

TRIVENI

A JOURNAL OF THE INDIAN RENAISSANCE

253

EDITED BY
K. RAMAKOTISWARA RAO

*Adore enthusiasm, the dreams of the virgin soul,
and the visions of early youth, for they are a
perfume of Paradise which the soul retains in
issuing from the hands of its Creator.*

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TRIVENI

'Triveni' is devoted to Art, Literature and History. Its main function is to interpret the Indian Renaissance in its manifold aspects. Barring isolated attempts, the Renaissance spirit as reflected in Andhra, Dravida, Vanga, Karnataka, Kerala, Maharashtra and other sub-national units, has not been carefully studied and presented to a wider public. 'Triveni' endeavours to discharge this duty.

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OUR LIFE-SUBSCRIBERS

The permanent life-subscription for *Triveni* is Rs. 100/-. The following is the further list of those who have enlisted themselves since January last. The Editor's grateful thanks are due to all life-subscribers. We trust more will come in.

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sewage farm, a purifying fire and the *bhramara-keetaka* work (it is believed that *bhramara*, the bee, takes hold of an insect and works it into its own being), even as the ocean, that swallows up these rivers, does.

I wish your magazine strives to attain this end; for, our race, despite the terrific gale of modernisation, is yet, consciously or unconsciously, sticking to its traditional aspiration to look out for a book that endures through time. '*Khilamu Gakundunadi Dhatri Kritiya Gana*', was the decision of Allasani Peddana, one of the greatest of Telugu poets. The only enduring thing in the world is a *Kriti*, literally a work of Art, of course, meaning in the passage a work composed of sound, a literary work.

Even on the summit of modernism in Europe, the tendency is to produce works of enduring value, print them on hand-made paper and preserve them for ever. So it is not an unpatented ideal and is worth our while to pursue.

But the question is, "can we aim at that?" But you will perhaps say we cannot and therefore we may not; granting, however, that we ought to. I know we cannot, with so many shackles on our spirit. But doing a thing that is not this, does it not still further corrupt our taste and make us so much more weak for the coming battle of freedom? So you will agree with me, we shall do our best, and leave the rest to the Maker of things.

I am happy to note that you have pitched your ideal in a higher key. I have my own fears about journalistic effort in our country, much more about magazines, and more so of those of an idealistic bent, and still more so in Andhra. And this is the first time that an English journal of the sort has appeared in Andhra. It requires the support and blessings of all.

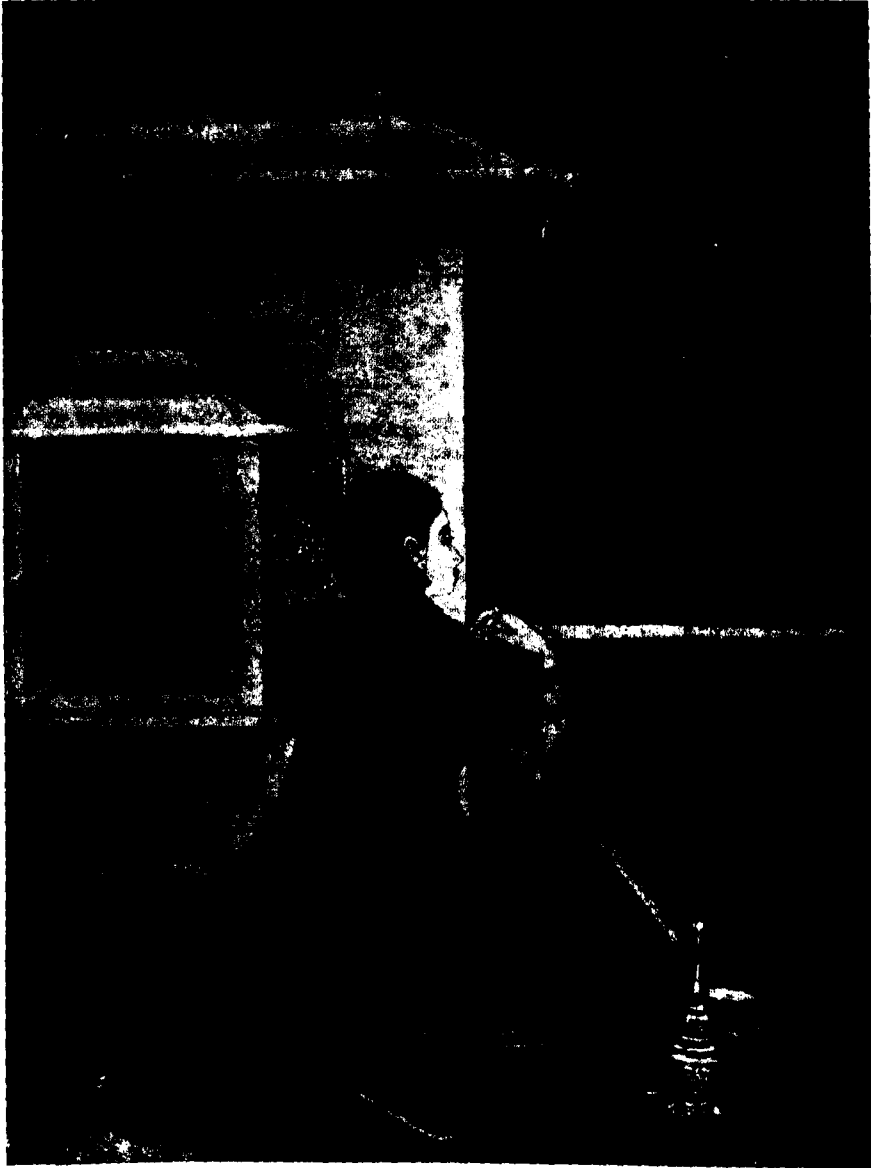
I do not know whether I can hope to live: my all-round weakness denies the privilege of supporting it, but my most heart-felt blessings are on 'Triveni'. May it justify its name!

Mahatma Gandhi: As Gujarati Man of Letters

BY BIJAYA GOPALA REDDY

There are certain aspects of Mahatma Gandhi's greatness, which are not known to the world at large. They concern primarily his own province of Gujarat and his mother-tongue, Gujarati. He loves them passionately, like any other son or daughter of Gujarat. Had Gandhiji not appeared on the literary firmament of Gujarat, Gujarati would have been much the poorer today. Gujarati was destined to be reformed and enriched at the hands of this great man. No student of contemporary Indian literature can possibly ignore his services to a tongue spoken by ten million souls in Western India.

People in general judge of a man's worth by his achievements in the sphere which is supremely his own, though his achievements in other spheres may be by no means inconsiderable. A Sanskrit scholar who has specialised in grammar is known only as a '*Vaiyakarani*', even if he happens to be well-versed in literature and philosophy. The world admires Tagore as a Poet who has scaled heights and dived into depths undreamt of before. But besides being a short-story writer, a fine essayist, a splendid letter-writer, dramatist and actor, Tagore is one of the best song-composers of India. His contribution to the world of music is very extensive and of a very high order. Sri Thyagaraja of South India, Kabeer, Meerabai, and Rabindranath stand on a level with one another. In softness of expression and depth of feeling, Tagore perhaps excels them all. But how many outside the intelligentsia of Bengal know of him as a hymnologist? The poet Rabindranath has eclipsed Rabindranath, the musician,



Andhraratna on 'Triveni'

[This brilliant note was written by Adhraratna Gopalakrishnaiya a few days before his death, and was meant for the Editor, 'Triveni'. But he passed away and the note was not communicated to the Editor. Sjt. G. V. Subba Rao, Secretary of the 'Andhra Vidyapitha Goshti', found this among the papers of the illustrious deceased and very kindly sent it on to the Editor last month. It will appear along with much other valuable material in the collected edition of the Andhraratna's writings, to be published shortly by the 'Goshti'. The Editor is deeply grateful to the 'Goshti' and its devoted Secretary for their courteous permission to print this note in advance in 'Triveni'.]

The confluence of the three rivers, 'Triveni-Sangam', is the point of Eternity. 'Gnana', the intellectual path—the pursuit of Truth, which is one of the three theoretic forms of Reality—this is 'Sarasvati' and it flows as *antar vahini*, unseen and below the surface; 'Karma' the ethical or moral path,—the pursuit of the Good—this is 'Ganga', the Ganges; 'Bhakti' or 'Rasa',—the aesthetic or devotional path—this is 'Jamuna' or 'Yamuna', the pursuit of the Beautiful; these three meet and that is the point of Eternity. To justify the name, real values of Life and Eternity are to be employed in the discussion of problems in the magazine.

The ideal of a magazine is this: to allow in its pages the play of the three methods of pursuit to reach Reality. There are only a few of this sort in Europe. The many others have—some exhibitions style, some carnivals style, and most the crowded dusty Indian bazaar style. Bad things also have their own value for Eternity, I know; but I must note they have so only when they empty themselves in these paths, sink, be sanctified, and lose their name and form in them. The river that gathers in all the insanitations, abominations and abortions of towns and villages that adjoin it in their thousands, does all the work of a

even as Chittaranjan, the politician and fighter, eclipsed Chittaranjan the poet and worshipper at the shrine of 'Vanga Bharati'.

The present article attempts to delineate the services of Gandhiji to Gujarati in a cursory manner. So far as I know, no such attempt has been made in any language other than Gujarati. It is a pity that no Gujarati writer or critic has cared to enlighten his fellow-Indians about this interesting subject. Gujarat has advertised her diamonds, her cotton and her piece-goods, but has never advertised her literature. And yet, her Narsim Mehta, Meerabai, Narbada Sanker, Dalpat Ram and Nana Lal are entitled to the same reverence, adoration and popularity as Rama Das, Tulsi Das, Chandi Das, Potana, Sarat Chandra and Vallathol. I do not claim to possess an up-to-date knowledge of Gujarati, nor does this article pretend to be authoritative. I am just trying to introduce the readers to a subject unknown to most of them, and I hope this will stimulate a more detailed and fascinating study in English by writers like Mahadev Desai or Ram Narain Pathak of Ahmedabad.

In India, as elsewhere, social reformers and leaders of liberal thought have also been pioneers of literary Renaissance. Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Veeresalingam Pantulu, Narbada Sanker, Tolstoy, Bernard Shaw, Okakura, Kakuzo and a host of others have been savants as well as builders of society. Gandhiji also is one of such reformer-litterateurs. His work in the field of social reform is well-known. His unceasing propaganda to remove the sin of untouchability, his austere fasts and penances to bring about genuine Hindu-Muslim unity, his ruthless attacks on the 'Devadasi' system of South India, and his heroic efforts to revive our cottage industries, are all so many attempts to ameliorate the condition of society. But this reformer of society and of Government, is also reforming his mother-tongue, albeit unconsciously. He is gradually effecting a change in the language, weeding out the unhealthy elements, introducing orderliness and purity,

and making it a vehicle for the expression of the sublimest thought.

Before Gandhiji's advent, there was no dominant personality to set the standard and hold aloft an ideal. Each writer was a law unto himself. No intelligible method was followed as regards the spelling of words; no uniformity in their very shape. If one used a soft consonant, another used in the same place a hard one. If one poet used a particular word as one of four 'matras,' another used it to represent five 'matras' by elongating one letter. No one hesitated to use 'S' a' or 'Sha' for the dental 'Sa' and so on. The same disorderliness was in evidence with regard to the usage of words and idioms. Several words not meaning the same thing were used as synonymous. Little shades of difference in meaning were sometimes neglected, and at other times given undue importance. Consequently, the reader was at a loss to find out the sense in which a particular word was used. Display of erudition and an exaggerated use of sonorous and alliterative terms were regarded as qualities of high-class literature. Circumlocution in expression was constantly adopted. Obsolete words and unintelligible colloquialisms were freely used. The Northern Kathiawaris and the Southern Suratis employed their respective slangs, and the Ahmedabadis in the middle could understand neither of them. There was thus no standard Gujarati.

In those days, the press was entirely in the hands of the rich Parsis. Though the Parsis adopted Gujarati as their home-language, they could neither speak nor write correct Gujarati. They filled the columns of their Dailies and Weeklies with their 'Parsi-Gujerati' an euphemism for a queer and corrupt language like 'Mahomedan' Telugu or Kannada. The poems published in the papers were either in a highly Sanskritised style unintelligible even to the editors and publishers, or in Persianised style in 'Guzzle' metres abounding in 'Vaslo' (union) and 'Judayi' (separation) themes, which were a bore to the majority of the Hindu readers. In prose, the Hindus used a style replete

with Sanskrit words, bound up by Sanskrit grammatical regulations, and the Parsis could not keep pace with them. So no one mode of expression or style could become popular and respected by the entire reading public of Gujarat.

But the autumn of the language was bound to be followed by its spring. At an opportune moment, Gandhiji entered the arena, and as with the rising of the moon, the ocean of literature surged with a mysterious thrill and joyousness. There was a regularity and rhythm in the rising and the falling of the waves. Long before Mahatmaji inaugurated the Satyagraha and Non-co-operation movements, he was known, especially to Gujaratis residing in South Africa, as a good writer in the mother-tongue. His 'Hind Swaraj' and the articles he contributed to the Gujarati papers in South Africa, won him great reputation. But he had to wait till the days of Non-co-operation to make his influence felt. Gujarat was then brought into the lime-light, crowned with a crownless hegemony and respected as the home-land of the world's greatest man. Millions of eyes were turned towards that small sandy site on the banks of the Sabarmati. In the palmy days of Non-co-operation, 'Navajivan', Mahatmaji's Gujarati weekly, had to its credit nearly twenty-five thousand subscribers. No cultured Gujarati home was without it. Reading 'Navajivan' and wearing khaddar were looked upon as the outer signs of an inner patriotism. 'Navajivan' is just a broad-casting agency. Mahatmaji steals—though he is opposed to any sort of stealing—a quarter of an hour from his pressing engagements, writes off an article and sends it to the 'Navajivan' press. The next day, the whole of Gujarat, from Bombay to Kathiawar, reads it, hears it, and ponders over it. It carries the fire of patriotism and the glow of Truth with it. Even in the remotest villages of the interior, people used to throng at the post-offices to get their copies of 'Navajivan.' Scores of illiterate peasants sat round a person while reading 'Navajivan' and listened patiently and seriously to the contents of the paper from end to end. And as they left the place, a tear of expiation,

sympathy or emotion, would glitter in their eyes. Week after week, the people of Gujarat heard the language of Mahatmaji and got accustomed to it. They realised that his direct and simple style appealed to them more than any other. They refused to admire other styles of expression, which formerly used to exact their reluctant appreciation. This was the beginning of a reformation in the language. Mahatmaji's style was taken as the standard by which to measure the worth of other writings. This was how he was called 'the father of neo-Gujerati prose', though there was Ambalal Sankarlal Desai who had previously employed an equally effective and simple style. Desai could be compared to John the Baptist of the New Testament, paving the way for the coming Son of God. Thus, quietly and unobtrusively, and without sermonising on the need for new ways of expression, Mahatmaji introduced the people to a simple, effective and beautiful prose style.

Besides simplifying Gujarati prose, Gandhiji showed the ways in which it could be usefully employed. Before him, nobody dared to treat serious subjects like religion, politics and art in the mother-tongue. Even when there was a stray attempt, the language could not be understood by the common people, who were thus denied all opportunity to come into touch with politics, or philosophy. Mahatmaji employed Gujarati to express even the subtlest feelings and sublimest thoughts. He dealt with all the great topics of the day. His scholarly articles on religion, 'Varnashrama Dharma', 'Brahmacharya,' and 'Ahimsa' and his soul-stirring expositions of Satyagraha, Non-co-operation, dietetics and economic problems, indicate that he possesses a versatile genius, a profound knowledge of men and things, and a perfect and racy expression, that go to make him one of the greatest and noblest of Indian writers. He speaks with intuition and intelligence, and out of the abundance of his knowledge. Anyone who has followed his 'Atma Katha' or autobiography closely, can discern that he has a powerful yet a generous perception.

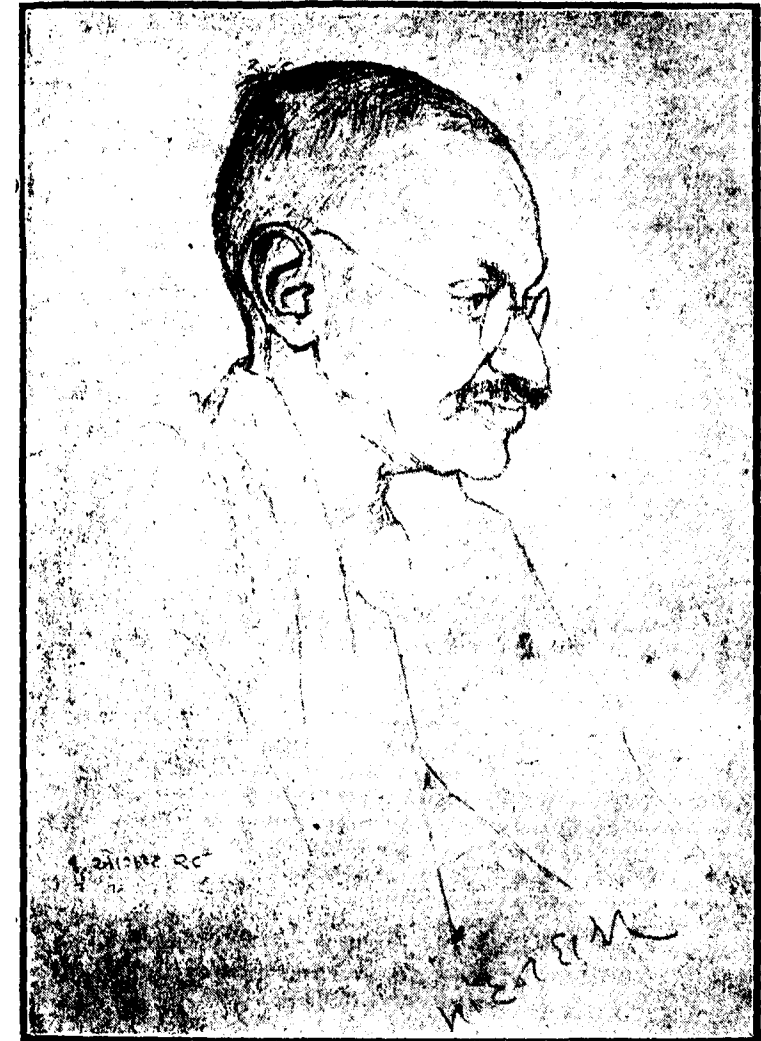
He visualises all the great forces that pulsate beneath the common crises of our daily life and describes them in their beauty and their strength.

His is a very natural style. He never wants to produce literature nor does he wish to be worshipped by future generations as an eminent literary personage. He never labours at a style. He does not pause to cull a more effective or sonorous word. This does not mean that his writings are not characterised by beautiful diction. In fact, his diction is extraordinarily virile, sensitive and illuminating, and he never selects a difficult or obsolete word in preference to a simpler and more current one. As one who spent much of his time in other parts of India, he introduced words and constructions from other Indian languages. Hindi is his main source. He uses also many Kathiawadi words and phrases, which have thus become popular and current.

Some of his descriptions of natural scenery are greatly admired in Gujerat. I shall just quote a few lines of Prof. Nagindas Parekh, a talented writer and critic of Ahmedabad. He says:

"Sometimes it (diction) is marvellous. His descriptions of natural scenery, occurring in some of his political writings, are really classical, e.g. the one of Sindhu, when he first went there during his All-India tour. The other is the one he wrote when he was sailing in a boat on the river Padma in Bengal in the same year. Really, I sometimes fail to understand how he can choose his words so correctly."

In his writings, Gandhiji does not employ far-fetched similes and hyperboles that make the sentence gaudy and ornate; but in his mild and picturesque way, he adds delicacy and grace to the sentence. He is parsimonious, economical rather, in his use of words. We can present to the Telugu readers a faint idea of Gandhiji's style and diction by comparing him with Kavi Tikkana, the most celebrated of their classical poets. Gandhiji is ever fresh and green as an olive. One is never tired of reading an article of his on Khadi, 'Brahmacharya', or untouchability, even if it



Mahatma Gandhi

(From a sketch by Sjt. Kanu Desai of Ahmedabad)

and especially the one called 'Pariksha', written at the time of the first Bardoli campaign, they are convinced that, when properly handled by eminent writers, their language is also suitable for 'Veera Rasa.' The late Michael Madhusudan Datta rendered the same service to Bengali by writing his great epic 'Meghanadh Badho' (the killing of Indrajit, son of Ravana).

Gandhiji also took some practical steps to improve the vocabulary. For some years now, he has been demanding from the 'Puratatva Mandir' (Research Society) of the Gujarat Vidya Peetha, a spelling book which should include all the current and obsolete words in the language. His idea is that the anarchy prevailing in the spelling of Gujarati should be put an end to by the compilation of an authoritative spelling-dictionary. The dictionary is now nearly ready. It includes about 60,000 words. The Vidya Peetha is also preparing a standard Gujarati Dictionary at his instance.

Gandhiji resembles Tolstoy in almost all his 'puritanic' ideas and preachings. Both tried to introduce religion into politics, though both seemed to have felt that their participation in politics was a dire necessity. Gandhiji observes:—

"If I seem to take part in politics, it is only because politics encircle us today like the coil of a snake from which we cannot get out, no matter how much one tries. I wish, therefore, to wrestle with the snake.....I have been experimenting with myself and my friends by introducing religion into politics."

Though both of them are great seers, Gandhiji is certainly a greater man than Tolstoy, according to Romain Rolland and Rabindranath Tagore. The following sentences from the pen of M. Rolland will be of considerable interest to the readers:—

"Tagore has always acknowledged the saintliness of Gandhi and I have heard him speak to me with great veneration about Gandhi. When I referred to the resemblance of Tolstoy to the Mahatma, in the course of our conversation, Tagore expressed to me how much dearer Gandhi was to him (Tagore) and how much more glorious than Tolstoy Gandhi

appeared to him to be—(now that I have some to know Gandhi better, I also am of the same opinion)—for, everything in Gandhi is natural, simple, modest and pure; an air of serenity surrounds his very fights, whereas in Tolstoy pride fights against pride, anger against anger; everything is violent not excepting even non-violence."

Tolstoy, while writing, gets excited and makes his sentences hyper-emotional. Gandhiji's plain, well-thought-out sentences appeal more than Count Leo's.

In his method of argument, in weighing the *pros* and *cons* of the subject under discussion, and in wealth of thought, Maurice Maeterlinck of Belgium comes nearer to Gandhiji. Some of the latter's sentences in 'Wisdom and Destiny' claim an affinity with Gandhi's in 'Young India' and 'Navajivan'. When Gandhiji is criticised for any of his opinions, he does not, like Ibsen, hurl at his critics more pungent remarks in order to assert his individuality. He welcomes all criticisms and replies to them courteously, yet effectively. And he never hesitates to confess himself in the wrong.

Gandhiji is a very quick writer. He writes his articles to 'Navajivan' and 'Young India' in running trains or in the midst of numerous and crowded engagements. He does not care to prune and polish his writings in order to create an impression.

Gujarat is unhesitatingly following Mahatmaji's lead and exhibiting her power of discipline and organisation. Refusal to pay enhanced taxes in Bardoli, or abstention from college as a protest against the high-handed action of an European Principal at Ahmedabad, are not mere isolated occurrences. They indicate a certain firmness and strength of mind. If Gandhiji has a Patel for his political lieutenant, he has found an equally capable literary lieutenant in Mahdev Desai. Desai, Ram Narain Pathak, Kishore Lal, Kaka Kalelker, Jagat Ram Dave and a few other segments that form the 'Sabarmati circle' of writers have imbibed the essence of Mahatmaji's style. There are others too who are trying to spread the cult of simplicity

be for the hundredth time that he is writing on the subject. This is because he has an unerring vision and the capacity to dive into the depths of things. He does not indulge in platitudinous verbiage. His frankness has a great deal to do with this ever-new and impressive style of his.

But curiously enough, one finds sentence after sentence in a single chapter having a purely English construction. This might shock an old Pandit, but young Gujarat believes that these constructions really add power and beauty to the sentences. This is but inevitable for one in Mahatmaji's position. We may add that several sentences with similar construction are finding their way into the various Indian languages through the writings of English-educated Bengali, Telugu and Malayalam literary luminaries. The construction and idioms are so English, that we sometimes forget that we are reading a vernacular book or article.

When Rabindranath was a guest at the 'Gujarat Sahitya Parishad' held at Ahmedabad some years back, Gandhiji seems to have said in his address that he would consider that writer successful who was able to give a song to the water-carriers as they drew water, cartmen as they drove their carts, and to labourers as they toiled. This indicates exactly his idea of style and diction. Literature is no monopoly of any particular section of society. He has great aversion to the use of non-Indian words, especially English, in his speeches and writings. And this aversion has communicated itself to his Gujarati countrymen. This is another great service he has rendered to Gujarati, because this has led to the refinement and development of the language. But for him, Gujaratis also would have imported so many unnecessary English words into their tongue like the Bengalis. He appeared at a psychological moment and turned the tide that was threatening to rise and sweep away the purity of their language.

The Gujaratis used to nourish an idea formerly that their tongue was not fit for the expression of 'Veera Rasa' (the heroic). But after seeing Gandhiji's spirited articles,

and directness of style, while maintaining the purity of the language. The future of Gujarati literature depends a great deal on the activities of this group of writers.

Gandhiji is a pioneer not only in Gujarati prose-writing, but also in Gujarati publication. Ten thousand copies of his autobiography in Gujarati were sold in a fortnight. His Gujarati books are incredibly cheap. In this, he is a contrast to Rabindranath. The fact that the original of his autobiography was written in Gujarati certainly elevates the status of Gujarati as a language, and a day may dawn when individual Germans, Chinese, or Russians will labour hard at learning Gujarati in order to study his autobiography in the original. Moreover, a study of his style is indispensable to all Indian students of linguistics, philology and syntax.

There is a rare charm in Mahatmaji's style. His expression of pathos is perfectly natural. It is said that 'style is the man', and in no other case does this adage hold good so literally as in Gandhiji's. Every sentence, phrase and word speaks of his Himalayan firmness, adamant will and death-defying determination, his high idealism and his burning love for the universe; and it is because of this that his style has acquired fluency, simplicity, strength and vigour. Restraint is one the greatest qualities of his style. Anyone who reads his articles on the sex-problem or the iniquities of the Administration cannot fail to notice this salient feature. Though he tackles all the burning problems of the day, his articles are never meant to create a sensation. They inspire, but they do not inflame. In one word, Gandhiji has democratised the language and at the same time placed it on a higher pedestal.¹

¹ The writer wishes to thank Sjt Nagindas Parekh and Bhai Prabhubhai Patel, his fellow-students at 'Viswa-Bharati,' who took great pains to introduce him to Gujarati and its literature.

Linguistic Provinces and the Problem of Minorities

BY R. R. DIWAKAR, M.A., LL.B.

The principle of linguistic re-distribution of provinces was accepted by the Indian National Congress as long ago as 1920, and it immediately divided India into linguistic provinces for the organisation of its own work. The principle has now advanced far ahead, in so far as the All Parties Conference at Lucknow in August, and the All Parties Convention at Calcutta in December 1928, have both accepted the Nehru Committee Report embodying the principle, and have recommended separate provinces for Andhra and Karnataka, immediately the scheme came into operation.

However, we have to lay down certain principles and devise some methods for solving the problem of linguistic minorities when the new order comes into existence. It would be wrong to suppose that the problem does not exist under the present arrangements. But it is equally true that the problem will be keener under the new dispensation. There is the problem of other minorities also, religious, racial, communal, etc. But so far as I am concerned, I want to isolate the problem of linguistic minorities and deal with it here. I shall deal with the problem generally, and with that of Karnataka particularly. I shall also refer to the solutions arrived at by different countries in post-war Europe.

Together with other advantages, the main idea behind the formation of linguistic provinces is that a kind of unity and integrality should be restored in each province: that there should be greater facility in the spread of ideas and education, that the Councils and other administrative bodies should be able to carry on their business in a way which is intelligible to every one of the councillors and to which every one can contribute something according to his own lights,

that it should be convenient to establish a University which can foster a particular tongue as its main charge, and so on. Naturally we expect that everything else, unless it be the interests of the nation as a whole, must be subordinated to these main advantages that are to be gained by the new distribution of provinces.

But at the same time, we can never close our eyes to the linguistic minorities which are bound to be there in the border districts, or might be like islands in the midst of a people speaking another tongue. Every one will admit that the best thing for the minority as well as for the province is that the minority should merge in the majority. But taking human nature as it is, it is too much to ask of a linguistic minority to merge like this. As a practical measure and with due respect for the mother-tongues of all, the mother-tongue of the minority can be given some protection, while the language of the province can have full sway in the province, both as the language of the majority and the language of the province. If we can make an equitable adjustment between the claims of the minority and the interests of the majority, we have solved the problem. In doing this, we have to take into consideration the fears of the minority that they would be lost in the majority, which they do not want to do so far as language is concerned, and we have to see that the minority does not render the majority hostile by trying to come in the way of its progress.

In my opinion, the following should be the main principles that should guide our steps in this matter:—(1) every majority should adopt a generous and a tolerant attitude towards every minority; (2) the majority should think it to be its duty to safeguard the interests of the minority; and, (3) the majority should treat the minority in the same way as it would be treated by, whenever it is in the minority.

On the other hand, (1) the minority should be content to live its life and should not try to be aggressive; (2) the minority should realise that it can live better and grow in greatness mainly by identifying itself with the majority and by

its intrinsic value, and not by mere assertion of individuality and separateness; and (3) the minority, while it has a right to live as a minority, is under the obligation to serve the claims of the province.

As a broad rule, when we set about forming linguistic provinces, the language of the ryot or the agriculturist should be considered as the language of the locality, as he is the most conservative element and as his interests are the most predominant in the land. The languages of all others may be considered as languages of immigrants and not as those of the sons of the soil.

While demarcating the boundaries of linguistic provinces, the division of existing provinces can either be (1) by districts, or (2) by taluks, or (3) by villages. In any case, the language of the majority will be the deciding factor as to which province each district or taluk or village should belong. In my opinion, subject to administrative conveniences, it is equitable to take taluks or villages as units rather than districts.

Now let us take the case of Karnataka.

The Marathi, Telugu, Tulu, and Urdu speaking peoples would be the considerable minorities in Karnataka, though the importance of the question would be minimised if the division is by taluks and not by districts. The main principles have been already laid down; it only remains for me to work out some of the details.

It is necessary to state plainly at the outset that the most predominant claim, both on the majority and the minority, is the claim of the province, as such, in all aspects and not merely as any linguistic unit. Every one must aim at serving the province first in all its various aspects of physical, intellectual, moral and cultural development.

Every minority has the right to preserve its own mother-tongue and can have primary schools; and in secondary schools and colleges, facilities for teaching it may be provided for, whenever such a minority is in considerable numbers. But it should be a condition that in every such school, the provincial tongue is taught together

with the history and geography of the province, the latter always in the provincial tongue. It is but plain that unless and until the minorities learn the majority language, they have to forego the broader life of the province. In fact, while any minority-linguistic group has a right to keep its own individuality as regards its language and can claim certain privileges such as provision to teach it in schools, etc., it has to learn the language of the province as well, and identify itself with the province in all other matters, if it wishes to live the full life of the province.

Certainly every minority has the right to depose in court in its own mother-tongue, but it cannot force the court to take it down in that tongue, while it can certainly claim that the deposition, taken down in whatever language, be read back in the tongue in which it has been given, before it is endorsed by the deponent. The pleading class should have the right to plead in the provincial and the national tongue, but it cannot claim to plead in any and every minority language, unless the court allows it in particular cases.

The provincial language and the national language should be the languages in which the public records are to be kept.

Every one shall have the right to speak the provincial and the national language in the Council chamber as well as on the public platform, provided that the majority of the audience may allow any speaker to speak in any language in particular cases.

In each of the Universities, the medium of instruction shall be the language of the province and the language of the nation, whichever may suit them in different cases. But chairs should be provided for the minority languages in each province, so that higher studies in those languages may be promoted in the Universities.

Just as a province has to sacrifice its own tongue and interests where the national interests are concerned, so too minorities may have to sacrifice to a certain extent their tongue whenever the broader life of the province is concerned.

It is always by a sacrifice that we can go from the narrower to the broader life.

These are, in brief, my views on the question of the rights and duties of linguistic minorities. The details are to be worked out by some expert committee with their eye on the solutions arrived at by post-war European nationalities which I give below.

Now I shall refer to some of the adjustments in Europe, which are very important in so far as they are practical solutions and are the outcome of experience.

The post-war reconstruction of Europe was made mainly on the strength of the principle of self-determination and the protection of minorities. These were what were called the Minorities Guarantee Treaties. The States that had to agree to such treaties were Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Serb-Croat-Slovene Kingdom etc.

I reproduce below some of the relevant and most important articles in the Constitutions of the several States.

THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES

Art. 4. There shall be one nationality in the Kingdom.

Art. 16. Minorities in race and language shall be given primary instruction in their mother-tongue under conditions prescribed by law.

THE POLISH CONSTITUTION

Art. 109. Every citizen possesses the right of safeguarding his nationality and of cultivating his national language and customs.

Art. 110. Polish nationals belonging to minorities in this nation, whether based on religion or language, have equal rights with other citizens in forming, controlling and administering *at their own expense* schools and other educational establishments, with the free use of their language and practice of their own religion.

In 1924, Poland signed the Minority Guarantee Treaty, one of the provisions of which permitted the opening of private schools in which instruction was to take place in the

language desired, and provided that at the request of parents of 40 children in regions where there was a non-Polish minority amounting to 25% of the population, instruction might be conducted in the language of the minority, although in all instances, Polish, Polish history and Polish geography should be taught, the last two always in the Polish language.

THE ESTHONIAN REPUBLIC

Art. 68. Austria will provide in the public educational system in towns and districts in which a considerable proportion of the nationals of other than German speech are resident, adequate facilities for ensuring that in the primary schools the instruction shall be given to the children of such Austrian nationals through the medium of their own language. This provision shall not prevent the Austrian Government from making the teaching of the German language obligatory in the said schools.

GERMAN POLISH CONVENTION, 1922

Art. 106. A minority school shall be established on the application of a national supported by the persons legally responsible for the education of 40 children of a linguistic minority.

Should a school be inexpedient, minority classes shall be formed if there are at least 18 pupils of a minority language.

Art. 118. For secondary and higher schools, 300 pupils are required to claim Minority State schools, 30 for minority classes in the lower forms; 25 for minority-language course in the ordinary State schools; and 18 for minority religious courses.

HUNGARIAN LAWS, 1923-1924

In these laws 20% of the population is taken as constituting 'a considerable proportion.'

While the majorities in Poland, Czecho-Slovakia and

Serb-Croat are 69, 64, and 73 per-cent respectively, the lowest minority given recognition is 20% in Hungary. In Czecho-Slovakia and Poland, the minorities are 23 and 25 P. C. All the new European Constitutions agree that a minority should form a considerable proportion of the population by concentrating at certain places.

The Re-birth of Non-co-operation

BY B. PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA

If, on the morrow of the Coconada Congress of 1923 December, any one had predicted that in five years, the political stalwarts of India would be fed up with Councils, the prophecy would have been laughed at, much in the same manner as people would have laughed at a prophecy in 1669 that one day India would be importing 70 crores' worth of foreign cloth, or equally at the prophecy today that one of these days, if we leave things alone, shiploads of wheat and paddy would be imported into India. But political prophecies are apt to be discredited as the fond imaginations of political speculators, until the hard facts of experience come down upon mankind like a bolt from the blue and carry conviction with fatal accuracy. Where was the glee on the 1st of January 1929, which had been seen on the countenances of reactionary politicians five years previously, when they discovered that Councils were after all the mighty maelstroms which would draw into their eddies the toughest of political straws that might be floating about them? When time after time, Nationalists and Swarajists alike walked into Government lobbies and voted promiscuously with the reactionaries upon Bills and Resolutions, when Congressmen in Councils were divided amongst themselves and allowed themselves to be diverted from the path of duty from various considerations, it was clear that the political team could be brought together or kept together only under the impulse of a full self-government and not in the midst of bureaucratic blandishments and official lures. 'Non-co-operation through Councils,' 'bearding the lion in his own den,' 'capturing seats of power in the very citadels of bureaucracy', all these have become mere rhodomontade, and the hollowness of the claims indicated by them has been made evident by the sense

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of helplessness displayed by those very claimants in the cold shade of reason and experience.

When Gandhi was summoned from his 'den' and asked to shoulder the responsibility of running the Congress in Calcutta last December, he could have dictated his own terms and reverted to his orthodox formulæ, but his forbearance and love for his antagonists made him singularly free from all vindictiveness, wholly conciliatory in victory, moderate to a degree in tone, and businesslike in settlement from beginning to end. The younger men he could not alienate; the older he could not leave behind. He had therefore to effect compromises in his own faith, and hit upon a half-way halting place between Dominion Status and Independence, between boycott of British goods and khaddar, between Non-co-operation in Councils and Non-co-operation through and through. While therefore commending the Nehru Report, Gandhi lent the name of the Congress to the carrying on of propaganda in favour of Independence. Softening the sting of the boycott of British goods, he hit upon the happy thought of boycott of all foreign cloth through khaddar. And finally, while not tabooing council-entry, he enjoined it on all councillors that they should help the constructive programme from that vantage ground. Thus did he pave the way for a programme of Non-co-operation pure and undefiled, a programme which may, as the Calcutta Congress has stated in so many words, lead up to the non-payment of taxes.

Non-payment of taxes is a serious matter. It is easy to fly a foot and come down a yard. Nor would Government be soft and tender to those that raised the banner of revolt against their authority. That is why Gandhi is touring the country from end to end. At Pedanandipadu in Guntur District, the historic Firka round which the fight of 1922 should have concentrated itself, he has once again stated that if they meant to prepare themselves for the coming fight in 1930, fifty per-cent of the people should wear khaddar manufactured in its own area, and likewise fifty per-cent should give up untouchability and drink. It was the neglect of these

elementary injunctions last time that compelled a retracing of our steps.¹ They were the essence of the Delhi conditions of mass civil disobedience. They cannot be ignored next year, as they could not be ignored ten years ago.

But then people ask: "Is not all this the old story once again, the same old twice-told tale of sorrow and suffering, of defeat and shame?" There is no such thing as failure in life, for every failure is a step to success. Success is merely the summation of a series of failures. But this philosophy apart, there is the supreme fact that the Non-co-operation movement of 1921 was not a failure. It had roused mass consciousness and diverted it from those channels of rude activity which a sudden awakening is bound to betray people into. Too much was demanded of the people at the very first effort. No crop could be harvested from out of seed-beds. The seed-beds may have been tilled and manured, watered and weeded; but the seedlings, in order to bear fruit, must be transplanted. This is an elementary proposition of life, of agriculture, of the villages. Every rustic knows it, but we who are sophisticated by western education, know it not. In 1920 and 1921, we did but prepare the seed-bed. Now is the time to transplant. Let us pass through the process. The weeds have been removed. Council-entry came in only as the growth of a weed in the midst of a flourishing growth of the paddy plant. People mistook the weed for the fruit-bearing plant. They must discover their own folly. They have had time and opportunities for doing it. Now they stand disillusioned. They must leave affairs into the hands of revolutionaries. Of this latter class, there are two groups—the violent and the non-violent. The activities and ideals of the first, they do not countenance. Those of the second remain the *pis aller* of the council-entrants of the Congress. Indeed they are the culmination of the Simon Boycott, which is but a phase of Non-co-operation.

The prospects of Non-co-operation are bright from the standpoint even of Government. What are the alter-

¹Or was it due to lack of leadership? (Ed. 'Triveni')

natives before them? Soviet Russia, Bolshevism money, Direct Action, strikes and all that they mean—disorder, violence, bloodshed, not to mention disorganisation of industry. All this is on one side, and in the open. It must be admitted by Government, for we are but speaking in their language. On the other, you have secret societies, bombs and revolvers, assassinations and anarchy; in a word, the unconcealed cult of unmitigated violence which Government fears and people abominate. Surely, Government can make no choice between these two. They must hitch their waggon then to the star of Moderate politics, but where is this commodity, this organism, this organisation? It is dead as Dodo or a door-mat. It is dead and buried seven fathoms deep beneath the surface of Liberalism. It is Liberalism and the Liberals that have made the Simon Boycott a real success. Were it not so, the authorities would today not be owning the success of the boycotters. Liberals being no longer friends of Government, and the veil that marks them off from the Non-co-operators being altogether thin, Government cannot look to them for support. Direct Action is anathema, and open anarchy means bloodshed. Liberalism of the old-world type is impotent, even if it is surviving in a nook there or a corner here. The only upholders of Law and Order—those that swear by non-violence in their very disobedience of Laws—those that are the best friends of Government, under the very banner of their civil revolution, are the non-violent Non-co-operators. Day by day the strength of Government on the plane of force is increasing. Aeroplanes are a new factor in putting down revolution, decimating whole villages and population. Government are strongest on the plane of brute force. On the legal or the constitutional plane, they are less so, but they are utterly frail, weak and helpless on the moral plane—the plane of Non-co-operation. On this plane we are impregnable. Right, justice, equity and morality are on our side. On the constitutional plane, we are less strong. On the plane of force, we are weakest. Let us therefore revive

Non-co-operation and silently work the end of autocracy in India. When the self-consciousness of the people is roused, when their desire for Swaraj is kindled, their deserts dare not be challenged by anyone. Revolution alone can bring emancipation to India, and that revolution which the Congress has all along encouraged, fostered and worked for, is the revolution of non-violent Non-co-operation. It is necessarily slow in its processes, but is inoffensive, unchallengeable and sure in its march. History may not exactly repeat itself, but the broad outlines of the processes by which India is destined to come by her freedom are already visible in the political horizon. We already catch glimpses of the heliocentric course of Indian politics in which the self-luminary planets of a revived faith in khaddar, of communal unity, of the removal of untouchability, the abolition of drink and the development of panchayats, revolve round the Sun of Gandhi, and in which the Councils are but a satellite like the moon around the earth, wanting in self-luminousness and playing but a nocturnal part in the 'akasa' of life.

A Love-song

BY D. RAGHUTHAMACHARYA

I am a beggar maid
 At Thy temple's golden gate,
 Singing in a faint voice
 Of my love insatiate.

In the mellow hour of eve,
 Inlaid with ruby and sapphire,
 Beyond the burning West
 I sight Thy shrine's high saffron spire.

In the silent hour of dawn,
 When the smile of East is yet in bud,
 The gentle breeze conveys
 My song to Thee, though sung not loud.

Come, Lord ! out of the smile
 Of dawn's silvery bloom,
 Riding on the first sun-beam
 To lift me from my gloom.

Enter the dew-drop of my soul
 And dance to my plaintive singing,
 Then let me reap my love's harvest;
 A kiss, an embrace and life's forgetting.

Current Topics

THE VICEROY'S ORDINANCE

It is the habit of Government to create a new grievance on the eve of every dole of Reform. The Public Safety Bill—now really the Public Safety Ordinance—furnishes that grievance. Ten years ago, it was the Rowlatt Committee, the Rowlatt Bill and the Rowlatt Act that heralded the advent of the Montford era. In 1908-10, it was the Seditious Meetings Act, the Press Act and the Criminal Law Amendment Act which came as the precursors of the Minto-Morley Reforms. Under each of these, jail-loads of prisoners were taken and interned or externed, confined to solitary, simple or rigorous imprisonment. As the new era dawned, Viceregal pardons or Royal amnesties came into being, and the new sorrows of the nation, in which had been submerged the older and deeper ones, were assuaged by the liberation of shoals of prisoners. It is to effect a similar feat of psychology that the Public Safety Bill was introduced, and as if by an Act of Fate, passed not into an Act of the Legislature, but as an Ordinance under the extraordinary powers of the Viceroy. It is time that India co-ordinated the activities of the Government at Delhi and Simla, and saw through the deeper purposes the bureaucracy had in view in promulgating these uncommon measures. Nothing stays the hand of a Viceroy, neither Presidential rulings nor public opinion. We now see why Lord Morley predicted that India's rule must be absolute and personal, so far as his imagination could pierce. Beneath all the veneer and polish, beneath the paints and washes that glisten on the surface of the political edifice, there is a rot in the structure, a cracking of walls and a sinking of foundations, which is clearly visible. In effect, the so-called edifice of Responsible Government which it is pretended is being reared, is a mere make-believe and a

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downright fraud. Swaraj cannot be granted by England. It must be established by India.

GANDHIJI IN ANDHRA

Gadhiji's visit to the Andhradesa is a historic chapter in the annals of the Province. Once again, public enthusiasm is roused to the pitch of 1921. Money has poured down in torrents. Villages have vied with each other to do honour to the uncrowned King of India. His movements have taken place with the unerring precision of a Viceregal programme, except when he, in his superabundant generosity, has relaxed his own limits of time and space. Although the visit has proved that the heart of rural India is sound, it is the English-educated folks and the foreign-cloth merchants that have been apathetic—and for obvious reasons. The former feel that their whole life—with its ambitions and prospects—is bound up with Government, and do not feel like participating in a revolutionary movement. Khaddar may not be revolutionary, though in one sense it is, but it is the precursor of a revolution—peaceful and non-violent, it may be, nonetheless a revolution. Left to themselves and freed from the shackles of the urban population, of urban interests, and of urban calculations, the people of the villages have during this tour given proofs of their sincerity, earnestness and readiness to serve and sacrifice. And if such an estimate of rural character is correct, Swaraj cannot be a distant vision. It must be, as it doubtless is, in sight, if it is not actually running towards us.

S. P.

THE KALASALA: A SAD MEMORY

But the sight of certain places and institutions must have awakened sad memories in Gandhiji's mind during his Andhra tour. Chirala is bereft of Andhraratna, Ellore of Annapurna Devi, Pallipadu of Digumarti Hanumantha Rao,

and Masulipatam of Kopalle Hanumantha Rao. And saddest thought of all, the Kalasala reared by a life of noble self-abnegation has lapsed into co-operation with Government, after accepting a little over thirty thousand rupees from the Congress. In Gandhiji's words, the life-work of Hanumantha Rao is "likely to be swept away into the sea", for his institution is no longer the "oasis in an educational desert" that it once was. Gandhiji's love for the Kalasala is as intense as ever, but he does not find it possible to devote time and attention to the work of clearing this veritable Augean stable. But we ask in all humility if it was not worth his while to have given a whole fortnight out of his Andhra tour to this vexed problem. He could have convened a meeting of all the donors and well-wishers of the institution, and once again set its feet on the path of true progress. That would perhaps have meant a few thousand rupees less for the khadi fund, but the cause of nationalism would have gained incalculable strength. While institutions like the 'Kashi Vidyapith' are holding aloft the banner of national education, the Kalasala has made an abject surrender. And that too, at the instance and on the specific recommendation of one of the leading lights of the Non-co-operation movement in Andhra. To most of the Andhra 'leaders', the Andhra University was a much more important institution than the Kalasala, and the location of the University Headquarters absorbed their attention to the exclusion of all else.

After all, every nation gets or keeps the institutions that it deserves. The Andhra 'leaders' as well as the rank and file, have proved by their criminal apathy that they deserved no better than that their Jatheeya Kalasala should cease to be either *Jatheeya* (national), or a *Kalasala* (abode of culture). The Kalasala of Hanumantha Rao's dreams is dead; but will there be a resurrection?

K. R.

THE BUTLER REPORT

The Butler Committee has laboured long and brought forth a monster. All the concentrated affluence of 'princely

India' was brought to play its luxurious part in the game, and the costliest counsel—Sir Leslie Scott—represented their cause. A sedulous and successful propaganda was carried on to exclude and avoid the representations of the subjects of the States, on the plea that the terms of reference did not permit of such a procedure. That the Report was bound to be reactionary in its recommendations, was a foregone conclusion, and all the best efforts of the States Subjects Delegation headed by the indefatigable Mr. M. Ramachandra Rao, could not prevent the 'Chinese wall', as Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru so picturesquely put it, being erected between British and Indian India.

The summary of the Butler Committee Report so far available reveals the British mind in all its crudity. The growing tendency on the part of the Paramount Power to make its hold on the Princes firmer, is visible. If the Butler recommendations were brought into force, the Political Department will be under the direct and immediate control and supervision of the Viceroy, who will exercise his functions as the delegate of the King-Emperor in sole authority, undivided and supreme, superseding the present arrangement by which the Governor-General *in Council* is the highest functionary in this Department. In the words of Dewan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao;

"the effect of the proposal is that India as a whole can never have a common constitution. In putting forward the proposal, the Indian Princes have done a great disservice to the country. The only way of undoing the mischief is for the Indian Princes, the people of the States and of British India, to come together in a conference and settle their differences."

In addition to this, the proposal to pack the Political Department with recruits from British Universities makes the whole situation grievously suspicious. Have the Princes bargained for this humiliation? To quote the same high authority on constitutional matters:

"An autocratic Viceroy, uncontrolled by the Executive

Council of the Governor-General will be the arbiter of their destinies in future....The position of the Princes will, I imagine, be distinctly worse under the proposed changes."

If the Princes have any respect for the feelings of their subjects who pulsate with a new life in this democratic age, and if they fully realise the implications of the recommendations with the tightening grip of the Imperialist, the retrogressive recommendators of the Butler Committee ought to be repudiated by them.

M. V. R.

Optimism

BY SATYENDRANATH DATTA

None need be afraid at the sight of lowering clouds,
For, sure, the Sun is smiling behind those vaporous veils.
The lost smile of the eclipsed Moon
Comes back, shattering the impenetrable darkness.
By the unfailing boon of vernal gales,
The naked branches are superbly clad in flowers.
The being that is drenched in tear-torrents
Finds its Life-Lord by its side.

Translated from BENGALI by

B. G. REDDY.

The Goddess of Peace

BY VEDULA SATYANARAYANA SASTRI

What wild ecstasy pervades this vast limitless universe !
All that lives doth sing in frenzied joy ;
Alas ! for me alone gush forth the silent tears
Out of the lingering memories of sweet sorrows.

With my tear-stifled voice, how could I sing Thy glory ?
So shall I fill my heart with the nectar of Thy beauty,
Or, failing even of this, I shall blossom unto myself
And drop away like the frail flower from its stem.

But to him that is a beggar for Thy grace,
This vision of peace is joy enough.
For, with the vermillion of Thy feet
I shall paint the petals of my love-laden heart.

Translated from an unpublished TELUGU poem

A Hindu Monotheist

BY S. S. SURYANARAYANA SASTRI

Hinduism, according to Dr. Farquhar, is essentially polytheism, though Hindus to-day, as modern men, "cannot acknowledge themselves as polytheists, but must represent themselves as worshipping only the one God of the Universe." The Samkarite proper is a monist and his one impersonal Supreme cannot be an object of worship ; in so far as he does offer worship, he recognises not one, but five deities, *Brahma*, *Vishnu*, *Siva*, *Surya* and *Devi*. The Vaishnavite is neither a monist nor a monotheist. Monism is not monotheism and can be called so only by a gross abuse of language. The monist "cannot by any stretch of imagination be conceived as a monotheist."¹

A detailed examination of Dr. Farquhar's views would be neither interesting nor profitable. It is, however, proposed to invite attention to one great Hindu at least who was a monist as well as a monotheist and in whose case the fusion was not brought about by modern science or philosophy or the evangelising influence of Christianity. Appayya Dikshita belonged to the sixteenth century A. D. He was of a period long prior to the theistic movements known as the Brahma Samaj, the Prarthana Samaj and so on. Modern science and modern philosophy were only then being inaugurated in Europe by the Bacons and Descartes. Christian influence of a kind there may have been in this country, and it may not be possible to prove that it counted for nothing in Appayya's system ; but he himself has little difficulty in tracing all his ideas to Hindu originals whereon he exclusively relies for support.

Appayya was a devout adherent of the Samkara

¹See "Hinduism and Christianity" by Dr. J. N. Farquhar in "The Hibbert Journal" for October, 1928, particularly pp. 113-115.

School. His *Kalpataru Parimala* is a commentary on a commentary on Samkara's *Bhashya*. His *Siddhanta-lesa-samgraha* is a masterly treatise on the conclusions of non-dualism (what Dr. Farquhar, like many others, elects to call monism). He is also the author of a commentary on a theistic school of philosophy—the Siva Advaita of Srikantha. His monistic leanings are so great that he repeatedly attempts to make out Srikantha himself to be a monist. And yet Appayya is a monotheist as well; and his monotheism, in the circumstances, cannot but be of interest.

Appayya was a devotee of Siva. This Siva is not one of the three *murtis* ordinarily recognised, but transcends them all. He occupies a position closer to the impersonal Brahman than to the three deities Brahma, Vishnu and Rudra. Brahman is free from the three *gunas* (the constituents of matter) *Sattva*, *Rajas* and *Tamas*; Siva is associated with them, as it were; the three deities are affected by the *gunas* in such fashion that Brahma is characterised by *Rajas*, Vishnu by *Sattva* and Rudra by *Tamas*. These three, in conformity with their nature, set about creating, preserving or destroying. Siva is above both the constituents and the functions; but He is the controller of them all. He is higher than the finite self, that stands over against and struggles with matter; He is *pradhana kshetrajna pati, gunesah*, lord of matter and of the finite self, controller of the constituents of matter. This Being is the object of the individual's devotion. The three *murtis* may and do function in that capacity; and the worship of them is legitimate enough. But since they are limited, the results of their worship are also limited. Even that way, release comes about ultimately, but only gradually and by stages, while the worship of this fourth Being, Siva, leads directly to release. Release itself, until the world is finally destroyed, takes the form of the attainment of the nature of Siva; it is not identification with Brahman, for this can come about only when there are no other souls in bondage. As long as these exist, that is as long as the world exists, the attainment of *Sivatva* alone is release.

The entire position will now be substantiated by reference to his works.

Addressing Siva in the *Siva-tattva-viveka*, he says—“Though beyond the *gunas*, yet in combination with *Maya*, Thou dost appear as if possessing *gunas*, taking on the form of the blue-throated, three-eyed being, accompanied by Amba as Thy Consort, going about under the names Siva, Bhava and so on, and controlling the whole Universe inclusive of Hari, Hara and Brahma” (Verse 13). In the *Ratna-Traya-Pariksha*, he says the Supreme Being undergoes a process of self-division, as it were, into *dharma* and *dharmin*, the Attribute and what possesses the Attribute. The latter is the Supreme Divinity, Siva; the Attribute again takes on a two-fold form and manifests itself as Devi and Vishnu. “The *dharmin* functions as the operative cause in respect of the five-fold activity of creation and so on, pertaining to the universe. The *dharma* taking on the form of male, holds the position of the material cause of all the worlds; and taking on a female form, becomes the divine consort of its own substrate, the prime efficient cause. The *dharma*, though thus distinguished, is said by those who know the Scriptures to belong to the constitution of Brahman, as much as the *dharmin*.” (Verse III). When the One Supra-Personal Subject undergoes a process of self-division into Substance and Attribute, it is idle to make out that the Real is Substance alone or Attribute alone. We have really three gems (*Ratna Traya*) Siva, Sakti and Vishnu. Each of them is God; none of these is a product of God in the sense in which the material world is, and individuals are supposed to be. They are three, but three in one. If this is polytheism, Trinitarian Christianity is polytheistic.

Ardent Saivite that he is, Appayya does not make light of devotion to Vishnu. “All modifications like ether and the rest are but transformations of that Prime Person (Vishnu); all migratory beings up to Brahma are but parts of Him. Only by reaching to Him can that place be attained which belongs to the Immortal primæval blissful

Being, who is Light, who is worshipped by the sons of the Immortal, the gods among gods, the ancient ones." (*Ibid*, Verse V). "That mode of meditation which holds to Samkara and has *Saguna Brahman* for its object is the bestower of the shining abode; as for the other modes of meditation, united to the Lotus-eyed One as to Primal Sakti, they lead to gradual attainment of fruit and are means of attaining to that (first-mentioned mode of meditation)" (*Ibid*, Verse VII). Elsewhere, in the *Ananda Lahari*, combating the view that Vishnu is no better than a finite self (a *jiva*), he says: "Our tongues refuse to declare that Sri Narayana, the Adorable, is a *Jiva*, on the strength of some obscure hymns to be found in nooks and corners. . . . Our heads would burst into a hundred fragments, if we did so. Thence would rise treason to the Vedas and those who follow them, and also to the *devatas*" (Commentary on verse 35).

The position that release is the attainment of *Saguna Brahman* (i.e., Siva) is set out at great length in the *Siddhanta-lesa-samgraha* and the *Siva-advaita-nirnaya*. The argument is too lengthy to allow of quotation or reproduction. The author holds that *Saguna Brahman* is the original image and that the *jivas* are the same image reflected in nescience. With the cessation of nescience in one case, that particular reflection would get merged in the original; but so long as nescience continues for others, the Lord will still be reflectable, i.e., he will be an image; and until he is free from that possibility, release cannot be identity with *Nirguna Brahman*. Such ultimate release can come about only with the redemption of all and the complete destruction of nescience.

It needs little reflection to show us that a monist may be a monotheist as well, and that monotheism is consistent with the recognition of more than one aspect of the Deity. Neither in his monism nor in his monotheism is Appayya intolerant; for, in the best spirit of Hindu Philosophy, he recognises varying grades of spiritual capacity. There are those who consider moral life to be the ultimate; to these,

goodness (*Sattva*) would be the highest object of adoration; they might thus be led to the worship of Narayana, the embodiment of *Sattva*. Others may recognise the claims of the moral life but yet consider it to be an appearance, not as such and in itself real; to such, comes the vision of the *Saguna Brahman* united to *gunas* as it were, but really other than they.

Incidentally one gets an insight into the only possibility of success for syncretic movements. No idea or ideal can be discarded or condemned; they must all find appropriate places in a graded scheme of values, culminating in the highest value recognised by the syncretist. Such a scheme, for all its apparent artificiality, has a greater possibility of commanding loyalty than condemnation or even sympathetic criticism. Appayya, and before him Srikantha, were among those who realised this profound truth. And the grasp of that is of vital importance in any scheme for mutual understanding and co-operation among religions. It is a hopeful sign that the Jerusalem Conference seems to have realised this. "We would repudiate", says the Report of that Conference,¹ "any symptoms of a religious imperialism that would desire to impose beliefs and practices on others, in order to manage their souls in their supposed interests." If the authors of this Report need practical guidance, they cannot do better than turn to the syncretism of Appayya Dikshita.

¹Quoted by Dr. George Howells, in *The New Era*, Vol. I, No. IV, p. 304.

Andhra Folk-lore: A Word to Students

BY D. RAMI REDDY ¹

Dear Mr. Ramakotiswara Rao,

I have gone through almost all of the numbers of the 'Triveni' and I am very much impressed with the neat execution and the valuable articles it contains. The selection of fine frontispieces is a regular delightful feature of your esteemed 'Triveni.' The Andhra public sincerely feel grateful for the admirable part your Journal is playing in the cultural revival of India at large. I hope that you would try to maintain the same dignified standard in future, even though I am sure that it will inflict a heavy financial sacrifice for a year to come. The long-felt want of the Telugu country which required a high-class English magazine to voice its aspirations and to communicate its cultural achievements to a wider public remained unfulfilled until the 'Triveni' came into existence, and it is not too much to hope that the Telugu country would put into practice its usual generosity and see your noble venture a complete success.

Times have changed and with the times the traditional values. Any nation which cannot adapt itself to the inevitable changing conditions of life is sure to be superseded and utilised by the more adventurous nations of the world. This fundamental law of evolution whose keynote is the struggle for existence can never be overlooked at least in the present stage of the world's moral progress. A nation, like an individual, grows and ripens into old age. When the vital sap is run out, it becomes disorganised and

¹This is the full text of a letter to the Editor.

crumbles into insignificance. But the same nation, after a period of rest, is revitalised into active life by the repetition of the cyclic law which operates through external circumstances. Foreign contacts are not bad even when the prime motive is selfishness. By the contact of the aggressive civilisation of the West, our age-long lethargy was shaken to its roots, though followed by its attendant evils, and a new vista of the golden future is presented to our sight. The destructive and reconstructive forces are now awakened to their legitimate duties and a receptive atmosphere has been created all over India for the inauguration of the new era. Our Telugu country too is not slow to respond to the call of progress, even though the softer notes of the cultural Renaissance seemed to be drowned for a while in the trumpet voice of the political agitation. We behold everywhere in the Andhra country the signs of a healthy life. New standards of education which culminated in the establishment of the Andhra Jatheeya Kalasala, a new school of painting which owed its genesis to the creative genius of the late Damerla Ramarow, and the modern school of poetry which had for its pioneer the famous Gurazada Appa Row who led a crusade against the sanscritised Telugu of the classics, and many other activities of importance go to show that our contribution to the present cultural upheaval of India is by no means insignificant.

One of the signs of life is growth and expansion. The growth presupposes assimilation. Any undigested material causes disease and decay, apart from the wastage it entails. As the discriminative adaptation and assimilation of whatever is conducive to our national well-being in other cultures are the essential factors of social and intellectual elevation and progress, our false sense of patriotism should not deprive us of the new possessions and advantages. Conservatism in any branch of human activity may be economical, self-preservative and useful up to a certain stage of growth as an outer shell of a seed, but if it persists in taking an undue advantage of its own good intentions, it is sure to prove detrimental.

When two nations with divergent civilisations are brought together by some historical happening, it is the weaker nation that is more influenced than the stronger. Then again, the weaker nation passes through the four stages of development, namely, imitation, adaptation, assimilation, and independent creation. We have completed the third stage and are on the threshold of the fourth. No nation in the world has escaped this ordeal and we are no exception.

Anybody who is acquainted with the march of science and invention in modern times cannot think of keeping himself aloof from the rest of the world. Time and space have been conquered by the inventive genius of the West, and the religious, social, and political differences are being minimised every day. If I am not accused of poetical idealism, I can safely predict that there will come a day when all the peoples of the world will join together as a family of nations and work in concert for the commonweal of mankind. The day may be far off in the hazy mists of the future. But, who knows—a happy dream of to-day may be a realisation of to-morrow! If religion and science are wedded together, the remote possibility of the brotherhood of man can be brought down to the plane of practical politics.

When I say that we should move abreast of the times, I do not mean that we should lose our individuality as Andhras. We had a glorious past of which we can legitimately feel proud and the responsibility of making the present worthy of the past rests with us. We can only maintain our individuality and justify our existence as a separate unit of the human race when we can independently contribute our quota of art, poetry, drama, and the sciences to the store of the world's culture. It was only for the preservation and propagation of that individuality we wanted a separate University. But, alas! it has ended in a pompous fiasco after arousing hopes which were never meant to be fulfilled.

As the Universities are the centres of refinement and

learning, and as the public spirit of the student community is yet untainted by selfish motives, I wish to suggest a few things for the consideration of our student friends. Generally, the pioneer of any new movement bears the brunt of the struggle and makes the path easier for his followers. At first he is suspected and discouraged. But afterwards a few minds of similar nature gather around him and every inch of their way is fought heroically and won. It is only such movements that startle the world one fine morning with their greatness. It was the same case with the Gaelic revival and the literary movement of modern Ireland backed up by men like G. W. Russel ('A.E.') and Yeats who is now one of the recipients of the Nobel prize. The commendability of the movement consists in its going back to the ancient folk-lore of the country and bringing to light in a new garb the most characteristic features of the Irish genius. A new school of drama was created from the vital currents of Irish social life by dramatists of a new order like Synge and others, and a new stage was invented to suit the requirements of the new type of drama. As the poet reaches the most sensitive part of his nation through the medium of the drama, the movement started by Yeats proved a potent factor in bringing about the cultural revolution of his country, from within, with lightning speed. But there was a time when the young Irish poets of the new movement could not get a publisher for their books. Dr. James H. Cousins of Adyar, who is devoting his entire life to the cultural emancipation of India, has the full experience of the Irish literary revival as one of its participants, and is accessible to all who are willing to be benefited by his advice. His critical evaluation of India's ancient heritage as well as the modern achievements is as sympathetic as it is genuine. His saintly life is a living force which is influencing the very outlook of many of the students who come into close contact with him.

What I wish to suggest to my friends is that with such a practical example of the Irish young men before us, we

can start a movement and organise the students of the colleges into small bands of literary workers who will have ample leisure in the vacations to collect the available folk-lore and publish it. It is not a work to be carried out by any single individual, even though our enthusiastic Pundit Veturi Prabhakara Sastri has been collecting the folk-lore whenever he could snatch an opportunity in his official tours. On account of the rapid modernisation of villages the folk-lore is disappearing, and even now it is not too late for an organised attempt to rescue it. I trust my student friends will respond.

The Essentials of Karnatic Music

BY HARI NAGABHUSHANAM

Karnatic music has two aspects, the transcendental and the conventional, the latter being conceived chiefly as a stepping stone to the former which is the true conception of music as delineated in the previous article. The best exponents of the Karnatic school have laid stress on these two aspects and have demonstrated them by their own example. Ramadas, Purandardas, Narayana Thirtha, Narasimhadas, Thyagaraja, Kshetraya, Dikshitar and a host of such 'Bhakti Yogins' furnish instances in themselves for my propositions.

SRI THYAGARAJA

Of all these, Sri Thyagaraja is certainly a divine incarnation come out to preach to us, consistently with Vedic authority, what music is in its essence and how it secures our eternal emancipation. Sri Shankaracharya expounded the Vedic lore especially the 'Prasthan Traya' thereof and re-instated the 'Adwaitic' system of philosophy in its former glorious, indubitable and invulnerable position. Sri Ramanujacharya interpreted the same so as to recuscitate the 'Visishtadwaitic' system of philosophy and Sri Madhwacharya construed it with a view to re-establish the 'Dwaitic' system of philosophy on a firm basis. Thus, of course, they became the founders of the three main religious sects into which the whole of the Aryan population in India is divided at present. As time passed, the true spirit of the systems became lost and superficial vestures have remained only to create and widen the barriers of dissension and strife. Sri Thyagaraja

therefore came out to restore unanimity among the followers of the three great exponents of the Vedic culture and effect a regeneration of 'Nada Brahmopasana' inculcated by the 'Shrutis' and the 'Smrithis' etc. He conceives that 'Nada Brahmopasana' is the backbone of Vedic culture, that the three great schools of philosophy above referred to are agreed upon its form and procedure, and that 'Samgeetham,' its conventional counterpart, serves as a universal religion and a common language not only for the whole of the Aryan Race in India but for the whole creation, human and superhuman.

THE RELIGION OF SRI THYAGARAJA

True to his birth as an Andhra Smartha Brahmin of the Vydeeki sect, professing Sri Shankaracharya's Advaitic doctrine of Vedantic philosophy, he lived the life of a Sanyasin (ascetic) and preached "Jnana Yoga." He declares that he has realised the identity of the 'Paramathman' (i.e., the ego within with the cosmic ego throughout), that the whole of creation is nothing but a manifestation of one 'Atman' so beheld, and that through 'Nadopasana' one attains 'Atma Jnana' i.e. self-realisation and 'Atmanandam' i.e. self-blissfulness. (*Vide* his songs of 'Marugelara,' 'Vidajaladura,' 'Undede-Ramudokadu,' 'Ethavunara Nilakada Neeku,' etc.)

Again, true to his mission, he puts on the garb of an 'Upasaka' or 'Bhakta' and inculcates 'Bhakti Yoga' which is common to both Dwaitic and Advaitic Schools and proclaims that 'Nadopasana' secures 'Moksham' (or salvation) and that 'Samgeetham', its conventional counterpart, effects the same if it is permeated with 'Bhakti.' Further he denounces in very strong terms that accomplishment in music for the sake of wordly prospects or sensual appeasement is infernal and unworthy of the posterity of the Maharishis. Again he chooses the name and form of Sri Ramachandra as best representing the address and the personality of 'Paramathman,' no note of discord being struck by any school of Vedic religion as

regards His supreme divinity. Let us see why this is so.

THE DIVINITY OF SRI RAMACHANDRA

The word 'Rama' literally means 'he in whom everything is delighted,' and its origin is traceable to the Vedas as an expression denoting the supreme 'Brahman.' Bhagavan Valmiki sings His praises in his sacred work of *Srimad Ramayana* with the following conception of Sri Rama's personality as expressed therein :—

"Rama is a righteous man in the world. His motto is 'Satyam' and 'Dharmam', i.e. truth and virtue. In fact, virtue with its splendour has emerged directly from Rama."

The inner meaning thereof may be stated thus :—

"Rama is that entity styled 'Sat' in the Vedas. He can be best realised through His attributes of 'Satyam' 'Jnanam' and 'Anantham'. The cosmos has evolved from Him with the help of 'Prakriti.'

This verse therefore conceives Sri Rama as 'Paramathman' spoken of in the following texts :—

1. "Oh Somya! this visible world (of name and form) existed as 'Sat' before creation—that 'Sat' which is one without a second and which is also called 'Brahman'."
2. "Brahman is 'Satyam', 'Jnanam' and 'Anantham'"
3. "That from which the visible creatures have sprung up."

Again, Bhagavan Valmiki further describes Sri Rama in the following terms :—

"Oh daughter of Janaka! Rama is a person shining with lotus-like eyes; He is beloved even of the animal creation; He has striking beauty and overpowering personality; He has been born with such qualities."

"Oh daughter of Janaka! Rama is 'Pundareekaksha' i.e., Sri Maha Vishnu; He is endeared to the mind because He is the 'Atman' permeating the creation as its support; whatever is strikingly beautiful and whatever presents an overpowering personality are only His manifestations. Such an entity is only the birthless 'Brahman' now incarnate as Rama."

Thus we see the first describes Sri Rama as the personal God, the second describes Him as the impersonal God, the only reality owing to which the whole creation is deemed to exist as it does, and the third describes how He can be best realised in the visible objects of creation.

Bhagavan Valmiki enumerates in the above two verses and many others of a similar kind the two ways of defining Brahman, namely 'Thatasthya Lakshanam' and 'Swarupa Lakshanam' spoken of in the above-quoted Vedic texts and also details the manner of realising Him, *i.e.*, the 'Upasana' to behold Him. Therefore, in his conception, Sri Rama is evidently the personal and the impersonal 'Brahman' the Vedas describe at such great length.

Bhagavan Vyasa conceives Sri Krishna in the same manner in his sacred work Srimad Bhagavata and says this at one place:—

"Barring a butcher or a self-murderer, who will not say 'it is enough recounting the virtues of Bhagavan'—a recounting which 'Muktas' *i.e.*, self-realised 'yogins' indulge in, which 'Mumukshus' *i.e.*, seekers after self-emancipation, consider as a panacea for repeated births, and which pleased the ears and the hearts of 'Vishayees' *i.e.*, sensualists."

The above description of Sri Krishna agrees closely with that of Sri Rama in the foregoing and declares that He is the supreme 'Brahman' in whom the whole creation has its rejoicing. Indeed the name and personality of Sri Ramachandra are such that they attracted even 'Muktas' like Bhagavan Vasishta and Bhagavan Viswamitra to love and adore him in self-identity to their self-absorption, that prompted compeer Avatars like Bharata, Lakshmana and Satrugna to reverence and bow down to him in all sincerity to their heart's content, that induced 'Mumukshus' like Guha, Hanumantha, and Vibhishana to worship and serve him in all meekness for their self-emancipation, and that tempted 'Vishayees' like Sugreeva and his following to revere and obey him in all earnestness for their spiritual elevation. Valmiki who had been living a most sinful life became Brahmarshi Valmiki as he

constantly thought of Rama and uninterruptedly recited His sacred name, true to the initiation of the "Sapta Maharshis." Again he has become the father of Sanskrit poetry and the author of the greatest and noblest of Sanskrit poetic works because he has written the life of Sri Rama, completely absorbed in devotion and love.

In fact, even the name of Sri Rama, not to speak of His personality, is enchanting to the highest degree even to His enemies like Ravana, and I venture to assert that there is no word in the world's literature, which is so sweet to the ear and so palatable and tractable to the tongue.

There is no wonder, therefore, that Sri Tyagaraja has selected Sri Ramachandra and His sacred name to represent the 'Paramathman,' and 'Aumkara', His address, so that the one may constitute the 'Alambana' *i.e.*, the objective, and the other the medium for the spiritual meditation of a 'Bhakti Yogin' in the course of his 'Geethopasana.' He realises that Sri Rama is acceptable to all sects and endeared to all people from every standpoint as a supreme incarnation of 'Parapara Brahman' *i.e.*, personal and impersonal God, and has hence addressed his songs principally to Him with His glorious name as the catch-word thereof.

One who studies the life of Sri Thyagaraja in the dim-coloured light of Western education and not in the effulgent search-light of Vedic culture will find that he has some though not all the moral and intellectual weaknesses man is heir to, such as wrathfulness, jealousy and self-conceit, and that he holds religious ideals which change from the low depths of polytheism, to the highest summits of pantheism. *Vide*, 'Endaro Mahanubhavulu', 'Giriraja-suthathanaya', 'Marugelara', etc. Again his 'Bhakti' appears to range from what is called 'Moodha Bhakti' *i.e.*, blindfold popular devotion, the meanest conception thereof, to 'Antharanga Bhakti' *i.e.*, altruistic introspective devotion, the highest culmination thereof.

Thus it looks as if he were passing from one stage of evolution to another and becomes a perfect man as age

advances like any other human being. This conclusion follows if we view his life in the light of the Western method of criticism of great personalities like Shakespeare, Milton, Dante, Carlyle, Wordsworth, Ruskin and so on. Whatever may be the height of knowledge which the Westerner has reached in the sphere of material scientific inventions, it cannot be supposed for a moment that he has fathomed the depths of spiritual culture in any degree. Hence he is no safe guide to us in matters spiritual such as the criticism of the religious leaders. Sri Thyagaraja is one who, as already observed, comes out into the world with a particular mission from God, that of cementing differences among the followers of the three schools of Vedantic philosophy through 'Nada Brahmopasana' and as such he plays the role of an 'Upasaka' and in doing so he presents a variety of changes as taking place in him as consequences of his 'Upasana', and appears as if he had been afflicted with many of our mental infirmities and intellectual deformities. But if you let your vision penetrate deeper and deeper, you will find that he is a 'Jnana Yogin' as perfect as Sri Shankaracharya himself, and that to save the world from the agonies of life, he espouses the cause of 'Bhakti Yoga' in which aspect he is as perfect as Sri Ramanujacharya or Madhwacharya. Hence some of his songs have a double meaning, one appealing to the 'Jnana Yogins' and the other to the 'Bhakti Yogins.' Vide 'Dwaithamu Sukhama', 'Marugelara', 'Bhajanaseyave Manasa,' etc. Even though he is perched upon the highest peak of 'Sanyasam' or 'Nivriti' inculcated by the Upanishads as interpreted by Sri Shankaracharya, he always puts on the insignia of 'Garhasthyam' or 'Pravriti' and moves with us in the labyrinths of changing faith and oscillating devotion. This is the way in which an Avatar like Sri Ramachandra or a 'Loka Samgraha Jnani' like Janaka would act in pursuance of the following texts :—

"You are bound to do 'Karma' at least with a view to effect 'Lokasamgraham' i.e. to elevate mankind by social service,

just because Janaka and others attained self-realisation, doing 'Karma' alone."

"Whatever a leader does, others (his followers) do that alone; whatever ideals he acts up to, the world follows them."

Sri Shankaracharya comments on the first of the above verses as follows :—

"They (Janaka and others) attained self-realisation through 'Jnanam' alone but doing 'Karma' for the sake of 'Lokasamgraha' without being bound by it as laid down by the verse 'Guna Guneshu Varthamthi'; though 'Karma Sanyasam' was achieved by them, they attained self-realisation doing 'Karma' alone; this means they did not abandon 'Karma'".

Hence Thyagaraja who is an Avatar according to me, or a 'Loka Samgraha Jnani' such as he declares himself to be in his song 'Dasarathe, Runamu Deerpa Na Tharama,' selects and observes throughout his life a course of conduct which presents him in a cloak of humanity with all its patches and decorations.

Western education has enshrouded our minds and has enslaved our hearts so much that we begin to argue that we have a right to review the lives of 'Avatars' and 'Mahapurushas' and point out their virtues and drawbacks, all the while labouring under the misapprehension that they as human beings like ourselves are amenable to our criticism. We forget that humanity ranges from the carnivorous cannibal to the most philanthropic Mahatma, that the ideals guiding the conduct of persons differ according to the degree of their cultural evolution, and that hence we are not fit to judge persons occupying a position of giddy eminence above us. Consequently we should not venture our opinion with regard to the conduct of saintly characters and it should be our sole aim to dive deeper and discover a solution to the apparently irreconcilable incongruities therein. Sri Thyagaraja being one of such Mahatmas, we should study his life with an open mind eager to receive enlightenment further and further out of his unfathomable resourcefulness. In this

connection let us bear in mind the following verse in the 'Geetha':—

"What is night's darkness to creation is daylight to a 'Samyamee', i.e., a 'Jnani', and what is daylight to a 'Jnani' is night's darkness to creation."

Again, a superficial critic such as a person who is not well-versed in Sanskrit or Telugu, or one who has not understood the spirit of languages, may say that Sri Thyagaraja's linguistic accomplishment is anything but noteworthy, that the language he used in his songs is full of ungrammatical laborious constructions and that he lacks felicity and clearness of expression. Here also he is too high for us to judge. Just as Sri Rama is God enshrined in his heart, so is Srīmad Ramayana his constant companion for his thought and expression. Just like Srīmad Ramayana his songs are such that a boy can be said to understand and that even Pandits fail to expound. Again Srīmad Ramayana contains many words which cannot be reconciled with the rules of Panini's grammar; so also Sri Thyagaraja's songs may have expressions here and there which defy the rules of our incomplete Telugu Grammar. Such words and expressions are styled 'Arsha Prayoga' and we have no right to say they are wrong. In fact we shall have to evolve a separate grammar from his works which will explain the linguistic beauties thereof, on the lines of the Vedic grammar and the Shakespearean Grammar. In one word his grammatical constructions are most musical and most original, and his style is most chaste, idiomatic, simple, homely and fertile. In every way he is a transcendental personality and as such the rules prescribed for our conduct do not bind him in any manner. (*Vide*, Sri Shankara's 'Bhashyam' for the fourth aphorism in 'Uttara Mimamsa'.)

Thus a critical study of Sri Thyagaraja's life and his works will convince everyone that he is a 'Vibbuti Avatar' of God come out into the world to re-habilitate music in its original purity of conception, to redirect it in its proper channels of spiritual communion, and to

replenish it with original composition breathing complete divinity throughout, holding himself out as one who has realised 'Jivanmukti' through 'Nadopasana.' His glory radiates all over the country and is sure to captivate the whole world one day. Many of his songs echo the foregoing observations about Sri Rama and himself. Let us accordingly feel proud that he was born among us in South India like the three great teachers of Vedic religion, and make sincere efforts to carry out his mission by propagating his ideals through precept and example.

GEETHOPASANA: HOW TO BE CONDUCTED

We now come to the next subject; how we have to conduct our 'Geethopasana' in accordance with his ideals.

'Geethopasana' goes by the name of 'Samgeetham' in ordinary Shastraic literature as already observed. The word 'Samgeetham' literally means 'well-sung' and it is technically used as indicating a combination of 'Geetham', i.e., vocal music, 'Vadyam', i.e., instrumental music, and 'Nritham', i.e., dance music, according to some authors; and 'Geetham' and 'Vadyam' alone according to some others. Of these 'Geetham' is set down as the vital function and the other or others as auxiliary. Again 'Geetham' is said to be one of three forms—'Ekala Geetham', 'Yamala Geetham' and 'Brindaka Geetham.' 'Ekala Geetham' means solo music, 'Yamala Geetham' denotes music by two persons, and 'Brindaka Geetham' signifies congregational music. The first of these kinds is in vogue at present, the second is very rarely seen, and the third is employed by untutored folk in their divine worship and is known by the name of 'Sevamelam', loosely pronounced as 'Shavamola' in Telugu parts. Of course, these three types of vocal music are conceived so as to serve three different purposes as I view them. 'Ekala' is one who can conduct the divine service single-handed in a manner worthy of himself. 'Yamala' is one who rises to the occasion better in combination with another, than in a single-handed performance. 'Brindaka' is one who mixes

with many, either to lead the service or to be led by them therein. Of course, these three types of vocal musicians have their significant features recommending themselves to us but the first and the last deserve special note. The one is a representative of 'Antharanga Bhaktas' and the other, of 'Bahya Bhaktas'. The middle one, *i.e.*, 'Yamala' musician may be taken to represent one kind of 'Bahya Bahkti' which consists in a 'Guru' (*i.e.*, teacher) teaching his 'sishya' (*i.e.*, disciple). It is regrettable that 'Ekala Geetham' is now represented in a majority of cases by musicians who do not bother themselves about spiritual ideals, that 'Brindaka Geetham' is relegated to congregationalists who do not trouble themselves about the technique of the art, and 'Yamala Geetham' is almost forgotten for ever. Hence it behoves us to reform and reinforce the three types of vocal music so as to elevate the present level of our Karnatic music.

'BHAVA', 'RAGA' AND 'THALA'

The first essential of vocal music or music in general is the expression of 'Bhavam', a term which cannot be adequately interpreted in English. It literally means 'that which exists', and therefore implies mental concepts popularly denoted by the term 'ideas' since they are such as live on. A mental concept is one which is generally conveyed by means of words. In fact, language is conceived as a medium to convey ideas. Language sometimes fails to do so, owing to the intensity of emotion, and the man involuntarily falls into sobs or laughter as the case may be, or is induced to sing to himself. If, in such a state of the mind, he tries to express himself in words, they come out in a dictioned metrical manner which we call poesy, all in an unconscious mood. This proves that sobs, laughter, poesy and singing owe their origin to intense feeling, 'emotion' as it is called, and are hence identical in their functions and the effects produced thereby. As between poesy and singing, the former is an expression of less intense feeling than the latter, generally speaking, and both

shape themselves automatically in certain cases and proceed with increasing effect. Both grief and joy give rise to these four ways of expression when they become too heavy to be contained and controlled. Laughter is better endured than sobs, poesy is better appreciated than laughter, and singing is more pleasing than poesy, and hence constitutes the highest and noblest expression of emotion in a most acceptable form. Involuntary poesy and automatic singing develop into poetry and music as we understand them. That is, the former are the commonplace media of the expression of feeling, and the latter the cultured forms thereof. Consequently poetry abounding in feeling cannot employ profuse phraseology but is pointed and laconic. So also music seething with emotion cannot have the cloak of words but is a succession of pleasing sounds in a well-arranged form.

'RAGALAPANA'

This is the conception of 'Ragalapana' which is one of the unique features of the Karnatic school. 'Thanam' and 'Pallavi', other special features of our school, may be treated as particular aspects of 'Ragalapana.' The 'Sthayee Bhavam' (or central idea) in music, whatever form it may assume, song, 'Ragalapana,' 'Thanam' or anything else, should invariably be 'Bhakti' or devotion to God, as already observed, and it has to be interwoven by one or more of the nine 'Rasas' (*i.e.*, the nine types of intense emotion). Accordingly, in singing a song in which words or sentences are employed to express the 'Rasas', the 'Sthayee Bhavam' or the central thought should be constantly kept in view, the words should be distinctly and intelligibly pronounced so as to make the hearers catch and follow the ideas at once. Further, the musician should now and then be addressing God by such words as 'Rama' and 'Krishna', and his musical expatiation of the song should serve as a commentary upon the thoughts comprised therein. Again he should keep before his eyes the image

of Rama or Krishna or whomsoever he addresses, and pour out his heart to Him as he sings in sincere devotion. Secondly, if he is making 'Ragalapam' proper, in which no language is generally employed to express emotions but which apparently consists in a modulation of the musical notes making a melody, he should induce before himself a concept of God such as he best appreciates—say of Rama or Krishna or Siva—and singing the 'Ragam' in a fashion which suggests that God is 'Nada Brahman' and that He can be best realised through 'Nadopasana'. Just as a musician when he sings a song has to extol the virtues of God as they are described therein, he has to glorify, when he sings 'Ragam', God's attributes as they are symbolised in Vedic texts.

Sri Thyagaraja prescribes the rules which a musician has to observe while singing any kind of musical part—song, 'Ragam' 'Pallavi,' etc.

1. 'Who is that wise man who can lull you, Rama, by his music combining it beautifully with 'Mridangam' and 'Thalam', 2. and using extempore expressions which signify ideas contained in the Upanishads and singing them with accuracy in pronouncing 'Swarams'? 3. Is it possible for Thyagaraja to worship you by means of a song which possesses the poetic beauties of 'Yati' and 'Visrama', the stylish grace of 'Draksharasa' (i.e., grape-juice) the sense-grandeur of 'Navarasas', and the spiritual culture of 'sadbhakti' and 'vyragyam' (i.e., intense devotion and ascetic renunciation)."

Thus we see that Thyagaraja ordains what a musician should say, what he should think about, what he should express and how he has to sing and so on. He rules that he should use expressions which convey ideas contained in the Upanishads, while singing 'Ragam', song or anything else, clothe them in 'Bhakti' and 'Vyragyam' and deliver them with verbal ornamentation, etc. While it is so laid down by the great preceptor, our musicians disregard his command and say Ri, Ri, Ri; Ni, Ni, Ni; A, A, A; Ha, Ha, Ha, etc., and so on, which ejaculations have no sense whatever. Should we tolerate all this? I used to hear

great musicians of old sing 'Ragam' saying "Tha Da Ri Na Thom" and I was all the time thinking that it must be some expression with a great meaning, being used by those who held ancient ideals. Sometime back the real expression dawned upon me with its import to my great relief. The above expression is a shortened or rather a mutilated form of "Thath Are Anantham Aum" or "Thath Are Nantham Aum." Now the meaning of the expression is clear as daylight. "Oh seeker after truth, 'Thath' is 'Anantham' or 'Nantham' and it is 'Aum'." It means "'Brahman' is infinite and He is 'Aumkara'." We see now that this expression brings out in brief the idea contained in the 'Mandookyopanishad' already referred to, a most beautiful and appropriate conception indeed. It conforms to the ideal set up by Sri Thyagaraja in the above song. But, alas! our present-day musicians, at least the majority of them, have lost sight of this ideal and have incurred the ban of meaninglessness for our sacred music. Let us therefore try and get rid of this stigma by compliance with Shastraic ideals. Let us bear this in mind, and let our musicians use the above expression or similar ones such as 'Ne Dam' 'Anantham', 'Aum' etc., etc., so as to bring out the Upanishadic conception of the impersonal God, or say 'Rama', 'Krishna', 'Govinda', 'Shankara sambho,' etc., in order to address ourselves to the personal God. Again they may take up a 'Sloka' addressed to God, personal or impersonal, and comment upon its meaning, by way of explanation, by their singing the same, with such addresses to God here and there, as mentioned above.

The next question is, what should a musician say when he sings 'Thanam' or 'Ghanam', as it is sometimes called? The word 'Thanam' is either an incorrect form of 'Anantham' or a correct expression meaning 'Ekathanam' which means the same thing as 'Anantham'. Hence, as the usage goes, he should inter-weave 'Thanam' with the expression of 'Thanam' or 'Anantham'. It is regrettable that our present day musicians have altogether

given up singing 'Thanam'. The very fact that it is also called 'Ghanam' indicates it has a noble part to play.

'PALLAVI'

Now coming to 'Pallavi', it is something which is in the nature partly of a song and partly of 'Ragalapana'. The central idea is expressed by means of words and 'Shthula Thalam' is employed throughout its course. These two factors make it a song-like production. Again, the major portion of it consists in dilation of musical notes, and in this aspect, it has something in common with 'Ragalapana'. I say 'something in common'; because unlike in 'Ragalapana', the musician indulges more in singing 'Swarams' themselves, in mathematical proportions making combinations and permutations thereof, than in modulating the musical sounds according to 'Bhavam'. Hence the musician who wishes to acquit himself well in this branch of music should bear in mind the ideals of the other branches—song, and 'Ragalapana'—and effect a reconciliation as it were between them.

Now I may be questioned whether the several forms of music dealt with above have a Shastraic origin. The answer is that they have, but the names given to them may differ. The names of the several forms of music as we have them now are those of 'Geetham' 'Varnam' 'Keertana' 'Ragalapana', 'Thanams' and 'Pallavi,' etc., and the names used for them in ancient works on music seem to be 'Geetham', 'Prabandham', 'Sooladyam' 'Namavalitham', 'Churnika', 'Natakam', and 'Alipta,' etc. This is not the place where I can discuss the comparative merits of the names and forms of the several aspects of music in old and modern times and draw out the necessary forms of difference between them. Hence I have left out such a discussion here.

THE ELEMENT OF 'RAGAM' IN MUSIC

Having said so much about the first ingredient of 'Bhavam' in music, I have to take up the next essential

element of 'Ragam' and say something about it. 'Ragam' consists in a proper pronunciation and expression of musical sounds in the course of singing, and this pronunciation and expression we call 'Akaram'. This aspect of music is dealt with in 'Sabdabheda-prakaranam' of 'Sangeeta Ratnakaram' and I wish to mention a few things in this connection. A study of that chapter will convince the reader that the pronunciation and expression of sounds should be as natural as possible and should have no conventions about it. If the voice is not commendable in itself, it should be so tutored as to square up the angularities and produce sweet sounds by proper modulations. Sweetness should be the ruling principle of the articulation of sounds, and it is the result of the natural frame of the voice trained and modulated at the feet of a well-accomplished teacher so as to be rid of conventions, artificialities, and eccentricities in the manner of sound production. The musician should therefore keep himself within the bounds of his voice as regards its pitch and expedition, and ought not to over-reach himself. We see a tendency now on the part of our musicians to over-estimate their abilities in this respect and to imitate a Patnam Subrahmanya Iyer or a Maha Vydianatha Iyer of ever-memorable reminiscences, with the result that their delivery is all too artificial and unfinished. Again the musician should avoid the several 'Swara Doshams' enumerated in works on music, especially such as we term 'Graha Swara', 'Viswara', and 'Apaswara'. Further he should constantly keep himself alive to the fact that the primary aim of music is self-realisation through sound and should pronounce the musical sounds in such a manner as will take him to the goal. What this manner of pronunciation can be will have to be deduced from authorities such as the following:—

"Saying 'Aum', (the Upasaka) should concentrate himself upon 'Atman'".

The above Vedic text is explained by Anandagiri, the great and versatile commentator of Sri Shankara's works, in the following manner:—

"The moment a 'Samadhi Nishtah' *i.e.* one who is accomplished in self-communion says 'Aum' and concentrates himself upon 'Atman,' he merges 'Akara' of gross form in 'Ukara' of subtle form, then again 'Ukara' in 'Makara' the cause thereof, and then 'Makara' in 'Prathyagathman' *i.e.* the Ego within, who is beyond the cause and the effect. So doing, he becomes a 'Samadhi Nishtha' *i.e.* one who has realised 'samadhi' or blissfulness."

This explains how 'Pranavopasana' the basis of 'Geethopasana' is practised by 'Jnana Yogins' and success therein is achieved by them. Hence it follows as a corollary that the same result is obtained through 'Geethopasana' if you pronounce the musical sounds in conformity with the above principle as explained in the following verse, with the mind centred upon God:—

"That sound is termed 'Chehala', perfect, which is neither very loud nor very feeble. Such a sound is produced in the case of males by 'Akantha Kunthanam' *i.e.* the modulation of free expression or production of sounds through the voice in a particular manner, and in the case of females always with no effort on their part."

How such musical sounds can be produced in compliance with the above text so as to accord with the Vedic conception of 'Pranavopasana' has to be learnt effectively from a practical 'Geethopasaka' and no discourse thereon however long and lucid can bring home the matter so vividly. The long and short of this discussion is that a vocalist should bear in mind that all sounds and all words have their start and finish in 'Aumkara' and produce them in a manner suggestive of this conclusion by the requisite modulation of the voice and the necessary regulation of the mouth including the tongue and the lips, all the time concentrating his mind upon 'Nadabrahman.'

THE ELEMENT OF 'THALAM'

We come to 'Thalam' or time-keeping. It is said to constitute the third element of 'Geetham.' The following oft-quoted maxim may be referred to in this connection:—

"'Shriti' is the mother and 'laya' the father of Music."

The meaning of this maxim is clear. Just as a child is born of a mother and thrives in her care, music owes its existence and melody to 'Shriti' *i.e.*, the starting unit of sound and accurate attunement of musical sounds to the unit. Again, just as a father contributes to the child's well-being, 'laya' *i.e.*, accurate proportion of time-units makes for the diction and dignity of music. The Karnatic school has recognised this principle and has given a prominent place to 'laya' in its arrangement. 'Thalam' when spoken of as an element of music means 'laya' and not the different 'Thalams' such as 'Dhruva' and 'Madhya'. So also 'Bhavam' and 'Ragam' as constituting the other such elements are shown to mean word-concepts and sound-combinations. These three words have acquired an extended meaning, of course not unconnected with, but as a continuation and development of, their primary meaning, and are used in that extended sense in the several chapters in works on music dealing with 'Bhava-Prakaranam', 'Raga-Prakaranam' and 'Thala Prakaranam' respectively. These 'Prakaranams' deal with the several 'Bhavams' or phases of emotions, the several 'Ragams' or melodies arising from sound-combinations, and the several 'Thalams' or modes of time-keeping. They are too numerous to be discussed here and may be out of place as well. In this connection it may be stated with propriety that the three 'Prakaranams' are too elaborate and too accurate to stand in need of any further interference on our part. Many of our musicians have been coming into prominence even without a knowledge of the rudimentary principles, and therefore we shall do well to insist upon the bulk of our musicians at least to acquire a knowledge of the fundamentals of music instead of trying to add to the list of 'Ragams' and 'Thalams' already too innumerable even to remember their names. It may not be out of place to mention here that many of our notables will not be able to sing at least twenty 'Ragams' at full length with all the freedom required for the task.

'VADYAM'

So far I have dealt with the three elements of 'Geetham' which is itself the first and the most vital element of 'Samgeetham'. Next I wish to say something about 'Vadyam' which comes next to 'Geetham' to make up the idea of 'Samgeetham.' 'Vadyam' has assumed a very important place in the system of Karnatic music. It is divided into four kinds of 'Thatha', 'Sushira', 'Anavaddha' and 'Ghana' vadyams. Stringed instruments such as the 'Veena' and the 'Vayuleena' (violin) represent the first kind; bored instruments such as the 'Venu' (flute) and the 'Nagaswaram' (pipe) represent the second; skin-covered instruments such as the 'Mridangam' and the 'Mardalam' represent the third; and sounding instruments such as the 'Chirithalam' (cymbal) represent the fourth. The principal function of 'Vadyam' is conceived as accompaniment to 'Geetham' (*i.e.*, vocal music); but 'Thatha' and 'Sushira' Vadyams (*i.e.*, stringed and bored instruments) are considered to have two aspects—one as solos and the other as accompaniments, inasmuch as they are not only useful to help a vocalist as accompaniments but are capable of producing 'Geetham' *i.e.*, music composed of 'Bhava', 'Raga' and 'Thala' in its various phases. Of these, the 'Veena' is of Vedic origin and immemorial repute. It is a superb instrument of a most scientific nature, and no other instrument can vie with it in point of melody and adjustability and accuracy. It only wants in richness of sound so as to command big audiences. Some ingenious brains may work at it and make up the want by any original contrivance. The violin or 'Vayuleena', as I term it, is believed to be a foreign instrument but I am convinced it must owe its origin to the genius of the Aryans themselves. I venture to make such a presumptuous statement because it is more adapted to our system of music than to the Western conception of music. Perhaps it represents one of the several varieties of 'Veena' spoken of in our works on music, which have evidently become obsolete and whose origin and development we are not able to trace with certain-

ty. However this may be, it is an instrument which can claim equality with our venerable 'Veena' from every standpoint. If we compare and contrast both of them, they vie and outvie each other in certain respects. The deficiencies of the one are made good by the efficiencies of the other. In respect of richness and continuity of sound, the 'Vayuleena' is far superior to the 'Veena,' but in regard to distinctness and accentuation of sound, the 'Veena' excels the other though to a limited degree. The 'Vayuleena' is unmatched as an accompaniment to vocal music and the other is unparalleled as a permanent record of musical 'Shruties.' The virtues of both instruments being discussed, we have to lay down that both of them are perfect instruments, and none others can stand comparison with them, whatever be the degrees of difference between themselves. In this connection, I cannot but regret the fact that the 'Veena' has of late been falling into disuse owing to the popularity of the 'Vayuleena' and I consequently appeal to the lovers of indigenous art, especially of Vedic origin, to encourage the art of 'Veena' playing and revive its glory.

Next has to be reckoned the most sacred instrument, the 'Venu' of divine origin. Bhagavan Sri Krishna is said to have mesmerised the whole creation, animate and inanimate, human and superhuman, all alike with His strains on this instrument. His was a divine mastery and the improvised melodies must have been such as no human or superhuman genius could sound the depths of and the whole creation was therefore dumbstricken with the intoxication of the ambrosia of His transcendental music. Blessed were those beings who had the mysterious fortune to enjoy such music to their souls' eternal comfort! The great Sarabhasastry—eternal peace to his soul!—is renowned as having reclaimed the lost treasure of 'Vamsee Nadam' and established a reputation worthy of the Avatar who first exhibited its superb possibilities. It is an instrument which may rank next to 'Veena' and 'Vayuleena,' judging from the present condition of its adaptability to our music, and will have to be placed above them by reason of its connection with the divine Avatar of

Sri Krishna from which it is implied that its possibilities are far surpassing those of any other instrument.

Next comes the 'Nagaswaram' of immemorial origin and long-standing fame. But for the fact that it has to be blown with the mouth, it would have been taken up by the upper castes as well and mastered by them to a further degree of perfection. Even as it is, it has to be conceded that it lacks nothing to be styled a perfect musical instrument of almost all-round adaptability. The southern parts of the Madras Presidency have acquired a special distinction in the art and have excelled the other parts of the province, perhaps owing to the fact that there are a number of temples with extensive endowments of great antiquity, which render immense encouragement to this art.

Both 'Venu' and 'Nagaswaram' are now used only as solo instruments and not as accompaniments to vocal music, and rightly so. The volume of the sound produced by them, especially the latter, is too overwhelming and hence they are not useful as accompaniments. But there are instances to show that 'Venu' can serve the purpose of accompaniment as well.

Of the 'Anvaddha' instruments, 'Mridangam,' 'Mardalam' and 'Kanjari' have won a name for themselves as accompaniments to vocal music and instrumental music. Their chief purpose is accompaniment alone. 'Mridangam' is an essential accompaniment to vocal or instrumental solo-music. Just the same part is played by 'Mardalam' as accompaniment to 'Nagaswaram'. Strictly speaking, these instruments have no place as independent functionaries, but a practice has of late taken deep root in our province, especially in the case of 'Mridangam', to give the 'Mardangika' an independent chance to display his mastery of the art, apart from his capacity to accompany the principal musician. This practice, though of recent growth, is commendable if the artist keeps within his bounds; but I regret to remark that many of our present day 'Mardangikas' do not seem to understand that their foremost function is to accompany and not to lead the performance and misuse the trust reposed

in them by taking an unduly long time for the exhibition of their talents.

While this practice itself is thus deplorable, there has sprung up another undesirable circumstance, especially in the Tamil country, to arrange a medley of instruments besides the 'Mridangam' such as the 'Kanjari,' the 'Dolak,' the 'Ghatham' and the 'Moorsing' to accompany the leading musician. This combination is being persisted in inspite of the trenchant criticism of learned theorists and artists to the effect that it is quite opposed to the ideals of our Karnatic system of music, the chief function being not only hampered but thrown into the background by the unduly disproportionate prolongation of the secondary functions. In such combinations, the auxiliary functionaries overpower the principal artist in their attempts to outwit one another and drown him amidst the uproar of their ill-harmonised instruments. It may also be remarked here with due respect to the artists who are displaying unprecedented mastery over the instrument, that 'Kanjari' is most unsuited to play the part of an accompaniment to vocal music and instrumental music such as 'Veena' and 'Vayuleena.' Perhaps it deserves a place in a 'Nagaswaram' entertainment. Hence it behoves the true lovers of the sacred art of music to discourage such unhealthy practices.

Again the Karnatic school has, true to the spirit of our shastras, kept alive the art of 'Jantra-gathra-geetham' i.e., voco-instrumental music, as I style it, which consists in oneself carrying out the functions of a vocalist and an accompanying instrumentalist at the same time. This kind of music has of late become a rare commodity in the Tamil country and I feel proud to note that Andhra Desa has got on its rolls even now many musicians who represent the art in its pristine purity. It is of course an art in itself and a musician who holds perfect sway in both the arts of vocal and instrumental music is given a higher place, by our shastras, in the scale of musicians. It is one of the several qualifications which make a 'Vaggeyakaraka,' the noblest of musicians, according to the dictum of author of 'Sangeetha

Ratnakara'. Indeed a musician of this type deserves special distinction by virtue of his rare genius to wield two different arts to perfection, and also by reason of the fact that such self-contained music is sure to be crowned with greater success than ordinary musical combinations where different individuals come together to perform different functions, sometimes with adverse interests and ill-harmonised hearts, even apart from their disparities of accomplishment in their several arts.

There is a variety of 'Veena' which has gained ground in our parts as a solo-instrument. I mean the 'Maha Nalaka Veena' or 'Gotu Vadyam' as it is called. Though not a perfect instrument, owing to the fact that it cannot produce all the 'Gamakams' to perfection, it is one which can captivate us with its melody and execution. It is really an ingenious discovery of an original brain and deserves our commendation.

Last but not the least, the instruments falling under the category of 'Ghana Vadyam' such as the 'Chiri Thalam' i.e., wooden or bronze cymbals, are necessary adjuncts to 'Geetham.' Sri Thyagaraja makes mention of these things in his song of "Sogasuga Mridangathalamu." Again his paintings represent him as holding such an instrument in his hand. These things go to establish that they are as essential as 'Mridangam' to complete the conception of 'Geetham.' But we do not come across the use of such instruments in our ordinary musical combinations. Different varieties thereof are used as essential accessories, in 'Sevamelam' or 'Brindaka Geetham' and not in individual performances. A study of the lives of great 'Bhaktas' like Thyagaraja and Ramadas will convince us that they hold such an instrument in the left hand, a 'Thambur' in the right hand, and wore 'Gajjallu' i.e., small sounding cylindrical bells to the legs when they were engaged in 'Geethaopasana'. The importance of the last-mentioned equipment can be best realised when we deal with the subject of 'Nrittam.'

The earthen pot is another instrument which has ac-

quired much popularity with us in our musical combinations. It is a very simple instrument but a very fine one to amuse us either as a primary accompaniment in the place of 'Mridangam' or as an additional counterpart of it. Strictly speaking, it does not fall within the four kinds of instruments above stated, but it may be classed by general sufferance among 'Anavaddha' instruments. It may be exhilarating to us to note that the Karnatic school has preserved the prestige of the Aryan system of music even in the sphere of musical instruments, and that it has monopolised almost all the important instruments enumerated above and placed them on an eminence worthy of the glory of our nation in the province of music. Perhaps I shall not be mistaken if I assert that the 'Chittar,' the 'Sarangi' and a number of other instruments, most in vogue in the Northern Provinces, savour of Mussulmanic culture and conception and are not capable of being adapted to Karnatic ideals of music, but our instruments described above are facile enough to produce any kind of music based upon the principle of melody as well as that of harmony.

'NRITTAM'

Next I take up the subject of 'Nrittam' which constitutes the remaining element of 'Samgeetham' according to Sarangadeva, the author of 'Samgeetha Ratnakara.' It is one of the three essentials to make up 'Samgeetham' as shown below: "Dance, vocal music, and instrument, the three together are styled 'Samgeetham.'" Some other authorities say thus: "Some style it 'Samgeetham,' which consists of 'Geetham' and 'Vadyam.'" According to the latter view, 'Nrittam' is not necessary to make up the idea of 'Samgeetham.' Hence it becomes clear that there is a difference of opinion among the ancients themselves as to whether 'Nrittam' forms an essential ingredient of 'Samgeetham' or not. The difference will dwindle into a nominal one when we recall to our mind that all the authorities concede that 'Geetham' is of primary importance and the other or the others are in the nature of supplements. We have seen

that the highest purpose of music is to control the three agencies of action—the mouth, the body and the mind—and thereby concentrate the spirit on 'Paramathman,' so that the devotee secures the state of 'Samadhi' or blissfulness. The three agencies are said to be controlled and concentrated when they are completely engaged in the service of God to the absolute abstraction of other objects as stated in the following verse of 'Srimad Andhra Bhagavatha' of the blessed Potana :—

"The hands are those alone which serve 'Kamalaksha' *i.e.*, the lotus-eyed one;
The tongue is that alone which praises 'Sri Nadha' *i.e.*, the consort of Lakshmi;
The eyes are those alone which gaze upon 'Sura Rakshaka' *i.e.*, the Saviour of the Gods;
The head is that alone which falls prostrate before 'Sesha Saayi' *i.e.*, the recliner on the Sesha serpent;
The ears are those alone which hear Vishnu *i.e.*, the Omnipresent;
The 'manas' or mind is that alone which is concentrated upon 'Madhu Vairi' *i.e.*, the enemy of Madhu;
The legs are those alone which go round 'Bhagavan' *i.e.*, the possessor of the six great virtues;
The 'Buddhi' or Ego is that alone which meditates upon 'Puru-shottama' *i.e.*, the noblest of 'Purushas' or Egos;
The day is that alone which is spent in thinking of 'Devadeva' *i.e.*, the God of the Gods;
The learning is that alone which proclaims 'Chakrahastha' *i.e.*, the wearer of Chakra by the hand;
The teacher is he alone who teaches about 'Kumbhini Dhava' *i.e.*, the Lord of the Universe;
The father is he alone who says 'oh son! realise Hari' *i.e.*, the purifier of all sins."

The verse gives us in a nut-shell how divine worship and spiritual communion should be practised and perfected through the subjugation of the three agencies of action. It contains immense thought and requires voluminous commentation to elucidate it thoroughly. The epithets used to denote God are very ingeniously conceived by the author and

prescribe the sort of service required of every limb and sense-organ. The limbs and the sense-organs perform different functions for the common end of divine service and spiritual communion, but the question is in what manner they are enabled best to do the same according to the conception of the great Poet. The answer is that 'Samgeetham' consisting of the three parts of 'Nritta', 'Geetha', and 'Vadya' affords the best method of service in compliance with such an ideal. 'Geetham' composed of 'Bhava', 'Raga' and 'Thala' engages the three agencies of the mind, the mouth, and one of the hands; 'Vadya' which in this connection means 'Thambur' engages the other hand, and 'Nrittam' engages the legs and the whole of the body. Small cylindrical bells are applied to the legs to produce sweet sounds indicating the 'Prasthara' followed in the course of 'Nrittam'. Thus all the organs of the body, grosser and subtler, sensory and active, are concentrated on the service of God and spiritual communion as enjoined by the divinely-inspired Poet, so as to induce a state of absolute blissfulness called 'Samadhi.' The blending of the three parts of music which take the appellation of 'Thowrya Trikam' seems to be a conception drawn from the following phenomenal circumstances. Some persons when they go into a blissful state of mind fall into a musical reverie, so to style it, when they begin to chat and prattle, to sing and dance, all in ecstasy, not knowing what they do. Hence it follows that the same physical and physiognomical symptoms may be observed when a 'Bhakta' or a 'Geethopasaka' gets enraptured in a state of 'Samadhi.' But this kind of blissful state, being the highest and noblest, is rendered most acceptable and enjoyable as the symptoms proceed in the shape of well-ordained and well-regulated movements of the three agencies of action, which movements are termed 'Thowrya Thrikam.'

Some authors have prescribed 'Geetham' and 'Vadyam' alone as constituting 'Samgeetham' and have dispensed with 'Nrittam' as an element of it. The reason for this seems to be that blissfulness is not in every case accompanied by

automatic dancing and dallying, and hence 'Geetham' and 'Vadyam' alone are considered sufficient, firstly to set at naught the objective functions of the senses and the limbs for their entire centralisation in the subjective self, and secondly for the expression of the blissful condition in the most pleasing form.

Sri Maheswara is said to be the first personage who performed 'Nrittam' and has thereby given us the fundamentals of many of our literary sciences. Again, Sri Krishna Bhagavan is said to have displayed His divine accomplishment in this branch of the art as well and has acquired the title of 'Thandava Krishna.' Further many of our 'Bhaktas' seem to have rendered divine service with 'Nrittam' as an important accessory.

Such being the conception and history of the art, it has to be regretted that it has nowadays been relegated to the ranks of the nautch girl so that she is enabled to allure and captivate the lewd admiration of her officious paramours. Of course our 'Bhagavatars' so-called, who perform 'Harikatha' performances, are expected to have the equipment of 'Nrittam' also as one of their attractive features and do display it in some manner or another. Again we see it represented in our 'Bhajana' parties conducted by untutored folk. I doubt whether the 'Bhagavatars' or the 'Bhajana' parties display the art with any knowledge of its principles and purposes. We have a band of Brahmin 'Bhagavatars' so-called at Kuchipudi a small village near Masulipatam, who, the tradition goes, have been ordained by a great Sanyasin of old to enact a drama-like work of his describing the youthful exploits of Sri Krishna Bhagavan, from generation to generation. These Brahmins pursue the art of dramatic enactment as a profession even to this day in obedience to the command or rather the anathema of the saintly Sanyasin, and display their skill in this art of 'Nrittam' as well in their own way. It is considered that some of them are certainly great adepts in the art and have acquired it by a proper study of, and an assiduous application to, its principles. Apart from such rare instances which also may not reach

the high watermark of perfection, the art seems to have receded from the hands of its proper guardian-angels. Hence it behoves us to revive and popularise it among the upper classes of our society.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, I appeal to my Hindu brethren to live up to the ideals of the Maharshis who are our boasted ancestors, in every sphere of our activities, and still better in that of the divine culture of 'Samgeetham,' and thereby ennoble ourselves in the eyes of the Almighty, 'Paramathman' for the attainment of eternal bliss through His purifying grace. What is contained in the following verse may be borne in mind with profit to ourselves, in this connection:—

"He is termed a real 'Gayaka' on earth, who has a sweet voice and a steady mind, who worships God and the Brahmins, who is a musician pre-eminent among his many peers, who knows what is 'Adi' and what is 'Graham,' who realises all the purposes of 'Ragas,' and is an adept in thoroughly pleasing the audience, who has mastered many shastras, besides knowing 'Neethi', and who is of a pure heart."

The Cottage by the Hill

BY R. L. RAU

I

I heard suddenly, in the stillness of the early morning, the song of a woman. Down there in the cottage, where sometimes the rains swept the hills and the wind blew, a pretty sad-looking woman lay on a little mean mattress; another was singing the song that I had heard; whilst outside the hut itself, a man was pacing to and fro, in an awful frenzy.

But the song was sweet to hear; it had such an air of lovely pliancy and softness about it; one remembered one's childhood whilst listening to that simple little song.

Then I heard a low cry of pain; a cry which a woman alone could utter in her tribulation, when she saw God face to face, as it were, and brought into being, a wee little creature fresh from the very God whom she had seen in her agony and in her suffering!

And a little baby began to cry, asking for the nourishment it needed in a helpless pathetic little way.

The birds were then singing in the air; the pink rays of the morning sun were entering that cottage.

I watched it all; I listened to it for a moment and then went away.

II

I was then—well, there is nothing much to be told about it—an assistant in the Laboratories of P—. It was a drab existence all told. Work in the morning; work in the afternoon; work in the evening, with an hour's recess for lunch in between. My business was to attend to the distillation, to keep the valves steady and generally to manage the heating plant. I cannot say the work was very

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congenial; but it kept me going. And that was saying a great deal about it.

On Sundays I was just a vagabond. That was the day I had absolutely at my disposal, and to be sure I made the fullest use of it. The stars of the night were yet twinkling like little diamonds, and the sleepy cattle still in their stalls. Then I used to wander over the wills and stroll along the farmsteads, where the early roses bloomed and the tall ears of the *jwari* in the fields laughed to the music of the morning wind. Some kindly matron gave me the fresh foaming milk from her brightly polished brass *carvis* and I was content.

From there a long stretch of country right along the sleeping villages of Doraj and Sinhagad, past the sleepy hollow of the Women's University, where the girls still lay asleep dreaming, and then on to my little cottage by the *Mutha* canal. This was my usual round, and poor mortal that I was, I was happy; with my work, with my leisure and with my comforts.

I had no one to call my own—excepting perhaps Moti, the black collie dog. He was my companion. A strange destiny had left me destitute, and by sheer work and struggle I had finished my education. They were good to me—those professors at the big college where I studied—and they had helped me to get through my educational career which was neither brilliant nor very commonplace. It was just a struggle; I remember I used to do odd kinds of jobs to keep me going, to pay for my lights and rents. I remembered how I delivered the bundle of the *Times of India*, as it came from the Express, in the afternoon or went about the Cantonment, and lighted the street lamps. They were all odd jobs, and which college student would ever dream of doing such work? But I never minded it all. I was born independent and liked to be independent. I do not remember any one spoke to me in a kind, really affectionate way; but it did not matter: I read a lot—did well in my chemistry and then got on as an assistant in the Laboratory at P.—That was the pleasantest part of my life. Mr. S. was a gentleman and he treated his assistants in a fine dignified

fashion. So I learnt to make myself happy, cheerful and strong; and grew content with my life and the world around me. Thus did the days pass away until one day, whilst out walking in the silence of that summer morning, I heard a baby cry, and that made me think—it awakened me to a new sense of Reality and I lost my balance as it were.

III

What is this mystery about these little human frailties? Why should a passing sigh, the echo of a distant voice, or the memory of a pleasant dream work upon one's mind in so tumultuous a manner? I cannot tell. But suddenly my heart went out to that woman who had uttered that low, moaning sound, on that still summer morning. Something of the manner of a vision was conjured up before my mind and I wanted to visit the cottage by the hill-slope again!

And so I went one day; then for several days too; timidly and with a great deal of nervousness. The man who had stood there the day before, was not to be seen, nor the woman who had given the song. Only a sad looking girl with a pink bundle of a baby. She smiled at me wanly and said "what may you be wanting, good sir? Brother has gone into the city, and *mayee* went home."

So that was the brother then! I told the girl at once my story: how I came there simply and straightly after the incident of the Sunday. Then she smiled. Oh, God of mine! I will not forget that sad smile: it had in it such an air of a forgotten expectancy and a simple trust of a something that was no more. And then she took the baby in her arms.

"Listen, friend," she said, "I am a poor simple girl. Once upon a time I went to school like the many others around me, bright and sweet: until one day I lost all those dear souls whom I loved, and I came to my brother. He is a job-man in one of those big printing presses. We stay far away as you see; and yet two men came from your college yonder and spoke to me of a big wonderful world, of education, of universities and of a career for really smart girls. I grew puzzled and told my brother. He is a strong, pure man and

he warned me against the college folk. He said they were rich men irresponsible as the birds, and that they treated the sisters of other men as dirt. I could not believe it all, for they were really sweet and honorable in their attentions; and so grew a friendship between us. I came to know many things—and got interested in the world outside, I who was just a village girl. One day they took me to the University and showed me all the beautiful things there. I went there with my brother's permission—although he scowled. But he would not say a word to hurt anyone, this brother of mine.

"The sun was sinking in a great mass of crimson and gold. We had had a perfect day, wandering and making merry, until out of sheer weariness, I came near the little pretty stream, where the big stone-cross of the Orphans Church stands, and laid myself down and slept.

"When I awoke, I found some one was holding me—it was nearly dark and the faint sunset was behind the hills; I felt a curious sensation, and the handsome young man from the college had me in his arms. Such a thing had never happened to me before; and they were the first kisses I ever did receive; a great desire came to me to return them and I hung passionately—hungrily replying . . .

"Suddenly the moon came up wondering; and I rose up and for the first time became conscious of myself.

"He said softly to me, "Goodbye, my dear, don't forget me—I will come to you ere long . . ." and then he went away. There was a lump in my throat, and my heart ached for that young man.

"I waited for him the next day; again the day after, and then for months and then lost him for ever. My brother grew sad: he did not mind the gossip—but he did want men to be fair to a woman and he knew I was ruined.

"But he never spoke a word, this great soul. Only, he said, 'Sushie, you must allow me to bring that young man to you; he has no business to leave you at this rate.' I felt sad. I wept, for I really loved the young man from the college.

"And so the days have passed away and he has not come. My situation has cost my brother his job; and he has sent

mayee home: poor good mayee! She was also so good to me! and I am alone. Dear friend, do you think my darling would come back to me? He said he lived in the college, that his parents were very rich and that his name was K—?”

IV

Oh! God of mine, what a story I listened to, and what a request! K—, alas! K . . . I had known him well. He was a really brave man—but very queer, and in a frenzy of despair he had thrown himself across the rushing train to Bombay on the prize-distribution day of the college. They said it was a case of suicide, and a lot of unmeaning words. So this was the mystery about him; but how ever could I tell this to this girl?

I do not remember what I said to her; told her something about hoping on, about faith in God and stuff of that kind, and promised to see her again.

I saw her then many a time; by and by we grew to be good friends and the baby grew up into a nice little girl with dark eyes and fair curls; and she got reconciled to her lot; and between us both, the good silent brother and myself, grew up a singular attachment and a bond which could never be explained. I gave up my lonely cottage and came to live with those good people.

V

One evening whilst the sun was sinking in the west, and it was twilight, the girl died. I cannot tell the reason; it was the case of a real heart failure: a tiresome, hopeless waiting, and then finally despair. We knew it, but what could two poor men do, when a girl pined after her lover that was dead? Only the child remained of that unfortunate wayward union of two innocent souls who had come from the ends of the earth, as it were, and met in so strange a way!

* * *

I find this in my diary: it is dated June 25th . . . 19—. “A year has passed us by; and we are still in the little cottage by the hill-slope. Only the girl, little Prema—

she has been sent to the Girls' University yonder and we two men are alone—watching the candle burning away in its brass socket, casting queer shadows on the mud walls around.”

I read the old account with tears over again. And the memory of that song comes back to me!

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Fascism for India

By GEORGE JOSEPH

One thing I am extremely anxious to make clear at the outset. It is true that I was once a politician, and the picture the public have of me is that of a politician. But I entreat you to cast it out of your mind; think of me plainly as a man of the world, a man of affairs, one who amid the distractions and anxiety of professional life desires to reflect, study and observe on the great currents of the world's doings. In one sense it is the duty of every man and woman to be political, just as it is to be good and honorable. To that extent, I am a politician, as indeed I hope all of you are, but no more. This word of warning is necessary in special measure, because the title of the article indicates aspects of current controversy. Once you are warned, however, no damage can be done.

THE MEANING OF FASCISM

Fascism is new, the word and the thing, and not all of us have managed to understand it. We do not know Italian, and such literature as we have in English about Fascism is not particularly sympathetic to the movement, nor distinguished by discernment. On account of an accident into which it is not necessary now to go, the intelligentsia in England and America had been long hostile to it, and educated India took the cue from the English Liberals. The only Indian of international significance, Rabindranath Tagore, who came into contact with Italy, gave his verdict against Mussolini. In spite of all these discouraging features, there is no doubt as to the main facts. The Fascist regime and the rule of the Duce has managed to survive over six years, and Italy is still delirious in its loyalty to Signor Mussolini. Italy which in 1922 was in anarchy and without national weight or international prestige, is today in a commanding position. There were cities and Princes of influence and renown in the days

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of the Renaissance; but if you want a precedent period of equal authority in the counsels of the world, you should go back to the days of Imperial Rome. Italy is one and complete; her authority in Southern Europe is unquestioned; there is a goodly Empire building up for her in Africa, and it would not be very long before a larger Empire is carved, if need be, at the point of the sword. The man and the spirit which wrought so conspicuous a change in this short space of time are worth understanding, and it should be our business to discover whether there is anything in it from which profit and guidance can come to students and publicists in India.

Fascism has been taken to mean the repudiation of the democratic method of discussion and representative government, and there is some truth in the identification. We should not be surprised at either the repudiation or the criticism. There is nothing strange in the emergence of dictatorships in the middle of national crises. Representative government broke down in England, the modern home of democratic government, during the war and Lloyd George's dictatorship was no less absolute in practice than that of Mussolini. Here in India, under the conditions of 1920-22, we had the dictatorship of Gandhiji and nothing less than the dictatorship sufficed to meet the needs of the time. We need not therefore be particularly alarmed or suspicious of Fascism, because it is a dictatorship. But in truth, the dictatorship is no vital part of Fascism. You can have Fascism without the dictatorship; and the world's history is full of dictatorships which knew not Fascism.

The two ideas are separable; not only are they separable, but there is no inherent integral connection between the two. There is no doubt that the particular aspect of Fascism which has caught the imagination of the world is the dictatorship, or more accurately the Dictator Mussolini. Mussolini himself has taken no trouble to hide the fact of his dictatorship; on the other hand, he has again and again made it clear that he happens to be where he is by the force of his own will and character, and not by the suffrage of Italy. He is the Duce and it is well for Italy; and there is an end of the matter.

It will, however, be a profound mistake to believe that the dictatorship is of the essence of Fascism. Its life-breath is a certain doctrine and practice of politics. Put in one word, it is this: the Political State can be founded and maintained only by a self-conscious order, powerful and deliberative, and it is the order of property-holders. Where that order is overthrown, there will be anarchy and the tendency to ultimate dissolution. What I shall do first is to establish this thesis.

The State is formed by an active minority in every community, a group of governmental experts supported in the long run, if it is to survive, by soldiers or professional fighters. Right back of it all, there is the public opinion of the people taken as a whole, what Rousseau called the General Will. But the General Will is a very passive thing; to vary the metaphor, it is more like a limit within which governments should function. The General Will in itself is no active agency of administration. If any State transcends the limits of that public opinion, shocks it by moral turpitude or visible inefficiency or violation of the decencies of life, the common people rise by a sudden onrush of anger and overthrow, physically if necessary, the State. There is a revolution; but if the revolutionaries fail in their turn to organise themselves as an instrument of government, if an active minority among them do not contrive to take the place of the government that is overthrown, there will be anarchy and political dissolution. As it happens, there is an illustration of this principle working itself out practically before our eyes. King Amanullah Khan, a vital and admirable spirit, started reforming and modernising his people. They were prepared to tolerate a good deal in the way of reformation; but when it came to his abolishing the purdah and sending off the girls of great families to Europe, the General Will of Afghanistan was shocked, and like every live people, Afghans proceeded to overthrow the sacrilegious individual, and Amanullah whose throne seemed embedded a year ago on rock is now a fugitive in Kandahar. But the moral of the case is something else. One government having been over-

thrown, no successor to Amanullah Khan has yet come about, because there is no individual or body of men capable of getting along with the business of government, of forming a State. For the moment, Afghanistan seems to have gone into bits, a kind of primitive anarchy. Amir Habibullah holds a kingdom which is described as covering an area seven miles round about Kabul; somebody else has captured Jallalabad; Amanullah and his wonderful Queen Souriya are in Kandahar; and a fourth and a fifth. The minority that could take up the reins of government all over Afghanistan and assure for the community security and peaceful existence has not yet been found. If you think of the Germany of 1918, you will at once perceive the contrast. The Kaiser was overthrown, one State was destroyed; there were a President and a Republic to take their place and keep up the continuity of things and orderly government in Germany. In Germany the change of Government was achieved, because there was a class of people, an order of society, which could build up and sustain the fabric of government. The difficulty in Afghanistan is that government centred in a man and his family and his dependants; when that man was found unacceptable to his people, and his family exiled, there was found no one fit or strong enough to take his place. I do not say Afghanistan will not be constituted as a State again; but for the moment, the way does not seem clear.

This minority, this order on which is founded the whole business of rule, has to exist, or government is impossible. The composition of the order is an extraordinarily difficult matter and experience has to be the true guide in all cases. The characteristically Indian solution was to form a caste, make it a hereditary business; and like all the ancient solutions, it was based on commonsense. Government and defence are the concern of experts, and one of the most obvious ways of soundly training a man is by bringing him up in it. The Kshatriyas were brought up on that system, and in their way Kshatriyas were good enough and more than good enough. In Europe also, the feudal system was based on birth and caste. Between the

tenth century and the nineteenth, the order of noblemen carried on government. But for reasons into which it will be useless to go at present, the building up of rule on birth is impossible in our day and time. Birth may be repudiated; but the creation of the State from an order or class is unescapable. Democracy and votes may say which party or caucus should not form a government or which party might; but the State can be constituted only by a minority.

When Tsarism was overthrown in Russia in 1916, a new government was not constituted in a hurry. But when Lenin finally triumphed, he founded his government on the proletariat or the property-less workers. The resort to the proletariat as the instrument of his will was determined by two conditions. The Tsar had established his authority on the basis of birth and property, and the instinctive and inevitable reaction was far to the left; Lenin dared not entrust his fate and policy to a class whose authority he had overthrown and on whose loyalty he could not rely for a minute. From the inherent necessity of the situation, he could turn only to the proletariat, the dispossessed, to support him in the regime he set up. If, on the other hand, Kerensky or the minority, the so-called Menshevists, had managed to survive as a government, the order on which they relied would have been any body in the world; but it could not have been the proletariat. The fact that Lenin was a Bolshevik should not be permitted to mask the fundamental truth that he had to rely on an order and that the order was the proletariat. The dictatorship of the proletariat, which was with Marx a phrase, was erected into the most disturbing fact of our generation.

Naturally the world is full of the dispossessed; according to a familiar saying, "The poor are always with you." The example of Bolshevism caught Europe like a fever. In Hungary, Bela Kun attempted to set up the dictatorship of the proletariat but he failed. In Germany, in France, and the other settled States of Europe, Bolshevism tried to capture power without success. In India, true to our habit of overtaking the thought and activity of Europe a whole dozen years afterwards, the Communists are trying to secure power

in government and in the counsels of the nation. The Congress Working Secretary is a Socialist and for the moment, his ark of salvation is in Moscow. Bolshevism may be a good thing or a bad, a workable programme or a species of political insanity; but it is a movement whose vitality is by no means exhausted. Fascism is a reaction against Bolshevism in Italy and it came about in the following manner.

ITS RISE IN ITALY

Italy's share in the Great War was curious and, among the victorious Allies, unique in disappointment and sense of tragedy. She originally belonged to the Triple Alliance, and if she had stood by the full measure of her obligations, Italy, instead of being on the side of the Allies, would have been with Germany. But there was a party strong enough to ensure the neutrality of the country in the earlier months of the war. Even when finally she cast in her lot with the *entente* Powers, it was by no means a United Italy which thus went into battle. When the war ended and the Versailles Conference met, her claims to Fiume were turned down in spite of the secret treaty between France, England and Italy, President Wilson refusing to be bound by it. The Italian Government thought that it would be able to enforce its demands at the Conference if it appealed to the Italian people over the heads of the Governments met together at the Conference. The expected result did not materialise and consequently the prestige of the Government received a great shock. The march of D'Annunzio to Fiume and his holding it in the name of the Italian people in spite of the Italian Government, made the position infinitely worse, and the confidence of the community in the governing classes was shaken. The agitation against the Government was re-enforced by the old neutralists, the people who were from the beginning against the intervention of Italy in the war, and they turned popular feeling into anti-national and anti-patriotic channels. In 1920, there was a malicious campaign of hatred and contempt against those who had served in the war, had been wounded and received decorations.

"In certain districts" says Professor Salvameni, "where Anarchist and Communist propaganda was most prevalent, a man found to have done his duty with honour in the war or to have returned home disabled, was regarded as a crime which had to be concealed lest punishment should follow." The most significant aspect of it all was that Government was incapable of protecting the ex-soldiers whose only crime was that they had served the State faithfully and well. But the most dramatic and famous consequence of Bolshevism in Italy was the occupation of the factories. Disputes having arisen between workmen and employers, the engineers having threatened a strike for a month in August 1919, began to deliberately produce less than the usual output. At the end of the month, the firms, alarmed at this development, declared a lock-out, and the answer of the workmen to this move was to lock themselves in. In other words, they took possession of the factories and refused to give them up to their lawful owners. This was clearly illegal; and if there was any grit or strength in the government or the law courts, they should have been ejected at once. But Signor Giodotti, however, followed a policy which seemed to contemporaries to be the climax of weakness, but which judged by after-events was subtly calculated to destroy not only Bolshevism, but also the governing order to which he belonged. He did not interfere with the workmen, but allowed them to remain in possession. Now there was only one thing for the workers to do if they intended to win. They should have gone boldly forward, and by a revolutionary act captured government as Lenin did in Russia. But for reasons into which we need not enter, they did nothing of the kind. The consequences were inevitable. The men who had locked themselves in soon found out that they had killed the goose which was laying the golden eggs. Mere technical ability to do the work inside the factory was not sufficient to keep the factory going. Raw materials had to come in, the manufactured articles had to be sent out and marketed, finance and external administration were necessary; in short, a hundred incidents in the continued life of the business which the easy stealers of other people's

property were by no means equal to. The Government was not able to deal with the intruders, but the conditions of modern life drove them out. Through this and several other happenings, the process of Bolshevisation, the swinging to the left, the tendency to the dictatorship of the proletariat, was definitely checked. The nation drunken with the phrases of the war and demoralised by slackness, was shocked into sudden sobriety. It began to look about itself, saw where the source of national strength lay, and decided that Liberalism as an instrument of government had proved impotent and that Bolshevism was a dangerous delusion. It had to turn to a new order for the formation of the State, and if the order was not there, it had to be brought into existence by a deliberate, cold-blooded act of creation. Mussolini who saw the vision and represented in himself his country at its highest, stepped forward and established through Fascism that order. There is no denial of the rights of the workers. His famous conception of the Corporative State, where the propertied class and the workers are both given their due, is inconsistent with such denial. But it is equally clear that the basis of the order is the propertied class. The final word is not said about his conceptions. It is a bold constructive genius, going forward in a mood of experiment; and it will be the rashest and most gratuitously foolish thing to prophesy how Mussolini will end. My belief is that parliaments and legislatures are not inherently inconsistent with Fascism. As long as the Duce is there, a Parliament is a mockery; because it is the essence of all parliaments to discuss affairs and, the part of no single man being overwhelming, to improve and clarify issues by such discussion. Where however there is a man of supreme vision, parliaments will be tolerated by sensible men as the platform of his speaking, so that the whole of the world may hear. Where, however, a high average is created by contact with masters, parliaments will fulfil a useful function.

A LESSON FOR INDIA

Now having understood that Fascism is a propertied order which has taken up the burden of the Italian State, the question naturally arises what application it has to Indian conditions, whether it has a lesson for us. A preliminary consideration should be emphasised to avoid a possible fallacy. As long as the Indian Civil Service, mostly British, and the British Army are in India ruling us, it seems an idle speculation attempting to define the elements of Indian Fascism. The criticism is perfectly just. If I were convinced that the present regime will continue indefinitely, I would not have dared talk to serious men about Fascism. Nor would anybody else for that matter be justified in giving thought or effort to Bolshevism, Parliamentarianism or any other form of government. But I venture to think that the Bureaucracy is not to function indefinitely here. The declaration of August 1917 is there as the sheet-anchor of British policy. I do not say that the declaration may not be repudiated or stultified in effect, but till either of these contingencies happens, we must take it that the ending of irresponsible government and the establishment of popular government is only a matter of time and occasion. Whatever the Simon Commission may or may not do, it is getting increasingly clear that the provincial governments will be made wholly responsible to the legislatures. As long as our business is to wrest power from the bureaucracy, there is no room for parties or the definition of the place or people with whom power should rest.

I want you to assume, therefore, that provincial autonomy is coming in a short while. I want you to assume that the provincial legislatures will have more power, will be larger in size, be more varied in interest and composition. The problem now becomes important as to who is to carry on government. You will no doubt say the party that happens to possess a majority in the council. But which is the majority to be? The Fascist answer will be, "the order of property-owners."

You will be able to see the issue clearly if we approach the question from another side. There are certain classes who are now attempting to capture political power who certainly do not belong to the propertied order. Consider the Indian Labour Movement. There are mill-hands, miners, workers on the railways; the organisation is not in their own hands just now, because the men at the top like Dewan Chamanlal and Mr. Giri, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Bose, do not belong to the labouring classes. But that is only a matter of time. Then there are the so-called depressed classes who are essentially agricultural labourers. We hear a good deal about the implications of caste and untouchability, but at root, they are just agricultural labourers, for without them Indian agriculture will break down. They are the very linch-pin. But you will observe that the common element is that all of them, mill-hands, miners and depressed classes, do not own property. There may be individuals energetic and careful enough to own property, in land, the most characteristic Indian form; but as a class they do not own property; in other words, they constitute the proletariat in this country. Now the depressed classes count somewhere about seventy millions. They are no doubt a minority; but it is a substantial number, and if there is political organisation on the basis of an alliance between themselves and the factory labourers, the prospect of a proletariat government is by no means idle. The exact method of its coming about is of minor importance; but the vital consideration is that the emergency is there. A Cabinet supported by the Indian Bolsheviks need not themselves be labourers, any more than Lord Haldane or Lord Chelmsford, who were members of Mr. Macdonald's Cabinet, were labourers. What I fear is that the labourers will be exploited by the intelligentsia for their own purposes.

Now I do not believe it is good for the proletariat itself that it should be governed or influenced by the intelligentsia which is of the bourgeoisie. If the labourers should find their own leaders or frame their programme, the position would be different. They will have their needs and will know how to

achieve them. But the trouble today is a mixed and dangerous brew which can be to the good of nobody in the world.

As against this danger of Bolshevism, or the triumph of an exploiting group of the intelligentsia working in the name of the depressed classes and the mill-hands, there are only two alternatives. It may be the middle classes or the property-owners. But the middle classes may be dismissed without great difficulty. Essentially, the middle classes, the English-educated folk, are caught in a perpetual flux. They start as young people, *ex hypothesi* without property, but with intelligence, trained minds, and the instinct of getting on. When they succeed and get on in years, they accumulate property and by such acquisition get out of the property-less middle class in which they started. Economically their functions are no deeper laid than this and it is clearly far too exiguous to furnish the permanent element of any governing order.

Now the order of property-holders in India is essentially based on land. There are other forms of property; there are the capitalists in the big towns and industrial centres, the bankers. But they are a drop in the ocean. The only property that is of consequence now in India is land.

Land is permanently settled land or subject to periodic revision of settlements. The former belongs to the Zemindars, the landed magnates; the latter are small holders. Whether the creation of the permanently settled estates was right, or whether the recognition of farmers of revenues as owners of the areas for whose Imperial revenue they were just responsible, are historical questions of great interest but they are of no present practical consequence. What is of present interest is that the continuance of the permanent settlement is vital to the Zemindars; and it is of nearly equal importance to the smaller land-holders in the ryotwari areas that there should be no revision of settlements. I suggest that it is in the interests of permanently settled Zemindars to help put an end to revision in ryotwari lands. For whenever revision takes place, and there is always

bitterness of feelings when there is fresh assessment, the Zemindars are shown up in a baleful light. Attempts are therefore made from time to time to expropriate their interests. There is a strong feeling among the Zemindars that the recognition of their tenants as the owners of holdings amounts to an act of expropriation. The proposed tenancy legislation in Malabar savours of the same thing, one of the grounds stated by the Governor for vetoing Mr. Krishnan Nair's Bill being that there was confiscation without adequate compensation. One may go further. Under the new Constitution, it is quite on the cards that the Permanent Settlement itself may go. For, that measure was a covenant a hundred years ago between the East India Company and the Zemindars that the Company would not ask for increased revenue at any time in the future. When the Crown assumed responsibility, the covenant was observed. But once the power of legislation and government passes into the hands of popularly-elected councils and their ministers, the whole situation is altered.

If the majority is in favour of scrapping the Settlement, nothing in the world can prevent them in the long run. If the Ministry proposes such a measure, and the council and electorate are clearly back of the Ministry, I do not see how the Permanent Settlement can be saved. But there is one possibility; the Zemindars may organize themselves as an order of Fascism and capture the seats in Council and Government; the very condition of their success will be to tell the holders of ryotwari lands that they also will have the benefit of Permanent Settlement. If the Zemindars and the small holders of land join forces on the basis of such a programme, they can control the situation. They can carry an overwhelming number of seats in the Council. The coalition of the proletariat and one section of the intelligentsia cannot prevail against them.

Then there are the Europeans, who are in India for trade and business. They own plantations in the hills, factories and places of business in the towns. I am not sure of the amount of total European capital in the

country; but the United Planters of South India have invested £15 millions. The figures taken on the whole must be enormous, running to hundreds of millions. How are we to deal with the non-official Europeans? The record of the European when he first came to India was clean enough; he came as a trader and he did good to himself and to the governments and peoples among whom his lot was cast. We need not go into intervening history, the temptation for conquest and exploitation, and all the evil that flowed from it. Now he is here, he and his vast interests which it is the business of every honest Indian government to safeguard. The Englishman will in reality go back to the position from which he started; a businessman, not an active ruler or Providence on earth. But he cannot be quite as he was in the old Moghul days; he cannot be altogether a businessman. He happens to be a citizen also, a citizen with vast interests, himself a property-holder, a manifest Fascist. Reflection will show that his interests are the same as that of the property-owners, and there is no essential conflict between himself and the Indian in this respect. If only the European in India will be loyal to the Constitution and not try to overthrow it on the strength of his race or previous position as ruler, I do not see the slightest reason why he should not form a valuable ally of the order of Indian property-owners. For in truth, he is one of them himself. I have said that the European will go back to the position he essentially occupied in the seventeenth century; but the historical miracle and mystery will be that he and the Indian will be alike under an English King and flag, but under an Indian government.

AN INDIAN MUSSOLINI?

Whether the Indian struggle will yield up a Mussolini, I do not know. We want one badly. Gandhiji had in him the makings of one; but his mediævalism, his antipathy to machinery, the cult of the charka, his war with the spirit of modernity, all these are handicaps. For when all is said and

done, the Fascist is a modern of the moderns, a forward-looking spirit, no ascetic but a fighter. When Amanullah Khan came back from Europe and set about the career of reform which has destroyed him, I wished he would set up a Kingdom in India and set about reforming us as Mussolini did, getting rid of the priests and the mediævalists, the purohits, the moulvis and fundamentalists, and make us work to great ends. But he has failed with his own people and Fascism has no use for failures. We must go forward without flinching and trust that the fundamental institutions of property and family and society will ultimately justify themselves and cannot be finally vanquished as long as we are in this body of flesh.

The Stage in India: Its Origin and Purpose

BY PANDIT TARANATH

Culture is the goal and centre of life. It is the organisation of the whole being which has to react to an ordered environment, called 'the world.' This culture is therefore the urge of life, being the inevitable response, whether slow or quick, to the stimuli of ordered creation. When once this is realised, pleasure is transformed into bliss, the ephemeral reveals the Eternal in it, and the human becomes the Divine. Once this is realised as the highest attainment possible, the highest bliss available, the very nature of pleasure-loving in the human creates another urge of broadcasting the same consciously or unconsciously. It is the existence of such self-realised propagandists that accounts for the evolution of the race. It is such that hasten the dawn of progress, as the West would call it. Therefore we in India concluded long ago that civilisation is the spontaneous spread of the process of self-realisation.

Thus far is the principle. It is the direct realisation of intuition and the conviction of intellect. But this cannot spread by itself unless the other party, the taught, are considered. Philosophy, to propagate, must pragmatise itself to pedagogy and the rock-bottom of pedagogy is the psychology of the taught. It is a well-known fact that the unknown can be learnt only with the aid of the known, or more technically, that knowledge is the correlation of a novel objective to an existing cognate. That cognates are the impressions caused by the stimulus of the inner being to environment is also admitted on all hands. These environments being different according to the very structure of the universe, different zones evoke different reactions creating

different impressions. Though fundamentally human nature is the same in terms of pleasure and pain, the reactions to these two differ in mode and expression. This difference varies with different zones, originally by geographical differences, secondarily by the spontaneous customs and conventions of that zone. And people living in each one of them are what they are, the sum-total of the whole past. The individuality based on such differences is what the Vedantins ages ago called *Samashti* in India or, translated into English, group-consciousness. No teaching can be perfectly or harmlessly assimilated unless it is in tune with this group-consciousness. *Samashti* is the very being of the *Vyashti*, or the individual, as made by it. Explaining it still further, teaching, to fix itself must have a natural bearing on the 'samskaras' (roughly, impressions of the taught). Physically, the feelings may be the same on an average of pleasure or pain. But in the case of man, these two are not only physical factors but also mental, and this mental response, to put it more simply, the way in which men are moved by circumstances, differs with *Samashtis*. Superficially they may differ even with different individuals under the same *Samashti* but not fundamentally so. So teaching, for its success, depends not only on the purity of the lesson but also on the mind of the taught and the method of imparting. This much alone is not enough, for all living beings and man too are by nature fond of pleasure, and no system of education that does not incorporate pleasantness can spread itself—no instruction without interest and attraction.

The Ancients never stopped with regarding culture as conviction. They defined it as the process of 'becoming' of the individual *through Samashti* and the custom of the people. To them it was never the pointed pinnacle of a stray temple but the broad base of society. Its place of discovery might be the solitude, but its field of play is always society. The discoveries in the cave were to guide the conduct of the community. Intellectual convictions were to be the character of the many. Aspirations were meant to

make aspirants after Truth. The mere conviction may be at best drawing-room manners which cannot be called culture. Mere manners are but acted poses or others' realisations, but not expressions of a knowing and feeling heart. And what use is ruminating others' cuds, or is it even possible? This great task of leading the beast and the bigot to a state of beatitude was no easy task. Aye, nor were the 'Rishis' of ordinary mettle to fight shy of it. With the eye fixed on Eternity and the hand of blessing on humanity, they rose equal to the task of evolving the 'vyashti' through the 'mukti' or beatitude. To this end, the 'Vedas' were written and these in their turn branched and branched, extending into a canopy over the whole head of hoary Aryavarta. That the Light of Eternity may shine in the ephemeral, the 'Samhitas', 'Brahmanas', 'Aranyakas', 'Upanishads', 'Shrouta', 'Grihya' and 'Dharma-sutras', the 'Itihasas' and the 'Puras' were brought into existence. At a stroke we may place our hands on the top of the whole pile of these books, but are they the products of a day, a decade or a century in the past? They were the experiences of ages; and of seers who before the majesty of knowledge discovered the littleness of their realisations, who humbly before the stupendousness of knowledge regarded even their vastness and sublimity of realisation as at best an impetus to further research, and who made the burden of their stupendous knowledge the inspiringly humble cry of 'neti' ('not this, not this'). The very expansiveness of their realisation taught them the fundamentals of the Law of Karma, of the duality of the universe, of the Eternity beneath the ephemeral, and of the One behind the many. And to teach this in all humility, this great lesson which today is called the Unity of God and the Brotherhood of man, they struggled week in and week out, and all that they wrote and said is but the garb of the fundamentals they realised within themselves. This record of their thought and work first and foremost is the 'Veda'. It is said to be the fountain of knowledge. It was preserved by the Hindus even as the young one is

preserved by its mother. To give to it preservation and the best of attention, society split itself—the foremost part to specialise in this great possession of the Hindus. As time went on, this humble spring in an unfathomed land flowed through hills and valleys, enriched itself with innumerable tributaries, fertilising the soil with its laden wealth in the regions it flowed over, gave coolness, life and growth to the very earth and beings living upon it, to dimensions that hid by their very majesty the humble source from which they sprang. The 'Puras', 'Itihasas', etc., referred to already were but the ramifications of the humble but subtle and sublime 'Vedas'. Even as the root lies buried underneath the soil but to breathe beauty and life into flower and foliage, does the 'Veda' lie hidden at the back of the beautiful lore of Aryan knowledge. These like the living green, facing and growing towards, the sun are the index of the power behind. Scholars have divided the original 'Samhitas' into two parts, 'Vidhi' and 'Arthavada'. The former consists of rules to be followed to realise the bliss of life through its fundamentals. As rules become dogma which degenerates to superstition and bigotry in the case of those who cannot instinctively see the *raison d'être* of those, the 'why' of these had to be explained, for the Aryan whose daily prayer concludes with 'Akhasat.....' could never reconcile to lop-sided dogma or doctrinaire extremism and therefore evolved a method of explaining and demonstrating the aphorisms of self-realised people through the 'Arthavada' which were further divided into three parts, 'Gunavada', 'Anuvada' and 'Bhutanartanuvada'. These are not contemporary productions of the Aryan mind. These must have covered a period of many hundred years. Their very name indicates that the latter is always the simplification of the former. Even as we see to-day, 'made-easies' are the signs of an over-active life or the symptoms perhaps consequently of a sub-active brain. Can we infer the conditions of the times that gave birth to these? The same 'Arthavada' the 'why' of the 'Vidhi' was more and more simplified as the

power of understanding grew weaker or perhaps the desire for a vaster propaganda grew stronger. Logic, science, metaphysics, philosophy, psychology mostly introspective, one and all methods of analysis and 'Vedanta' of synthesis were for the purpose of broadcasting the fundamentals and the methods of realising them. Though in the mediæval ages of Indian history, people erected their own gods, invented their own modes of worship and, alas! their own vituperations of other modes, the principle is sound. The Indian mind is still synthetic and explanatory. Men that praise their own leather have always been discarded by real India as cheap chucklers into the corner of oblivion: and the trend of analysis of problems and the synthesis of experiences, from whatever source they might be, and consequently the desire to expand in knowledge and to unify in Truth is in the very blood of the Indian. It is there even to-day as sound and unshaken as it was in the past. And this trend to meet with the need of the ages is proved by the evolution of the 'Arthavada' into the other three. 'Gunavada' elaborates upon its teachings; 'Anuvada' translates it still further with a view to make it meet all varieties of people; and 'Bhutanarthavada' is the demonstration of these through a kindergarten process of using men and objects as embodiments of particular varieties of life and showing through them how they work fair or foul as they are honoured or offended. The myriads of images in India come under this category, but dumb as they are to an unseeing mind, they are further simplified into talking images, the 'dramatis personæ' which forms the origin of Indian drama. So do we see that drama is personified kindergarten of the knowledge of the Ultimate. It was not conceived to excite but to educate, not to entice but to elevate, not only to please but to preserve and to perfect, in a word, to speak of God to man, to transmute man into God. It served the purpose of religion in one word. History tells us that it was only in the twelfth century that in Dunstable in Bedfordshire, the first religious drama was played by Church priests and it was only after that that drama

was used by them and their votaries to propagate scriptural teachings.

This was no easy task. To spread the culture of the race based on eternal verities, in a manner at once interesting and elevating, it needed the vision of the seers, the analysis of philosophers and scientists, and the sweetness of the poets and the artists. And so, the drama is called a *Triveni Sangama* a confluence of the three rivers—vision, philosophy and symbolic art.

Drama does not mean merely something amusing but that which uses amusement to reveal verities. It has neither the flippancy of an empty joke nor the seriousness of a philosophy, for the former would mean flirting with life and the latter would mean being pessimistic and creating worries where they often really are not. The real play of the world and life in it begins in the mind, and if it can be arranged by any artist to play it there in an organised manner, it really is the first kind of play. If the verities of life can be so well embodied in words as to picture in the mind of the hearer the life of the world as it is and as it ought to be, it surely is a feat for the artist. Such feats are not dreams of mere rhetoric but were actually realised by seers like Vyasa and Valmiki, but when times changed it needed the introduction of what are called 'drisya kavya' meaning visible poetry *i.e.* drama. Some great thinkers of India even go the extent of regarding drama as the sign of degradation of imagination in the poet and the readers or hearers as well; real drama should give the vision and not a demonstration.

What should be the fundamentals of this great art then? The answer is not far to seek. If the art is meant to show life as it is and as it ought to be, it is clear that the function of the stage is to epitomise the world not only of actualities but also of the verities behind that go to govern them visibly or *invisibly*. To Hindu thought, as it is to modern science and ethics, the whole of creation is a dual throng 'dvandva.' Pleasure and pain to the Hindu mind are not independent

whole truths. They are not isolated forsooth. They are but the obverse and the reverse of the Truth yet unrealised. The feeling of each by itself means the ignorance of what the Hindu calls 'Sat.' Therefore to see the Truth embosomed, by these, which are but surface waves of that great ocean, is Knowledge which frees one from the whole throng. Knowledge to the Indian is not that which merely gives what the world calls comfort, power and pelf, but that which puts him on a pedestal wherefrom he sees the ugliness of the isolated parts of his previous experiences merged in the beauty of the whole, where the transient is seen as the Eternal by his transcendental vision. Only here is bliss the urge of life and the conclusion of all philosophy and religion. To describe its methods most efficiently and attractively is the function of teachers and the *raison d'être* of drama. Beatitude of dual-bound being lies in the vision of the Beauty of the Whole, of which only parts are seen by the limited vision of the ignorant, and to give this vision is the motive of religion and art, the syntheses of all human faculties.

Drama therefore cannot logically be the depiction of life as it is seen and lived on the surface by mankind, for is it not already realised in life actual? The invisible other side, the undercurrent which life is oblivious to in pleasure and pain, should be suggested by drama for it to justify its existence. Then only can it expand Vision. It may be good enough to only 'hold the mirror up to nature', but it surely is better to hold the x-ray to see through and thus see the whole. Therefore drama can neither afford to be picture-painting nor didactic. The former has no lesson, the latter has no life. The one has nothing to teach and the other has no appeal, having no touch with life; drama therefore ought to be the embodiment of both and should through life reveal both sides of life, the seen and the unseen, the conscious undertakings as well as the subconscious under-currents, the causes put together and the effects in oblivion. If its purpose is to help the masses to organise life to make it conducive to the Highest intelligible,

the dramatist must remember that dry ethical sermons alone cannot be appreciated by them, much less remembered. Abstract thought is not possible for the majority of mankind as it stands today, and it can think only in forms. This aspect of psychology must be foremost in the mind of the dramatist; and dramatists too can be judged by seeing how far they have fulfilled this object of drama. Every form they see moving on the stage must give them, rather be for them, a symbol of both the realities and the unseen verities of life. Every recollection of the form once seen must have for them in life and its innumerable struggles the inspiration, the guide, and the warning.

Life being what it is, neither pleasure nor pain exclusively, drama can never be a tragedy or a comedy exclusively, unless the former means the sudden pounce of the watchful Nemesis, the revelation of the snake in the sleeve snugly warming itself there to gain strength in an atmosphere where all was well under the cloak. The purpose of it all should be not to make life pessimistic or optimistic, but at least visionful if not transcendental, watchful if not visionful. Not only that, but it must help to build also by suggesting processes of doing so. How full of the purpose of drama are the words of Romeo to the Franciscan Lawrence when he says, "Hang up philosophy, unless philosophy can make a Juliet." Yet how many have Juliet as the ideal at least, if Juliets have not appeared already on the great stage of life, is left for sober minds to judge. If tragedy brings death itself as the end of love and not the warning vision of it, life which loves life itself most will help love at arm's length as the very bane of it; and what would life be without Love but dry and boring calculation, one long pain having pleasure but in the struggle to avoid pain? Can such tragedies help mankind to the heights of the Senai of Celestial Light? What use has the common world for a Christ who is only put to the Cross for his Love, only to bleed and to die, but never to resurrect? It is the Vision of Resurrection that makes the inevitable Cross

a bed of roses, and no drama can have a mission for the commonalty which has not that Vision to give. For this has a seer said that drama is the representative of all 'sastras', the deep of the harmony of emotions that inspire Vision, and the proximity of God—the 'pratinidhi' of all thinkers, the 'nidhi' of 'navarasas' and the 'sannidhi' of God.

Our Banking Messiah

*(Being a Critical Examination of Sir Daniel Hamilton's
Free Paper Standard Scheme.)*

BY PROF. B. RAMACHANDRA RAU, M.A.

'Verily, a Daniel is come to judgment' and has pronounced his verdict on the Indian Banking and Monetary system. Under the caption, "Man, Money and Banking", Sir D. Hamilton discusses the urgent necessity of spreading the co-operative credit movement based on managed paper currency, without any gold backing as its ultimate support.¹ By a machinery of 'monetising labour' which can be constructed without entering into the question of gold backing, and carefully spreading the money, without incurring the risk of inflation, into the hands of the workers through co-operative credit societies composed of reliable and active men, he proposes to infuse credit—the life-blood of all economic activities—into the present-day weak, disjointed and decaying villages, whose economic structure is incapable of sustaining real stress. Rural reconstruction by able-bodied, selfless and patriotic local leaders, standing shoulder to shoulder and banded into co-operative units, would revivify our villages and create well-deserved opulence in place of the present-day denial to the villagers of the enjoyment of a simple and contented life.

A SYNOPSIS OF THE NEW SCHEME

As the present-day bankers tell us that gold or silver must be the basis of credit, it is impossible to find full

¹A synopsis of his thesis is necessary before any criticism can be levelled at it. It is a pity the whole of his doctrine is not available in any tabloid form, and so inference has to be made from his recent lectures on different platforms.

employment for all the reliable and willing working population of the nation and set them on the feet of productive activity. Present-day bank credit, being based purely on private shareholders' capital, is far less secure than Government currency which is backed by all the assets of the nation, whose organised administrative embodiment is the Government. Hence it is the bounden duty of the Government to create enough money and *only enough money* ('inconvertible paper money' as the gold standard advocates would put it) to accomplish the above object. This is the real implication of that pregnant statement, "that it is folly to regulate the food-supply of India by the silver output of Mexico."

Limited to the necessary quantity demanded by the workers for securing the capital equipment of the country, the Government money can organise prosperity for the poverty-stricken people of the land. Co-operative credit is the poor people's pooled or organised credit, and on the strength of their joint credit, the members borrow loans at cheap rates from the money factory for purely productive purposes. The return from the undertaking would enable them to repay the loans with interest and also to reap a net yield out of their productive operations.

The printing press is to be the Minerva's head and not a Pandora's box, from which have to spring the thousand and one money instruments, which would set out not to create evil but to find employment for all the able-bodied people in productive work. The millennium of prosperity or a 'veritable Utopia' is to be reached through this 'created money' which would serve to distribute capital into proper hands for efficient application to new production. Rice, wheat, sugar and other necessities of life, which the wider markets of the world require, can be produced and exchanged for their money, *viz.*, gold and silver, which will flow to the extent of the goods so created and sold to the outside world.

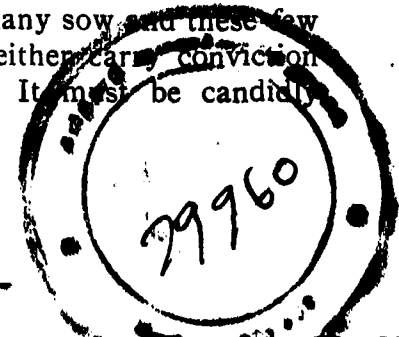
The creation of a new money system in place of the present defective one is the ideal aimed at. The private

money monopoly, which is fattening the idlers and making the workers and the isolated and individual borrowers poorer than before, has to be swept away. The private greed of the usurious money-lender is to be killed, and in place of the exploitative capitalistic money-lenders, a more sympathetic money-agency which can reach the masses swiftly and in requisite proportion has to be built up. By putting the printing press into operation, money instruments can be created which will be lent to reliable men to be used for securing better seeds, more manure and improved implements, and adopting scientific methods in the intensive cultivation of land.

At the end of a definite period, there would be plenty for these labouring masses over and above the repayment of the loan to the Government. This process Sir Daniel graphically expresses in the most rhetorical phrase *viz.*, 'monetising labour.' This at any rate is the scheme placed before Mahatma Gandhi. After the manner of the prophets of Baal, this economic Messiah is leaping upon pyres and crying out and stabbing the village "wolves and human rats possessing golden claws and silver teeth." While it is easy to charge the money-lenders in villages with having deliberately ruined the ryots, it is quite another matter to prove that, by merely creating a free-paper standard, we secure the Alladin's Lamp which provides the village homes and fields with all their wants and requirements.

In rapid succession to his articles in 'Young India', Sir Daniel Hamilton delivered a series of lectures expatiating on this central theme of *free-paper standard based on real work* which is meant for the weal of all. Venomous and bitter are his words levelled at the Mahajan. Long ago, in his "Souls of Good Quality," we find him writing most disparagingly of the Mahajan. "India needs legislation dipped in the blood of the Mahajan." He returns to this attack afresh and says that "the many sow and these few reap." Mere stinging words can neither earn conviction nor pour oil on troubled waters. It must be candidly

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recognised that the Mahajans are the "diseased products of a diseased community."¹

Before paying further attention to the feasibility of his plan, certain misconceptions and loose terminology in Sir Daniel's thesis have to be corrected in the light of trained economic judgment.

LOOSE TERMINOLOGY: (i) 'MONEY POWER'

"India", says Sir Daniel, "is the greatest real money power" in the world, next to China. This is a very loose or uneconomic use of the term 'money.' 'Money' is here employed in the sense of raw materials and able-bodied men. The variety, the extent and easy availability of requisite raw material resources can be conceded, but the quality of men must be of such a character as to make the most of the opportunities afforded them. It is the happy combination of efficient man-power and adequate raw materials that can create plenty of saleable and finished goods. These being sold on the markets of the world, the demon of poverty can be chased out of the country.

Though there are certain economists who point out the inadequacy and inferiority of certain necessary raw materials produced by nature in this country, still the consensus of opinion on the part of enlightened men is decidedly inclined to the opposite view. It holds that under proper survey and adequate stock-taking, the existing resources and raw materials are enough to provide ample opportunities for her people, who have the necessary will, knowledge and capital to put them to productive uses. Scientific agriculture alone can absorb the work of an infinite number of able-bodied men, and any number of cottage industries can be started. More manufactures can be developed than is the case at present.

But there is also a consensus of opinion that, in this

¹ See my 'Present Day Banking in India' 2nd Edition 1925, Calcutta University Publication. Chapter on the "Indigenous Banker of India"—

unfortunate land, men are decidedly inferior in mental calibre, efficiency and practical working to the people of the advanced nations of the West. Canada, which is only very sparsely peopled and has fewer natural resources to her credit, is still producing a large amount of articles for export trade, as "the Canadian citizen is nearly thirty times as efficient as the Indian." Though this quantitative comparison is meaningless, still it is a patent fact that the Indian people are inefficient. It is nevertheless true that under more sympathetic and favourable conditions, the Indian people can work efficiently. Several of them have already proved to the hilt that, given equal opportunities, the Indian can prove himself the equal of the best Westerner in any walk of life—law, theology, fine arts, the sciences, organisation of industry and banking. Even in the field of sports, they are in no way inferior to the best talent of the West. Absolute reliance can be placed on such men. Provided such efficient men are trained, they can work wonders in this land of 'dreams', 'masterly inactivity' and 'metaphysics' as some of the Westerners put it.

Understood in this sense of man power and raw materials, India has real money power. India's present position, though not very bright, need not cause any serious apprehension that she would fail to make a productive use of capital when placed in proper hands. Concurrently, if more practical steps are taken to improve the manual efficiency, enhance the mental equipment and increase the economic stimulus, the Indian people will not fail to respond to the created opportunities of self-improvement that may be placed before them.

But 'money' is used by Sir Daniel in the widest non-technical sense. In economic language, 'money' means the unit of account or counter employed in public accountings, collective accountings and individual accountings, or a ticket for transferring or exchanging of one kind of finished labour into another, thus reducing the inconveniences of ancient barter. Monetary instruments give

purchasing power over the desirable commodities of life. Past labour entitles the holder of the monetary instruments or tickets to convert them into present or future desirable assets. In this sense, India does not possess a sufficiently simple, easily understood and cheap monetary system.

But this misfortune is not confined to India. Even the gold standard of other countries has not proved a satisfactory standard of money. The value of goods as well as of gold was moving, but only at different velocities. Though the slow speed at which the value of gold was changing led the common people to think that gold was stationary in value, still it was not only its value but the value of all other commodities also that was changing. But before this gold standard system could be consolidated as an international monetary standard, it broke down during the eventful years of 1914 to 1924. A new species of 'phantom war money' was created to perform money's work. Thus the monetary system was not perfected even during the course of so many centuries after its first invention by man.

The mission of money was never properly understood except by savants like Prof. Gustav Cassel. These clearly recognised that money was like a power which can safely be compared to "electricity, magnetism or gravity." Without the prior existence of the materials of production, mere money is of little avail. The monetary system is a pure abstraction, and it is not founded on a gold basis but on the quantity of goods produced in a society. This does not mean that money can be dispensed with in any society. But the character of banks and the financial system might change in the coming future. The banks might no longer be required to handle the rights to goods, i.e. money, but they might become the recorders of production and consumption going on in the society, and some tickets of the cheapest possible material might be selected as the means of payment. That such a system would ultimately be brought about, is clear to every rational man who understands the real sanction, source and function of money in our modern 'pecuniary society.'

As the conception of money was not understood properly, there was very often undue emphasis laid on the importance of money. There were others who belittled money. Neither school cared to analyse the correct perspective and concept of money. Money is only an intangible conception denoting the value of goods. Currency is the tangible unit or the ticket, or order, or token, or the counter in which it is expressed. Money really means 'general purchasing power' and has nothing to do with the precious metals of which it might be composed. All people take money because of its virtue of exchanging itself for other necessities that may be required. It is true that from the individual point of view, more money can be considered as an evidence of a man's wealth. But from the national point of view, no nation is rich or gains anything if it holds more money. Other things being equal, the economic prosperity of a nation depends on the productive efficiency of its labourers working successfully on the raw materials afforded by nature.

Currency which is the visible body of the intangible conception of money, ought not to influence the value of money. This is the supreme test of the efficiency of the currency mechanism. Any instability in the value of money leads to unpleasant consequences on business life. To be precise, "unemployment, the precarious life of the workers, the disappointment of expectation, the sudden loss of savings, the excessive windfalls to individuals, the speculator and the profiteer"¹ all proceed in a large measure from the instability in the value of the monetary standard.

Currency not only acts as a medium of exchange but sometimes as a store of value. When it is stored up for future use, it should not lose its value as a result of the action of extraneous influences. Currency is not wanted for its own sake, but only for the purpose of providing oneself with the necessary supplies of life. This is the real meaning of the statement that, "currency has no final consumer and like

¹See J.M. Keynes—"Preface to the Tract on Monetary Reform"—

the battledore and the shuttlecock passes backwards and forwards."¹

The late war acted as a first-rate Professor of Economics and imprinted several lessons about money which should not be forgotten. Firstly, it freed money of its golden fetters. Secondly, gold reserves were put out of action and the real position that a gold reserve has to perform in the credit society was clearly illustrated. Thirdly, it proved clearly that currency need not be composed of metallic coins. Sometimes, a distinct disadvantage may be attached to such a currency composed of metallic substance, be it gold or silver. Most of these lessons were grasped by Prof. Knapp and explained lucidly by him.

The conscious and consistent guidance of currency has been first advocated by Prof. Knapp in the following language: "To the chartalist, the ordering of currency is a branch of the administration of the State." He demands first "a conscious consistent guidance in place of piecemeal measures suggested by the heads of the Mints and the Central Banks, with good practical instinct but without any grasp of theory. The lytric administration must be delivered of this empiricism; after knowing its own aims, it must proceed to clearly conscious action entrusting the direction of it expressly *de jure* to the office which has *de facto* dealt with these matters in the past."² During the war, there was more or less an unconscious resort to such guidance, but unfortunately it was fitful, inexperienced and often had to be interfered with in the interests of the State. If prior to the war, there was more production of goods and less of currency, with the necessary consequence that all producers denounced the monetary system, the tables were practically turned during the war. During the war, there was more of currency, and less of production of goods. A monetary system, like the recent unregulated gold standard that we had before the war, was open to both these defects. A rational monetary standard

¹ See H. Lowenfeld—"Money in Fetters"—p. 18—

² See Prof. G. Knapp—"The State Theory of Money"—p. 301—

equipped with any kind of substance would no doubt possess all the necessary functions of a medium of exchange. The amount of this money must exactly correspond with the goods produced by the entrepreneurs of society. The production of this money has to be so done by the State that the unit of money itself does not change its value, causing uncertainty and confusion in the business and trading circles of society.

Though the creation of paper money is in the hands of the Government, as Sir Daniel would like it to be, paper currency is created to a very limited extent on real labour in the shape of internal commercial bills. South African gold, Mexican silver and British and Indian Government 'promises to pay' form the prop of the present-day Government paper currency. Indian banks have not succeeded in creating a highly elastic system of deposit-banking, and being forced to maintain a desirable proportion of cash (gold, or silver coins, or legal tender Government paper currency), their creation of credit currency is insignificant when compared with their Western confreres. As such, it has failed to make good the deficiencies of inelastic Government paper currency.

(ii) "PRODUCTIVE CAPITAL"

Nextly, 'productive capital' is another vague phrase introduced in the thesis of Sir D. Hamilton. 'Capital' is past labour set aside for aiding the processes of production. Understood in this sense, it denotes factories, goods, etc. the product of past labour on the part of society. Metallic money, be it gold or silver, forms only a small part of the 'capital goods' which again form a part of the wider whole, namely 'wealth.' Metallic money is only one form of capital. From the national standpoint, which is quite different from the individual standpoint, the holding of large stores of gold does not betoken the prosperity or the wealth of the nation. The real wealth of the nation lies more in its factories, railroads, forests and mines, and the industrial character of its people than in its gold hoards.

Any misconception on this point would only be an obstacle to the right understanding of the economic processes of society. Germany, after all, with its accumulated hoards of gold in its war-chest could not defeat England and her Allies during the recent war. It was the greater pooled resources and real wealth of the Allies that enabled them to achieve victory over Germany.

'Productive capital' is evidently used in the sense of both 'man-power and natural resources.' Though both of them exist in this country, the lack of monetary instruments precludes their being placed in a position of close juxtaposition. They cannot be organised into a correlated mass. The fundamental productive efficiency and capacity of the economic system of a country depends on the bounty of nature *viz*, plenty of required natural resources and land; the ingenuity of man who is willing to give them time-value, form-value and place-value; the availability of capital to secure the co-operation of other factors necessary for the proper working of the industry; and an alert, efficient organisation looking into the internal and external economies of production, always anxious to derive the utmost benefit out of a rigorous application of the economic principle of substitution and harmonious combination of the productive agents in due and proper proportion so as to derive the maximum output possible.

(iii) "FULL EMPLOYMENT CREATES PROSPERITY"

Thirdly, "full employment in growing rice, wheat, sugar, and spinning, weaving and other productive purposes, would create prosperity." Granted that scientific agricultural improvement and manufacturing efficiency increases the output of production, it does not immediately bring about the millennium of economic prosperity. Mere increase of the volume of production does not complete the economic process. Consumption of the whole output at a steadily remunerative price is essential, and without this consumption in India or outside, the increased output cannot be disposed of. Burma is reduced to sore straits as her

old customers, the Indian consumers, have taken a liking to another kind of rice. Similarly, when a quarantine is established against wheat in America, there is restriction of the market for Indian wheat there. When Chinese customers go on 'consumer's strike,' there is limited effective demand for British manufactured cotton goods. The Khadi campaign of Mahatma Gandhi will surely and vitally affect the cotton industry of Lancashire in spite of recent improvements tending to rationalise the industry under the fostering guidance and monetary help of the Bank of England. Its future is gloomy so far as the Indian market is considered. Thus consumption is the other side of the shield. The fundamental truth underlying the above economic statement is often stated tersely by the oft-quoted but little understood remark that "production is not finished till it reaches the final hands of the consumers."

The flow of money to the consumer must keep pace with the production of consumer's goods. Although production can be made to increase, consumption must keep pace with the production. Unless this takes place, economic progress is not completely assured by mere quantitative increase of production. The necessity of making savings against a rainy day in the future detracts people's ability to purchase consumer's goods. The circuit flow of money from consumers back to producers gets interrupted. This can only be checked by the increase of capital money. The consumption of a surplus is absolutely essential. Even co-operative marketing can do very little in this direction. Storing at great expense by the State would be folly, nor can it be dumped abroad at low prices as it would provoke retaliatory legislation. Bounty-fed Australian butter is subject to a countervailing tariff in Canada. To pay a bounty on agricultural produce to be exported at a loss is false economy¹. Growth of sales on an instalment plan

¹Mr. A. H. Abbati says that the economic problems chiefly arise out of consumption and a step towards their solution would be the regulation of Government purchases, so that they may vary inversely with the expenditure of private consumers. An interesting suggestion, but purely dependent on State finances to be carried out effectively.

would mitigate the hardship, but this can only be applied to manufactured products. Moreover it depends on prompt business organisation, collecting the dues systematically from the purchaser. This would however result in high distribution costs.

STANDARD OF LIVING USE OF PROFITS

Again, the Indian people should not make a population use of increased production and the profits arising out of it. The standard of living use is essential and if this is not forthcoming—

“Science finds out ingenious ways to kill
Strong men and keep alive the weak and ill—
That these sickly progeny may breed
Too poor to tax, too numerous to feed”—¹

A high birth-rate would soon be associated with poverty, disease and low mentality, the very demons which the scheme plans to drive out of the country. The population problem of India, potential or actual, has to be borne in mind. Any encouragement beyond the optimum population would be a bar to efficient production and distribution of the material comforts of life. The quantity and quality of population must be kept stationary at this optimum point. There can be no thought of birth-control, delayed marriage and increased celibacy. All these are anathema to the religiously minded Indian people.

OTHER GRAVE OMISSIONS: (i) DIMINISHING RETURNS

Another point not emphasised by the scheme is the character of the agricultural industry and forestry. They soon reach a productive limit and any further application of fresh doses of capital and labour to land would bring in infallibly the law of diminishing returns. As soon as this

¹This is the best four-line epigram on the “Modern World” for which a prize was awarded by the London *Spectator*.

point of diminishing returns is reached, the application of further capital should cease.

(ii) FAIRER DISTRIBUTION

Still another point of grave omission is that there is no attempt to point out the necessity of fairer distribution of products than at present. If land produces more, the tenants would be further exploited by the absentee landlords for whom, of course, Sir Daniel has the most profound contempt. If organised labour is not strong enough to secure higher real wages and higher social wages, mere increase of productivity is of no use. It is not the money-lender alone that intervenes and knocks off a slice from the agriculturists' hard-earned savings. The middlemen and the parasitic landlords who do little to benefit the agriculturists obtain a portion. Distributive justice is no less essential to the success of the scheme. It is stated that the reward should go to the toiling workers. Unless the peasant-proprietorship plan is advocated, there is no means of securing the ryot as much as he produces. The State demand in the present Ryotwari areas should be reasonable, and a periodical enhancement at the time of every Resettlement in the Ryotwari areas should be checked. Protection against the State's encroachment on the ryot's portion is absolutely essential. It is on this issue that the Bardoli affair is being contested.

Another defect in our production is the poor quality of the produce. The great spread of the price between the price of the highest quality ¹ and that of the lowest quality of our produce, denotes extra profits that can be safely annexed by improving the quality of our produce. Hygienic cleaning, rectification and careful preparation and systematic grading of the Indian produce, wheat, cotton, tea, hides, groundnuts, shellac, are essential.

Again another chief defect in our productive aspect is

¹See the Indian Trade Commissioner's Report in London for the two years, 1926-1928—

the lack of a thorough understanding on the part of the producers as regards the requirements of the customers to be secured for their output. This is the chief characteristic, not only of agricultural production, but industrial production also. The wastes involved in overproduction in the absence of statistical estimate of requirements, need not be pointed out in detail in this thesis. The adaptation of efficient production to total national needs is essential. War-time controls in the Western countries amply demonstrated the possibility of increasing the output of physical production per man employed. A statistical bureau should estimate the people's annual requirements and the possibility of sale of it in the foreign markets. Co-ordinated and well-directed production would reduce and ultimately eliminate all the wastes of ill-directed production. The Brazilian Government restricts the coffee average to a crop which will yield a good price, and burns coffee as fuel, and arranges for artificial restriction of rubber. Bengal is attempting to do the same thing by restricting jute production so as to fetch higher prices. The League of Nations (Wheat Division) is now surveying the whole world and the probable yield of wheat fields, so as to suggest the allocation of the output on a minimum haul basis to the nearest importing area. The object is not only to check famine and starvation resulting out of under-production, but prevent excessive overproduction over a definite normal surplus as a possible safeguard against the times of lean harvests.

(iii) PROVISION FOR INTERNATIONAL PAYMENTS

Another substantial difficulty of accepting this scheme of Sir Daniel is the lack of any provision for international payment. It is assumed that with abundant production which is keenly demanded by the world, the exchanges would be in our favour and bring in gold into the country. Here he appears to be a true materialistic 'money grubber'. Says Sir Daniel, "the more plentifully capital is issued for using rice, wheat and sugar, there would be the

greater inflow of gold and silver, and the firmer the foreign exchanges.' If niggardly Nature intervenes and production fails as a result of natural calamities, the exchanges would become unfavourable. The Government-issued paper-rupee would not be retained. There must be some mechanism to use this gold allowed to enter into our country during favourable seasons for liquidating this balance at that time. Keynes in his managed paper currency still retains gold for payment of international balances. His buying and selling price of gold by the Central Bank normally sets limits which can be safely compared to the par points of the gold standard. While checking excessive short-period fluctuations in exchange rates, he permits permanent long-time variations in exchange. The new buying and selling prices of gold would be set up by the Central Bank. Similarly, the Government must be permitted to operate the buying and selling of gold likewise in this country, if it were to accept Sir Daniel's managed paper currency scheme. It can depend on floating foreign loans and building up foreign credits to operate on the same to secure exchange stability. When once the exchange rates come within the par points, the Government can recede as an active operator from the foreign exchange market. Gold would still have to be retained for international payments; otherwise, international trade transactions which are so essential for an orderly economic life, would be rendered difficult and impossible. As the world is at present constituted, the gold link cannot be snapped light-heartedly.

Nextly, if more gold and silver flows in, it does not increase the economic progress of the people, as they are not currency under Sir Daniel's scheme and possess no legal tender character. It is the requisition of economic goods in return for our exports that is the indispensable thing, the *sine qua non* of our future economic progress. If over and above our wants, something remains as a net favourable balance of payments, it must be wisely invested, not in the shape of gold and silver, but to increase of capital

equipments either in this country or abroad. When gold fails to be the basis of money, and there is no provision as in Keynes' scheme on the part of the currency authority, the Mint or the Central Bank, to buy and sell gold, it can no longer act as a helpful source of capital to the individual. Even from the national point of view, the result would be the same. When more exports are sent out, the payment of the net-balance must be made in domestic currency to the Indian exporters. Under Sir Daniel's scheme, there is no provision for this. The Controller must be willing to accept and sell foreign money again, and to release and purchase internal currency at par points. The Government acting as the currency authority, which I would consider inferior to Bank management of currency, must provide domestic currency and foreign currency or exchange to suit the needs of our foreign trade. Though the exchange stability of the domestic unit may not be the all-important consideration, excessive short-term fluctuations in foreign exchange should be eliminated. As in Keynes' managed currency, elaborate provision would have to be made to check foreign exchange fluctuations.

(iv) REGULATING THE PRICE-LEVEL

The main trouble is that Sir Daniel is thinking of India as an isolated unit, and imagines that if currency can be wisely manipulated, economic progress can be realised. But the influence of the world price-level on the domestic price-level is all important. Deliberate management of domestic credit to attain a stable internal price-level is necessary. Such a conscious control alone can remove all dangers of sudden fluctuations in the world price-level, exerting their full influence on the domestic price-level. But variable foreign exchanges must have to be tolerated, if price-stability is the ideal aimed at.

Again, a persistently favourable net balance of payments always results in a rise of the domestic price-level. Look at India's gradually rising price-level during the years

1900-1914. It was not only a favourable balance that led to a rise in domestic prices, but India was borrowing abroad and prices rose in the borrowing country. Unless special measures to properly invest the net balance of payments are devised, it is impossible to attain a steady price-level in our country.

Finally, India would be alone in conducting this managed paper currency scheme not based on metallic basis. It is unwise though not impossible for a nation to adopt this scheme without international co-operation. Provided safeguards are established to check exchange rates and fluctuations, and gold is kept for international payment, there would be no complications from this side. Internal price policy need not be moving in line with international price movements. But if international co-operation is forthcoming to help a country, it can easily solve the monetary problem. The currency authority, *viz.*, the Central Bank of Issue, would create sufficient bank-note currency to enable the Banks to keep them as their reserve. On it the Banks can base the credit structure that is needed by the growth of the needs of commerce, agriculture, and industry under a stable price-level. It would enable the public to hold a proportionate quantity of hand-to-hand currency.

THE REAL PROBLEM

The problem in India, as everywhere else, is to create enough purchasing power possessing stable value to suit the needs of the community. All cases of unemployment and crises and several other economic phenomena can be traced indirectly, though not always directly, to monetary causes. The amplitude of the industrial fluctuations and the rigour of the unemployment evil can be reduced to a great extent by cautious credit policies pursued solely in the wider interests of the country. Other causes initiate the above phenomena, but the monetary weapon can tone down the evils to a large extent, if judiciously used at the right psychological moment. Limited markets are the result of either underspending by

the comparatively well-to-do richer classes, or lack of effective demand on the part of the other poorer sections of society. The total supply of finished goods under the present-day organised capitalistic mass production is bound to be greater than the demand, as there is no working against a set of previous orders as in the case of the handicraft system of industrial production. Unless effective demand is stimulated, recurrent overproduction, depression and crises, result as industry runs on in its due course. Such has been the fate of capitalistic production organised on a competitive basis. Stabilisation of business is a no less important cry than rationalisation¹ of business methods and realisation of the economies of large-scale production. Various expedients are being tried to achieve this in forward and enlightened industries of the United States of America. But credit control is one method to check abnormal fluctuations in prices and enable the rational industry to run on an even keel. As in other countries, our ultimate goal should be steadier and more stabilised business. Without it there can be no real economic progress in India. More efficient money and a more rational use of it is essential to secure the expansion, rationalisation and stabilisation of business. The five M's are needed to make any country, India in particular, an efficient and progressive country, viz (1) man power, (2) money, (3) maintenance or food (4) material resources, and (5) morale or intelligence, with which the first four are directed. It clearly follows then that all countries should ensure the maintenance of prosperity

¹The principle of rationalisation includes control of production in relation to demand, the elimination of price-cutting competition, the central organisation and simplification of marketing and distribution, the prevention of waste in transport and the reduction of labour costs by the fullest possible utilisation of labour-saving machinery, the closing of obsolete and inefficient works and the concentration of production in the most modern and highly mechanised plants. Unless such a policy is applied to our cotton and coal and industries as a whole, it would not be possible for India, the Lazarus amongst the nations, to be clad in the raiment of Dives. See Walter Meakins, "The New Industrial Revolution."

with a growing population and ever-improving standard of living, both of which require an expansion in the volume of production and trade. Any false restrictions on the quantity of sound money would surely retard the growth of production and of trade.

HOW FAR THE SCHEME IS VALID.

The creating of an elastic rural credit system, which is the sole object of this reform, is undoubtedly essential. It has long been overdue. Government paper distributed through co-operative credit societies is to be the elastic credit system. The joint-stock banking machinery has to be discarded, as the agriculturists possess no banking account. Safe and unfettered deposit banking as advocated by the school of the 'Banking Principle' cannot be the desired remedy, as the Indian people do not possess good and sound banks spreading a net-work of branches all over the country. Nor do the people keep a deposit account with the banks, even if the banks were to extend their branches into the interior. Sir Daniel's ideas can be better expressed in correct economic language when it is stated that it is not the 'reserve discount policy' that Sir Daniel approves, but it is his aim to create enough credit without endangering the price-level to any extent, or subjecting it to the evils of artificial inflation. This at any rate, is the prevailing conception in the monetary field. Since 1923, this credit control and price-stabilisation policy are the newer ideals firing the imagination of all monetary reformers. Though not directly admitted, the self-same ideal which has been preached in England is being pursued to a certain extent by the Federal Reserve Board of the United States of America.

Secondly, war-time experience amply demonstrates the possibility of pure paper money with no specie backing. That is the truth underlying Sir Daniel's free-paper standard. The unit of account would be the paper-rupee: one-rupee paper preferably acceptable to the co-operative credit banks, the Government and the people, and possessing

tolerably fixed purchasing power over a basket of goods in general. The weight of the unit, or the exchange value, or intrinsic value of the commodity used as the unit, are not of any real significance. The units which have to possess constant and stable value or purchasing power must be limited to actual requirements; then alone can they be true standard of value. The folly and unprofitableness of metallic money units, be they gold or silver, has long ago been exposed. Metallic money fails to act as a perfect store of value. Even paper money, if it fails to possess constant purchasing power, cannot be a store of value.

Another great essential virtue which true and efficient money should possess is the desirable quality of elasticity. Commodity money, be it gold or silver, does not possess this desirable quality, and in this respect it is paper money that can furnish this desirable feature. Apart from the fact that this virtue may be overdone or abused, wisely managed paper money alone can give the needed elasticity in all periods of time, short as well as long, or to use the economic language, seasonal, secular, cyclical and abnormal periods. But the manner of employing it must not be careless, or else, it might prove to be the most unsatisfactory and dangerous money. Hence all reformers prefer to have managed paper money, as it is the best and the most efficient type of money which society has discovered. Prof. Gustav Cassel in his book "Theoretische Sozialökonomie Winter Verlag Leipzig", says that "paper money quite unconnected with precious metals is theoretically the simplest and no doubt the most efficient (as he later on explains) monetary system. The further money is removed from the precious metals, the better will it be." Since this theoretical deduction of his has proved the true quality of money, the zeal for money reform is becoming more evident. Paper money, provided it is perfectly understood, generally accepted, easily defined, scientifically controlled and intelligently regulated, would prove a better substitute than a gold unit. But it is quite possible to manage gold as a kind of 'fiat money' and its value can be regulated by the credit of a

Central Bank and Government's co-operation with them. A government-managed currency alone can indeed, theoretically speaking, be true money and possess all the characteristics of true money. But unfortunately, past experience in currency history teaches us that this cannot with any amount of reasonable assurance be secured. Theoretically speaking, intentional artificial control can stabilise the value of government-managed paper currency by setting up limitation of the supply of paper money. However, there are two dangers. The note-issue can be easily subjected to a profit and loss philosophy. Secondly, it can be subjected to artificial expansion in days of fiscal expediency. It is on this score that the paper currency management must be entrusted to a Central Bank or a National Board of Currency Commissioners, who are not likely to derive any personal benefit by subjecting it to a profit and loss philosophy.

The next important truth in Sir Daniel's plan of monetary reconstruction is the utilisation of the co-operative credit societies in place of the capitalistic mechanisms known as the joint-stock banking institutions. Every well-wisher of this country recognises that this co-operative spirit is nothing new to this country. With proper propaganda and encouragement, there would be early improvement of the character of the co-operative credit societies. With proper co-operative spirit, the society organised by non-officials can improve the right calibre of the borrowers and bring about a productive use of borrowed money. If such reliable men are trained, as Sir Daniel Hamilton recognises, more money can be placed in their hands for productive purposes. It is these that create money, and the Central Bank or the National Board of Currency Commissioners can issue it on the basis of the interchange of the products of their work. The Central Bank possessing details of the volume of production, the level of prices, the nature of unemployment, the stock of goods, and statistics of consumption that can be gathered out of a mass of statistics, will be of incalculable value in adjusting the money or bank cash to meet the needed money's work, so that there is the

exact amount of money ; neither insufficient nor superfluous. The publicity of its transactions would reveal the amount of money and the nature of the borrowers selected to make use of that money. The interest obtained for these operations can be used for promoting the welfare of the people. The rate of interest charged upon the workers and producers must conduce to their interests. So long as the Central Bank or the N.B.C. Commissioners pay heed to the consumers also, the well-being of all sections of society can be safeguarded. Production, Finance, Labour, and Consumers will all be satisfied with this method of creating and controlling money. But it depends on disinterested financial statesmanship of a very high order in the interpretation of the above statistics and controlling bank credit in this way.

The superiority of co-operative banking organisation to joint-stock banking is not carefully explained in the thesis of Sir Daniel. The possibility of making use of money for productive purposes is assured under the control of the efficient co-operative credit society. Foreigners who have to manage the joint-stock branches cannot understand the needs and requirements of the people. The salary that has to be paid would be so heavy that real branch-bank expansion is limited only to a few banks, and unless this machinery is superseded or supplemented largely by the new co-operative credit societies, we cannot hope to reach the masses quickly. It is for this reason that co-operative banking has to be preferred to joint-stock banking, which can easily become a prey to the capitalistic ambitions of the shareholders.

The existing defects of the co-operative credit societies must be remedied. The co-operative level has to be raised : quality and not quantity should be the ideal aimed at in the expansion of co-operative credit. Defective societies established in every city and town or big village cannot be considered as a 'store of money'. The seed of co-operative credit takes a long time to grow into a flourishing plant and bear fruit. Though this seed has been planted in 1904, still the results are not encouraging. There are black sheep among the co-operative fold causing grave

anxiety to the well-wishers of the movement. On their elimination, and proper application of money for productive purposes and businesslike habits in the matter of collecting arrears, depends the success of the movement. Co-operative credit aided by other manifestations of the co-operative spirit in the different walks of life, would soon raise the village life into a higher plane of economic progress, freeing it from indebtedness, ill-health and ignorance.

NOT A NOVEL SCHEME

While attention has already been drawn to the economic truths which underlie Sir Daniel's scheme, it must be frankly admitted that similar schemes were forged by distinguished thinkers in other parts of the world long ago. Mr. Henry Ford stated this self-same revolutionary idea long ago in the *New York Times* in 1921 in a famous essay entitled "Muscle Shoals". Sylvio Gessel and Keynes startled the world of bankers by their free and outspoken criticism of the present monetary standard based on gold holdings. There are a host of lesser lights who have been voicing the same maxim in season and out of season. The puzzled public have, beyond shaking their heads, done nothing to advocate the use of the recipe for their numerous ills. Sir Daniel, then, is in excellent company with such distinguished thinkers. But while others have systematically elaborated their plans and unfolded their ideas in a strictly scientific manner, there is a total absence of such procedure in Sir Daniel's statements. While he attempts to discard the whole monetary structure and throw it overboard, he does not logically fill in the gaps by placing suitable, acceptable and fool-proof or knave-proof planks. He appears to be lacking in the 'engineering faculties' which any architect should possess before he can hope to rear a lasting edifice.

GOVERNMENT CURRENCY vs BANK CURRENCY

While placing the issue of notes in the hands of the Government, Sir Daniel insists on due limitation of the

quantity of its issue. He postulates for a thing which may or may not be secured. It is improper to level the charge that Sir Daniel is a mere 'more money' enthusiast. Money to whatever extent may be required by the people, must be created. The Government is to print such volume of paper alone. But fiscal expediency and abnormal demands for which no provision can be made, may give scope to unjust tampering with the currency issue. Unfortunately, the lack of stern morality in impecunious governments which have a fatal temptation to over-issue currency, is a real impediment in the path. Besides this, paper currencies are purely national in circulation, and the regulation of foreign exchange values would be a difficult matter. Even though rapid and arbitrary changes in the internal price-level can be remedied by varying the volume of inconvertible paper according to the dictates of an effective index number, which itself is a difficult thing to be constructed, small scale oscillations round the selected norm of the price-level would still be the prevailing feature.

Sir Daniel's scheme as well as Keynes' managed currency have all the evils attendant on the scheme of Prof. Fisher. Yet they do not possess the chief merit of the latter. Gold has to be retained perhaps as a "servant and not as a master of mankind." This really is the difference between Prof. Fisher's stabilisation scheme and the pure pre-war gold standard system. Prof. Fisher is shrewd enough to grasp that gold is a thing that cannot be dispensed with. It has won an accepted position as a regulator and governor of commercial and financial values.

Even granted that the Government does not abuse the privilege of issue, it does not immediately follow that Government issue is superior to bank currency. The superiority is presumed because of the fact that the nation's assets, which are the assets behind the Government currency, must necessarily be larger than bank assets consisting of the shareholders' wealth alone. But Sir Daniel is evidently confusing backing for limitation. He appears here to consider backing as the sole creator of the necessary value of the currency note. Sir Daniel seems to have the conception of ultimate redemp-

tion in his mind. It seems impossible for him to disassociate his mind from the value of things behind or at the back of it *i.e.*, the Government note. This process of economic reasoning is faulty. It is limitation with reference to demand that creates value. It is not the land, labour, or real estate, that gives value to the Government note. Issued for progressively productive purposes, our "Monetised or capitalised labour" instruments, would bring prosperity, he argues like Mirabeau. He does not go to the extreme length of Mirabeau who declared "that land-secured notes would never become redundant any more than the humidity of the atmosphere can become excessive." Sir Daniel indeed argues for limitation. True value depends on this, rather than the things at the back of the note. But he does not recognise the inferiority of paper money to commodity money. Inconvertible paper not being redeemable into any fixed, standard uniform thing at a fixed rate, can be easily over-issued. Commodity money alone possesses this, and prompt redemption acts as a check against over-issue. If the matter of redemption is removed, the road to over-issue becomes plain and easy. Once set foot on the path of the inclined plane, the Government would soon be landed in a bottomless abyss, and financial recovery would become a hopeless affair.

It is strange why the inferiority of Government supplied currency to bank currency in the matter of elasticity, cheapness and prompt satisfying of the needs of the people, is not recognised. Safe and unfettered deposit banking furnishes the elastic currency that is needed by the people. A managed government paper currency, not based on gold and issued through the Controller of Currency, requires conduit pipes through which the flow of money should take place. If these are too many, weak, unnecessary and intervening links between the ultimate provider and the ultimate user of the credit instruments, as is at present the case, it follows clearly that the real object would be defeated. Through the co-operative credit societies or people's banks, he would secure the distribution of credit currency. Additions to stock of money

have to be made by the Controller, or currency authority, if the volume of wealth is increasing. A rapid transfer of the same from the credit manufactory is to take place, so that the benefits of such creation might reach the masses quickly. A government managed currency can thus be made cheap and elastic if the above defects are removed. A prompt satisfying of the needs may take place under wise management. It is through the co-operative banks that such provision of elastic currency is to be indirectly secured. It must also be noted that this indebtedness to Government must be declared a first lien on the assets of the co-operative banks. Banks have certain inducements which can make the people accept their notes, while a paper currency of the Government might have no such means. The co-operative banks might do the same thing. Thus the needed expansion might be brought about by them.

A second reason why the Government 'fiat' money may fail to be ideal money is this. The Government might be afraid to contract currency as soon as production or trade diminishes or falls off. When the Government attempts to reduce currency to attain stable prices, it soon becomes unpopular. While everybody welcomes currency inflation, no one tolerates the idea of deflation, though it is needed by the state of economic circumstances prevailing at the time.

Like Emperor Frederick the Second of Germany, Bryan of the United States of America, Sir Charles Wood, the father of the present Government paper currency system, Lord William Bentinck, the founder of the Government Bank of Madras of 1805, Robert Owen, the English Socialist, Bronterre O'Brien, the Chartist Leader, or Arthur Kitson, the English industrialist, and Major Douglas, the English currency reformer, Sir Daniel Hamilton is a staunch believer in the superiority of Government credit over private credit. Like the other famous thinkers, he is of opinion that the true function of the State is to issue currency. But the same arrangement can be obtained by making the Central Bank note a government-guaranteed note, as has been done in the United States of America. President Wilson needed an

elastic bank issue, and in order to placate the Republican Party and Bryan, the Government guarantee had to be superimposed on the original plan formulated by Mr. Glass. The Government credit for which Sir Daniel is so anxious, can be easily enrolled by this device and all the advantages of bank-issue would be retained. Under proper safeguards, such as supervision, the Government guarantee of the Central Bank note can be easily taken up without serious detriment to the Government. A Central Bank's management of paper currency with Government guarantee behind every bank note issued, would be the better ideal. If the reformers of managed paper currency were to enlist this ideal, even the illiterate masses of the country would not question the standing of the bank note. The supercession of the present G. P. currency note by the Government-guaranteed bank note would become an easy matter. All the disadvantages of Government Paper Currency would be very easily removed by a Central Bank or National Bank of Currency Commissioners, independent of political influences or pressure, creating this credit currency and spreading it through the channel of the co-operative credit societies. It is far better to have the credit of the Central Bank called into question than the credit of the Government itself, which might happen at troublesome times, if the Government were to issue notes directly.

PROVISIONAL CONCLUSIONS

Apart from the above instances of deviations from the accepted scientific terminology, grave omissions and imperfect planning of his whole scheme, Sir Daniel has allowed himself to be carried away by his zeal and enthusiasm in the statement of the conclusions which form an important part in the scheme of his monetary reconstruction. A few such examples have to be given lest our remark might be misunderstood. Sir Daniel repeats the oft-quoted truth that "managed paper currency is the best currency." He asks with almost naive simplicity, whether silver or paper currency is the best? Even at the risk of tiresome repetition, it must be admitted that it is not banking or

convertibility that gives value to currency. The fundamental thing is that the value of money, like other things, is determined by scarcity or by the interaction of the forces of demand and supply. Limitation is the fundamental basis of value of paper money, for its demand is only monetary demand. There is no composite demand for it as in the case of gold. Every student of economics knows that neither gold nor silver is ideal money. Managed currency alone can come up to ideal money, which possesses stable purchasing power, and is elastic enough to suit the needs of the people over short as well as long periods of time, including seasonal, secular and cyclical changes. Government currency based on labour and actual products must be created. It is an undeniable fact that, "labour is the only fund on which any groundwork of a sound system of credit must ultimately be placed." There is nothing fundamentally wrong in this statement or which will not be accepted by the orthodox economic thought. Since Adam Smith, the father of English Economic thought, stated long ago that "the annual labour of every nation is the fund which originally supplies it with all the necessities and conveniences of life which it annually consumes," it has become the object of all economists to forge a lasting, direct and desirable link between this fund, which ought on no score to be spirited away for unproductive purposes, and the credit system of the country. This is the true security or the ultimate assets on which money and credit should be based. Sir Daniel would create Government paper currency on this basis in order to make it more efficient than present-day currency and bank credit, which are based on the decreasing output or assets of the gold mines. A rational money and marketing plan is essential in this age of industrial rationalisation to organise prosperity for the hard-working producers. Thus stated, the whole scheme is economically feasible and not fallacious. But whether any country, present-day India in particular, is in a position to work this scheme, has to be decidedly proved before any hazardous schemes that are theoretically sound can be successfully carried out.

But the return to the gold standard by all the important countries of the world need hardly be mentioned. The good old gold standard has been reintroduced with slight variations here and there to suit local conditions. International attempts to stabilise the long-period tread of prices are being made on a large scale. The attempt is to manage the gold standard with the avowed object of realising economic stability in life. Without departing from the safe conservative and accepted principles of monetary economies, a pragmatic and workable control of price stabilisation is being attempted by some of the Gold Standard countries. Moderation of price swings, and their relative stability round a norm, and prompt satisfying of the business needs, are the present day aspirations of the enlightened people. Manipulation of the discount rates, open market operations and moral suasion, are to be the recognised means to be employed by the Central Bank. Such a policy is to be worked under the alert management of the Central Bank officials according to a set of indices, such as the general purpose index number, volume of credit, state of consumption, volume of production, and volume of employment, which afford the criteria for their action. The Central Bank's policy is to be reinforced by timely action on the part of the Treasury, so that this idea might be achieved under a managed gold standard system. This is the aim of modern Central Bank policies. But unfortunately this is not the ideal that our Banking Messiah wants to develop in this country. We would be alone and isolated if we were to pursue the scheme of Sir Daniel. Though his scheme can be made theoretically perfect and conceivable, it is bound to be ineffective. Until the improvements suggested in the second part of my article are carried out, even the refinement of the thesis would not be complete.

Freedom in the West

BY L.V.B. CHOWDARY, B.A. (Oxon.), Bar-at-Law

Many, if not all, of us are agreed that we understand what is meant by 'freedom.' Some at least of us realise that freedom is relative. If it is not relative, it will either degenerate into chaos or rise to perfection. We also know that freedom is a manifold thing. It may be of thought, of speech, or of action. There is freedom of political convictions, of economic remedies, of social ideals and of self-development. Freedom in many of its aspects has, for some time past, been gradually developed in the West. Today we see in most of the Western countries, life born of and nurtured by freedom, very much active and knocking against the yielding disabilities, barriers and even fates.

Political freedom in England is manifest in the working of its political institutions. England's polity is monarchy, but it is a constitutional monarchy and is worked on the basis and in the spirit of a true democracy. There are political opportunities in England for every man and now for every woman as well. Little Jim Thomas, a coal hewer of a few years ago, became one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State in the Labour Government of 1924. He is never tired of telling the world of his joy at having risen from the dust of a coal mine. The Duchess of Atholl is today a Minister in His Majesty's Government.

There is also social freedom now in England to a large extent. This social freedom is of recent origin, and has chiefly come into existence owing to democracy and what it stands for. When you go a-begging for a vote to a man of whom you may feel in your heart that he is your social inferior, and tell him that he is as good as you yourself are, and assure him of your interest in his affairs, your affection for his children, and your support for getting his things done, you cannot very well show him that he is only

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your inferior. The vote-seeking has greatly levelled up things. Labour and socialism have made matters easy for the conscientious snobs to mingle with the commonalty. When Jim Thomas, the coal hewer, could dine with their Majesties in their own home as their guest, class snobbishness is bound to disappear.

There have been great efforts made in the Western world to secure to the masses some sort of economic security and to obtain freedom for them from economic domination. In England such measures as the Old Age Pensions, Unemployment and Health Insurances, and the War Widows and Orphans Pensions, have eased and are easing the economic situation there. Trade Unions all over the world are fighting for the economic betterment of the masses. There is plenty of freedom of speech and of writing in Great Britain. The blighting vapourings of Mr. A. J. Cook, the Miners' Secretary, are allowed to continue without let or hindrance. Margot Asquith, the wife of an ex-premier of Great Britain, is an illustration of the freedom of writing in that country. But in some respects, such as purely social, hygienic or sexual matters, England does not allow so much freedom either in writing or in speech as, for instance, France. There is also freedom of gatherings, and Communists can meet and discuss matters at any place they like.

Men and women partake of this freedom in the West. Formerly man only had freedom, and his freedom was of course very limited and woman had been kept in the background. But now she has come to the forefront. She had been the Queen of the Home, but she only reigned and never ruled there. She presided over social functions, but always with the permission of, or on sufferance by, the husband. She had been hopelessly dependent on her husband for sustenance. And she had no political rights. Now she rules the home, heads and conducts the social functions, is getting out of economic dependence by earning herself, and above all she has the vote now. She does partake of freedom now nearly as much as man does. She has come into her own. Some people even in the West bemoan that she is

overdoing it. They complain that she is challenging man on his own ground and that she is usurping his place, position and rights. Some fear that she is going to upset the equilibrium between man and woman. But we may be sure that all thinking men agree that these fears are unreasonable and unfounded. A nation of free men and women is a great nation. If only men are free and women are in bondage, unable to think, speak or act for themselves, the latter will be a drag on the nation's life. A nation has every right to get for its service the best out of every one of its nationals, and every national owes a duty to the nation to give it the benefit of his or her talents and abilities to the fullest extent. A woman who is not free intellectually, socially, politically or economically, cannot give her best. It is a glorious thing and it speaks volumes in its favour, that woman has found emancipation at least in the West. The future world would be better and happier for the advent of woman into its manifold activities. Man and woman in perfect unison will really make the world worth living in.

Now, the people who have grown in this free and wholesome atmosphere are bound to have a strong, healthy and successful national life. Whatever merit or greatness there is in the Western nations to-day, is to a large extent due to the many achievements they have had to their credit in the varied field of freedom.

Reviews

[We shall be glad to review books in all Indian languages and in English, French and German. Books for Review should reach the office at least SIX WEEKS in advance of the day of publication of the Journal.]

The Political Philosophies since 1905.—By Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, with a foreword by Major B.D. Basu, I. M. S. (Retired)—Published by Messrs. B. G. Paul & Co., Madras. (Price Rs. 4)

This book achieves more than what can be done by such books as "What to Read" published by the Fabian Society, and "History and Historians" of Dr. Gooch and the "Chronological History" of Hassel, in that it gives in outline, in addition to a chronological catalogue of books and events, an idea of the special contents of the books mentioned and the particular interest stimulated by such books. Mr. Sarkar has tried not only to give an excellent list of books, but also to provide us with a chronological list of important events such as the Reform Acts, Poor Law Acts of England, the establishment of French and German Republics, the abolition of slavery and the organising of Internationals, besides tracing the tendencies of political philosophies since the beginning of the modern period *i.e.*, 1776. Therefore, one can unhesitatingly say that the students of our Universities, as well as others interested in social sciences, will find it an excellent guide both for reference and for advanced studies.

In Chapter II, Mr. Sarkar presents an outline of the world thought upon such problems as sovereignty, economic welfare and international relations. He takes particular care to notice every important change of financial policy adopted by different European Governments. Special mention is made in this Chapter about the thought of Ricardo, Kant, Hegel, Savigny, Mazzini, Calhoun, Bakunin, List, Proudhon, Karl Marx, Spencer and Carlyle. But it is unfortunate that Mr. Sarkar should have decided to treat such thinkers as Adam Smith, Malthus and Mill with such scant notice.

In Chapter III, he brings us up to 1905 and gives us a fairly satisfactory idea of the thought of Treitschke, Gierke, Tolstoy, Leroy-Beaulieu, J. A. Hobson, Sorel, Max Muller, Green, and Tagore among many others. A brief account of the political parties in Japan and the Indian National Congress is also given.

In Chapter IV, the contemporary political philosophy is shown in all its aspects, although too much importance is given to its economic aspect. Duguit, Zaghlul Pasha, Laski, Mussolini, Hobhouse, Wilson, Oppenheimer, Lenin, Russell, Sun Yat Sen, Hobson, Seligman, Marshall, Cole, Taussig, Angell, Bryce, Nitti, are some of the important thinkers presented in this chapter. The political events of modern India, China, Egypt, Turkey, Afghanistan and Fascist Italy are presented so well as to remind one of some parts of the *Daily Mail* year book. One feels however that Mr. Sarkar has not done due justice to the vast and growing literature contributed by indigenous thinkers upon the economic, social and political questions of India, China and Egypt. One should take Mr. Sarkar very cautiously, because he is a man with very strong views which sometimes get the better of him as a scholar and researcher. One should not run away with the impression that because Mr. Sarkar dismisses a thinker with a few words, that unlucky thinker is unimportant or dull. For instance, Mr. Sarkar treats Mahatma Gandhi and Marshall to a few lines, while Ferraro, the comparatively very unimportant Italian is given much prominence.

He has also omitted to mention the thought of Godwin and Shelley, Barnett and Booth, Regnano, Selvemini, Serrati, Acton and Gooch, Herbert Fisher and Lord Hugh Cecil, Gilbert Murray and Lord Robert Cecil, and the work of the co-operative movement in Japan and Ireland, the Christian Missions in the Orient and the Social Reformers in India, China and Japan.

I think Mr. Sarkar makes his first chapter unnecessarily clumsy and confusing, and the merit of this book will certainly be enhanced if he makes it more attractive and easy reading.

The last chapter on the 'Isms of today' should have come as the second chapter. In fact, it is the key-chapter for this excellent book, and I advise readers to go to the earlier chapters after looking through this fairly well-written chapter. A student of history or politics finds much that interests him in this chapter. For instance, the 'origins of the eight Isms,' 'Anar-

chism vs Bolshevism,' 'Guild Socialism vs Syndicalism,' 'four varieties of Pluralism,' 'Monism, Internationalism and Neo-Nationalism,' 'Sovereignty' are some of the subjects which are presented in their barest outlines.

One very important and welcome feature of this book is that, in it, is presented for the first time the thought of the thinkers of France, Germany and Italy. The Indian student who is starved today for facts concerning the different 'Isms' and the political events of Italy and Germany, China and Japan, is sure to find this book a great help. Not the least attractive feature about this useful book is its very moderate price.

N. G. RANGA B.LITT., (Oxon)

KANNADA

Nannadu i Kannada-Nadu:—A National Anthology edited by D.R. Bendre, B.A. and published by S.B. Joshi, 'Geleyara Gumpu,' Dharwar. Crown Oct. pp. 52, Price As. 4.

The Kannada-Nadu is verily in the throes of a re-birth today: the surest sign of which is the solicitude of her children to meet together in the cause of the mother-tongue after a long hypnotic slumber. Will not this happy meeting need a sunny book of songs to peep into and recall loving memories of the past, when the Kannadigas were culturally all one? In view of this reunion, therefore, we welcome this present anthology, which we hope would serve as a national anthem all over the Kannada country.

The book contains songs and poems, composed by poets, old and new, singing the greatness and glory of Karnataka both severally and collectively. The salient features of the several parts of Karnataka such as Mysore, Kodagu, Tulu and Belawala are embodied mostly in the modern poems which poets of those very parts have written; the reason being that the cry for individual growth as leading to political unification is necessarily modern, although as the editor points out in his forward, "The consciousness of a whole Kannada country was not unknown in the past: Nripatunga, the Rashtrakuta King and poet of Manyakheta (the modern Malkheda in Nizam Karnataka) who ruled in the 9th century, speaks proudly of the 'Kannada Land that spreads from the Godavari to the Kaveri'. The 13th century poet, Andayya

of Banavasenu (the modern North and South Kanara districts) sings with delight the song of 'the land called Kannada'. And Chikupadhyaya of Mysore in the 17th century describes in detail the glory of 'the land of Kannada'. The idea of the distribution of provinces on a linguistic basis was there in the minds of the people in the past. The same idea has now ripened in the modern times."

The prefatory poem of the editor himself who is one of the great modern poets in Karnataka, which is entitled, "The lullaby of the Kannada baby" imagines how Bharatamata is inducing to sleep her darling, the Kannada Nadu lying between the Eastern and Western ghats, which has done splendid service to Mother India in the past. The great Mother promises to set up a cradle in the skies for her baby in days to come. May we add that her old, old promise has been fulfilled today by the grant of a separate provincial unit made by the Congress and approved of by the All-Parties Convention? Round this cradle, we fancy that the poets of the past and the present have assembled to utter with pride and joy "This is mine, my own Kannada Nadu." The songs of this chorus have seen the light in the anthology before us. All the songs and poems are of good literary and artistic value.

The get-up of the book is perhaps the best that could be got out of a mediocre press, but we would suggest to the publisher to illustrate the book adequately. We earnestly hope that the alluring title of the book will arrest the attention of all Kannadigas.

R. S. M.



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