being 700 with an equivalent number of photographic records and reaction-times.

The author observes that in the learning

process the first picture in each group was cognized in relation to some past experience. The observer had to make some meaningful association, to start, and with that beginning he carried the meaningfulness to the other members of the group. Growth in knowledge was either by a slow differentiation of characters or by the sudden emergence of its structure, differentiation consisting in the growth of relations around a central character. Differentiation is most serviceable in obtaining individual meanings, while emergence is of more use in forming abstract or group concepts. Free interpretation in the sense of education by analogy, together with associative reproductions, tends to prevent an individual member from becoming a constitutive member of a group. Concepts may be formed and they grow by disintegration of the common character.

At various points in the discussion the author refers to what he calls 'imageless knowledge'. He suggests that in certain types of judgments fragments of knowledge are presented which are quite devoid of sensorial contents. He tells us that images are serviceable to indicate what individuals are meant, but that imageless knowledge serves better when the question concerns the intrinsic characters. It would appear from these remarks that the author ranges himself with those psychologists who believe that imageless thinking is a possibility. Many of the leading psychologists, from experimental data also, have concluded that the image is the very stuff of the thought processes, that thinking is a flow of images in consciousness, and that when images cease, thinking ceases. It seems to be rather a doubtful procedure to permit the observers to dictate the interpretation. Of course the author has not given us access to all of his records, but in every

case where he has quoted from the introspections of his subjects to this interpreter at least there is evidence of images. It is quite possible that another might have so treated all of the material.

The mental processes, for analytical purposes are divided into cognition, affection and conation. In actual experience however the mental life is a unity, and every fragment of it has all three elements present. With this in view it is very difficult to understand what our author is driving at when he tells us there need be no conation in judging as such. Conation, he says, tends to take place rather in processes on the sensorial level than in those on the conceptual level. All of which makes us wish that he had defined conation and defined images, since his conclusions are so unusual.

Having made these criticisms, we must say a word in commendation. The author has taken the right method for a study of the mental processes involved in judgment, and, if our knowledge of such mental processes is to be made more precise, it can only come about by pains-taking investigations such as this. Another might have been inclined to interpret the result differently at certain points, but the results stand on their own merits.

A. S. W.

HEINE'S PROSE.

IN ORIGINAL GERMAN: Edited by A. B. Faust Published by The Macmillan Company.

The German poet Heine's reputation is not merely confined to Germany but is European. The halo about his name is almost Byronic in character inasmuch as the same passion and furor, the same bitterness and coarseness exist in both.

But the strain of inherited racial asceticism in Heine's character saved him from being the *roné* and misanthrope that the English poet was. Jew as Heine was by race, his was essentially the introspective, almost brooding, German temperament without any of the heaviness usually ascribed to it. His work "Der Rabbi von Baccarach" attests to his sympathy with the cause of his persecuted race. With other oriental civilisations he had hardly any contact. While the great poet Goethe could burst into ecstatic admiration over *Shakuntala*, the poet Heine could write only thus about one of the episodes of ancient Indian life:

The royal Vishwamitra,
No rest or peace is his
He through painful struggles manifold
For him will win Vasishta's cow!
O! Royal Vishwamitra
O what an ox art thou
Thus to struggle and to suffer,
All for a cow!

Heine's poems which were all intensely subjective and born of experience, have a lilt and a melody all their own. Short poems like the following in "Lyrisches Intermezzo," mostly depicting his love-experiences are the sweetest of all Heine's compositions:

If but they knew,—the small
flowers knew
The painful griefs of my bleeding
heart,
Surely would they with me sympathise
That all my sorrows may depart."

Like Goethe, that other great German writer of whose work Heine has been said to be the continuator, Heine wrote remarkably good prose also. The volume under review contains a choice collection of his prose compositions, including his *Memoirs*, *English Fragments*, *Romantic School of*

Writers, Florentine Nights and portions of his *Reisebilder* and *Letters*. The conversation on the Thames," one of the essays in "English Fragments" contains a striking analysis of the racial peculiarities of the three more prominent nations of Europe.

The English, we are told, are a "domestic" race, the French are a 'social' race, while the Germans are essentially speculative. The Englishman loves freedom as he would his own legal wife, he owns her and, though he is not particularly tender to her, knows how to defend her like a man in times of stress. The Frenchman loves freedom as his bride, he glows for her, flames into ecstasy at her feet with the most exaggerated homage and often makes himself a fool for her sake. *The German loves freedom like his own grandmother*.....

"Yes!" says Heine after setting forth the above views, "Germans may be dreamers but many amongst them have seen such fine dreams that I would scarcely like to exchange them for the reality of our neighbours. As we Germans are sleeping and dreaming, we can perhaps dispense with Freedom, for are not our tyrants and their tyranny too slumbering? We woke up once when the Catholics from Rome robbed us of our dream—freedom and then indeed we acted and won, but straightway we stretched ourselves again and dreamt. Laugh not, O! Ye Philistines of the world! at our dreamers, for oftentimes like somnambulists they say wonderful things in their sleep, and their words become the seed of Freedom. The splenetic Briton, probably wearying of his wife, may put her up for sale at Smithfield. The flattering Frenchman may prove faithless to his bride and forsake her. But the German will never drive away his grandmother from his doors, he would ever keep for her

a place by the hearth where she could tell tales to listening children. If at any time—which God forbid—freedom were to disappear from off the face of the earth then might a German dreamer again discover it in his dreams!"

In his description of London, Heine exclaims: "Send by all means a philosopher to London, but not a poet, for goodness sake! Send a philosopher thither and place him at a corner of Cheapside! Here he will learn more than out of all the books of Leipsig fair; and as the human waves rush around him, a new ocean of thoughts will rise up before him, the hidden secrets of social order will reveal themselves to him and he will hear the pulse-beat of the World and see it visibly too,—for if London is the right hand of the World, the ever-active mighty right hand, Cheapside is the pulse—artery of the world! But send not a poet to London! This naked prosy earnestness, this colossal sameness, this mechanical sway of the human ocean, this over-driven London kills the imagination and cruelly tears the heart!"

It has been said that in his "English Fragments," Heine's contemptuous estimate of English awkwardness is as merciless as the Englishman's ridicule of German ponderosity. His opinion of Wellington the Iron Duke, amounts almost to contempt. To Shakespeare, however, he like many another German, pays his worshipful adoration in the following hyperbolic terms: "The England of those days was different from that of to-day, the England of that time when in the modern Bethelhem called stratford on Avon the man to whom we owe our worldly scriptures, was born, was merry England, and life then was full of colour, gaiety and action..... All this colour—full joy has since disappeared, faded are the joyous trumpet notes...but

the book of Shakespeare alone exists as a consoling relic for bad times and as a proof that merry England did really exist....."

Philistinism is a word which Carlyle has familiarised amongst us. Goethe it was who first employed the word and fought vigorously against all those qualities that

are denoted by the word. Heine shared with Goethe this hatred of Philistinism. All the labour of Heine's labour-filled life was to make the world *Philistin—Free*.....

L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR.

What Thinkers Think

New Year Thoughts

The New Year evokes fresh thoughts, often vain regrets at what might have been, and always fresh hopes of what may yet be. The dawn of the new year is a period in our life when we pause and reflect as to what we have achieved and, more, on what we have, alas! failed to accomplish; when we seek consolation, make fresh resolves and cherish new hopes. With the Editor of *The Millgate Monthly*, we share the thoughts set down below and pass them on to our readers:

A HAPPY NEW YEAR!

A Happy New Year to all whose kindly eyes fall on this page, wherever they may be, on land or on sea. The wish is father to the thought. And thought is the greatest power for good—and for evil. If we really do want a happy new year, both for ourselves and for all those whose welfare is as our own, we can have it for the thinking. "There is nothing either good or bad, but thinking makes it so," as Shakespeare hath it.

A happy new year, therefore, means happy thoughts in our hearts. The New Year is the right time for right thinking. That is the happy moment. We have just parted with the Old Year with all its goodness and its badness, with all its successes and its failures, with new friends come and old friends gone. And with Whittier we can thus address the departed—

Thou, grey voyager to the breezeless sea
Of infinite oblivion, speed thou on!

Another gift of Time succeedeth thee,
Fresh from the hand of God, for thou hast done
The errand of thy destiny, and none
May dream of thy returning.
But whilst to infinite oblivion we hurl the dead
past, let us not forget, as Longfellow reminds us
that:

Alas! alas!

Whatever hath been written shall remain,
Nor be erased nor written o'er again;
The unwritten only still belongs to thee,
Take heed and ponder well what that shall be.

Now let us turn with Stopford Brooke, and look upon the valley of the past year. "There below are the spots stained by our evil and our fear. But as we look a glow of sunlight breaks upon the past, and in the sunshine is a soft rain falling from Heaven. It washes away the rain, and from the purity of the upper sky a voice seems to descend and enter our sobered hearts: 'My child go forward, abiding in faith, hope, and love; for, lo, I am with you always.'"

And so, in the words of St. Paul, "forgetting those things which are behind"—if we can—"and reaching forth to those things which are before, let us press toward the mark for the prize." What that prize is exactly we do not know; but this we do know, it will be just as worthy as the effort made to win it.

Life is movement. Its direction is ever onward and upward. The pilgrim way of Man is towards the Unknown. He sets out after an ideal only to see it disappear, whilst in its place rises a still greater one. The higher he goes, the more he sees; and the more he sees, the higher he wants to go. If it were not so, there would be no progress.

What is the progress each one of us has recorded in the year that is dead?

That is a thought on which each individual has to contemplate himself and provide the answer.

Progress One-sided

The most striking thing in the world today is that progress in the one sphere in which it is easily measured is yet one-sided. The distribution of the good things—are all of them really good?—of the world today continues to be at fault. Take the case of America, the wealthiest of the nations. Here is an aspect of American economic progress:

"The statistics just published by the U.S. Bureau of Inland Revenue estimate the total national income at 90,000,000,000 dollars—equivalent to £ 154 per head, or £ 770 a year per family of five.

"The estimate of the National Industrial Conference Board, it should be noted, is decidedly lower—78,649,000,000 dollars. Other estimates give only 73,000,000,000 dollars as the total.

"But even so, the figure is remarkably high. America would certainly be a universally prosperous and povertyless country—if this great income were evenly or equitably distributed."—writes the diplomatic correspondent of the *Daily Herald*.

Pointing out that all those who emphasise America's superiority ignore the question of distribution, and the higher price level in the United States, the Diplomatic Correspondent of the *Daily Herald* goes on to say:—

"What are the facts?

"Of this great national income no less than 20,000,000,000 dollars—just about a quarter—goes to 450,000 people, out of the total population of 117,000,000.

"The incomes at the top of the scale are fantastic.

"There are seven people with incomes of over 5,000,000 dollars a year: over £1,000,000 sterling a year: £3,000 a day: £150 an hour each

"There are 10,000 people with incomes of over £20,000 a year apiece.

"These fantastic incomes at the top, and the great mass of wealthy, though not so fabulously wealthy, people a little lower down the scale, eat hugely into the total of the national income—leaving far, far less than the much boosted £ 154 a head for those at the other end of the scale.

"At the other end is what the National Bureau of Economic Research calls the 'poorest class.'

"This poorest class" numbers 76,138,400 people—65 per cent. of the population.

"Its total income for 1926 was just under 29,000,000,000 dollars.

"That gives an income per family of five of 1,993.65 dollars—say, £400 a year: a long, long way below the £770 a year of the Tory Press.

"But even £400 a year per family seems very gh—until we consider it in relation to the cost of living. And the cost of living is, by comparison with England, very high.

"This is an average: there are within the group classes—farm labourers, for example—whose family income is less than half that figure.

"Now, in the same year of 1926 the cost of living at what the Bureau of Labour statistics call 'a bottom level of health and decency below which a family cannot go without danger of physical and moral deterioration,' was, for representative working-class areas, 2,432.39 dollars a year per family of five.

"In other words:

"Despite the enormous aggregate income of the United States, that income is so inequitably divided that the average income of 65 per cent. of the people is below the 'bottom level of health and decency.'

"The 'no poverty in America' chatter takes no heed of this. It knows, or cares, nothing about the struggling Western farmers, barely able to keep body and soul together, ill-clothed, ill-housed, even underfed.

"It knows nothing of the cotton towns of the South, where women mill-workers draw five or six dollars a week (and often less), men workers perhaps ten dollars—for a 10 or 12-hour day: where they live in village slums as bad as any that our own coalfields can show: where strikes are countered by armoured cars and machine guns.

"It knows nothing of the tobacco workers on their two dollars a day (with prices at American levels), of the mine fields of West Virginia, of the 'hunkies' in the Pennsylvania steel works, of the lumbermen in the North-West, of any of the millions of American citizens whose incomes are far below that 'bottom level of health and decency.'

"The total wealth of the country is fabulous: the incomes of its wealthy classes are fantastic; but in the midst of that fabulous wealth, and side by side with those fantastic incomes, there is a mass of poverty, real grinding poverty: because the forces which produce at the same time riches and poverty are in full operation."

The nation produces, but a small clique consumes. What is the remedy for this state of things?

The Example of Russia

One fact is becoming increasingly clear, and that is that the method that Russia has tried to cure the ills of Capitalism has brought in its train will not appeal to thinking minds. The life that the educated classes of Russia are forced to lead there throws some light on the essential weakness of Bolshevism. Here is what a writer in *The Round Table* says of that life:

"Most of them have become subordinate Government officials, or to use the new stock term:—'official' being redolent of Tsarism is anathema—'Soviet servants.' The State is a jack of all trades and the sort of work on which a member of the old middle class happens to be employed is a matter of chance, but as long as he gets enough pay to keep body and soul together it is all the same to him. He doesn't care whether it is in the Finance Department, the Bureau of Statistics, the Department of Agriculture, or a trading concern.

"His main object in life is to keep his job and after that if possible 'to better himself.' With that his ambition comes to an end. The Russians are a naturally gifted race, and the energy and the wiles to which a brain worker in a Government office will resort to get a rise of salary, or a transfer to a better paid post are amazing. The waste of time would also be heartrending were it not that this wire-pulling has to be done out of work hours.

"There is certainly little opportunity during them, for his nose is held tight to the grindstone. His work may be useful, but there is plenty of it and it is not his place to criticise. On the contrary, he pays the Party lip service, but it has no delusions about his attitude. It knows it is prompted simply by the instinct of self-preservation, and it trusts him no further than it can see him. It has no reason for sparing the old educated classes, and its deliberate aim is to get the most it can out of them.

"For brain workers, except employees in the railway and transport services who have just gone back to an eight-hour day—in anticipation, people believe, of an impending general increase—the Communist working day is six and a-half hours. It lasts

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from 9 a.m. to 3.30 p.m. in winter, and from 8 a.m. to 2.30 p.m. in summer. Light refreshments may be taken at noon provided that work is not interrupted. If you are late in the morning, even if it is only a minute, the penalty is a reprimand for the first offence, a warning for the second, and dismissal for the third. In practice, however, these penalties are only imposed on the 'bourgeois,' the 'proletarian' is treated leniently, and the Communist goes scot free.

"All employees, whether in Soviet or private employ, are insured against illness. None the less, the educated Soviet servant goes in dread of falling sick. Everything he does is looked upon with suspicion, and inability to work is often put down to a lack of good-will, even to 'counter-revolutionariness.' He has to appear before a medical board, and if they do not pass him sick he is open to the charge of malingering. At best, he knows that the unavoidable disturbance caused to the routine of the office by his absence will annoy his chief, but worst of all is the fear of losing his job should he be often or long away. He may in that event easily find himself superseded when he gets back. So, with anxiety to goad him he struggles on often at the cost of grave injury to his health.

"At 3.30 p.m. sharp, though he may only have a single figure to add to complete a balance-sheet, the Soviet brain worker throws down his pen and crowds with the rest of the staff to the door. In the morning there is less of a squash, as employees begin to trickle in as early as 8.30 a.m. As no excuse is taken for being late from the educated worker he is in a state of perpetual anxiety lest his worn-out watch or the tram should let him down. As a precaution he allows himself time to walk to the office. Weaklings and women, moreover, may be squeezed out of the overcrowded morning trams.

"It is different at the end of the day. Everyone then rushes off at the same time, with a hubbub and confusion that can easily be imagined. Overtime is forbidden by the labour code—one of the few laws in which every citizen willingly acquiesces. After his prolonged fast, moreover—for the mid-day refreshment is only a snack—everybody is in a hurry to get home to dinner, which Russians usually have at 4 p.m.

A SLAVE STATE

"But it must not be imagined that when he gets home the Soviet servant's labours are over. Several days a week he has to bolt his food and hurry off to some meeting or other. As attendance is, in point of

fact obligatory, these meetings are really so much extra work, the only difference being that he is paid for what he does at the office, whereas he has himself to pay for the privilege of spending his spare time in this uncongenial way. Now and then, the subject may be something to do with his regular work, but usually it is a trade union meeting, or a sitting of a 'voluntary association like the 'Society in Aid of Aviation and Chemical Warfare, or the 'Society for Exterminating Illiteracy,' or 'Aiding Foreign Revolutions,' etc., etc., and he has to give something to all of them.

"He may think it as well, too, to be sometimes seen at public meetings staged by the Communist nucleus of the institution for which he works, or he may try to 'acquire merit' with his superiors by rubbing up his 'political grammar' (the current name for the theory of Communism), or by learning to sing the 'Internationale,' or, again, having wriggled into a job for which he has no qualifications, he may feel it prudent to master its rudiments, if there are suitable classes available. Or, again, some new act of aggression on the part of Great Britain against the workmen's and peasants State may render it necessary for him to go and register a fiery protest, and when British coal miners, who are far better off than himself, strike he has to insist on contributing to their support. In short, a member of the old educated class must to-day be an accomplished diplomat.

"But it may be asked, is there no off time? There are both 'days of rest' (Sundays and Church holidays) and 'holidays' (revolutionary festivals). On two of the holidays, May-day and November 7 (the anniversary of the revolution) he marches about in processions. At worst, however, this only costs him boot leather, or possibly a soaking. These functions were, moreover, at one time not so bad as names were noted at the start, and people could take the first chance of sloping off home. But this defect has been put right. There is now, much to everybody's disgust, a second roll-call at the end.

"Then every employee gets a fortnight's holiday in the summer. The Soviet servant usually spends his at home. As he has no money his only alternative is, if there is room, to go to his trade union rest-house in the country, or on the outskirts of the larger towns. The better classes, however, generally prefer to stay at home, for there is no rest for them like a short respite from the barrack-like atmosphere which permeates the rest-house as well as the office, and although there are some good rest-houses others are of very poor quality.

The above is not the kind of life a cultured citizen would like to lead.

The Cure for Capitalism

That Capitalism of the kind that obtains today is full of evils is notorious. The Socialist criticisms of it are not all the result of sheer prejudice. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald stated recently:

"WHATEVER we may think about it, there can be no doubt that the idea of Socialism is fast approaching.

"We are opposed not to capital, but to capitalism—two quite different things. Capital is a phase of social evolution, and we are going beyond that phase as we passed beyond the phase of feudalism.

"Capitalism is not a permanent phase of society and neither is individualism. The rewards of society do not measure service to-day, and are no test of service, for at the present day 1 per cent. of adult persons own 43 per cent. of capital and 84 per cent own less capital than £100, including furniture, tools, and total savings.

"To talk about the present state of things as a state of competition is to talk nonsense. Our industries are getting more and more into the hands of trusts and combines.

"In transport to-day the state of chaos is so wasteful and destructive of social interests that sooner or later a big central authority must step in and make itself responsible for the organisation of these industries.

"What we find to-day is that the losses of capital when it pursues its normal course are so grave that society will no longer stand it, but demand that some sort of co-ordinating power must be brought to bear.

"If we were in a position to declare Socialism to-morrow . . . I doubt if we should have to change the status of 5 per cent. of the staffs, because the men who are heads now under limited liability companies could be heads under one of these forms of nationalisation. The machinery and personnel of the limited liability companies, extended into trusts and international trusts, would be used under nationalisation scientifically controlled.

"One of the greatest difficulties of industrialism was that the men were regarded as being alien to management. The muscle workers under Socialism and under any reasonable form of industrialism must be taken in and made an organic part of the manage-

rial side of industry. Until that was done, we should have neither peace nor content.

"When we looked at industry we saw more and more trusts, more and more concentration, more and more agency, capitalism used more and more in the interests of capital, the community more and more under the control of capital, life more and more under the control of the material, spirituality subordinated to materialism—men subordinated to the economic power, demanding that the whole process should be reversed not by revolution but by evolution, and that men should dominate the things that were at the basis of the well-being of their material life."

This means that you cannot, without courting serious disturbances, put an end to Capitalism in a day. You must trust, in other words, to the evolution of a better system out of the present state of society.

The Duty of Industrialists

One thing necessary to make the evolution of a better system successful is that every branch of society should co-operate in producing a good substitute. The industrialist has his part to play, and it is pleasing to note that industrialists are beginning to recognise that their part of the responsibility is not light.

"The chief problem before British industry to-day is how to lower production costs without lowering wages. Its solution involves increasing industrial efficiency and eliminating waste from its processes," writes Mr. B. Seebohm Rowntree in the *Manchester Guardian*.

"I do not think we can expect industrial peace or true co-operation until the workers, are receiving reasonable living wages, assuming, of course, that industry can pay these.

"They may be defined more precisely as being in the case of a man 'wages sufficient to allow him to marry, to live in a decent house, and to maintain a household of normal size (generally taken as consisting of five persons) in physical efficiency, with a moderate margin for contingencies and recreation.' In the case of a woman, the minimum wage 'should enable her to live comfortably in respectable surroundings with a similar margin for incidental expenses.'

"It is one thing, however, to realise the desirability of paying higher real wages, and another thing to be

able to do it. I recognise that there are many employers who, with the best will in the world, could not to-day pay the money wages necessary to enable workers to live in accordance with the above standard, unless the output per worker were materially increased.

"But I am quite convinced that there is not a single factory in the country where it would not be possible materially to increase the *per capita* output if everyone in the place were striving to achieve that end.

"I think it is an essential step in securing co-operation that the employer should be in a position to say: 'Capital shall take no share of the profits earned beyond what is necessary for the financial stability of the business and to attract fresh supplies of capital required for its development, until every grade of worker is receiving a reasonable minimum wage.' If he could convince the workers that he would abide by that decision, he could add: 'Now let us work together to raise the efficiency of our joint enterprise to such a level that the payment of a reasonable wage becomes possible.' Unless Capital is prepared to take this step I doubt whether talking about co-operation in industry is worth while."

After dealing with profit sharing and the status of the workers, Mr. Rowntree concludes:—

"The situation is serious and can only be dealt with by serious means. If Capital really wants co-operation, it must be paid for like other important assets; and Capital will never have made a better investment. Let me repeat that if we could gauge the annual loss to industry through lack of cordial co-operation, a loss infinitely greater than that which is measured by strikes and lock-outs, we should appreciate more fully the need for happier relationships. We only stand at the threshold of the treasure chamber which will be opened to us when Capital and Labour really co-operate. But if we would enter into it, the representative of capital must be men of vision, and they must have the power of leadership, for it is on their initiative that progress will chiefly depend.

"We are steadily increasing our efficiency on the material side of industry. Engineering, chemistry, accountancy, and technology of every description are studied with meticulous and scientific care, and it is essential that this should continue. But we give little scientific thought to the problem of securing the best service from our human instruments, and efficiency which fails to eliminate the most important single source of waste in production

is at best very one-sided in its operation. Our outlook must become both more human and more profound before we can achieve industrial prosperity."

One cannot say for certain if the measures which Mr. Rowntree suggests will bring about the millennium, but there is no gainsaying the fact that industry should be humanised before it could become acceptable at all as a satisfactory item in the scheme of Life today.

The Duty of the Church

The Church too has a part to play in this process of the cleansing of the Augean-stable of Industrialism. One of the pleasing features of the Church today is that it recognises its duty to society. The recent debate in the House of Lords of Britain on housing showed what a profound influence the Church can exert in spotting out the ugly places in society and beautifying them. The following observations of the Bishop of Southwark will show in what directions the Church may contribute to the solution of the slum problem, one of the bequests of Industrialism:

"I have to visit very frequently some of the poorest parishes on the other side of the Thames, and the welfare workers there, teachers and clergy speak to me about the conditions of overcrowding and insanitation. When I have felt that they are, competent observers I have asked them to give me some sort of return in writing with the actual facts of which they are personally certain. I suppose I have had sixty or seventy or more cases which have been investigated by thoroughly competent people.

"Let me give to your Lordships' House simply three" statements, which are not the worst and for the accuracy of which I can vouch. In one case there is a street of 23 houses. Each house contains one bed room, a living room, and a back kitchen. All these houses are over-crowded.

"One is occupied by a father and mother, five boys and two girls, the eldest fourteen years of age and the youngest six months. The back kitchen is the living room; the downstairs rooms are infested with rats, so they cannot use them as bed rooms. All nine sleep in one room upstairs.

"The second case is one in a street of 60 houses. The house contains a living room, kitchen and bed room. The house is condemned, but is not closed. In it live father and mother and nine children. They live in the kitchen, 10 ft. long 7 ft. wide and 7 ft. high. The parents and youngest child sleep in the front room. The bedroom upstairs is divided by a curtain. Two lads sleep on one side and six girls on the other.

"The last house I will mention is a larger house, containing five rooms. In one room a man, his wife and six children live and sleep; in another room, and a small box room a man and wife and son aged twenty-three; in another room, 9 ft. square, a man and wife and three children; in the fifth room, a man and wife and two children. The figures I have given your Lordships, interpreted by facts like these, show how serious the position is."

A TYPICAL AREA

The Bishop of London, Dr. Ingram, deserved in the course of the debate:

"Here are cases which I have taken out of this very careful report by two surveyors. We have employed expert people. The report says:—

"In house after house every room—with the exception in some cases of tiny kitchens—is a sleeping room as well as a living room, and frequently adult boys and girls have to sleep in their parents' room. In some families the boys sleep with their father and the girls with their mother; in other families the older girls contrive to undress in the dark when their brothers are in bed, or the boys when their sisters are in bed.

"Adult boys and girls usually have to share beds with younger children. It is difficult to give any adequate idea of the extent of over-crowding of this kind in Fulham."

"Then take one particular house.

"In the ground floor back room, which measures 10 ft. 6 in. by 9 ft., live a man, his wife and five children, ages seven, six, four, three, and four months. The room itself is nothing more than a passage-way, and contains one bed, a table, and a chair. Other bedding has to be put down at night."

"One more case I will give:—

"One basement room—a man, his wife, and six children, one boy and five girls—that is eight people in one room."

"I attribute a great deal of the social unrest which we see in the country to this sort of thing.

"I would like to describe to your Lordships, in a

few moments, what has been done in St. Pancras by two public-spirited curates. They really shame us all by what they have done, and we are trying to do the same in Fulham. They raised £ 50,000 for a public utility council. Knowing them, the people trusted them.

"Gradually, by spending £ 50,000 little by little, they have reclaimed and rebuilt street after street of that very crowded area. I propose to do the same thing in Fulham. We have started a public utility council, and propose to borrow the money at, say, 3 per cent.—I shall try to get it at 1 per cent.—and that wonderful success in St. Pancras I hope to see repeated in Chelsea and Westminster."

WANTED A WORLD ORGANISATION

The Church can also create a world organisation and world opinion in the direction of better living. The following excerpt from a Church periodical indicates how the men of religion may contribute their quota and do intend to contribute it.

"I want to suggest that we forget about the Lausanne Conference and arrange for another as soon as possible, somewhere else—Geneva would be a good place—and go all out on a social programme, writes the Rev. Victor Watson in the *Liverpool Congregational Magazine*.

"Let us have a World Conference on a World programme. Let us agree to drop mention of our Orders or our Sacraments. Let us affirm the truth in international relations that it is Christ or Chaos. Is any Church so insensibly blind and stupid that it would uphold the doctrine of war? The witness of the Church united on this issue would be irresistible. Let us give the body of the League of Nations a living soul, as someone has said.

"There are also other social problems on which the Church could speak with one voice: the absolute suppression of the white slave traffic; the suppression of the opium traffic; the guarding of the rights of the backward races on the basis of their common humanity; the insistence on the moral necessity of a living wage for all workers, and in this matter let conferences of employers and employees get together and act upon and work out our decisions.

"Our business is to hold up and insist upon the moral and social ideals, and then urge economic action accordingly. There are matters of education and housing and recreation which demand our attention. Let us get busy with those things.

"I firmly believe that an International Conference on a Social Programme would lead the Churches closer together and provoke a greater unity."

The Duty of the State

The State, too, can and ought to do a lot in bringing about a millennium. It can spread knowledge and prevent diseases and promote health, an essential to earn better wages on which better living so much depends. The comments of *The Daily Herald* on the Report of Sir George Newman on the health conditions in schools in England are interesting in this connection. It says:

"School medical services for the year 1926-27 cost £ 3,064,188. H.M.S. Rodney, recently launched, cost £ 7,900,000. The people who regard the building of a battleship as a sacred, patriotic duty begrudge the spending of half its cost on the nation's child life!

"Their point of view has only to be stated to the average citizen to be rejected with the contempt it deserves."

"No one can read these records of disease and sickness in childhood and realise their profound importance to us all, to the whole nation, without asking himself *Why* it all happens. We know that the two universal factors at work in man's life, for better or worse, are *Nature*, the basic constitution of man, and *Nature*, his upbringing. We can see that his survival on the earth is due to both of them. We can also see that his nature is the predominant factor. It is constant.

"The factor of his nurture is inconstant and variable. When we come to analyse nurture we discover that it consists partly of his total environment—climate, housing, clothing, food, occupation, wages—and partly of his training in the application of these things and what knowledge he possesses and the use to which he puts it. As we look over the world and consider man's nature, we see it is biologically the same, in the one species in all races. His nurture is largely the same, too.

"All men have to acclimatise themselves to the arctic, temperate, or tropical zone in which they live, they have to provide themselves with shelter, clothing and food. There is one great outstanding difference between men—*Knowledge*. Some men know how they live, others do not; some men know how to be, have in varying circumstances, others do not; some

men find truth and strive to live by it, others do not; 'Ignorance,' it has been well said, 'is the great human curse.'

"We have all often pondered upon this situation. There is a grand secret hidden somewhere for man's discovery. There is a foundation or key of knowledge somewhere, a sort of common denominator, consisting partly of traditional experience handed down through thousands of years, partly of science, partly of religion. It seems that man cannot really 'emerge,' to use Browning's word in *Paracelsus*, unless all three have their place in his nurture.

"He is so constructed of body, mind and spirit that he cannot live at the top of his human capacity unless this harmony be attained. In so far as it is reached he has *health*, wholeness, oneness, the best of which his particular body is capable. This is the vision splendid, the goal which draws men onward. But there are lions in the path, and all too often they either frustrate the desired plan or divert the chosen path. It is not my official duty to deal with these lions, with one exception. This is *disease*, the disease or disharmony arising from untoward physical agents or infections.

"Not only is this reaction disabling to the body (making the person invalid) but both in origin and in effect its province is very wide, almost illimitable. For the origins of this reaction, this disease, and its results, may, and generally do, concern the whole nature of man—his body, mind and spirit, his comprehensive social being.

ONE SOLVENT MORE KNOWLEDGE

"There is but one solvent of this problem, viz, more knowledge. We must assume that even our deepest learning is more ignorance than knowledge. Even medical science at its highest has but few established and incontestable verities; it is still inevitably empirical and experimental, in large degree; we live in a golden age of Medicine, yet its darkness obscures its light. But we are getting on, and one thing is quite certain—and it is this point I desire to make clear beyond all manner of doubt and with all the emphasis which I can command—we know for certainty a great deal more than we are willing to use and apply. We must be plain and explicit.

"We know that food is more important than raiment, yet many poor bodies foolishly clothe themselves with fine apparel, though they know that food is better than silk stockings; we know that conditions of fresh air and exercise, of warmth and cleanliness are necessary to health, but we do not practise them,

we know how to prevent leprosy, cholera, plague, typhoid, typhus and septic diseases, and where we have been able to apply our knowledge they have disappeared, but we have not yet done it throughout the British Empire; we know the causes of tuberculosis and rickets and venereal disease, and we know how to prevent all three of them, yet three human scourges are still widely tolerated; above all else, we know how to save infant life, and build up sturdy boys and girls, and stronger men and women, and we have done it where we have chosen to do it, but all too often we do not choose.

"Why is it that infant mortality is lowest of all in doctor's families? Why is it that some schools have a clean bill of health and beautiful children, and other schools have not? Why is it that half-a-million children in our elementary schools are dull and backward, and a half million others need medical advice before they can gain reasonable benefit from the education which the State provides? These are not idle questions, nor are they mine. They are being asked by the people themselves. They are formidable and grounded on very stern and fully proved facts. No doubt there are many factors at work, but there is one general answer, which with all possible reservations remain broadly true. 'The people perish for lack of knowledge.'

"This lack of knowledge is widespread, but in relation to children it is of greatest disadvantage in the parents, teachers and children themselves. All men are agreed that the place to begin any universal remedy is at the school. For there, by law, the children are; there, too, are the persons trained as educators, there also is the one and only opportunity of imparting knowledge to children systematically."

A PRAYER FOR THE GOVERNMENT

Clean politics and wise are so much an essential of success that one wishes that the following prayer drawn up by Dr. R. Glenn Frank of the Wisconsin University was universally adopted:

"Almighty God, Lord of all governments, help us in the opening hours of this legislature session, to realise the sanctity of politics.

"Save us from the sins to which we shall be subtly tempted as the calls of parties and cries of interest beat upon this seat of government.

"Save us from thinking about the next election when we should be thinking about the next generation.

"Save us from dealing in personalities when we should be dealing in principles.

"Save us from thinking too much about the vote of majorities when we should be thinking about the virtue of measures.

"Save us, in crucial hours of debate, from saying the things that will take when we should be saying the things that are true.

"Save us from indulging in catch-words when we should be searching for facts.

"Save us from making party an end in itself when we should be making it a means to an end.

"We do not ask mere protection from these temptations that will surround us in these legislative halls; we ask also for an even finer insight into the meaning of government that we may be better servants of the men and women who have committed the government of this commonwealth into our hands.

"Help us to realise that the unborn are part of our constituency, although they have no vote at the polls.

"May we have greater reverence for the truth than for the past. Help us to make party our servant rather than our master.

"May we know that it profits us nothing to win elections if we lose our courage.

"Help us to be independent alike of tyrannical majorities and tiring minorities when the truth abides in neither.

"May sincerity inspire our motives and science inform our methods.

"Help us to serve the crowd without flattering it and believe in it without bowing to its idolatries."

The Part that the Powers ought to Play

Like the community and the State, the Great Powers also ought to lend their helping hand to promote world prosperity which is dependent on world security and world peace. America may do a great deal in this matter, as the following extract from the *observer* will show:

"In Europe there is a strong feeling that when America went out of the peace she let Europe down. There is also a general assumption that the only American deity is Business, and profitable trade the only American canon of international ethics. A few of us in Europe share neither of these views. We think it a far greater miracle that the American people should ever have come into a transatlantic

war than that they should have gone out of a disappointing peace.

"We hold that, on occasion, American idealism may be even more potent than American commercialism. We believe that the American people detest the idea of a 'next war' as heartily as they detested it in 1918. We think they will never side with an aggressor. But are we, who think thus, right or wrong? Are we rating American idealism too high?

"If we are right, cannot America tell the world that we are right? Cannot means be found to lay down an American Peace Doctrine, which would come to stand on all fours with the Monroe Doctrine as a cardinal principle of American policy, to the effect that if any country resorts to war without submitting its case to conciliation, arbitration or some other method of peaceful settlement, and if other nations band themselves together to deter, restrain, or coerce it, the United States will never aid or abet, comfort, or strengthen the aggressor by trading with it, lending it money, or allowing it to have access to American resources?

"Such a Doctrine would go far to preclude any war of aggression. It would involve for the American people no commitment towards any other nation or group of nations or the League of Nations. But it would change the dimensions of the international peace problem. All potential aggressors know that there is little chance of waging protracted war without some call on American resources. America might risk the loss of some commercial profit, but this possibility of loss would, in reality, be a small insurance premium against a devastating conflict that might destroy the purchasing power of Europe and consequently opportunities for American trade for decades to come.

"It is for Americans to decide whether they can do this thing. My only business is to put the question to them without expecting any immediate answer. If the thing can be done, suspicion of America will vanish, maritime law can be codified, naval questions will lose their acuteness, and the scene will be set for an era of constructive peace. I suggest no treaty no entangling alliance. But I do suggest that, if the American people wish the world to be at peace, their accredited spokesmen might say so in language which the whole world would understand.

"The 'hard-boiled' New Yorkers seemed to be impressed. My friends say that 'the message went over big.' We shall see."

Let us also, outsiders, hope with the above writer that the Americans are beginning to realise their duty to the world.

A New Philosophy Needed

The fact is that a change in the entire outlook of the nations is needed, as suggested by Professor Atkinson Lee in his recent book. Here are his suggestions:

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