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THE NEW ERA



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The NEW ERA

VOL. II.

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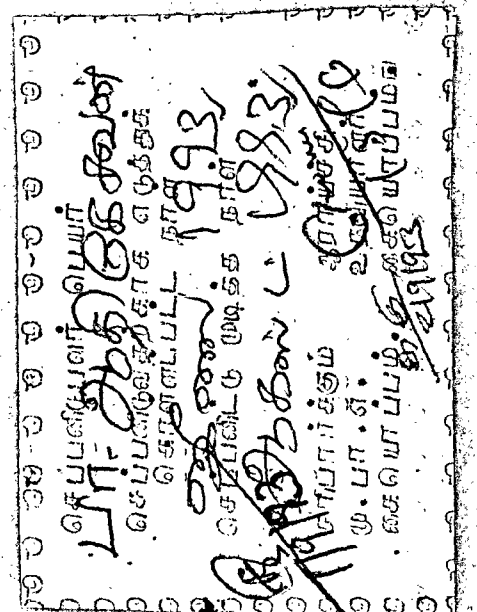
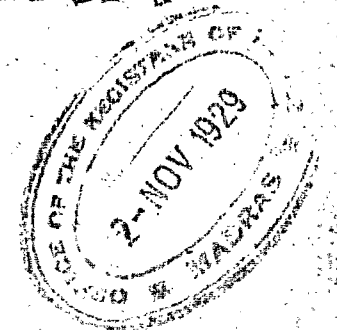
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NOVEMBER, 1929.

RELIGION AND ECONOMIC LIFE.

By RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE, M.A. Ph.D.,

MUCH of religion and the system of ethics are the outcome of man's way of life rather than of deliberate speculation. In ancient times man's life in an environment where the natural phenomena, plants, and animals dominated his adjustment, his religious objects and beliefs showed the same general attitude towards them as characteristic of his daily pursuit. Man's culture is one living whole and the economic ideas or religious beliefs penetrate one another. In an agricultural community religious life centres round earth and rainfall, season and crops. The craftsman worships his tools and appliances and as he himself creates things of iron, wood and clay, he also thinks in terms of the Divine Artificer who made man with His hands and fashioned the course of nature. In India castes of artisans have their own special gods and goddesses. Besides the practice of worshipping the instruments of one's calling is universal in India. The peasant worships his plough. Even a gleaner or a reaper is seen to bow before her sickle or hoe before she begins her work. The potter worships Siva, Krishna or Prajapati on the *chaki* or the wheel which in his mind is the emblem of reproduction. When a marriage is celebrated in the village the potter's wheel is worshipped as a phallic symbol. The carpenters worship Viswakarma their divine ancestor and he is represented by the wooden yard measure which they use in their daily work. The masons worship Viswakarma in their awl and hammer. The blacksmiths too worship their implements. The seat represents Mahadeva and the anvil Devi. At this worship of the anvil they invite other blacksmiths on an auspicious day and then wash the anvil and offer before it what is called *agiyari* by burning sweet-scented wood before it. This is done



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only when the anvil is first made, and the ceremony ends with a distribution of sweetmeat among the guests. Viswakarma is a widely accepted deity. Everywhere in India he is invoked to increase the skill of craftsmen and the wealth of traders. On the occasions of the worship of Viswakarma the artisans besmear the tools with sandal and cover them with sweet-scented flowers and worship these as well. The Baniyas who trade in spices worship a goddess called Gandheswari. All traders worship their books, pens and inkstands, balance and weights. When new account books are opened, traders worship their pens, inkpots and account books as emblems of business prosperity. The Kathaks or story tellers worship the goddess Saraswati with offerings of sweetmeat, flowers and incense. Saraswati is also devoutly worshipped by the student and even by the modern lover of the arts and the sciences. Sometimes an image of Saraswati is made; more often she is worshipped in books, pens and inkstands. Even in modern hostels of residential universities her worship is not forgotten. It seems that the prevalence of her worship is due less to her position as a river goddess than to those attributes which she acquired as the patroness of the ceremonies performed on the bank of her holy waters, and subsequently as the inspirer of the hymns recited at these ceremonies. She is now known mainly as the goddess of speech and learning, the inventress of the Sanskrit language and patroness of all the arts and sciences.

When tools and appliances serve as religious objects, work and worship can intermingle. Man's economic activity may then arouse intense religious fervor. It is well known how the great Indian mystic-weaver, Kavi, gave an utterance to highest religious thoughts as he worked on his loom and several of his finest imageries and parables were derived from the processes of weaving. Throughout the East each industrial group has sought to represent itself, by associating religion with a man's occupation, as being continuous with the larger forces of the cosmos. Each artisan's group or guild has its own gods or goddesses, its particular form or mode of aesthetic enjoyment and each its economic tradition. And in its particular festivals all these diverse natural needs, religious, aesthetic and economic meet in the confluent outpouring of the

communal soul. We thus see that a variety of impulses and interests is afforded fulfilment. The craftsmen handle tools, which are symbols of both work and worship and which therefore arouse a variety of interests and satisfaction. The calling itself is regarded as a dedication. There is the superimposition of a religion upon the economic transaction. Thus the standard of craftsmanship is maintained as a religious duty. In the South Indian temple cities an ample recognition is given to this by enlisting the services of all artisans and craftsmen in some temple function or observance or another. The artisan's group as well grounds itself not on mere economic function but ministers in common gods, fasts and festivals to the satisfaction of diverse functions and interests.

The Industrial Revolution in England which was the outcome of the mechanical inventions of Hargreaves, Cartwright and Watt established the supremacy of the machine process by the middle of the 19th century. Since then the machine process spread to Europe and America and is now freshly epidemic in the new orient where also it is gradually superseding handicraft production. Throughout the world there is not only a progressive mechanisation of methods of industry but also of ways and methods of living. Let us briefly consider the effects of the use of machines and mechanical appliances in production on the worker's attitudes and beliefs. The craftsman not merely determines what to produce but also when and how his tools act. Handicraft production satisfies many impulses. The hand-worker being the master of his own tools and raw materials can make his product as perfect as possible gratifying his natural impulses of construction and self-display. Some of the masterpieces of arts and craftsmanship have been created with little reference to utility for the mere pride and satisfaction of creation. The consumer appreciates the skill and toil of the craftsman, the craftsman also feels a genuine pleasure of rendering service to the former. Thus the labour involved blends or satisfies a variety of impulses and desires. It is a creation, and all creation engenders a religious attitude. Man feels that his own process is one with or akin to the course of nature. It is this attitude which underlies the wor-

ship of tools and appliances as well as the representation of God as the Divine Craftsman who is at once the goal and satisfaction of handicraftsmen in India.

The Industrial Revolution transferred labour from man to mechanical appliances driven by power-generating machines. The machines are for the most part self-sufficient and too large and complicated to be under the worker's control. Thus the worker not merely loses zest and initiative in his work but his own life must henceforth follow the rhythm of an impersonal and incomprehensible brute force, the machine. The machine knows neither excellence nor beauty. Both its method and standard of work are dictated by inanimate materials and inorganic forces. Man must adapt himself to these as far as possible in order that he might earn and live. The organic adaptation must be as close to mechanical standardisation as possible for the machine standardises everything, tools and materials, process and product.

The all-pervasive, impersonal and mechanistic discipline of standardised mass production now dominates man's interest and attitudes. In the first place, the processes of standardised production in one industry interlock with those in a large number of other industries. Thus the machine-process gradually absorbs all fields and kinds of labour. Secondly, the daily routine of the worker's lives is standardised. The worker must fit his ideas, feelings and behaviour into a cold personal mechanical rhythm which carries him along as a wisp of straw. Thirdly, a mechanistic universe is envisaged by the worker. What is uppermost in his mind is the nice and intricate balance of mechanical appliances, raw materials and organic processes, governed by the laws of physics and chemistry. It is the latter which therefore determines his attitude towards man and towards nature.

The all-embracing phenomena of standardisation and mass movement are alien to man. They engender distrust and discontent and often strike terror into his heart. If the machine starves, hundreds and thousands of men which it has called into a coal town, an iron or steel town, a cotton town, a motor town, a soap town, or a shoe-town will starve because the workers have hardly learnt

anything else which can assure them a stable employment. The industrial world, as a whole, is so nicely adjusted that perhaps the whole nation will suffer from wholesale unemployment and starvation. On the other hand, there is no limit to the hunger of the machine. It derives its incessant supply of raw-materials from Asia, Africa, South America or Australia and of labour from the countryside or from distant countries. The more abundant the supply of these, the larger the scale of the industrial establishment, and the cheaper the product. Thus whole nations standardise themselves as industrial peoples, specialising only in the production of goods, often luxuries, for foreign markets. The home workers might not consume these goods at all. They simply serve machinery and do not mind what they produce, luxurious cars or dirty mugs. Above all they hate farm work because they have learnt to live and move with the multitude, and rural life to them implies soul-killing isolation and stagnation. Food production becomes the badge of the proletariat nations. Nor can the modern worker overcome his mal-adaptation in this case by cultivating a religious attitude. The primitive man was likewise face to face with a hostile, incomprehensible environment. But he found comfort in animism and animatism by which he established a close personal relationship with plants, animals and natural phenomena that no longer disturbed him. The machine has banished zest and interest from work. It satisfies only that group of impulses which gather round food-getting. Unlike the craftsman's tools and appliances the machine is not an object towards which a harmonious blend of diverse impulses and desires, artistic, social or religious can be projected. The machine is simply iron and steel which within the last two generations has come to govern in a strange manner man's impulses, body and behaviour. But these latter emulate the former. The idea is abroad that the machine is a new gospel, and that to be advanced is to become machine-tenders. Thus backward and unorganised peoples also adopt and serve machines, establish industries of their own, make manufacturing goods, however crude and unfinished these might be at the outset and become less and less exploitable. Then a panic seizes the competing industrial nations which produce more goods than could be consumed at home, find that the markets

gradually become restricted. The machine, like man, seeks an equilibrium, but the equilibrium is never reached. Being soulless, the adjustment it seeks is by mere increase of size of its body, and as it grows it becomes stupendous, colossal, holding man more and more firmly within its iron grips. The machine process by its very extension destroys its own rhythm, and then there is a crash like an earthquake, bringing down machines, men and goods all together in a terrible confusion. Thus man regards the machine phenomenon as irrational, inexorable and pitiless. Man, however, refuses to be standardised, or made a mere power or material in the specialised processes of mechanics and chemistry. His feelings and desires which the machines cannot satisfy are now in open rebellion. But a religion which can satisfy these is as yet far from sight.

Religion is an easy accretion to such forms of behaviour which satisfy a coalescent group of impulses and feelings. The machine process thrives by standardisation, which implies the canalisation of behaviour along one definite channel. Both machine and mass production are, therefore, enemies of art and religion. They exaggerate one type of impulses and feelings; and bring about a wooden uniformity of attitudes and interests. Standardisation is now invading every sphere of life, and its invasion is marked by a corresponding lapse of the religious interest.

There are yet other ways in which the machine process is contributing to the lapse of the religious interest. In the regime of machinery, the methods in which men secure their livelihood have become manifold, and indirect. Men do not work directly for food. Their efforts are turned to earning money rather than making the goods necessary to sustain life. Money can secure not only food, clothing, shelter but also every luxury under the sun. As a consequence money becomes the agency for the fulfilment of various urges and desires. Man's desires for food, rest, human companionship, sex aggression etc. all may be satisfied through the possession of money. Thus the zest for money has acquired an interest unknown before. Money has become the pre-condition of the pursuit of any values whatsoever. Poverty not merely implies hunger, but it also thwarts sex, rest and recreation; and

poverty may come through no fault of the worker but as a result of maladjustment of the intricate process in which the workers of distant countries participate. Money constitutes the background on which intrinsic and instrumental values largely rest. Indeed money comes to be sought as the highest intrinsic value, and all other values sacrificed in the pursuit. In an industrial civilisation the worth of man tends to be measured by his purchasing power. There are more commodities produced than the nation can consume. Thus the nation expects every man to do his duty, to consume as much as possible. Man's standard of living is conceived for the most part in terms of the body. Physically man becomes richer and richer; the greater the money he can command the higher is his standard of living. Man's social status comes inevitably to be governed by money. The belief also gains ground that higher values which find expression through social service, art or religion and which money cannot buy, are inferior, or they may wait till man secures a decent money income. Science degenerates into the paid retainer of the profiteer. Even the science of psychology, which ought to unfold the infinite capacities and varieties of the human mind is applied to the business man in office and workshop, in the selecting of employees, enticing the customer, selling goods to people who do not want them. The psychologist is busily at work perfecting the technique of exploitation, which may then be handed over to the employing class, for use in its interests as against those of the worker and the consumer. Art flourishes by addressing itself to the task of advertising business concerns. Even the philanthropic spirit of the benevolent is enlisted by shrewd businessmen to keep the workers under control by means of social service work.

When labour-saving machinery was first devised people dreamt of untold economic efficiency as well as abundant leisure for the masses. Economic efficiency exists in virtue of and in subservience to social efficiency, health and welfare. Industrialism has involved in large measure a sacrifice of the latter values. As regards leisure, man's work has become more intense and continuous than ever before. In agriculture and in handicrafts man works by fits and starts, and the interest in production is main-

tained by the system of direct production as well as by family collaboration. Hard work is succeeded by seasons of leisure or idleness enlivened in all non-industrial communities by a round of fasts, festivals and festivities. In machine production, man works intensely day by day and year by year, and the sum total of his work every year is much greater than what the agriculturist or craftsman puts into the field or his handiwork. Where the task of food-getting is so exacting, and standardised into a dull weary routine, the desire for higher satisfactions languishes. Above all, with most machine-lenders the grind of work famishes the instincts, which therefore find play either in the craving for sports, recreation and gambling or in organic excesses, drink or vice. Ross observes that the discipline, the monotony and the meaninglessness of one fragment of a task, the dreary surrounding in industrial towns, make life more irksome than ever before it has been for free-workers. The series,—hunter, herdsman, husbandman, craftsman, artisan—constitute a curve away from the instinctive, which finds its terminus in the machine-lender with little in it to rouse the impulses of trial and error, curiosity or constructiveness. The numerous automatic machines, which have been converted have taken the colour, the creative zest and novelty out of work and left it a husk, a dry, mechanical grind, a cut and dried function of physical drudgery without a soul. Where the day's work baffles elemental instincts and desires, man seeks recreation after exacting toil in coarse stimulation of the senses.¹ Jaded muscles and nerves seek relaxation in immoderate pleasures, in morbid excitements or orgies of sex and drink. A race of mechanical drudges always hunts after a thousand and one varieties of turbid pleasure and unwholesome excitement. Thus a people can be judged as much from its occupations as from its diversions and recreations. The machine process baffles elemental instincts in work. Thus a complete divorce between industry and art or religion is established. Not merely in actual work but in the ordinary daily routine of life, standardisation seeks to drain all the impulses and energies along one narrow channel denying satisfaction to many other impulses. Thus the social environment on which the individual

1. Ross: Principles of Sociology.

relies for guidance, as the animal does on his self-regarding organic functions, and which gathers the racial experience of the past, fails to prove good to him. Accordingly man alternates between the sphere of life dictated for him by this weekly routine and the life of appetites where social and ideal values are altogether disregarded. The soul-killing standardisation in the week-days accompanies the practice of setting apart Sundays for the interest of the soul. But the mental reactions which follow the week's routine now and then tend to crowd out even the Sunday soul.

LUCKNOW.

RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE.

MODERN BIOGRAPHY.*

BY

Dr. P. GUHA-THAKURTA, M.A. (Harvard), PH. D. (Lond.)

Introduction.

I am making no attempt here to trace the literary history of biography, but as my title suggests, I will devote myself to the study, firstly, of biography as an independent and separate branch of modern literature, and secondly, of some living representatives of the type of biography which have developed in modern times. I will try to indicate the chief characteristics of a few biographical works as examples of certain pronounced tendencies of their authors. This will necessarily involve us, to a certain extent, in a comparative study in the technique and mental outlook of the earlier and modern biographers. It is, however, no part of the task we have in hand to give anything like a detailed account of comparative biography. We shall merely glance at the work of some of the well known English biographers in the preceding generations to enable us to estimate the advance, made by biographers in the present century. The most remarkable feature in the literary history of Europe during the last few years is the simultaneous appearance of a new type of biography in England, France and Germany. The works of Mr. Lytton Strachey, M. André Maurois and Herr Emil Ludwig show an extraordinary similarity in their literary theory, style and structure. So far as I am aware there has not been any careful or exhaustive study of modern biography as an art, beyond occasional articles on the subject in magazines and reviews of works in periodicals. In view of the most striking development in modern prose fiction, psychology and psycho-analysis, the scope of biography has enlarged. In view also of the

* Extension Lectures delivered at the Lucknow University in December, 1928.

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growing interest of the present generation in the studies of 'personality', the function of biography has assumed new proportion. Today people are interested in 'lives' not merely from an instinct of hero worship but to know them at their true valuation in terms of mind and inner spirit rather than external action. I believe the time has come to reconsider biography from a new angle, subjecting it to a more careful analysis than one usually finds in the hastily written criticisms scattered throughout reviews and magazines. Because, when all is said the art of a biographer today is like the art of a dramatist. He has a story to tell and a portrait to paint. Naturally the modern man is unwilling to accept a biography that is merely a panegyric, 'something that does not reflect the inner spirit, the soul and character or genius of the life depicted.

The Beginnings.

As commonly understood biography is a written record of the history of a man's life and the aim of a biographer is to present this life with accuracy in matters of fact. Apparently this is a very simple and natural definition. But is it a complete definition? Have we taken into consideration what should actually constitute the *life* of a man or what is exactly meant by the life that is to be written? Of course, biography has its origin in man's deep-seated desire to perpetuate the memory of a life. In 390 B.C. 'Memorabilia' of Socrates was written by Xenophon purely from this motive. In 699 A.D. Adamnan the Irish Saint and historian wrote his "Life of Saint Columba" just to give 'the image of a holy life'. The Anglo-Saxon historian Eddius Stephanus wrote "the Life of Wilfred" mainly with the intention of commemoration in view. But this type of memorial-record is not what we recognise today as biography. Plutarch, whom Boswell calls the "Prince of ancient biographers" set before himself the task of "writing the lives of the famous persons" and "comparing the lives of greatest men with one another." But nowhere in his work did Plutarch formulate those principles of procedure which biographers 1800 years after attempted to apply. It was Dryden in 1683 who, by defining biography to be "the history of particular men's life," widened its meaning as a life-narrative, which should also be a portrayal of character. Izaak

Walton is one of the earliest English biographers of this improved type. He was the first who undertook to write biography deliberately and consciously and focussed his attention upon those subjects which bear directly upon the main springs of human action. As Sir Edmund Gosse points out, "the five short lives which he published, though pale by the side of such works in biography as the end of the 18th century introduced, are yet notable as amongst the earliest which aim at giving us a vivid portrait of the man, instead of a discreet and conventional testimonial." It is quite true that Walton's work is original and novel and shows little dependence on any other previous biographer. In fact nothing at all similar to Walton's 'Lives' had been produced in English before his time excepting perhaps Cavendish's 'Life of Cardinal Wolsey.' But Walton, as he himself admitted was influenced by the orthodox method of Plutarch. Walton's biographies are admittedly not on the pattern of modern biographies; they are delightful miniatures, intended to grip the attention of readers, or as Professor Raleigh says, "obituary poems" or "praises of obscure benefice."

Biography of the 18th Century.

It was not till the beginning of the 18th century that we notice the first indications of biography, emerging into an artistic type of literature leaving behind the memorial-record and panegyric-life. Samuel Johnson in one stroke cut away from panegyric and wrote the 'Lives of the English Poets', adding personal opinion and literary or philosophical criticisms to it. Prof. Raleigh sums up Johnson's contribution thus:—"His was a new experiment; of praise and blame there had been more than enough; he set himself to show the reason of things by a process of detailed criticism and analysis, so that his book is more than a history; it is a philosophy of letters". Notwithstanding the fact that Johnson took a more critical attitude than many of the earlier writers of lives, his work did not mark any distinct advance. He wrote practically in the same manner as Walton, out of a full and comprehensive mind, without caring to unfold the real personality of the man. His work may be "a philosophy of letters" but it is not a philosophy of life, revealing the hidden motives of the mind and exposing the soul of the man to view. As Mr. Lytton Strachey puts it, "Johnson

never enquired what poets were trying to do; he merely discovered whether what they had done complied with the canons of poetry." Mr. Strachey continues, "for, it is not only in particular details Johnson's criticism fails to convince us; his entire point of view is patently out of date. Our judgments differ from his not only because our tastes are different but because our whole method of judging has changed". Mr. Strachey's remarks on Johnson exemplify the striking difference between the critical methods of the 18th century and those of the present day. It is really a difference in sympathy and angle of vision.

The rapid increase of popular interest in biographical narratives during the 18th century is, however, mainly due to Dr. Johnson's work. The right of an individual celebrated or otherwise to biographical commemoration was fully established. The finest biographical work on the model of Dr. Johnson was Mason's "Life of Gray". Mason's work is important in one particular aspect especially, i.e. the use of letters as an instrument of biographical writing. Letters had been used in one way or another since the days of Isaac Walton. Burnet had made good use of correspondence in his "Life of Bishop Bedell"; Middleton has introduced Cicero's letters into his 'Life of Cicero'. In the 18th century the custom was in keeping with the steadily growing interest of the public in letters and letter writing and the use of letters by novelists such as Richardson. But it was Mason who first utilised letters in biography not simply as a part of the story but as unfolding the character of the man. In other words he made Gray tell his own life and thus become his own biographer. So, considering the fact how much modern biographers have used letters as aids to revealing the inner man, Mason's work is quite significant. I think it would be well to remember at this point that the development of the modern type of biography began when writers turned their attention to the perfecting of the recognised instruments of biographical writing. These instruments have always been two—written documents and recorded conversation. It is not merely in the mental outlook of a modern biographer but also in his improved technique of writing that his real excellence lies. The style of the modern biographers as we shall presently find, is one of sustained

and conscious brilliance and exactitude. Pains are taken to make every word tell; the method of writing is not only most economical but restrained, clear, logical and animated.

Apart from the value of Mason's 'Life of Gray' in the one particular respect we have already mentioned, it is to Boswell's "Life of Johnson" toward which all English biography before 1791 tends. Boswell did not write a momentous biography; in fact as the keenest disciple of Johnson he could hardly have missed being his biographer. For our present purpose we are more interested in the methods of Boswell rather than his work itself. Boswell built his work entirely upon foundations laid in the past. There was the use of letters, the practice of recording familiar anecdotes and the dislike of Panegyric. To my mind the greatest contribution of Boswell was the excellent manner in which he utilised recorded conversation. There is no doubt that Boswell wrote with intimacy, sympathy and affection but he was neither a discoverer nor an inventor in the field. He worked on a recognised pattern and produced a very life-like portrait, absolutely faithful in detail. Boswell was no artist; he did not possess that keen dramatic insight which might have enabled him to produce not only a portrait of Johnson but a convincing portrait, a replica of the inner man, painted in shadows as well as in high lights. But Boswell attempted to get as much of Johnson on to paper as he could. Moreover he was not free from the faults of indiscriminate admiration and personal eccentricities. He showed neither selection nor detachment. Although written with more comprehension of mind and clearness of perception than any other previous biography the work cannot be accepted by modern critics as a very scientific or artistic production. Mr. Edmund Gosse says about Mason and Boswell conjointly: "Biographies have upto this time been perfunctory affairs, either trivial or unessential collection of anecdotes, or else pompous eulogies from which the breath of life is absent. But Mason and Boswell made their heroes paint their own portraits by the skillful interpolation of letters, by the use of anecdotes, by the manipulation of the recollections of others; they aimed at the production of a figure that should be interesting, life-like and true".

Biography of the 19th Century.

Biography of the 19th century in the beginning follows closely upon the Boswellian tradition. But its later development in the hands of Carlyle and Froude distinctly anticipates the lines in which biography was to progress in the 20th century. Sir James Stephens writing in his "Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography" condemns the Boswellian method of over-crowding the canvas and not exercising sufficient discrimination in the quantity and the quality of the material to be used. He says "a narrator must suppress much of the whole truth. Charles V of Spain and Charles I of England still live in the picture as they did in the flesh, because Titian and Van Dyke knew how to exclude, to conceal and to diminish, as well as how to copy." It therefore follows that a biographer must aim at unity of effect and must so select and arrange all facts and written documents as to produce a harmonious design. Evidently this is a discovery of the 19th century although it followed as a logical result of experiments in the past. Gladstone, in a review of Trevelyan's "Life of Macaulay" gives one of the finest criticisms of the function and ideal of higher biography. "A peculiar faculty," wrote Gladstone, "and one approaching to the dramatic order, belongs to the successful painter of historical portraits and belongs also to the true biographer. It is that of representing unexceptionable lines and colours and so presented as readily to identify their original. Such a work is not the man, but a duly attested certificate of the man. What we require, however, is the man and not merely the certificate. In the same way, what we want in a biography and what, despite the etymology of the title, we very seldom find, is *life*. The very best transcript is a failure, if it be a transcript only. To fulfill its idea, it must have in it the essential quality of movement; must realise the lofty fiction of the divine shield of Achilles, where the upturning earth, though wrought in metal, darkened as the plough went on, and the figures of the battle-piece dealt their strokes and parried them and dragged out from the turmoil the bodies of their dead. But neither love, which is indeed, a danger as well as an ally, nor forgetfulness of self, will make a thoroughly good biography, without this subtle gift of imparting life."

What Gladstone calls "lofty fiction" is in other words Aristotle's "illusion of higher reality," which must be the supreme attribute of all artists. Biography, as we shall have discovered before we conclude, reached the standard of an independent and pure art the same as painting, music or drama, precisely for having followed this higher principle of aesthetics. It is enough for us to remember at this point that it was in the 19th century and not before that biography started in this new direction. And yet the Boswellian tradition persisted for nearly a century. The most important biography of the older model and yet a supreme achievement so far as it goes, is Lockhart's "Life of Sir Walter Scott." Lockhart acknowledged the influence and value of Boswell's methods in his work. He let the character of Walter Scott develop itself through his own letters and recorded conversation. Really speaking, Lockhart's biography was not a sufficient advance over the works of Boswell and other 18th century writers. Reviewing Lockhart's work, Carlyle wrote: "To picture forth the life of Scott according to any rules of art or composition, so that a reader, on adequately examining it, might say to himself; 'there's Scott, there is the physiognomy and meaning of Scott's appearance and transit on this earth; such was he by nature, so did the world act on him, so he on the world with such result and significance for himself and us', this was by no manner of means Mr. Lockhart's plan". Carlyle's estimate of Lockhart's work is not only just but absolutely right. Lockhart's "Life of Scott" is not only much too long but the figure of Sir Walter gets lost in the interminable wilderness of documents. The features of the hero are not at all clear and distinct in the portrait. But one thing Lockhart did supremely well and in doing so he only followed the general trend of the development of biography. He set himself deliberately and firmly against Panegyric and attempted to give a truthful picture and show Scott as he was. The imperfections of Lockhart are the imperfections of an orthodox method. Lockhart knew nothing of Gladstone's "lofty fiction". But the 19th century produced at least one who may be regarded as the first artist-biographer in its true sense. This was Carlyle. Before Carlyle began to write, it had never entered into the head of any 19th century biographer that his work could be as

free of its subject as the Venus of Milo or the Falstaff of Shakespeare. Carlyle wrote his biographies having two definite theories in mind. One is the inseparable connection between history and biography and the other, that every heroic poem in the world is at bottom a biography, that is the life of a man. His "Cromwell" and "Frederick the Great" are examples of the first and "Life of Sterling" that of second. Carlyle recognised that history should not only be presented biographically but dramatically. This did not mean that Carlyle ignored the value of a scientific handling of historical facts; in fact he took great pains to collate facts but eventually out of each of his carefully arranged narratives emerged the vital and arresting picture of the man. Each fact as it were fell into its own place and only the central figure lived convincingly before the eyes as an impersonated character on the stage. Carlyle was truly a portrait painter; he wrote like a critic but with the eyes of a painter. Even Taine, the most sparing of praise amongst critics felt the power of Carlyle's biographical method, when he wrote of "Cromwell", "His narrative resembles that of an eye witness." Prof. Wendell, speaking of "Frederick the Great" writes: "Whatever else Carlyle was, the unity of this enormous book proves him, when he chose to be, a Titanic artist." Indeed, Carlyle's Cromwell and Frederick move before our eyes like the heroes of a Greek drama; we see their pilgrimage from birth to death; we see their Titanic struggles with life and, then, finally we see them go down into the darkening shadows. "For intensely vivid and pictorial dramatisation of an incident or a scene Carlyle is unrivalled. It is true Carlyle, like Macaulay, displays the dramatic instinct a bit unduly; he is apt to over emphasise when describing a striking situation, but, nevertheless he absolutely convinces his audience that his manner of writing is far and away the more artistic manner—a manner which is at once the source of Carlyle's strength and weakness.

Froude scrupulously followed Carlyle's method when he wrote his "Life of Carlyle". Froude was thoroughly successful in giving a portrait of Carlyle which may quite favourably be set against the portraits of Carlyle by Watts, Millais and Whistler. But neither

Froude nor Carlyle has made any contribution to the evolution of the actual *form* of biography; both of them looked at biography from a slightly different angle from their predecessors, working still on the old, tried pattern. What they did was to deepen in the minds of men the conviction that a great biography is a work of art. They exhibited quite clearly that a biographer should be more than a mere photographer of life or a recorder of facts; he must re-create the reality of the past. All his life Carlyle tried to impress the necessity of a biographer being also an artist. Of course, the task of an artist-biographer is by no means light; just as on the one hand he cannot invent facts or transgress from recorded truth, so on the other, he has to attain, what a critic says, "the dramatic vitality of fiction." Since the beginning of the 19th century, scientific research had entered into the writing of biography. So a biographer, worthy of the name, could not afford to be inaccurate, half-traditional or inauthentic. So, the problem which Carlyle raised was how to reconcile the two methods—the scientific and the artistic. Let us examine now how the 20th century attacked this problem.

LUCKNOW.

P. GUHA-THAKURTA.

To be Continued.

THE GOSPEL OF ATTACHMENT.

By SENHOR MENEZES BRAGANCA.

"WHAT India needs to day is not the Gospel of 'non-attachment' to the fruits of action and the Doctrine of Release (Moksha) according to the teachings of Sri Krishna. I say; Be intensely attached to the fruits of action, to this world and to the 'not—me' and this is my Gospel.

i. Be attached to your body. Then will you create for yourselves a strong healthy frame, to be the finest living specimen of beauty in form—as the Grecian Apollo.

ii. Be attached to your wife. Then will you elevate her to be able to enjoy with you the aesthetic and intellectual pleasures of life which man has so long denied unto woman in this land. Then without degrading her to be the butt end of your passion and a breeding animal, shall you be a father of heroes greater than ~~yourself~~.

iii. Be attached to your children. Then only will you bestow on them by your own personal effort the gift of knowledge—that they may stand 'foremost in assemblies'.

iv. Be attached to your home. Then will you create it to be the health giving beautiful and joyous abode of 'Sri' needed to enrich life's music.

v. Be attached to your fields of corn; that your lands shall be more fertile by dint of your work, knowledge and attention; that they grow two measures whereas others with no attachment grow only one.

vi. Be attached to your kith and kin; that you may irradiate, as far as it lies in your power, the joy of work in this world and appreciation of the beauty of God's creation.

vii. Be attached to your Mother land—that it may become the home of an educated, enlightened and spiritual community, upholding the human values of Truth, Goodness and Beauty, whereby its material and artistic possessions shall enrich the whole earth.

viii. But for attachment, how shall man be imbued with the spirit of work? Should not I put forth my might in favour of the God conceived by me, as against Evil? Yes. This means attachment to fruits of action: Am I surcharged with an intense egoism and with the importance of myself in the scheme of things? No—The world needs many more workers to make it a more beautiful and happy place to live in. But for the attachment of man to this world it is sure to go worse under slothfulness, when rank vegetation will swallow up Humanity.

GOA.

MENEZES BRAGANCA.

NATIONALISM AND INTERNATIONALISM.

By V. K. THOMAS.

THE aim of every man is or ought to be a ceaseless endeavour to develop his individual personality to its fullest stature in accordance with the highest standards of morality known to him. Harry Emerson Fosdick says: "Personality is the most valuable thing in the universe, revealing the real nature of the creative power and the ultimate meaning of creation, the only eternal element in the world of change, the one thing worth investing everything in, in terms of service to which all else must be judged." One's attitude towards the personality of another is a sure test of one's character. Freedom of action, freedom of speech and freedom of thought are *sine qua non* for the unhampered growth of a personality. That is the positive aspect. Absence of constraint from without is the negative aspect. However noble might be the objective effect of a man's action, it is of no moral value as far as the subject is concerned, if external constraint was a determining factor. Morality presupposes freedom and moral worth can be determined only when there is an atmosphere of freedom about the individual.

An individual being a member of a society, his freedom is determined by the attitude of his comembers towards him. Self-determination or freedom to scheme for oneself the best way to realise the full in him is an inherent right. If then, it is a right, it has its correlative duty too. Right of freedom of an individual is the duty of another to ensure and respect.

If these things hold good in individual cases, how much more in the case of a nation which is only an aggregate of individuals

bound together by ties of common traditions and sentiments? It is the birth right of a nation to express itself and find itself and to do so "not in isolation from other nations, not in opposition to other nations, but as part of a great scheme," a divine purpose towards which humanity is moving. So long as the effects of this primary right is denied to a nation, it has no duties to perform in the comity of nations and duties it performs by coercion lacks moral flavour. No nation can accuse a subject nation on any count, whether it be fight for independence or dereliction of international duty, because it owes no duty to any. On the other hand, a nation that withholds the privileges arising out of such an elementary right is morally responsible for any untoward happening that is consequent to a struggle. Without the benefits of a right, an imposed duty is bound to produce a bellicose attitude. To put duty before right smacks fascism. There is no "getting away" from this eternal ethical principle. The craving for individual and national freedom is spiritual and no amount of material force, ingenious diplomacy or pertinacity of an alien nation can stand in the way of its realisation when the men are for it. Tarrying augments impatience which creates a contumacious atmosphere.

Pedants are not tired of preaching that nationalism is opposed to internationalism. If internationalism means the merger and absorption of the individuality of one nation into another, true nationalism is in conflict with such internationalism. But if internationalism means the existence of various nations side by side as equals without any self-imposed superiority, "pulling together" towards a higher common ideal, nationalism is in sweet concord with such internationalism. Each nation irrespective of size or colour has a characteristic part to play in the evolution of civilisation. Civilisation being a flight from a lower to higher moral level, creation and not imitation that should be the guiding factor. There is a diversity in unity. The diversity we obtain by the individuality of nations. The unity we obtain, because, the principles of the duties of a citizen in a State are rooted in morality which is true and universal. True good of the individual is at the same time true good of the State and also of humanity as

a whole, for, every moral good is a common good. Therefore, true nationalism which attempts at the perfection of a portion of humanity cannot be a menace to world peace and disturb the unity of men.

"When all mankind alike is perfected,
Equal in full-blown flowers—then, not till then
I say, begins man's general infancy."

Browning.

It is when nations decline to perform their duties to other nations while enjoying the counter part rights, it is when nations become aggressive and imperialistic, it is when nations consider nations and individuals as means and not ends in themselves, that the world peace is threatened. Let us for example take two of the so called "Big Powers."

Though United States professes to be the most humanistic of all nations with its characteristic sneaking sympathy, it is the most aristocratic in its international relationships. The increase in the tariff duties well illustrates the point. To the European nations export is the chief means to pay up their enormous war debts they owe to the United States, with the result that such unconscionable high tariff impoverishes them. It is no wonder that the Cabinet of President Hoover, dominated as it is by American financiers, should embark upon such a policy which has the effect of crippling the financial powers of the nations this side of the Atlantic. It is nothing short of an avowed bid for the monetary dictatorship in the world of finance. What is the effect of this hard-hearted economic policy upon European diplomacy? Mr. Briand—the French Premier has availed himself of this opportunity as the psychological moment to launch his cherished utopia to form a United States of Europe. It is only natural that it had a favourable reception among the European diplomats. Lord Beverbrook and Lord Melchett in England are enthusiastic for free trade within the Empire. In short, nations in the West are out to divide the world into three economic units and begin an economic war on a larger scale, to be followed by the inevitable devilish one. The acquisitive instinct of the Americans is insatiable and anti-social.

What about Britain? "Servitor" in the "Referee" writes: "The Bible tells us just what to expect in the 'last days' for it outlines the coming of a divinely-ruled kingdom upon earth, and it reveals God's purpose of redeeming humanity by means of a chosen race which many believe to be the British as it fulfills all the Biblical prophecies." What is the sort of sentiment that is betrayed in a statement like this, if it is not unadulterated jingoism? The Jewish nation at a time believed in such a divine mission and now are scattered all over the world to "redeem" all the gold. William II of Germany said "We are called upon to civilise the world." And now the Germans are working hard to make good their preposterous venture and are "civilising themselves." It is ominous that History thus repeats itself. One would wish that Britain disillusioned herself of all such ideas of a divine mission. Already, the marvellous world-politics of modern England is a direct contradiction of every principle of every Christian charity. The sundried imperialists have formulated a theory of trusteeship which is so flexible that it can metamorphose to one of partnership. The latest invocation to this pet theory is that of Mr. Winston Churchill who says in the "Sunday Times": "Any appearance of lack of will power on the part of the British Government, or lack of confidence in its mission in the Eastern countries will blow like a draught of air on dull, fierce embers." The "will" of the British Government is adamant; its sense of "mission" is fanatic and the repressive campaign is evidence of its feverish attempt to be hopelessly earnest.

So long as the international relationships of the Western nations are influenced by wolfish outlook for profit at the expense of one another, there will also exist a temperamental war among them. At times they may patch up their differences to concert measures for the exploitation of weaker ones, but, as Aristotle observes, a friendship based on reciprocal advantage comes to an end when the advantages disappear. These advantages will disappear when the subject nations gain their due status among the nations and begin to direct their own destinies. Hybrid pacts, solemn protocols and international treaties are bound to fail by their very nature, if in fact they help to keep up the *status quo*.

The nations have outlawed war as a weapon to settle international disputes, not because it is immoral, not because it is an evil in itself, but because it is inefficient and enfeebles the victor and the vanquished alike. Though they have set their seals on to the paper, their hearts and hopes are in the reservation. Get rid of too much diplomacy in the League; substitute justice and a higher standard of morality; that and that only will win the confidence of the subject nations and ensure the peace of the world.

Coming back to the point, for the attainment of the highest destiny of man, national freedom is indispensable. Political freedom—freedom by virtue of sovereignty of the people recognised in law and in fact—must precede national freedom. Never lend your ears to the prophets who vie with one another to convince a subject nation that her fight for self-determination will jeopardise world peace. Every endeavour to achieve the benefits of the right to be free is unimpeachable at the bar of justice. Freedom is something spiritual and it must come from within. And sovereignty is inherent, not given but recognised. Freedom cannot be forced down your throat by doses in proportion to instalments of sovereignty.

It might be that the subject nations of the East are not so efficient in their powers of destruction like the nations of the West. But the Eastern nations should be proud of their asset—an infinite capacity to suffer. Man is essentially spiritual, and the sufferings of a subject nation will enlist sympathy of nations, create international public opinion in its favour and finally win the cause, if only that nation makes use of its spirituality so as to be felt. Think internationally, then only one feels the shackles of an iron chain and the wrongs that are done to you. Let those feelings emotionalise your whole being. An emotion must somehow or other manifest itself. If it is strong enough, individual annihilation seems too little. To be born into a suffering nation and to be given an opportunity to pass through this fire of purification are privileges given to the sons of God. From your travail, from your ashes, shall be born a new spirit of freedom. Better to leave a hand-full to shape the destinies of a freer nation, than the

millions to perish by slow starvation and ill-repute and the country to become a byword for inaction and slavish mentality. Humanity needs your services to lead her to the land of promise; not by precept and domination but by example.

COLOMBO.

V. K. THOMAS.

BURMESE LIFE.

IN

SARAT CHANDRA CHATTERJEE'S WORKS.

By KALIPADA MUKHERJEE, M.A.,

WE all know that before he became well-known as a novelist, Sarat Chandra Chatterjee had passed many years as a clerk in the Accountant-General's office at Rangoon in Burma. His many consequent voyages to and from Burma and his residence therein not only propitiated the tramp in him but endowed him with a critical temperament and with the power of portraying sea-scapes and Burmese scenery with a magical hand. Voyages to Burma and Burmese scenery add vivid interest to not less than three of his greatest novels—to 'Srikanta', to 'Charitraheen' and to 'Pather Dabi'. We shall not deal here with his many Burmese scenes but shall restrict our attention to only Burmese life as depicted in his works.

Sarat Chandra, as is well known, is an apostle of freedom in all its aspects—social, political and religious and is therefore ever willing to see 'joy in widest commonalty spread'. His heart has ever ached to come across and ponder over the inhumanities which still fill Bengali Hindu Society and all society in general to an incredible extent. Well could he say with Thomas Traherne,—

"Our blessedness to see
Is even to the Deity
A Beatific Vision! He attains
His ends while we enjoy. In us He reigns."

But how can men and women delight in God's creation if they remain for ever under the oppressing and corroding conditions of a very rigid social system? Bengal, like most parts of India and some parts of the world, is still groaning under the oppression

of customs like Untouchability, the Caste System, the Dowry system in marriages, the system of enforced widowhood,—under conflicts between the Hindu and the Mahomedan and differences between the Hindu and the Brahmo and under such other curses too numerous to mention. Therefore it is, that we find more than one half of Sarat Babu's work filled in with the above-mentioned problems with their easy solutions by a very powerful and penetrating mind. False ideas of religion too, which are responsible for most of the ills and unhappinesses of mankind, have received from Sarat Chandra a well-deserved criticism, for like all right-thinking men, he, too has been horrified to see all that is still done in the name of religion which remains as yet one of the most un-understood of things.

We do not wonder therefore when we come across such a scene as that between a Burmese girl and her Bengali husband in that wonderful gallery of portraits—Srikanta.

Srikanta returned one night from his rambles in Rangoon to find a gentleman occupying his own bed in the hotel in which he had been living, who, he learnt on enquiry, was a Bengali. He learnt too that he had come to Burma to seek out his longlost younger brother and take him back to Chittagong as he had come to the conclusion that his brother had been bewitched by a Burmese woman to live there as her husband. With the help of Srikanta he found out the house of his brother's father-in-law where he had been living in right lordly manner in the enjoyment of his wife's earnings, as is the wont of most Burmese husbands. Here we get a picture of most Burmese households which reminds us of republics of bees—in which the drones remain in most cases the idle enjoyers of the bees' hard-earned honey—which fortune the bees seldom or never grudge them. The younger brother of the gentleman was not in at the time but had gone out for a morning outing on a bicycle. Neither the father-in-law nor the mother-in-law lived there but the girl lived with one of her younger sisters and one or two maid servants. Their profession in life was Cheroot-making. Seeing Srikanta a Bengali, the lady gave him a hearty welcome for she had taken him to be one of her husband's friends.

The elder brother was all the while remaining outside and walking to and fro. Srikanta had not waited long, when the 'Babu Sahib' appeared on his bike dressed like an Englishman with more than one ring on his fingers, and a watch chained to his coat. The wife who was engaged in her work, got up and took the hat and stick from his hands to keep them. The younger sister brought in a Cheroot and a match-box to him, one of the maid-servants brought in tea-things and another brought the pot of 'pans' (betel-leaves). Srikanta was wondering all the while to see this sort of lordly treatment accorded to the Bengali husband.

Some Sort of conversation in broken Bengali began in the course of which the brother learnt that Srikanta was a friend of his brother's. Srikanta told him everything in connection with what had brought his elder brother to Burma. The younger brother visited his elder brother in Srikanta's hotel the next morning and talked together for a while. From that morning began a long series of interviews between the two brothers which terminated with the younger brother's inviting both Srikanta and his elder brother to a tea-party at his wife's house.

That very day Srikanta came to know the Burmese lady a little more intimately during conversations at tea-time. He learnt that she had married her Bengali husband out of her own free-will, and since the day of her marriage had never given him cause for either repentance or repining. After some days, however, Srikanta was given to know by the elder brother that they were embarking for home by the steamer which was to leave Rangoon after two days. He felt extremely concerned and asked him whether his younger brother would return again to Rangoon. In reply to all his enquiries he learnt that he would never again return to his Burmese wife. The elder brother heartily enjoyed his tale of the intended departure and was jubilant over the sudden change of his brother's mind; moreover, he did not care at all for the sorrow the Burmese girl would be in, in case of his brother's never returning. For, in his opinion, the Burmese were inferior beings—women and all—and as such could have no reasonable ground for sorrow at the sudden dissolution of their loves.

Srikanta reminded him of his brother's gratitude due to the girl for all those four years' devotional service and love which he had received from the innocent girl. But all to no purpose: the elder brother remained inexorable in his grim determination. The man who was orthodox to the core, regarded most Burmese people as beasts with no sense of religion and manners, and even without the decencies of life. His orthodoxy had made him so hard-hearted and cruel that he had proposed to leave Burma with his younger brother even without the lady's knowledge; but now consented with Srikanta's advice, to take leave of her, for fear of any evil coming to them from the girl's relations.

The Chittagong-bound steamer was to leave on Sunday and Srikanta came to the steamer-station to see the brothers off. In the midst of all the bustle and turmoil, he noticed the Burmese girl standing with a hand of her younger sister in one of her own. Over-night weeping had reddened her eyes; but the Bengali husband in total unconcern, was busy, packing and carrying his luggage and things which were the property of his wife to take them off with him to Chittagong. After arranging everything in his second-class cabin he came down to bid adieu to his girl-wife whom he was going to leave for ever but on the pretext of going out to buy tobacco for five hundred rupees only which amount he had got from his wife! This scene between a sincerely-loving wife and a cowardly, beastly and mean-minded husband is as painful as painful it could be. The man pretended to be very sorry, gave vent to his feelings in Burmese and Bengali—in mixed pathos and bathos—to comfort his wife and to excite laughter in the assembled spectators in the same vein. He bade adieu in pretended tears but came back suddenly darting once more, to take off the pearl-ring from his wife's finger with these Bengali words which the girl could not understand but which made the spectators laugh uproariously—"O my beloved, just let me have your finger-ring. It can bring me at the lowest estimate two hundred and fifty or at least two hundred rupees". The simple-hearted girl took this gesture as one more genuine mark of affection and herself put the ring off her finger to put it on the finger of her beloved. The man only cried 'Fa-love' and hurried across the

series of stairs to his cabin on the deck with tearful eyes and the young lady bowed down with grief, hid her eyes with the hem of her garment and knelt down on the spot. Many people laughed at this mock-pathetic scene—some praised the cunning and adroitness of the youth in high terms and Srikanta stood with her weeping sister—a silent witness of the inexpressible woe of the Burmese lady. He could not give any reply to the women who regarded Bengali husbands as the most loving in the world. She had given her whole heart to him, had stood in opposition to all the social laws of her own land in marrying him and had worshiped him with truly wifely devotion: but now the ungrateful Bengali husband without even her knowledge, was deserting her, for he had not married her according to the Hindu rites of matrimony and because Hindu Society does not permit such international marriages. Srikanta sat mute beside her in her coach pondering over all the sins which such strict social laws have encouraged from the beginning of time. He came to the conclusion that any religion which permits such an unhappy termination of married love was not worth the name of religion at all.

The other purely Burmese scene of life which we come across in Sarat Babu's works is a short story "Chabi" or 'the Portrait'—which is really one of the best and most beautiful short stories he has ever written.

The story is of a time when Burma was still under her own kings—had her own army and freedom. Mandalay was the capital of the kingdom but many of the members of the royal family lived in far-off cities and villages. One such lived in the village of Imedin—at a distance of well-nigh ten miles from Pegu. He was the master of a large manor, a big garden and the lord of immense wealth and extensive landed properties. He had a friend—Bako—whom he called to his death-bed and gave over charge of his only daughter to him whom he had intended to marry to his friend's only son. Not that Bako himself was ever poor, but he had run through his huge fortune in religious endowments, in building Pagodas and in public charities. His friend knew him intimately well from his childhood and it was therefore that he could find it in his heart to entrust his only child and his immense wealth to

his protection. But within even the first year of his friend's death Bako too died. His only son Ba-Thin was weeping under a solitary tree when Ma-Shoay the only daughter of his father's deceased friend, came behind him, wiped off his tears with the hem of her upper garment, snatched his right hand into her own, and said in whispers,—“Your father is no more, Ba-Thin, but your Ma-Shoay is still living”.

Ba-Thin was an artist. He had sent his last picture to the king of Burma through a portrait-seller—and had received in return from the gratified king his own invaluable finger-ring. This alone brought tears into Ma-Shoay's eyes and she said, “Ba-Thin, you are destined to become the greatest artist in the world.” Ba-Thin only smiled and said, “I only wish I could pay off the debt of my father”. Ma-Shoay the only heiress of her father's properties was his only creditor. And Ma-Shoay who was always pained most of all when Ba-Thin would refer to the debt of his father which was now owing to her own self said, “If you always give me pain by mentioning the debt of your father in this way, I can no longer come to you”. Ba-Thin sat silent, but the thought that he could not probably free his father from his debt gave him quite unbearable pain. This uneasiness for the repayment of his father's debt made Ba-Thin more industrious than ever so much so that he would not even lift his eyes for days together from a Jataka-picture which he was drawing at the time. Ma-Shoay, as was her habit, came every day, to his studio to arrange and decorate his bed-room and his drawing-room with her own hands which acts she could not entrust to the care of servants. Sometimes she would look her fill at his beauty and praise it as that of a queen and Ba-Thin would only return the complement saying that she herself was the queenliest of all women and as such even surpassed himself in beauty.

Then came the time of horse races in Imedin, and a race was to be held on a meadow adjacent to a neighbouring village. Ba-Thin quite oblivious of everything, was engaged on his Jataka-picture, when Ma-Shoay dressed in her best came, stood behind him and asked him to accompany her to the race, as she was to be garlanded by the winner of the race of the day. Ba-Thin and

Ma-Shoay almost equal in age had passed nineteen years of their lives in playing together and quarrelling and loving each other. Suddenly Ma-Shoay looked at their two rose-like faces reflected on the surface of a mirror in the room and she thought for a space that she too was very beautiful, but still inferior to Ba-Thin. She said so to Ba-Thin who said in reply that she was more beautiful than himself. But on Ma-Shoay's asking him again to accompany her to the races Ba-Thin said that he could not afford to leave his portrait unfinished and that it would take a few more days to be completed, to be submitted to the picture-dealer for sale according to the terms of a previous agreement. Whenever Ba-Thin mentioned money Ma-Shoay became mortally wounded at heart; therefore it was that she said that she could not allow him to work so hard for money. Ba-Thin said nothing in reply, but in the shadow which passed on to his face Ma-Shoay could decipher his reply and said that she herself was ready to purchase the picture at twice its promised price and that if sold to her, she would have it framed with all the pearls and rubies which were in her necklace and would have it hung up in her own room to look at it in moonlit nights . . . She had not finished her speech, when the driver of the bullock-cart standing outside called out to her to come out. She could by no means persuade Ba-Thin to accompany her to the race—and at last she herself was asked by him to go to it as she herself was to preside over the race.

The race being over, Ma-Shoay who was occupying the president's chair—could not but receive with open arms the winner—a youth of a different village and was garlanded by him. She even took the youth in the same cart with herself and the invited guests all went to her palace to join the evening-party which had been specially arranged for the occasion for their entertainment. Ba-Thin for a moment only looked at the passing crowd beneath his study window and again returned to his daily work. Ma-Shoay was beginning to feel some sort of preferential regard for this strong-built youth in comparative disregard for her soft-hearted womanish beloved. And when the next morning she saw Ba-Thin and was very eager to relate to him all that she had done and seen in the course of the race and during the evening party Ba-Thin

only remained silent and attentive to his picture as ever. She could not ease her mind before him of all that was in it and returned exasperated to her house to see the heroic youth Po-Khin waiting in eager expectancy for her. That youth from the day he had met her, had begun to cherish in his heart of hearts the secret desire of winning her and her wealth and so he at once began to praise her wealth, her beauty, and her attainments to her entire satisfaction. A woman very often cannot but feel glorified before loud adoration and reverential worship and similar was the case with Ma-Shoay that day. She invited the youth again and again to parties; yet could find little peace in her mind after all the parties had been over. So she visited Ba-Thin once again in his studio and when neither of them could find any word to speak, Ma-Shoay asked Ba-Thin about the progress of the picture. Ba-Thin said that much remained still for its completion. While saying so he was handing over a box of Cheroots to Ma-Shoay and said that he could ill bear the smell of wine. Ma-Shoay felt greatly offended at this and there was a quarrel. When greatly dejected at heart she returned home and finding Po-Khin waiting for her as usual she asked him in a moment whether he had any business with her, dismissed him saying that she had no time to talk with him that evening and ran up the stairs to the upper storey.

These two lovers who had never separated for a single day in all their life, had not met each other for a whole month. Ma-Shoay was comforting herself with the thought that a bond which had daily held her in its grip was now loosened for ever and she was free, free as any man or woman. But she was only cheating herself. Had she looked into her inmost heart she would have certainly found there that each was sitting silently before the other, there was no more any quarrel between them, but the tears were silently running down their cheeks in the wounded pride of their love.

Then came the birth-day celebration of Ma-Shoay. Neighbours had come to make it an unmixed success: and there were huge arrangements of entertainments for the invited guests. But Ma-Shoay was herself very greatly dejected at heart. She had not invited her own Ba-Thin,—was he not sorry for that disrespect towards him? was he not hearing the din of the carousers from

within his closed window? These and similar thoughts began to agitate her mind. But Po-Khin had come and was here, there and everywhere in the house. People were even whispering to one another that he was to be the future master of the house. Ma-Shoay alone was feeling in silence the greatness of her loneliness, humiliation and sorrow in the absence of Ba-Thin. Was not Ba-Thin present every year in the birth-day celebration, did he not every year garland her with a garland of blessing in secrecy on that day? To-day he was not there to do anything of the kind to her. Similar thoughts were passing in her mind when came an old servant of her father's who enquired of her about Ba-Thin. He did not hear much in reply from her and himself went out to welcome him in. But Ba-Thin, when he came inside the house, was not greeted by Ma-Shoay, and being sternly overlooked by her, hurried back to his own house. But both Ba-Thin and Ma-Shoay felt sorry for each other's behaviour that day.

Yet much more humiliation was in store for Ba-Thin. The picture of Gopa from the Jataka on which he had been engaged for so long was now finished. But the picture-dealer at once recognised in the face in the picture the face of Ma-Shoay and would not accept the picture for presentation to the king on the apprehension of incurring his displeasure for his attempt to present him with the portrait of a goddess drawn in the likeness of a well-known lady. Ba-Thin was astonished to find at last that he had thus been drawing the portrait of his own beloved Ma-Shoay for days together.

Po-Khin came as usual to Ma-Shoay and was praising her as the desired of the gods not to speak of a common man like himself. Ma-Shoay said in reply that then anybody who did not like her must therefore be regarded as more than even the gods. She might have liked Po-Khin's adoring manner for some time, but her whole heart was with her Ba-Thin. But she became now very eager to bring down the impregnable citadel of his pride by all possible means. So she requested her new wooer who was a high government official in the state to find out any means and make any arrangements by which she might realise the whole amount

of her father's dues from Ba-Thin though she did not possess any written document for the debt. Po-Khin overjoyed at this only asked her for seven days' time for taking legal action in the matter. His joy was that he would then be the master of Ma-Shoay and her great fortune, as he knew the debtor in question very well.

The summons to pay over the amount of debt to Ma-Shoay came duly to Ba-Thin. He, in his perplexity, did not think even of praying for more time for the repayment of the debt. A rich money-lender lived in the village. Ba-Thin sold all his belongings and everything which he had inherited from his father to get the requisite money which he got without much difficulty as more than the required amount was paid out to him. But this heartlessness on the part of Ma-Shoay was sufficient to bring on fever in him. The last day fixed for the repayment of the debt came. Ma-Shoay in vengeful selfsatisfaction was waiting to see what Ba-Thin would do that day. She was thinking all the while that now she had broken the pride of Ba-Thin. She was eagerly waiting to see Ba-Thin hopeless and humiliated, standing before her for mercy, when the servant announced that he had actually come and was waiting on the ground-floor. But Ma-Shoay was panic-stricken to look at the sad and fever-worn face of Ba-Thin. She did not want any money from Ba-Thin, she only had devised that plan to frighten him to a reconciliation with her. Nevertheless she had become very hard-hearted at the time and so when Ba-Thin said that he had brought her her money she told him that she wanted not some money but all the money to cover the debt. But Ba-Thin had brought the entire amount to cover the debt. When Ma-Shoay in wonder asked him whence he could have got all the money, he told her simply that she would be able to know everything the day after.

The driver of the cart waiting outside called out to say that they should wait there no longer as, in case of further delay, they would find it hard to seek out any shelter at Pegu.

Ma-Shoay peeped out to see that a cart was actually waiting outside. In a trice everything became clear to her—and she in

great trepidation overwhelmed him with a number of questions like,—who will go to Pegu? Whose cart is that waiting outside? Whence could you get all the money? Why are you keeping silence on these questions? Why are your eyes so pale? What shall I know tomorrow? Why do you not say everything to me to-day? As she asked these questions she forgot herself entirely and drawing near, felt Ba-Thin's brow with her own hand and was astounded to find that he was suffering from fever.

Ba-Thin became a little easy and asking her to take her seat, said, "It is I who am going to Pegu. But will you keep a last promise of mine?" On her answering in the affirmative, he continued to say, "Do then, please marry a good youngman—for you should no longer remain as you are. Another thing I want you to remember is this: that sensitiveness like bashfulness may be an ornament in a woman but an excess of either very often leads to much unhappiness in the end."

He had not finished, when Ma-Shoay interrupting him said, "I shall hear what you have got to say another time, but will you please let me know how you have got the money?" Ba-Thin related to her to her great anguish—how he had to sell all his father's belongings—even his own flower-garden and his beloved books to repay his father's debt. Ma-Shoay said, "Well done, now. But come and follow me upstairs and lie there down." Ba-Thin protested and said that he was to start for Pegu that very night. Ma-Shoay said, "How can you believe that I shall leave you in such a state of your health?" She drew nearer to him, caught him by the hand, and Ba-Thin suddenly noticed a sudden and wonderful change come over the face of Ma-Shoay. No amount of sorrow,—no hatred,—no despair,—not even bashfulness and fear were to be seen there; only a great love coupled with a fear reigned supreme. That face of Ma-Shoay bewitched him and he followed her in silence upstairs. When he was in bed, Ma-Shoay turned her burning eyes towards him and said, "Do you think you have paid my debt simply because you have brought me some money? Don't speak of Mandalay. If you leave this room even, I promise I'll lay down my life by a fall from this roof."

You've given me much trouble up till now; but I tell you for certain that I'll not bear trouble any longer."

Ba-Thin could not speak any longer. He only sighed and turned to the other side of the bed.

Thus ends Sarat Babu's only purely Burmese story of love. Both the stories are full of pathetic touches and both are stories of love and ardent devotion. Both the Burmese girls are so lovely and so loving that when we finish reading their stories these perfect lines of "The Weeper" of Crashaw come to our minds:—

"Not in the evening's eyes
When they red with weeping are
For the Sun that dyes,
Sits sorrow with a face so fair;
Nowhere but here did ever meet
Sweetnesse so sad,
Sadnesse so sweet."

BANKURA.

KALIPADA MUKHERJEE.

22

A FEDERAL SYSTEM FOR INDIA.

By Prof. P. J. THOMAS.

I

Is India a Nation?

There is no question more frequently asked about India than the above; nor is there any which has caused greater difference of opinion among politicians and scholars whether in India or outside. It has been persistently answered in the negative by many people in both countries, and has been applied by them as the conclusive argument against the introduction of the parliamentary system of government into India; but of late years, equally persistent has been the affirmation by others, mainly Indians, that India is a nation. We will here consider this question from a purely rational point of view.

India is not a country, as that term is usually applied in Europe; it is a sub-continent like the United States, Russia, Canada or China. The diversities of that sub-continent—racial, religious, linguistic—are much more pronounced than those of any other country which is now under organised unified rule. "L'Inde est un monde" said a French savant. "It covers the whole space between barbarism at one hand and civilisation at the other", said Lord Curzon. Perhaps even the continent of Europe does not show such divergence of colour and culture as India does. Lord Bryce, travelling in that country in 1889 found "great difference between the North-west, North-east, Far-south and Centre."* India is veritably a museum of colours, creeds, races, culture, social types; in short, India is almost an epitome of the whole world.

* In a private letter to the present writer, dated April 9, 1921.

There are also within India many distinct peoples, who in many respects are like the nationalities of Europe. Such are the Bengalees, the Marathas, the Punjabees, the Hindustanees, the Andhras, the Tamils, the Malayalees and the Karnatakas. Each of these peoples is bound together by a common language, a common culture and common neighbourhood interests, and although in the matter of religion and social systems, there may be much difference between the several members of the same group, each nationality stands apart and passively, if not actively militates against the unity of India at work.

Religion is perhaps the strongest separatist influence in India. A Bengali Mussulman may find more in common with a Punjabi Mussulman than with his next-door Hindu neighbour. No doubt a common system of education and common local interests have lately weakened this religious bond and may further weaken it; yet interested political manipulators often cry 'religion in danger' to gain their non-religious ends and keep alive the separatist influences. And so long as the members of the different religious groups do not intermarry and do not mix socially, a united Indian nationality could not come into being.

Centrifugal forces, however, are by no means predominant in India; they are balanced by potent centripetal forces which make for unity. The primary and perhaps the strongest basis of that unity is the geographical position of India as a completely unified and self-contained territory cut off from the rest of Asia. As an eminent authority puts it:—"In no other part of the world, unless perhaps in South America are the physical features in a grander scale; yet nowhere are they more simply combined into a single natural region." ¹

The past history of India has verified the value of her geographical unity. The tradition of a united *Bharata varsha* is older than the Christian Era and that tradition has expressed itself in the art, literary tradition and social habits of the great bulk of India's population. The general cultural unity thus attained is sufficient, according to Vincent Smith, to justify its treatment as

1. Sir H. Mackinder, Cambridge History of India Vol. I, p. 1.

a unit in the history of the social, religious and intellectual development of mankind." ¹

Nor is that unity cultural. Thanks to the imperial administrative systems successively set up by the Mauryas, Guptas and Moghuls, India has had a quite long experience of political unity as well. The Moghuls, in particular, raised an administrative edifice, the like of which had never been seen in the country, and vestiges of it are to be found from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. India also gained under them a common language (Hindustani) and a type of architecture (Indo-Saracenic) both of which strengthened the unity of the sub-continent.

On the decaying foundations of this grand Mohul edifice was built the even more imposing administrative system of the British, who also spread in India their language and literature which served as a medium of contact with the dynamic civilization of the West. The movement for unification gained enormously in momentum by their all embracing and penetrating administrative system, which like a steel-frame pressed together the disjointed parts of the mangled body of India and gave it a necessary discipline which only a well-disciplined foreign nation like the British was competent to impart. The language and literature introduced by them also worked as a powerful dynamic force which has radically transformed the political as well as social outlook of the educated classes in India and thus partly as a reaction to the British rule came the nationalist movement which added another centripetal force of infinite magnitude for the unification of India.

The cumulative result of the interplay of all these potent influences is that to-day the unity of the sub-continent is as much pronounced as its diversity, and once unification begins to gather momentum, it is bound to forge ahead by conscious, combined action as well as by the subconscious forces working simultaneously.

Do the results so far achieved amount to such a degree of unification as to warrant the conclusion that India is now a unified

1. The Early History of India, page 5.

nationality? This can only be answered with reference to the exact connotation of the term 'nationality.' Political philosophers are by no means agreed as to the definition of that term. According to Ernest Barker, the latest writer on the subject, the essence of nationality consists in, (1) habitation in a definite territory, (2) the possession of a common stock of thoughts and feelings acquired and transmitted during the course of a common history, and (3) the existence of a common will and the expression of that will in a State, or the strong desire for such expression.¹ This nearly agrees with Renan's well-known analysis: "le souvenir des grandes choses, qu'ils ont faites ensemble, et la volente d'en accomplir des nouvelles."²

Judged from the above standards it will have to be conceded that India is fast developing into a nation, in spite of the dead-weight of separatist forces still at work. The Indian peoples treasure memories of common struggles in the past, and cherish a common desire to accomplish great things in future. Sir Herbert Risley, even in 1907, speaks of a "general Indian personality which we cannot resolve into its component parts,"³ and since then the unifying forces have become much more active and intense, and they touch not only the professional classes but the toiling masses as well. Nevertheless, Indian nationality is only at its "adolescent stage," as Sir Frederick Whyte points out, and it is besides in great part based on the possession of a common language in English and a unified administrative system organised by the British, but that does not make the process any the weaker. So long as there is no desire on the part of the different cultural regions in India to have independent political expressions (and this is not likely to arise if a reasonable degree of provincial autonomy is granted) the goal of India is bound to be one united nationality.

But the Indian national organism can never be—even in full-fledged state—anything like the compact, well-knit nations of Western Europe. As Arnold Toynbee rightly points out, the type of nationality developed owing to the peculiar geographical

1. E. Barker: *National Character*, P. 17.

2. Quoted Delisle: *Burns, Political Ideals*, P. 178.

3. *People of India*, 277.

features and linguistic distribution obtaining in Western Europe, and although it has produced for that part of the world a maximum of political efficiency with a minimum of effort, the adoption of it even in certain parts of Europe has only brought in diminishing returns of happiness and prosperity.¹ In India, as well as in the Balkan peninsula of which Toynbee speaks, people speaking different languages intermix geographically and do not represent local groups capable of independent political life, but different economic classes whose co-operation is necessary for the whole people inhabiting the territory. Evidently each country must develop the sort of political life suited to its own genius and environment: India is a vast country with a large population: it cannot expect to develop such intense national life as had been witnessed among the small nationalities of Western Europe in the last hundred years.

To the question, Is India a Nation? the answer therefore seems to be: No, if you restrict the term nation to the type of small nation-states developed in Western Europe; yes, if you will widen its meaning to include more complex political growths which although aspiring to unified political existence are yet lacking in any considerable degree of racial, religious or linguistic unity within themselves. Even the well-knit nationalities of Western Europe were at one time of the latter category, but by centuries of common political life, were eventually compressed into compact and unified states. Nevertheless in many of them—Great Britain, Switzerland, even Belgium—centrifugal forces are still present and united political existence is kept up by sheer political necessity and economic advantage. They have been called multi-national states, (a term coined by Lord Acton) for, behind their unified political life lie many submerged nationalities which still jealously keep up their distinctive languages, religions and social customs. It seems quite reasonable to hold that India is fast developing into such a multi-national State, and although her internal diversities are far more complex than those of Great Britain or Switzerland, common political experiences and strong

1. Toynbee, *The Western Movement in Greece and Turkey*, p. 16.

political aspirations are welding the separatist elements into a homogenous political unity.

To Lord Acton, the multi-national state is a political entity of considerable value, for he thinks that the nationalities included therein will check each other and thus keep up unified political life in full vigour; but Dr. Ernest Barker fears that such interplay within the State might result in the suppression or oppression of some of the contained nationalities. This criticism, however, is not warranted by the experiences of Switzerland or Belgium or Great Britain; and the splitting up of the numerous nationalities which formerly were unified in the Austrian Empire only shows that a multi-national state formed by the domination of one nation over others will last only so long as that nation can remain predominant. The conditions of India are very unlike those of the old Austria-Hungary. Had the Mahrattas in the 18th century succeeded in bringing the whole of India under their unified rule, the case would have been analogous; but India has got unified under the rule of a foreign nation, and all the nationalities which had potentialities for predominating have been brought under the common discipline of the comprehensive administrative system. Nor is there much chance of any of the component peoples aspiring to dominate and rule India autocratically. The most potent element of separation in India is religion, but the votaries of no religion are organised on political basis. Indeed Islam is still an important political force, but the votaries of that religion are scattered all over India and one cannot imagine how they could aspire to constitute them into a separate state. Considering the manifold conditions of India, the completeness of its geographical unity, the absence of internal physical barriers, and the marvellous system of communications that has been established in modern times, the conclusion seems to be inevitable that India is bound to have a unified political existence.

The incidental evils of such a multi-national state can be counteracted by the Federal form of government. Under a unitary constitution, the possibilities are that one (or some) of the nationalities will dominate over the others, and the oppressed nationalities

will naturally desire to form separate states. But under a federal constitution, the autonomous existence of the parts can be reconciled to the unified government of the whole, and thus their interests will collide as little as possible. It has therefore been generally held that Federalism is the suitable form of government for a self-governing India. Indian administrators even of earlier periods, like Sir Charles Trevelyan, Sir Samuel Laing and Sir John Strachey had agreed that this was the right solution for India; and political scientists like Lord Bryce¹ and H. A. L. Fisher² have also agreed on this point. Nor have Indian national leaders been of a different opinion.³ Recently however a contrary view has been expressed by two prominent Indian leaders, Sir Sivaswami Iyer, formerly member of the Viceroy's Executive Council and Mr. Vijiaraaghava Charyar, an ex-President of the Indian National Congress. It has therefore become necessary to examine the basic principles of the question in the light of modern political experience in other parts of the world.

II

What is Federalism?

Federalism is a political device by which a diversified body politic is brought under unified government without extinguishing the autonomy of the component States. It arises in a country where there are several co-equal autonomous 'States' or cantons which desire union but dislike unity. Whether because they have separate economic or cultural interests or because they have existed for long as independent states, they want to jealously guard their separate existence, but desirous of effective national power or afraid of foreign aggression, they agree to entrust defence and other common interests into the hands of a central (or federal) government

1. In a private letter, dated April 9, 1921.

2. Studies in History and Politics, p. 145.

3. For instance, See Dadababhai Naoroji (Minority Report to the Indian Expenditure Commission (Vol. IV, 1900), G. K. Gokhale (Political Testament), the Agah Khan (*India in Transition*), Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar, (*Swaraj Constitution*, 1927, introduction) and several others.

which is sovereign only to the extent of the powers vested in it. In other words, both the centripetal and the centrifugal forces are balanced in such a way that neither the one nor the other will predominate. If centripetal forces become too strong, a unitary state will result; if on the other hand centrifugal forces predominate, the states will separate to form independent governments.

A full-fledged system of federalism may be compared to a mansion with many smaller houses standing under its roof; or better still to a University like Oxford or Cambridge, where both colleges and the University have each definite spheres marked out for them.

Federalism is thus in the nature of a pact (foedus), but such a relationship may arise in one of two ways,—either by states previously independent agreeing to form a central government to safeguard common interests, or by a unitary government recognising the autonomy of provinces in a sphere defined by common agreement. As most of the well-known federations arose in the former of the above-noted ways, many writers restrict the term federalism to those constitutions formed by a pact between co-equal states, but as the essence of federalism lies in the type of the relationship, it may arise as much by devolution as by integration.¹ Thus the United States and Switzerland and Australia arose by agreement between previously independent states, whilst Mexico, Brazil and Argentina became federations by giving autonomous powers to provinces. In the case of Canada, federation implied both integration and devolution. Quebec and Ontario were ruled by a unitary constitution between 1840 and 1867 and so far as they are concerned, the British North America Act of 1867 meant a devolution, whilst in regard to the other provinces, it was in the nature of an integration.

The essentials of a federal system are (i) a written, and (usually) rigid constitution (ii) separation of spheres between the central and state governments with complete authority for each

1. Thus Sidgwick writes:—"Federalism may arise also by the establishment of secured local liberties mainly under the sentiment of nationality in states that were previously of the unitary type". *Development of European Polity*. p. 431.

within its sphere; (iii) the existence of the right in both governments to deal directly with the individual citizen; and (iv) the existence of an authority to interpret the constitution and adjudicate between the conflicting authorities.

Each of these characteristics follows directly from the nature of the relationship between the central and the State governments. Where there are two governments each supreme in its sphere, it is necessary to draw up a constitution clearly laying down the fundamental principles, and it is desirable also to make constitutional amendments more difficult than ordinary legislation, lest, under some sudden impulse, the constitution should be subverted by hasty legislation. Thus the constitutions of all the federal states are 'written' and for the most part 'rigid'. Amendments to the American constitution require a two-thirds majority in both chambers of Congress and the assent of three-fourths of the constituent states. There has been a proposal to make amendment even more difficult. In Australia, certain fundamental laws can only be modified by an absolute majority in each house of the Parliament, and by a majority of the states and a majority of the electors approve it. In Switzerland also, an appeal to the people is necessary for constitutional amendment. Curiously enough, constitutional change seems to be most difficult in countries where referendum is employed; for in Australia, amendment has been successful only once in the last twentyseven years.

The division of functions between the two governments is also essential for harmony in a federal system. Each must have a definite field for legislation and administration and in that field, it must have complete power. Thus in all the federal constitutions, the powers of the federal and state governments are expressly enumerated in the constitutional document. The most careful enumeration is bound to leave out certain functions, and hence the need for a residuary legatee in the matter of powers. In the U. S. A. and Australia, the states retain the residual power, whilst in Canada the Dominion government has that privilege. Innumerable difficulties have arisen in federal countries as a result of the division of functions, and it is of the greatest

importance that a suitable division should be made in order to avoid the inconveniences resulting from ineffectiveness of either government in fields which are legitimately its own.

Both federal and state governments should have authority over the citizen population. A confederation which depends on the states for access to the citizen or his purse will cut a very sorry figure indeed. The American confederation before 1789 and the North Germanic Confederation of 1815-1870 are very significant examples of the utter uselessness of governments which cannot effectively carry out their behests and levy the necessary taxes. Alexander Hamilton has used all the sarcasm at his command to expose the evils of a system of federal government which is calculated neither to maintain peace at home nor raise the country's prestige abroad.

Finally, a federal constitution requires an impartial arbiter to adjudicate between the rights of governments and citizens, for otherwise the conflict of laws will be found most embarrassing to the citizen body. In all federal constitutions, especially in America and Australia, the Federal supreme court reigns as the protector of the constitution, and fulfils a most necessary function in the state.

We will now briefly consider the merits and defects of federalism. Its merits are clear from the characteristics above noted. It is the most practical device of governing a multi-national state without suppressing or oppressing the weaker nationalities. A brake is placed by the constitution upon the activities of the central government, and thus the liberties of all are guaranteed. As Lord Acton puts it, "The federal system limits and restrains sovereign power by dividing it and assigning to government only certain defined rights. It is the only method of curbing not only the majority but the power of the whole people and it affords the strongest basis for the second chamber which has been found the essential security for freedom in every genuine democracy."

Federalism is particularly suited to a diversified country where the people are in different stages of development or have different needs according to the conditions of each locality. Under a unified government, a variety of treatment will be found difficult, but

under federalism, each part will be able to solve its own administrative problems in the way best suited to it. Experiments could thus be tried without endangering the safety of the whole country.

In these days when the world is shrinking, thanks to easy and speedy transport agencies, the advantages of living in a large country-state are very great, but such advantages will be best enjoyed if the provinces are autonomous than if they were given mere delegated powers.

Many of these advantages can be gained by having local government, but only to a very limited extent. In a unitary State, local bodies can have no legislative powers, and its administrative powers are a matter of mere delegation. No doubt in a small country such local liberties are sufficient to safeguard the rights of the citizen, but in large countries this will be found insufficient.

The essential weakness of federal system is that divided allegiance of the citizen will make a federal government less effective than a centralised government, not only in the conduct of foreign affairs, but also in the administration of home affairs. Both federal and provincial governments have powers assigned to them, but clever men will find ways and means of dodging both governments where law is vague and the courts undecided. At any rate, the experience of the United States has brought out the inconveniences of an imperfect division of functions between the federal and state governments. The Congress had to struggle hard to assume for itself the competence to regulate mischievous tendencies in trade, and constitutional amendment always meant great commotion in the country. It was also found unwise to have left social law to the whims and fancies of each state.

But all these defects of federalism can be remedied by careful arrangements. That a federal government need not be ineffective in foreign relations has been clearly indicated by the recent history of the United States. So long as powers of conducting war, levying armies and raising taxes are vested in the federal government, there is no reason why that Government should have a weak foreign policy unless its constitution is such as to result in indecision and vascillation. The fathers of the American constitution were

compelled to give the minimum of powers to the federal government, owing to the utter suspicion with which that government was regarded by the constituent states. This was later found to be detrimental to the interests of the nation, both at home and abroad, and as a result of the growing public opinion in favour of increasing federal powers, many constitutional amendments were passed. In the same direction worked also the American Supreme Court, which under John Marshall (Chief Justice) used all its influence in strengthening the authority of the central government in all matters necessary for effectively carrying out the functions devolved on it. It is now open to us to utilize American experience to our advantage, and many of the alleged defects of federalism can thus be removed.

From the trend of American political development noticed above and from similar tendencies in other federal countries there is an impression gaining ground that Federalism is losing ground and that federal governments are becoming more and more unitary. But it is due to a misreading of facts. There is not the slightest tendency in the United States to give up the federal basis of its constitution. Protagonists of all parties enthusiastically applaud federalism as the foundation of American greatness and individuality; Indeed when experience showed that certain additional powers were wanted in the Congress to enable it to discharge its function properly, such powers have been voted to it by a strong public opinion; but even the greatest supporters of federal powers will denounce as reactionary any attempt at weakening the sovereignty of the states in their own sphere. As the Hon'ble Albert Beveridge said at the Bar Association in 1927, "In a country as vast as ours, with essential difference of soil, climate, and habits of life, rigid standards for everything and everybody cannot be dictated and enforced from one far-off autocratic centre".¹

Recent tendencies in Australia have also been interpreted as unfavourable to federalism and indicative of more complete centralization in future; but this is also most unfounded, although the mistaken impression is revealed even in the columns of the

1. American Law Review, 1927, p. 447.

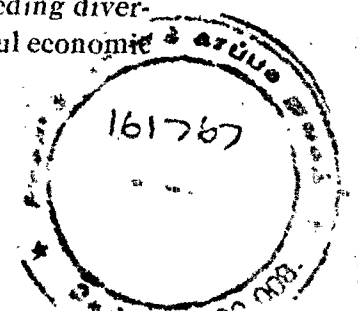
Australian Press. Sir Robert Garran, Solicitor General to the Government of Australia, recently wrote as follows commenting on this impression abroad: "So far as I can judge, there is not the slightest sign of any such tendency in Australia. The Federal Union of Australia may be safely described as permanent".¹ On the whole, the tendency in Australia has been to keep the constitution in tact; and in spite of a widespread desire to give more powers to the Commonwealth Parliament in regard to Commerce and Labour legislation, amendments in that direction have not so far succeeded.

It is true that the present German constitution has advanced much more than the previous one in the direction of centralization. The special privileges of the states have been considerably reduced, and even their names have been changed from states to "lander". But this is due to the gradual unification of the German people as a result of the late war and to the working of various economic causes. Nor is it beyond doubt if Germany has real necessity for a federal system. The German people are culturally one. At a time when Germany had hardly any railways and people in one part did not know people in other parts, much diversity existed in local conditions, but lately with the increased ease and speed of communication, all these barriers are being removed. There are also military and economic causes working towards more complete unification.

The late professor Dicey was responsible for the view that "federalism is a transition stage from disunion to complete union", but this has not so far been found true in regard to those states to which federalism is almost a *sine qua non*. As Sir Robert Garran aptly says (Ibid), "nothing in this world is permanent; all that can be asked of a political system is that it should be relatively enduring". "In none of them (the U.S.A., Switzerland, Canada, Australia) is the slightest tendency apparent either to disfunction or to unification". In those countries where there is fundamental racial and cultural unity behind a superficial and receding diversity, and where grinding military necessity and powerful economic

1. Law Quarterly Review (London) 1924, p. 210.

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interests exist, federalism is bound to be a temporary necessity, a passing phase; but where, as in America, the country is large and interests varied, whose population is of diverse origin and is split up by religious and social cleavages not easily to be made up—in short where centripetal forces are as powerful as centrifugal forces, federalism is the inevitable political system, and if such a device is not utilised the outlying regions will gradually move towards independence unless coerced into subjection.

MADRAS.

P. J. THOMAS.

(To be continued.)

29
GLEANINGS.

SHAKESPEARE'S MAD HEROES.

"We have all got a touch of *that same*," said Charles Lamb; "you understand me—a speck of the motley." This was a kind of bitter light-heartedness in Charles Lamb, who himself had been insane, whose dearly loved sister had killed their mother in a fit of insanity. The words themselves have a Shakespearean ring. There are many characters in the plays who might have uttered them.

It has always been obvious that Shakespeare was greatly occupied with the problems of madness. Under the stress of emotion his heroes become abnormal, incoherent and frenzied. It is a delicate point to decide whether they can really be called mad.

The classic case, of course, is Hamlet. There has been much argument whether Hamlet, in the latter part of the tragedy, is shamming madness or is genuinely insane. Now we have begun to realize that the two conditions are not opposed. A sham madness is a real madness. A real madness has always method in it. It would be possible to imagine a man acting as if he were mad for a short time, with a definite purpose in view, and still remaining sane. It would not be possible to imagine a man who shammed madness under the stress of circumstances, shammed madness, as Hamlet did, to avoid responsibility for his decisions, and still remained detached from that madness, level headed, and sane.

Dr. H. Somerville* is an expert in mental abnormality. He has approached the tragedies with the outlook of a mental specialist. His aim is to see whether his own experience will allow him to diagnose the exact kind of aberration which shows itself in the characters of the plays. Hamlet he regards as "manic-depressive." He points out, first of all, the *melancholia* from which Hamlet suffered. In the great soliloquy, "To be or not to be," his utterance is typical of the melancholic attitude. It becomes even more acutely typical when he dwells on his feelings of guilt and unworthiness.

I could accuse me of such things, that it were better that my mother had not borne me. What should such fellows as I do crawling between heaven and earth?

* "Madness in Shakespeare." By H. Somerville, M.D. (Richards Press, 6s).

Elsewhere this melancholia is replaced by the signs of acute mania; as when he kills Polonius, or, on another occasion, swears he will "drink up sise!" and "eat a crocodile." His mother's remarks are instructive. They prove that the alternate fits of exaltation and depression were habitual with him.

This is mere madness;
And thus awhile the fit will work on him;
Anon . . . his silence will set drooping.

It is not only with Hamlet, however, that Dr. Somerville sees the clinical signs of insanity. It is his thesis that the tragedy of Shakespeare consists primarily in the catastrophe of madness. When he destroys his heroes, he first of all drives them insane. He concludes, also, that Shakespeare's observation of the different types of insanity was amazingly precise. "A strictly accurate picture," he remarks, "of a mad leading character is hardly possible in drama." The incoherence of speech must become easily intelligible than we should find it in real life. The madness must appeal to our sympathies; it must not seem casual; it must have dramatic import. Thus the psychology of Shakespeare sometimes conflicts with his sense of drama; and accurate description must go by the board. The tendencies, however, towards one type of insanity or another are always recognizable.

Macbeth, in Dr. Somerville's view, is a "paranoiac," a man who suspects that every man's hand is against him, a man whose life is conditioned by a deep fear which compensates itself by violence and a show of courage.

He was a paranoiac of the worst and most dangerous type, a man suffering from delusions of persecution with homicidal tendencies. He will kill anyone or everyone that his deluded mind causes him to regard as his enemy. He will kill them not because he is particularly fond of killing, but as an act of self-defence, because he believes that they mean to kill him.

He finds the keynote for the tragedy of Othello in the following passage:

Vouch with me, heaven, I therefore beg it not,
To please the palate of my appetite;
Nor to comply with heat (the young affects
In me defunct) and proper satisfaction,
But to be free and bounteous to her mind.

Many things conduce to the failure of Othello's mind when his emotional fortitude is put to the test. There is, of course, the malignant subtlety of Iago; but his insinuations must have found the ground already prepared for them. Othello felt himself a simpler and more primitive mind, inadequate to the refinement and sophistication of the Venetians. To a proud soul like his, taunts on his race and colour were especially biting; he bore with outward calm such an expression as "the sooty bosom of such a thing as thou"; but his rage and humiliation must have grown the more powerful from having no outlet.

Chiefly, however, there was the fact which he reveals in the passage we have quoted. He felt himself far older than Desdemona; he felt that his virility had departed; and it was this which made him react with such explosiveness to suspicion and jealousy. At the moment of catastrophe, Dr. Somerville decides Othello, too, was a victim of paranoia.

There is no doubting the madness of Lear and of Ophelia. There can hardly be a doubt of the madness of Timon of Athens; though here the diagnosis is more difficult. In the first part of the play Timon's wild open-handedness, his pathological generosity, is typical of one form of insanity. His bitterness, irritability, and cynicism in the second part is typical of a quite different form, and the two forms are not found in conjunction or succession. In the whole of the play, however, he exhibits his megalomania. At first he sees himself as distributing fortunes to his friends like a god of wealth.

Methinks I could deal kingdoms to my friends,
And ne'er be weary.

Later, he sees himself as distributing, by a mere act of will, plagues and pestilences to the whole world. In this second state, however, his will is sufficient; he does not turn, like Macbeth, to actual villainies. He satisfies himself with outbursts of coarse cynicism. "The explanation of Timon's inactivity," Dr. Somerville concludes, "is to be found in the inertia of an organically diseased brain."

The doctor conducts an examination, also, into the mental states of Goneril, Brutus, and Lady Macbeth. We gather that if they had been brought before him in the flesh he would have had some difficulty, but in the end he would have decided to certify them all. It is an interesting and most valuable exploration; valuable, especially, because of its concreteness. The similarity of the mental states of many of Shakespeare's characters with actual forms of insanity becomes undeniable.

In one respect, however, Dr. Somerville does not seem to allow enough force to his own doctrine: "We have all a touch of *that same*." He is very successful in revealing that the states of mind in Shakespeare's characters can be compared with the states of mind in insanity. In doing this, is he not only showing that madness is not so unintelligible as it has been thought; and that the structure of the normal mind and the abnormal mind are comparable?

It remains evident that Shakespeare himself was preoccupied with the relation between insanity and more or less normal idiosyncrasies. As Mr. Wyndham Lewis says in his preface, the dementia of Shakespeare's heroes has not been enough remarked upon. There is, moreover, a definite "Shakespearean madness"; and perhaps Dr. Somerville will later on give us, from his experience, an account of the limitations and peculiarities of Shakespeare's own portrayal of insanity.

—T. P's Weekly.

INDIAN VILLAGE CRIMES.

A good many readers, no doubt, will be thrilled by the mysteries which Sir Cecil Walsh unfolds; but probably some readers will wish that he had expanded his excellent introductory essay on the administration of the criminal law of India at the expense of his subsequent stories. The mysteries, as set forth in print are not really very mysterious: in nearly all it is easy enough to see under which thimble the pea lies. Of course it is one thing for Holmes to prove a case to the satisfaction of Watson: quite another thing for an advocate to prove that case to the satisfaction of Judge and jury. Sir Cecil writes from the particularly interesting standpoint of a Judge now free to express a discreet personal opinion on matters concerning which he once demanded the strictest and most impersonal proofs.

Sir Cecil Walsh gained his criminal experience on the Appellate Bench of the Allahabad High Court. He came but little into direct contact with the people, but his insight into the workings of the Indian mind is penetrating and shrewd. Quite rightly he points out that the virile, passionate, half-savage peasants of Northern India view certain crimes in a light entirely different from that of the "civilized" European. Hence the difficulty of obtaining any evidence whatsoever in certain cases. A mutual and mortal hatred springs up between two men: usually a woman is at the bottom of it. The matter is settled by the death of one, and in the opinion of the village satisfactorily settled. It will not benefit the village or anyone in it to hang the survivor. This is not an Indian spirit of lawlessness; it is simply an Indian viewpoint. European Judges, in Sir Cecil's opinion, are apt to take too serious a view of that class of crime defined by the Penal Code as "grievous hurt." The element of brutality is not often present, and to serious hurt suffered in a fair fight the Indian does not attach much importance. On the other hand, the inability or unwillingness of Indian Judges to punish adequately is sometimes startling or even shocking. A man because of some petty annoyance hacked his wife almost in pieces with an axe. By a marvel of surgical skill her life was saved: and the Indian Judge who tried the case considered that a deterrent sentence was necessary. He fined the husband Rs. 50! "His attitude of mind may probably be traced to the philosophy of the Hindu religion, which I have often thought to be responsible for that tendency to regard as imbued with a high sense of justice any Judge who acquits or who punishes with exceptional leniency." Or it may have been due to ignorance! The great prizes of the Indian Bar are found in the arguing of civil appeals, and many an eminent Indian lawyer promoted to the Bench has never handed or even "watched" a criminal trial. Sir C. Sankaran Nair was in his day a first-class criminal advocate and a first-class criminal Judge, but it would be difficult to name another.

Sir Cecil views the rapid "Indianization" of the Bench with some distrust. He alludes to the Indian Judge's lack of criminal experience, and observes that many Indian Judges adopt distrust of the subordinate magistracy, and especially of the police, as a principle of judicial guidance. On the subject of the Indian police Sir

Cecil speaks with refreshing candour. He considers them to be first-rate detectives. Possibly they are not over-scrupulous: but then they are dealing with persons who have no scruples whatsoever: and if they deal with such in a spirit of copy-book morality they may as well retire from business at once. The stock accusation against the police is that of obtaining false confessions by "third degree" methods. Sir Cecil says bluntly, "I have seen very few confessions by men about whose guilt I felt any doubt." Certainly the police often procure confessions by trickery; and a favourite trick is to persuade an obviously guilty person that his accomplices are ready to "squeak," and that his only chance of saving his skin lies in anticipating them. The confession so obtained is not used in Court, but it supplies the clues on which an independent case is built up. An apparent miracle of detective skill had such an undisclosed confession as its starting-point. This trickery, says Sir Cecil, may seem shocking to professional saints, but it is not in the least likely to induce an innocent man to admit participation in a crime of which he is guiltless.

The Indian witness has a bad name for mendacity, and Sir Cecil analyses shrewdly the reasons for this mendacity. If the witness is personally disinterested, his inclination is to say what he thinks the Court would like him to say. If his personal interest is involved, he may speak the truth in general; but he has a passion for inventing corroborative detail. And when he is in a personal difficulty he has an unfortunate belief that the least advisable course to take is the course of speaking the simple truth. Furthermore, the solicitor being practically unknown in ordinary Indian criminal practice, the barrister (*vakil*) takes his instructions hurriedly and by word of mouth from his clients, with the result that he frequently has but the haziest notion of what his own witnesses will depose. Hence the interminable length and irrelevance of Indian trials. And often both prosecution and defence overlook some vitally important point. A man was sentenced to death for murder. He appealed to the High Court—appeal is almost automatic in India—and the High Court found that the Crown and the prisoner's advocate had entirely overlooked a most important witness. This witness was not directly connected with the affair, but his testimony, which could not be doubted, made it clear that the prisoner could not possibly have committed the offence wherewith he was charged.

—*The Times Literary Supplement.*

BATTLE-CRIES IN THE FAR EAST.

Whether the "War of Dispatches" and "battles of propaganda" between China and Russia, calling for scare head-line news stories in the press, mean real war sooner or later, American editors hardly venture to predict from day to day. So much of the warlike news comes from rumor centers like Shanghai, Tokyo, Paris, and London, while only censored dispatches can come from the Russo-Chinese war zones, that readers are warned against reports "more unreliable than usual," and we are reminded that postponement of a declaration of war comports with the

comparatively slow pace of "action" in the Far Orient. Dispatches tell of raids and border fighting: mobilization of the Red and the Chinese armies; assignment of General Bluecher, former Russian military adviser to Nationalist China, to supreme command of the Red Army contingents; Chinese martial law along the Chinese Eastern Railway, and other war measures. In the diplomatic quarrel Russia stands on her demand for restoration of the Chinese Eastern Railway before entering any negotiation to settle the dispute; China claims to be acting only in self-defense in expelling Soviet Russians, proffering negotiation for settlement, and preparing against invasion. Meanwhile, the propaganda warfare not only is directed toward arousing the populace in the disputant nations, but is calculated to affect all interested Powers. Russia gives it the form of picturing a covert plot of the capitalistic Powers fostered by the exiled "white Russians" against the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. China internally appeals for courage to fight against Russian contempt for nationalist "weakness" and externally submits an identical note of explanation and defense to the nations signatory to the Kellogg pact. This note merely recounts the contentions that have been presented in previous issues of THE DIGEST.

A clarifying review of "The Quarrel in Manchuria," we quote from the *New York World*:

"In the conflicting claims of China and Russia in Manchuria two points now stand out with reasonable clarity:

"1. Whatever else may have happened in the obscure negotiations at Manchuli, the Chinese delegates seem definitely to have refused to restore the status quo. The Chinese Minister in Washington says as much. A Reuter dispatch from Nanking quotes a flat statement of the Chinese Foreign Minister to the same effect. 'The Russian associate managers of the Chinese Eastern Railway can not be reinstated before the opening of negotiations.'

"2. Meantime, there seems to be no doubt that Russian troops have advanced across the border from Siberia into Manchuria. We do not need to take the word of the Chinese on this point. The American State Department has made public a cablegram from its Consul in Harbin stating that Soviet troops 'have clashed with Chinese troops on Chinese territory' and that 'the Chinese casualties have been about two hundred so far.'

"It seems apparent from this news that it is the Chinese who have accepted responsibility for refusing to restore the status quo, and so accepted responsibility for the breakdown of negotiations, and the Russians who have accepted responsibility for the theory that the breakdown of negotiations justifies some form of retaliatory action.

"It is one of the great difficulties in the present situation that, once either nation has taken a definite position, prestige seems to forbid it to retrace its steps. This much, however, seems quite clear: it is Russia's position rather than China's

which now constitutes a grave threat to peace. China's refusal to restore the status quo may be unreasonable. To the Russians it may seem outrageous. But whatever else it is, it is not war. At worst, it leaves Russia with precisely the same grievance against China which England and France and the United States and other nations had against Russia when Russia annulled foreign property rights after the 1917 revolution. On the other hand, a movement of troops across an international boundary is a violation of the Pact of Paris and an appeal to military force."

Among papers which criticize China's policy the *Baltimore Sun*, the *New York Times*, and the *Providence News* may be mentioned. In the opinion of the *New York Herald Tribune*, "it is China's move"; while border raids "need not be taken too seriously." What is important is "the attitude of the Governments in Nanking and Mukden":

"We say Nanking and Mukden because it is by no means clear where the decisive control of Chinese policy rests. So far as one can judge, the brusque action which gave rise to the present dispute was the work of a north Manchurian General, acting, apparently, without very specific authority from Mukden or from Nanking. To-day the will to peace appears to fade as the distance from the presumptive arena of conflict grows. North Manchurian farmers, whose one interest is their soy beans want the dispute settled peacefully. Mukden is uncertain what to do. A thousand miles away, in Nanking, the Chinese officials are inclined to bluster a bit. It even seems possible that they are hoping for an open conflict which would lead to intervention by the great Powers. If that be their hope, they are making a desperate gamble.

"Meanwhile, ill-advised as the Russian ultimatum to China was, the evidence seems to indicate that Moscow has shown a rather striking moderation in the face of clear acts of provocation. If the Russians should determine upon a serious invasion of North Manchuria world opinion would undoubtedly turn against them, but short of that, the world knows that China has gone beyond the limits of her treaty rights. It would be more impregnable by positive steps toward a negotiated solution than by what sound at a distance rather like cry-baby appeals for help."

The *Chicago Tribune* believes that "the United States Government can afford to give appropriate support to the Nanking Government in this crisis, for the extension of Bolshevik influence in China would be a misfortune to the civilized world." The *Washington Post* maintains that China's attitude is justifiable. In making this contention it restates editorially the position taken by the Nanking Government in its various notes to the Powers. To quote:

"Many Americans make the mistake of assuming that China's seizure of the Chinese Eastern Railroad was the beginning of the trouble. They overlook the fact that Russian conspiracies on Chinese soil were threatening the destruction of China's independence. No self-respecting nation could tolerate the acts of which

the Russian agents in China were guilty. Protests having proved futile, there was nothing left for China to do but to throw out the criminals and place loyal Chinese in control of the railroad. The refusal of the Chinese Government to restore the conspirators is more than justified. Russia's demand for restoration of the *status quo ante* is equivalent to a demand by bank robbers that they be replaced in possession of a bank as a condition of negotiating for their retirement."

—The Literary Digest.

BERNARD SHAW'S ADVICE TO THE "MODERNIST" ARTIST.

George Bernard Shaw has rushed in where even critics fear to tread. He has written, in a preface for Mrs. Gertrude Harvey's exhibition, that artists should sell their pictures at £5 apiece, and so eliminate the "seedy artists, starving artists, borrowing artists, begging artists, stealing artists, drinking and drugging artists, despairing artists, and dying artists," and become honest "screevers" with a cap full of coppers. These somewhat abusive adjectives could surely apply equally well to business men, actors, musicians, or even dramatists (asserts C. R. W. Nevinston, the "Modernist" painter, in the *Daily Mail*).

This is by no means the first time it has been suggested that an artist should charge nothing for his work, but never before has it been suggested—not even by the skin-flints in charge of national or municipal galleries—that he should sell below cost.

SHAW AND HIS TAILOR.

Even Mr. Bernard Shaw probably pays his tailor more than £5 to hide his sunbathed body. Canvas to-day is more expensive than body. A frame costs roughly £5, and a good frame, as all artists know, can sell even a bad picture; just as a good actor, as Mr. Shaw will know, can often save a bad play.

Shaw once said, "If you can't, you teach." He is now preaching to professionals who know as well as he the business side of their metier.

Nothing horrifies a stockbroker, who is always accustomed to discussing Art, more than going to any Art Club and hearing artists discuss nothing but money, money, money.

In the past one of the qualities most admired by professional writers, dramatists, actors and journalists has been Shaw's ruthlessness in extracting the last farthing of profit for the author, and particularly himself, with regard to royalties for his plays.

Shaw does not seem to realize that a picture is worth exactly what it will get. As a general rule, we artists know that the person who is willing to pay £5 for a picture is ten times more willing to give £50. A person who is prepared only to

give £5 for a picture seldom buys it. In the case of a man he will far more willingly give £5 to an Italian waiter in the hopes of getting a "thank you" from him; and a woman will spend it on stockings.

A CURIOUS FACT.

Mr. Shaw suggests that Woolworth should take over the work of Mrs. Harvey, in which case Mrs. Harvey would have to give up painting and take to coloured prints.*

But every artist knows that, though many original prints can be obtained for under £5, they do not sell as readily as many paintings at ten times the price. It is a curious fact that as soon as a £5 print of McBey, Muirhead Bone, or Camerson is purchased by the public it immediately gets sought after by people who are prepared to pay as much as £100 for it.

Mr. Bernard Shaw is prepared to sacrifice from £500 to £1,000 upon a car which immediately depreciates by some 25 per cent. before it is even properly "run in." And yet he is unwilling to sacrifice £5 upon a picture which, on the other hand, stands a sporting chance of appreciation.

"A VERY OLD MAN."

It must be remembered, of course, that Shaw is now a very old man, though he prides himself on being the reverse, and I think it would be advisable for him to stick to the safety of learning to fly rather than to rush into print and advise young artists on how not to make money.

I do not wish to put him in the apple cart, but if he reduces the prices of his theatre below cost even I would be prepared to sacrifice sixpence for a stall.

I should also like to suggest to Mr. Bernard Shaw that few professional artists have the luck to know a darling like Harriet Cohen, who is so generously prepared to lend their house for an exhibition. Most of us have to give 25 to 33 1/3 per cent. for the exhibiting of our pictures.

SHAW'S RETORT.

Mr. C. R. W. Nevinston shows the most deplorable imbecility (retorted Mr. Shaw after reading the foregoing article.).

It arose from my advice to artists to sell their works at £5 apiece—provided, of course, they cannot get more for them. And 99 out of 100 are not worth that nowadays.

Goodness knows what happens to the hundreds of pictures which are painted every year! Many of them, hung in the Royal Academy, are priced at ridiculous sums like 250 guineas each. Nobody in his senses is going to pay that for them.

Every artist has one or two pictures in his studio which he has never been able to sell. Why does he not get rid of them for whatever they will fetch? Even if it is only tuppence he is that much to the good. If he leaves them they remain a humiliation to him—as well as a total loss.

As a matter of fact Mr. Nevinson is quite an able artist, and yet he can talk the nonsense he does. If he behaves like that, what hope is there for the others?

THE 1½d. TIP.

He talks, for example, of giving £5 tips to Italian waiters in the hopes of getting a "thank you." When I was in Italy I gave a regular tip of three halfpence to the waiter who brought in my macaroni. He was perfectly content. If I had given him £5 he would have sent for the police and had me put under arrest as a madman.

What extraordinary ideas of money Mr. Nevinson has, to be sure! His father certainly brought him up very badly. His arithmetic is unsound and his arguments deplorable. I must really talk to his father about him.

The trouble is that everyone thinks that artists are or ought to be gentlemen. This is idiotic.

Artists, of course, need to know about gentility and how to paint a gentleman. But no really good artist is a gentleman. I am not one myself. I am far beyond that.

PAINTING A TRADE.

Mr. Nevinson ought to realize that painting is a trade. Let him look at the magnificent fresco in the Manchester Town Hall by Madox Brown. They were ordered and paid for at so much a foot. The authorities had told him that a Belgian firm had agreed to it at so much a foot. Madox Brown sensibly agreed to do it himself.

Mind you, I entirely agree with the point Mr. Nevinson makes about expensive theatre seats. I should like the world to know that nothing written by Shakespeare or his successor, myself—and my plays are much more entertaining—is worth more than five shillings for one night's entertainment. If I were to build a theatre I should erect a large one with hundreds of cheap seats.

When I was in Poland at the production of "The Apple Cart" the highest price for the best seats was 4s. Naturally everyone rushed to see it.

In London they charge enormous sums for the stalls and the only people who can afford them are idiots—naturally. No wonder the seats are empty or "paper," and, serious plays do not last very long.

Doubtless, though, if I made Mr. Nevinson my manager he would charge five guineas and no one would go at all. I myself have always believed in value for money.

Mr. Nevinson accuses me of extracting the last farthing from my publishers. The truth is that my publishers keep on asking why I insist on having, let us say three plays and two long prefaces put together into one volume instead of having them printed in five.

My answer is that I think books ought to be sold by the pound exactly as they are sold by his Majesty's Stationery office.

A GREAT RELIEF.

I remember before the war telling the manager of a London theatre that a play of mine which he wished to put on could not draw more than £800 a week, although the overhead charges were £1,600 a week. The manager still said he wanted to put it in as he had nothing else ready and he would lose just as much or more if the theatre were empty. This just shows that I practise what I preach.

Finally, Mr. Nevinson says I am very old. Apart from the fact that if we walked down Bond-street together people would probably take me for his son, I can only say this is a relief from the eternal greeting. "Oh, how young you are looking, Mr. Shaw." It is really quite a strain living up to that sort of thing. If anyone said loudly in my hearing, "It is high time that decrepit old man were put in his grave," I really believe I should embrace him. As it is, in the church near my house in the country stands the tombstone of a woman bearing an inscription lamenting her short stay on this earth. Indeed, nobody ever seems to die there.

—The Statesman.

PHILOSOPHER'S VIEW OF MARRIAGE.

PARASITE WOMEN.

Many men to-day shrink from matrimony because of the way in which childless and idle wives parade their husbands in public, extract the utmost fruit from their work, and give nothing in return.

This startling thesis is advanced by Dr. Will Durant, an American philosopher, in *The Mansions of Philosophy*, a book which deals with modern social problems in a frank and provocative manner.

Dr. Durant roams through all popular philosophies in 700 pages. One of the favourite butts of his cynical observation is the "parasite woman who is idle in hand, head and heart." He contends that she is bringing marriage into disrepute.

"If women wait to-day as never before to have marriage offered them," he writes, "it is in large measure the fault of this parasitic class. For such a woman offers to her husband very little that he might not just as well secure by short-term investments properly diversified."

BACHELORS' VIEW.

"Under these circumstances, marriage, to a critical bachelor, appears not as the fulfilling goal of a mature man, but as a civilizing and long-drawn-out rendition of a theme dear to Nature in the insect world, where the female eats the male, as likely as not, while he is absorbed in the entanglements of love.

"No wonder that men, seeing the utter unproductiveness of these ladies of the afternoon, take to their heels at the thought of the golden bonds of matrimony. A million women waste away in loneliness because a million wives, having caught their prey, devour it so publicly that all hunted souls retreat into a baccalaureate solitude. Here, and not in the bobbed hair or shortened skirts of active youth, lies the immoral monstrosity of our time."

He describes the breakdown of marriage:—

"If they are poor, the man regrets the burdens he has assumed. If they are rich quarrels about money begin as soon as the delirium of love subsides. If they are modern, they play at equality; and a tug of war ensues till one or the other has established an irritating mastery.

FRIENDS AND JEALOUSY.

"If the woman works, she resents her continued slavery; if she is idle, time hangs heavy on her hands until Satan finds something for them to do. If either has friends, the other is jealous of them; if neither has friends, the two are forced back upon themselves into an inescapable intimacy too monotonous to be borne.

"The woman finds herself changed from a goddess into a cook unless, perchance, she has found one of those gentle husbands who change a cook into a goddess. She observes that his attentions become less frequent and thoughtful, that he makes love, if at all, with absent-minded punctuality. He lacks the imagination to see his wife as a stranger sees her, or to see a stranger's wife as she will appear at nine o'clock the next morning. Add childlessness or idleness on the part of the woman and she, too, begins to hunger for some unfamiliar face or scene that may restore the charming flatteries of desire."

"Year by year marriage comes later separation earlier, and fidelity finds few so simple as to do it honour. Soon no man will go down the hill of life with a woman who has climbed it with him."

WHEN LOVE WITHERS.

On children: "It is remarkable how marriage withers when children stay away, and how it blossoms when they come. The woman finds in the midst of turmoil, trouble, worry, and pain a strange content that is like a quiet ecstasy; never in her idleness and luxury was she as happy as in these tasks and obligations that develop and complete her even while seeming to sacrifice her to the race. And the man, looking at her, falls in love with her anew; this is another woman than before with new resources and abilities."

Middle age, says the author, begins with marriage—"A married man is already five years older the next day, and a married woman, too; work and responsibility replace care-free play, passion surrenders to the limitations of social order, and poetry yields to prose."

Mr. Durant relents at times. "Yet with all her ailments," he says, "the woman of our time remains sufficiently beautiful to make philosophers grow dizzy as she passes by. Once a woman of forty was old, decrepit, and trustworthy; to-day there is nothing so dangerous."

THE WORLD OF SCIENCE.

A MODERN VIEW OF EVOLUTION.

Professor D. M. S. Watson, F.R.S., in his recent presidential address to the Zoological Section of the British Association, at Johannesburg, gave his audience of biologists ample grounds for controversy and discussion. It is in the nature of man to find—or, if he cannot find, invent—an explanation for every phenomenon he meets. The theory of evolution is one of his greatest efforts, and it is justified since no better theory has been evolved to date.

It squares with all the facts as at present known, but Professor Watson points out that, generally accepted as are the theories of Darwin or Lamarck, they still stand on a none-too-secure basis. The theory of evolution rests chiefly on the assumption that every animal has become adapted to its way of life. If perfectly adapted, it thrives and marches on to conquer world after world wherein to find scope for its ever-increasing activities. If imperfectly adapted, it either has to change its way of life or go to the wall.

SOME COMMONPLACES.

These are the commonplaces of the older school of evolution (declares E. G. Boulenger, Director of the London Zoological Society's Aquarium, in the *Daily Telegraph*). Professor Watson, however, insists that such assumptions do not satisfy the younger school whose opportunities for investigation and amassing data are infinitely greater than those enjoyed by the great pioneers. Darwin's contemporary supporters were unanimous in declaring that if an animal was a burrower it developed big claws and a long, smooth-coated body. It is now suggested, however that this is putting the cart before the horse. The animal became a burrower because it found that its general form made burrowing the easiest way to obtain food with the minimum of effort and danger. Its claws and coat, or scales, were not necessarily the outcome of persistent burrowing.

The generally accepted theories, according to Professor Watson, are especially to be avoided in the realms of paleontology—a science the aim of which is faithfully

to reconstruct the past. Too often a naturalist compares the bones of an extinct beast assumes that the one was a forerunner with its nearest living parallel and of the other, or at least had a similar way of life.

TEETH AS CLUES.

Teeth are the favourite clues of the scientific Sherlock Holmes, and from a single tooth he will at times conjure up an entire animal, for the tooth must adapt itself to dealing with the food selected by the feeder. Professor Watson cites the cat and the horse as instances which justify this assumption. The duck-bill platypus is always described as feeding on pond snails, mussels, and the horny, wrinkled plates clothing its jaws certainly seem to point to such a diet. Yet the few duck moles that have been subjected to post-mortem examination contained only insect remains.

Professor Watson virtually questions the whole theory of natural selection, as it at present rests on a basis of adaptation. "I do not know a single case in which it has been shown that the difference which separates two races of a mammalian species from one another has the slightest adaptive significance," he said in his address, "and there is no branch of zoology in which assumption has played a greater, or evidence a less, part than in the study of such presumed adaptations."

—The Statesman.

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BOOK REVIEWS.

PRE-ARYAN TAMIL CULTURE. By Prof. P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar, M.A., (Reader in Indian History, Madras University. Price Rs. 2.).

IT is now more than 50 years ago that the late Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai first turned the sod of the virgin soil of the rich literature of the early Tamils in his classical work on 'The Tamils eighteen hundred years ago', now out of print. Since its publication many of the so-called Sangam Works on which he largely based his material have seen the light of day and have been excellently edited, and the researches of modern scholars have made that book epoch-making, though it was, when it had been first published, somewhat antiquated. A little more than a quarter of a century ago, an attempt was made to resuscitate Dravidian Culture and to restore it to its proper place in the History of Indian Civilization by the 'Tamilian Antiquary', but it proved to be a very short-lived one. As has been observed by the late Professor Sundaram Pillai, 'India South of the Vindhya, or Peninsular India still continues to be the India proper. It is here that the bulk of the people continue to retain distinctly their Pre-Aryan features, their Pre-Aryan languages and their Pre-Aryan social institutions. . . . It is therefore impossible to exaggerate the value of any undertaking which endeavours in any direction to expand our knowledge of the ancient Dravidian civilization, Dravidian culture and Dravidian religion. . . . The scientific historian of India

(Lectures delivered under the auspices of the Madras University in 1926).

therefore ought to begin his study with the basin of the Krishna and the Kaveri and the Vaigai, rather than with the Gangetic plain, as it has been now long, too long, the fashion.'

It was therefore an excellent idea of Professor P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar, when he had been invited in 1926 to deliver a course of lectures under the auspices of the Madras University, even prior to his appointment as Reader therein to have chosen the theme of Pre-Aryan Tamil culture for fuller and further investigation in the wake of recent researches. None came better equipped for the high task than Mr. Iyengar, for in his 'Age of the Mantras' (1912) he has skilfully reconstructed from the hymns of the Vedas the life led by the Aryans in the Vedic epoch (Circa 3000 B.C.). In 1925 he was chosen to deliver the Sir Subrahmanyam Lecture on 'The stone age of India' in which he has given us a detailed picture of the far-off paleolithic and neolithic ages (10,000 B.C. to 5000 B.C.). In the book before us, he tries to supply the connecting link and to bridge the interval in the panorama of early Indian Civilization between his 'Stone age' on one side and the 'Age of the Mantras'—an advanced Iron age—on the other. He tries to reconstruct to us a vivid picture of the life of the Tamils 5000 years ago, or 3000 B.C. before the spread of the Aryan fire cult.

For such reconstruction he relies mainly on three lines of evidence. His first line of evidence is the catalogue of Pre-historic antiquities, as revealed in the excavations of Mohenjo Daro and Harappa in the Indus Valley, and at Adichanallur in Tinnevely, and Annavasal in Pudukkotta. His second line of evidence is the study of words peculiar to Tamil (*Thani Tamil Moligal*)—symbol names (*Idukurippeyargal*) as opposed to causal ones (*Karanappeyargal*) from a skilful collocation of which he thinks it is quite possible to recover their culture. It is this second line of evidence that is indented on in this book more than others. His third line of evidence is the so-called Sangam literature, such as *Ahananuru*, *Purananuru*, *Narrinai*, *Kuruntogai*, *Kalittogai*, *Silappadhikaram*, *Manimekhalai* etc. Though the collection of this literature has been assigned variously by scholars to the different centuries of the early Christian era, yet he thinks that

they contain at least partial echoes of the far off ages as their vocabulary shows very slight admixture of Sanskrit and other words and is almost free in subject matter and literary form from the influence of Sanskrit. He rightly cautions us at the same time that this evidence must be pressed into service very warily, only when we are sure that there has been an unbroken continuation of the earlier epochs, and that the customs and manners referred to therein are not later developments. He thinks that by a careful and judicious selection of words from the Sangam classics, they may be made to serve as a mirror of the bygone ages. *Tolkappiyam*, especially the *Poruladhikaram* of Circa 2nd century B.C. of which our author has made a special study is also fruitful for this purpose. Skilfully utilizing the various sources of information and by a judicious selection of material, Professor Iyengar, with his penetrating insight, has admirably succeeded in nicely focussing the scattered rays of light, and has transported us, as we study the book, to the actual life led by the Tamils 5000 years ago. He has given us an unforgettable picture of 'how the Tamils ate and drank, how they dressed and decorated themselves, how they sang and danced, how they lived and loved, how they worshipped their Gods, and tried to solve the mystery of human existence.' It is impossible to dwell in the columns of a review on the very many interesting side-lights in which the book abounds.

A large portion of the work is naturally devoted to an elaborate, but scientific exposition, of the unique feature and significance of the basic fundamental of the Tamil Culture, mainly the division of the earth into five natural regions indicating the five stages of the evolution of human culture namely, Kurunji (Hill region) with the hunting stage, Palai (desert region) with the nomadic stage, Mullai, (forest region) with the pastoral stage, Marudam (river valley) with the agricultural stage, Neydal (the littoral region) with the marine stage. The recognition of the different kinds of life led by the different classes of men in the five regions, the Professor is the first to point out, is a wonderful anticipation made several millenniums ago by the Tamils of the very modern science of Anthro-geography, which tells us that racial characteristics are the results of the action of the environment or *milieu*

on the people around. Modern anthropologists—the Professor shows in his recent *Magnum Opus*—have noted only three great regions as the three great areas of characterization of the three different kinds of human culture, namely the Mediterranean, the Alpine and the Nordic. The Mediterranean culture, to use Tamil terms, is that of Neydal (Coast), the Alpine that of Kurunji (Mountain), and the Nordic that of Mullai (Forest). The most important culture—that of Maradam or agriculture—was neglected in this classification, because Western Europe having become thoroughly industrialized in the 19th century, its influence on European people of ancient days has become masked. There is no desert also in Europe and so the Palai has received scant attention. Mr. Iyengar then speculates on the very interesting question as to where this evolution of human culture might have first taken place, whether it spread from South India to far-off places or *vice versa*. Though he considers that the problem is almost insoluble at present, he rightly thinks that it is more probable that nature produced similar cultures simultaneously in different places where the same geographical causes were at work, though he would fain have it in his South Indian patriotic fervour that it is just possible, that nature might have reproduced on a vaster scale after having successfully experimented on the same on a smaller scale in the laboratory of South India.

As early as 1912 Mr. Iyengar contributed an article to the Indian Antiquary on 'The myth of the Aryan invasion of India', which though arresting, did not, unfortunately sufficiently attract the attention of scholars until the other day. In the 19th century the languages of India have been roughly classified into two large groups, the Indo-Germanic and the Dravidian, and on this philological basis the speakers of those tongues were also divided into two races the Aryan and the Dravidian. An Aryan race was credited with the extirpation of the original inhabitants of Northern India and the theory of an Aryan invasion of India was first popularized by Max Muller and others in the first half of the 19th century. Owing to the dominance of the world by the Aryans, and the flush of enthusiasm for them, the theory soon tended to become almost an article of creed with every student of Indian History.

Speculation became rife also as to the original home of the Aryans, and several scholars with their predilections located it in Central Asia, the Arctic region, the Baltic sea, the Balkan peninsula and the Hungarian plain and their original home was shifted to and fro, like a shuttlecock or like pawns on a chess board. Risley attempted in the last years of the 19th century to buttress this theory with an anthropometric foundation and an elaborate scheme of cephalic and nasal index. Some support was lent to such theories by the hymns of the Rigveda itself for expressions like Krishna (black), Anasa (variously interpreted as noseless, mouthless or speechless) and Mridhvacha (of hostile speech) were applied to the Dasyus therein. Mr. Iyengar was the first to be sceptical about the validity of this age-long theory of the invasion of India by the Aryans from outside. He tells us how it is straining too far to base such large theories on solitary expressions like Anasa, Krishna and Mridhvacha and points out the dubious nature of the ethnological and anthropometric classification of the people of India into the Aryan and Dravidian. It required great scientific hardihood, he tells us, to maintain that the nose of the Punjabi should have remained unaffected in spite of the welter of races in the north-west. He reminds us that language is no sure index to the race of a people and points out that the division of languages into Sanskrit and Dravidian is a division without difference except that the North Indian dialects have come much more under the influence of Sanskrit than those of South India. All the spoken languages of India, he informs us, are dialects of one family, not the Indo-Germanic, but the Pan-Indian. Their fundamental grammatical structure is very much the same, so much so that it is possible to translate one of these languages into any other by the simple process of substitution of one word for another. In the Rigveda the Aryans never speak of themselves as invaders from outside. There is no trace therein of the Aryans settling in a new land or importing geographical or personal names from any distant home. There is no mention there of any frontier beyond the Hindukush or any river beyond the Kabul. Vedic culture is so redolent of the Indian soil and of the Indian atmosphere, that it is difficult to conceive the idea of a far-off Non-Indian origin of their culture. Anthropologists say to-day

that all the races of the world are more or less mixed ones and there never was a distinctive Aryan race. The term Aryan has therefore, according to them, no racial significance whatever. The benefit of the theory of a conquering Aryan race has been thrown by them to the limbo of forgotten things, but curiously enough it has struck only to ancient Indian History. Following the lead of the anthropologists, he boldly assails for the first time the theory and tries to prick the bubble of the so-called Aryan invasion of India. The recent excavations of Mohenjo Daro and Harappa have but strengthened his scepticism.

In the book before us he goes one step further and suggests for the first time that the difference between the Aryan and the Dasyu is not a difference in culture, but only a difference in cult. The Aryans gave offerings to their Gods through fire (Agni) the mouth of the Gods and adopted the fire cult, and the Dasyus did the same without the medium of fire and they followed the fireless (Anagni) cult. Like Jainism and Buddhism of later days, the fire cult of the Aryans must have been only an evolution from within viz. the fireless cult of the Dasyus and the Aryanization of India was not a catastrophic inroad of the south from the north, but a very slow process of infiltration. Even the fourfold Aryan division of the people into *varnas* was neither regional nor social nor racial nor professional, but one correlated to the fire cult with its gorgeous sacrifices. The Brahman was to perform the sacrifice, the Kshatriya was to protect it, the Vaisya was to work for it and the Sudra was to serve the rest. The fire cult with its sacrifices and cremation instead of burial, soon succeeded in swamping in Northern India the fireless cult of the Dasyus, the earlier *autochthones* of the whole of India, but it had lost its vitality or individuality in that very process of expansion and slow infiltration before it attempted to do the same thing in Southern India about 1000 B.C. The *Tolkappiyam* Circa 2nd century B.C. belongs to a period when Aryan influence had largely penetrated South India. Its Brahmin author tries in vain to impose the Aryan Canon law on the Tamils and to equate the Tamil customs to the Aryan ones. The genius of Tamil is marked by scientific temperament. Concrete ideas of images appeal to the Tamil people. Their worship is mainly

agamic. The genius of Sanskrit is marked by philosophical temperament; it revels in abstractions which are the life breath of philosophy. The metres and rules of Tamil Grammar, such as Ahaval, Venba, Vanjippa, Kalippa are radically different from Vaitati, Anushtub, Gayatri and other Sanskrit meters. The *varna* classification being a purely Aryan one had no application whatsoever to the Dravidian. The truth of this can even now be very easily verified by questioning an ordinary illiterate Tamilian. If we ask him to which of the four *varnas* he belongs he will probably stare at you with a vacant look, but if you ask him what his caste is he will at once reply that he is a Nayakkan or Vellalan showing thereby that the caste system among the Dravidians was a local one based purely on occupation and had no reference whatever to the four *varnas* of the Aryans based on fire cult. The social polity of the Aryan was the product of a religious aristocracy or priestly oligarchy; that of the Dravida a social democracy. That is why the attempt of *Tolkappiyanar* to weld the two cults, failed, for they could not very well mix up with each other and could blend only as little as oil and water. It led only to the confusion of castes and the opposition between the Aryan and the Dravidian, the Brahmin and the Non-brahmin in Southern India. The Aryanization has gone very far even in South India that it is perhaps difficult to distinguish the native warp from the foreign woof. Tamil names of articles produced only in South India such as pepper and pearls must have been borrowed by Sanskrit from Tamil. It is ludicrous to think that the Tamils were drinking water, tasting pepper, wearing pearls etc, without names for those objects and deferred naming them till Sanskrit speakers presented them with names for them. There is also the possibility of North India borrowing the Gods of South India. Indiran or Murugan is a Tamil God independent of the Aryan Indra or Subramanyam. The *rishis* who moulded the Vedic cult must have utilized the pre-existing Dasyu Gods though they might have idealised them before they adopted them into their pantheon. The Tamil marriage custom of tying Tali—a relic perhaps of the tiger claws of the hunting stage, has persisted in the South alongside of Panigrahanam or the taking of the bride's hand in wedlock or going seven steps round the fire (Saptapati), pure or diluted

Aryan customs. The theory that the difference between the Aryan and the Dasyu is one of cult and not of culture propounded by Mr. Iyengar for the first time is a very fascinating and a tantalising one but requires to be far more fully investigated from several points of view—philological, ethnological, anthropological and archaeological—by a group of scholars before the last word can be said on it. We are glad that the question has been taken up recently for serious consideration and investigation in the pages of the Indian Historical Quarterly (Vide Mr. J. Pathi's article and the rejoinders thereon by Messrs. E. J. Thomas and C. V. Vaidya in the last two issues of that Journal).

The book before us bids fair to become at least as epoch making in our own century as that of Kanakasabhai Pillai in the previous one. It is a rigid scientific exposition and a pioneer attempt to disentangle the tangled skein of early South Indian History. May we hope that scholars foreign as well as Indian, the former with all the limitations that their scholarship is heir to, and the latter with their inherited prejudices and preconceived notions, will shake off the shackles of current notions and face the problem of the relationship of the Aryan and the Dasyu with the requisite calmness, impartiality of outlook and independence of thought!

MADRAS.

A. V. VENKATARAMA AYYAR.

POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF RABINDRANATH. By Mr. Sochin Sen M.A., B.L. Asher & Co., Calcutta.

The admirers of the poet, accustomed to his plays and poems, his novels and stories may perhaps look with some surprise at the appearance of the volume like the one under review. The label of political philosophy to the ideas of a great creative artist may be regarded as highly unsuitable. That would be so, if the term political philosophy is understood in its very narrow significance as meaning nothing else than a particular theory of the state and its affairs. Over and above the theory and the technique of statecraft, there is a large volume of formative ideas, which serves, as it were, the fundamental assumptions upon which the creeds and the

practice of politics rest. It is there that teachers like the poet who see clearly and who see far have distinct contribution to make. The poet, it is true, cannot be brought down under any one of the well recognized political labels either in India or in the world at large. But on some of the stirring things of the day such as the Indo-British relation, the Hindu Muslim question, the capital versus the labour problem, the relations of the sexes and the non-co-operation movement, the poet has expressed himself. And such attempts as are made to collate and expound those views as the one made by Mr. Sochin Sen in the course of this very interesting and readable volume are to be greatly welcomed.

C. S.

REVIEWS REVIEWED.

FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW (October.)

Under the title *Shall we recognize Russia?* two articles one from the conservative and the other from the labour standpoint are published. Mr. A. Duff Cooper who writes from the conservative standpoint blames both the parties and argues for an intelligent and firm attitude towards Russia and the resumption of diplomatic and commercial relations with her. Mr. Charles Rodern Buxton, a labour member of Parliament writes in terms of wholehearted approval of the policy of making friends with Russia.

"When I think of some of the fantastic travesties of Russia, which are conveyed to the unfortunate British Public I feel that the thing is at once dreadful, and too comic, for one to handle. One can only hope against hope that another shift may some day be raised up amongst us, and that the lightning shafts of satire may pierce and dissipate the poisoned mist that surrounds us. "Bolshevism vs. Anti-Bolshevism" is a great controversy, a political study of first rate importance, but the political system now prevailing in Russia, the forms of Government in which for the time being one side of Russia is expressed—these are not Russia; these people are not the Russian people; they are not the Russian civilization. Politics is not the whole life. Most people do not think of Politics all day long. Most Russians spend at least 9 hours out of every 10 in occupations and thoughts which have nothing whatever to do with politics. The tragedy is that the attack on Bolshevism becomes an attack on the Russian people, and the net result is a fatal growth of international misunderstanding.

Whether Bolshevism is good or bad, whether the troubles which now face us are the Russian Government's fault or the British Government's fault, certain things stand unaltered. The Russians are a great people and a singularly lovable people—a people, by the way, to whom the word foreigner has a positively agreeable sound, and is not used in a disparaging sense. Their mere numbers, in any case, must give them a position of wide and permeating influence in the world. Whatever their form of government, they are bound to play a great part in the moulding of its destinies. Their position, extending over half the Eurasian continent; their contacts

REVIEWS REVIEWED.

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with Eastern Europe, with the Near East, with the far East; their immeasurable material resources, their influence over the currents of world trade; their psychological effect upon the minds primarily of the whole slave world, but also of the nationalities surrounding or incorporated in their state system; their power to influence the whole position they have held in past history; their fertility as a source of ideas and artistic achievement, the great contribution they have got to make to the common stock of civilization—all these things, even if they rule out the Revolution and its problems, make it quite impossible to leave Russia out of account, to frame our general system of international comity without regard to her. We can shut our eyes to Russia; we can cultivate ignorance about her state; we can paint a fancy picture of her conditions. But in doing so we are discrediting, not Russia, but ourselves to the position of the Ostrich who hides his head in the sand."

Mr. Frank Swinnerton writes an extremely interesting article on *Why Books are published*. Other articles of importance are *Trade Unionism: 1929 and after* by W. F. Watson and *Dostoevsky and a Russian Minx* by Mr. E. H. Carr.

THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW (October.)

Professro A.J. Toynbee, that wellknown writer on the problems of the East Europe writes on *Turkey revisited*:

"The first question is: Has the flame which I saw burning in 1922 found enough fuel to keep alight? My conviction after a second visit is that it has not only kept alight but is no longer in danger of extinction. At Angora I felt that the heroic spirit which carried Mustafa Kemal Pasha and his companions through to victory against immense odds in the war of 1920—2 is still as strong as ever it was, though now it is being directed to other tasks. If this impression (and of course it is only a superficial impression) is right it is a very important fact; for hitherto the Turk has been known as a man of war—capable of demonic outbursts of energy in a crisis but apparently incapable of transmuting that energy into sustained work in time of peace. Now if five years after the coming into force of Lausanne Treaty, the Turks are steadily improving their water supply, planting trees, building houses, and maintaining and extending their Railways, this surely means that they have undergone a profound and perhaps a lasting spiritual change.

Other articles of note are *The Hague Conference and after* by Gisley Huddleston and Hugh Spender, *The Proposed Union of Churches in South India* by Dr. E. J. Palmer. Of purely literary interest is Dr. C. W. Herford's article on *Goethe and Wordsworth*.

THE ENGLISH REVIEW, (October.)

Lord Sydenham of Combe writes in his characteristic reactionary and alarmist way on the *Indian Problems*. *The Greek*

Republic by Arther E. E. Reade and *the Task of the opposition*, by Robert Boothly M. P. repay perusal.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY (October, 1929.)

Mr. Arthur Davies, the retired Principal of the Madras Law College leads off the number with his article on 'Swaraj' for India, and the league of Nations wherein he argues that as a stroke of far seeing statesmanship Britain might refer the entire political problem of India for the League of Nations to arbitrate.

Another aspect of voting Reform by Mr. N. W. Clayton and *Air Pollution* by Mr. John B. C. Kersha are of interest.



THE NEW ERA

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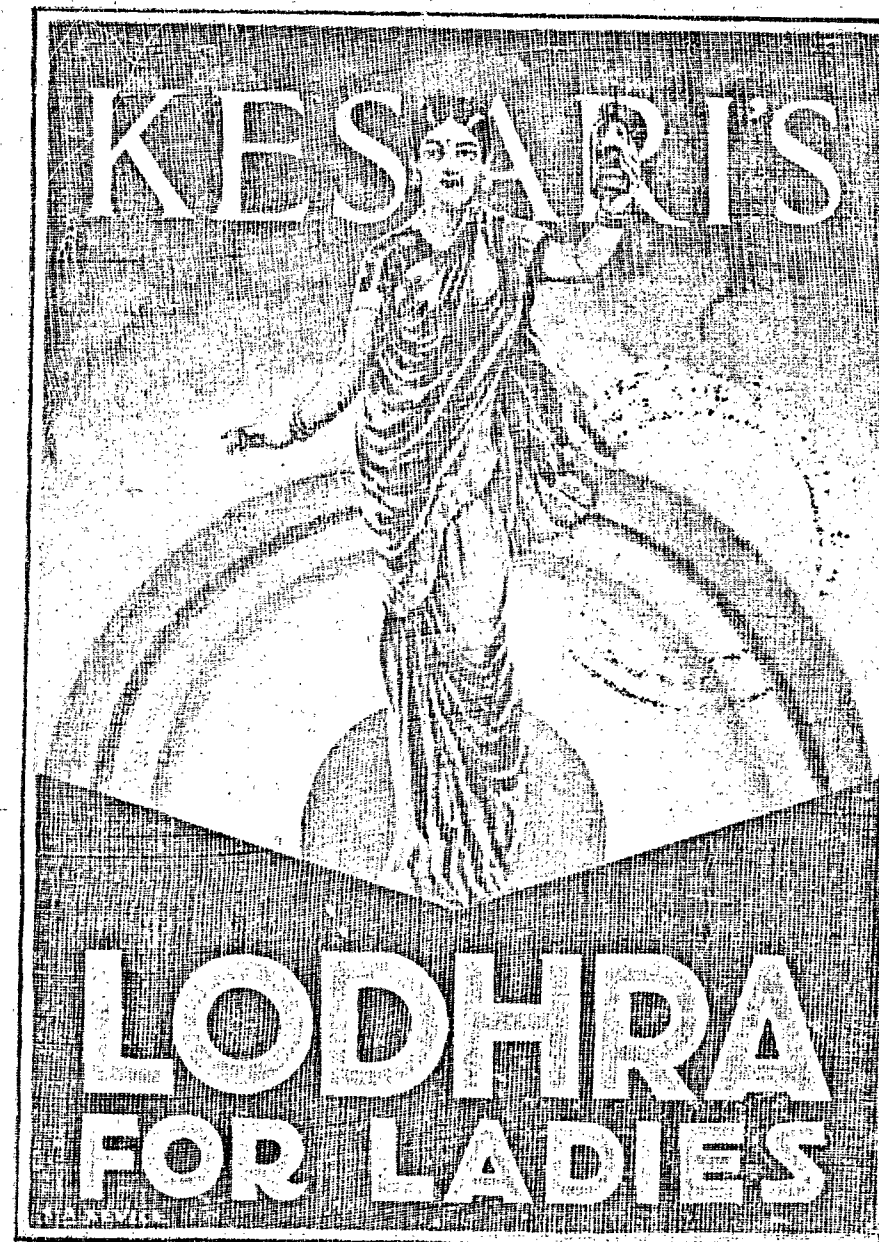
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contains an article on "India and Modern Thought" from the
pen of the late Lord Haldane.

—THE STAR REVIEW, ENGLAND.

"The recently established monthly review, *The New Era*,
published in Madras, contains an article on "The Divine in
Man" by John William Graham, and one on "Ram Mohan Roy
and Christian Missions" by Nalin C. Ganguly. The magazine
is the result of an effort by Indian Professors, including Professor
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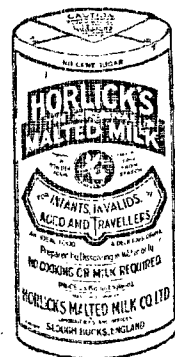
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AMRUTANJAN

When you suffer from bodily pains such as

HEADACHE

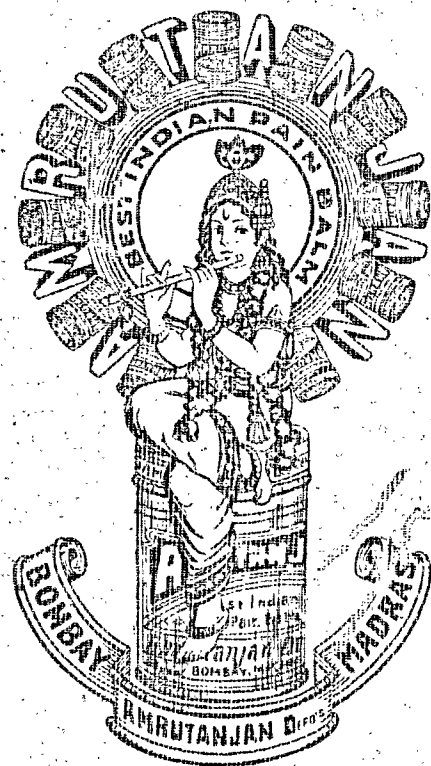
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"Of man's first disobedience, and the fruit
Of that forbidden tree whose mortal taste
Brought death into the World, and all our woe
Of Aches and Pains . . . till AMRUTANJAN
Restore us, and Regain the Blissful seat,
Sing, Heavenly Muse."

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