

TRIVENT

JOURNAL OF INDIAN RENAISSANCE



and

THE NEW ERA

(SIX ISSUES A YEAR)

RAO

JULY - AUGUST, 1930

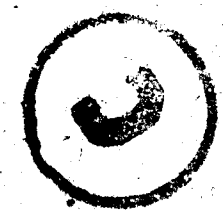
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TRIVENI

JOURNAL OF INDIAN RENAISSANCE

(With which is incorporated 'THE NEW ERA')

EDITOR

K. RAMAKOTISWARA RAO, B.A., B.L.

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(Formerly Editor, 'The New Era')

Madras
(India)

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1930



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.

MAZZINI.

'TRIVENI' AND 'THE NEW ERA'

We are glad to be able to announce that 'The New Era' has been merged in 'Triveni'. We hope that this result will meet with the approval of the friends of both the magazines. Though these two journals were living separate, it must have been apparent to many that there was much that was common to both. No doubt each had its special features, and no journal need be born if it has nothing special to propagate. But in the combined effort, an attempt will be made to bring out the best features of both. The fortunes of serious journalism in our country are exceptionally precarious, and united they could look forward to a stabler and more prosperous career than while single. We appeal to our friends and subscribers to evince in the combined venture the same interest and sympathy they were pleased to extend to the two journals separately.

M. S. CHELAPATI,

Editor, 'The New Era'

K. RAMAKOTISWARA RAO,

Editor, 'Triveni'

INFORMATION ABOUT 'TRIVENI'

1. '**Triveni**' is published **Six Times** a year, on the 15th of February, April, June, August, October and December. Subscription may commence from any number, but no enlistments will be made for periods of less than one year.

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4. **Change of Address** should be intimated to the office at least a fortnight before the date of publication of the Journal. If, however, the change of address is only temporary, arrangements may be made by the subscriber with the local post office.

5. **Advertisements.** A few select advertisements will be accepted for insertion at the end of the Journal. For rates and other particulars, apply to the Manager.

6. **Back Volumes.** A few complete sets of '**Triveni**' Vol. I (1928) and Vol. II (1929) are available for sale at Rs. 6 each, (post free). Bound Volumes, Rs. 8 each, (post free).

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By Sjt. Gaganendranath Tagore

Frontispiece

H. H. the late Maharaja of Travancore.

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 July last. The Editor's grateful thanks are due to all Life-subscribers. He trusts more will come in.

62. M.R.Ry., K. Balasubrahmania Aiyar Avl. B.A., B.L.,
Advocate, 'The Ashrama,' Luz,
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Maharaja's College, Vizianagaram.
65. " " Chevuri Subba Rao Pantulu Garu, B.A., L.T.,
Vizianagaram.

Two Poems

Ah, come sit beside me by the sea, open and free.
I will tell thee of that inward calmness
As of the still deep ;
Of that inward freedom
As of the skies ;
Of that inward happiness
As of the dancing waters.

And as now the moon makes a silent path on the dark sea,
So beside me lies the clear path of pure understanding.
The groaning sorrow is hid under a mocking smile,
The heart is heavy with the burden of corruptible love,
The deceptions of the mind pervert thought.

Ah, come sit beside me
Open and free.
As the even flow of clear sunlight,
So shall thine understanding come to thee.
The burdensome fear of anxious waiting
Shall go from thee as the waters recede before the rushing
winds.

Ah, come sit beside me,
Thou shalt know of the understanding of true love.
As the wind drives the blind clouds,
So shall thy brutish prejudice be driven by clear thought.

The moon is in love with the sun
And the stars fill the skies with their laughter.

Oh, come sit beside me
Open and free.

Love not the shapely branch,
Nor place of its image, alone in thy heart —
It dieth away

Love the whole tree.
Then thou shalt love the shapely branch,
The tender and the withered leaf,
The shy bud and the full blown flower,
The fallen petal and the dancing height,
The splendid shadow of full love.

Ah, love life in its fullness.
It knoweth no decay.

—J. Krishnamurti.

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The Simon Commission Report

BY SIR P. S. SIVASWAMY AIYER, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

Thanks to the methods of propaganda skillfully devised and vigorously carried out and to the attention widely attracted by the Indian unrest, the Report of the Indian Statutory Commission, otherwise known as the Simon Commission, has secured a measure of publicity far beyond that achieved by any other Commission or Report in the United Kingdom. Several impressions of the publication have been issued and it bids fair to compete with some of the best-sellers among the works of fiction. Wide and steady advertisement is generally followed by a belief in the virtues of the thing advertised. It should be no matter of surprise, if the British public has begun to believe in the profound wisdom of the Report and in the cussedness of the Indians who have decried the Report and refused to accept its conclusions. It is unfortunate that, like the Donoughmore Commission on the constitutional reforms of Ceylon, the Simon Commission should have adopted the attitude of admiring the merits of their scheme as an inter-dependent whole and insisting that the framework must be taken or left as a whole. Reforms in the political constitution of a country cannot be carried out in one part of it without affecting the rest of the machinery to some extent. While the Commission are prepared to admit the possibility of modifications of their scheme in details, they cannot conceive the possibility of any alteration of what they consider to be the main principles underlying their scheme. It is nevertheless true that this idea of inter-dependence of the proposals may be carried to the point of making a fetish of it. It may be quite possible for the critics of the Report to accept some of the proposals, while rejecting the others. But if it comes to a question of taking or leaving the

scheme of the Commission as a whole, people in India would rather throw the whole scheme overboard than accept all its main proposals. For the benefit of readers, especially in Britain, it is desirable to examine and analyse the scheme of the Commission and point out why it has met with such severe condemnation in India. We consider the scheme unacceptable, not merely because it fails to satisfy national aspirations, but also for the reason that it is constitutionally unsound in principle and bound, in working, to be injurious to the best interests of India. It may perhaps be useful to clear the ground by saying that the proposals of the Commission with regard to the provincial governments may be made acceptable by an alteration of some important features. Their recommendations with regard to the Central Government are so radically vicious that they cannot possibly be accepted. I will therefore begin with an examination of that part of the Simon scheme which deals with the Central Government. The Report of the Commission is throughout dominated by their conception of the future ideal of the Government of India. This must necessarily be the case and we agree also that any scheme that is put forward must be conditioned by the historic background of Indian polity. These considerations, however, lead us to entirely different conclusions from those at which the Commission have arrived.

THE HISTORIC BACKGROUND OF INDIAN POLITY

Let us first consider the historic background of the present organisation of Government in British India. It has become a commonplace in the histories of India that, prior to the advent of the British power, the country was parcelled out among a multitude of rulers and chieftains more or less constantly at war with each other, except during the rare and short periods when the country was under the sway of mighty emperors like Asoka, Harsha or Akbar. How India, peopled as it was by men of diverse races, creeds, castes and languages, was torn by internal dissensions and communal jealousies, how its incapacity for

union rendered the country an easy prey to every foreign invader, how India was rescued from internal strife, disorder and chaos by the growing ascendancy of the British power, how the consolidation of British rule has conferred on India the blessings of peace, order and security, the benefits of Western education and an improvement of her material condition, how the British administration has incidentally developed political capacity and how the spirit of nationalism which has been growing in recent years is the product of British administration, have been the favourite theme of every writer on the British period of Indian history. There can be no doubt that the growth of the sentiment of nationalism has been largely fostered by centralisation of the government, by the uniformity of methods of administration and laws, and by the employment of the English language as the medium for education and interchange of ideas. If there has been a tendency for the provinces of British India to rise to the same level of administrative efficiency and general progress, it has been the result of the co-ordination and control exercised by the Central Government of India. It is the highly-developed unitary character of the Government of India that has enabled it to exercise such a potent influence for the all-round development of the country. The disruptive influences of castes and communities, creeds and languages have been curbed by the power and influence of a centralised system of government. Communal loyalties are being superseded by loyalty to the nation and the country at large, and a parochial outlook is being replaced by a national outlook. If the separatist tendencies of the Indian peoples have still to be counteracted, it can only be accomplished by the development of Indian nationalism by the centripetal forces which can be exercised only by a government of the unitary type. Superficial observers may be disposed to think that a country of the size and population of India cannot possibly be administered by a central government with any approach to efficiency or popularity. It would be a mistake to imagine that

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a unitary government is incompatible with decentralisation. As a matter of fact, the Government of India has in the past largely delegated the administration to provincial governments and these latter have in their turn brought into existence local authorities with powers of local self-government. Devolution of authority to local governments and local bodies has been the accepted policy of the Government of India and the demand for provincial autonomy only calls for an extension of the same policy. But this demand does not require any deviation from the unitary character of the Government of British India. The past history of British India and the course of political evolution up to this moment point to the unitary type of government as the one best suited to the circumstances and needs of this country.

THE FUTURE IDEAL OF INDIA

Let us now see whether, apart from the exigencies of past history and present needs, there are any considerations arising from our conception of the goal or ideal of India in the future. Here it is necessary to observe that the question should be examined first from the point of view of British India, and secondly, from the point of view of the Indian States. It is conceivable that the ideal from the two points of view may not be exactly the same. Should there be a difference between the two ideals, the question would have to be considered how they can best be reconciled in the interests of the unity of All-India. Whether it should be by the surrender of one ideal for the sake of the other, or by the adoption of some form of polity which will harmonise the two, it goes without saying that what every ardent Indian nationalist desires is the union of All-India in some form or other, so that the people of All-India may be united as a strong nation speaking with a single voice to the outside world. The exact shape of the future of India as a whole, or of All-India as we may call it, has not been precisely forecasted by any one.

THE SIMON COMMISSION REPORT

Even the Simon Commission have not ventured to lay down the principles of the constitution of All-India, though they feel sufficient confidence to be able to predict the type to which it should conform. But before examining these conceptions which are nebulous except in one respect, let us first proceed to consider the ideal of British India itself. Though the political destiny of British India and the States may be involved with each other, an analytical study of the subject will help us to a better grasp of the problem and a more satisfactory solution.

THE IDEAL OF BRITISH INDIA

Let us therefore now proceed to consider the goal of British India. Fortunately for us, the aspirations of the people of British India have been accepted by the British Parliament and embodied in the solemn declaration of the 20th of August, 1917. The policy of the British Government has been declared to be "that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire."

THE PLEDGE OF PARLIAMENT AND ITS INTERPRETATION

To arrive at the true intention of Parliament, the language of the announcement has to be scanned with attention. It was at one time suggested by high officials in India that the responsible government contemplated by the announcement was not necessarily the same as Dominion Status. Even at this time of day, it is urged by British politicians inimical to India that the expression 'Dominion Status' is not a term of art and that the British Parliament had no intention of promising any status equivalent to that of the self-governing Dominions. But all these quibbles have been completely set at rest by the pronouncement of Lord Irwin made on the 31st of October, 1929 with the full authority of His Majesty's Government.

It can admit of no controversy hereafter that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress as contemplated in the declaration of 1917 is the attainment of Dominion Status.

DOMINION STATUS FOR BRITISH INDIA OR ALL-INDIA?

What is the India contemplated by Parliament in the announcement of 1917? Was it British India or All-India, including the States? It can be easily shown that the term 'India' has often been used and understood in official documents as referring to British India. Reading the announcement of 1917 as a whole, it is obvious that the India which was dealt with was British India and not All-India. The reference to the increasing association of Indians in the administration, the gradual development of self-governing institutions, the omission of any reference to the Indian States and Princes, the reference to the co-operation received from those upon whom new opportunities of service would be conferred and the extent to which confidence could be reposed in their sense of responsibility, place the matter beyond any doubt. The Government of India could not develop self-governing institutions in the Indian States, could not take substantial or progressive steps in the Indian States for the realisation of the ideal, could not confer any opportunities of service on the people of the Indian States by the reforms contemplated; and the people of the Indian States could neither obtain new opportunities of service, nor give proof of their sense of responsibility. The India to which responsible government was solemnly promised could only be that portion of the country whose administration was in the hands of the Government of India and the British Government. It is not possible for the British Government to interfere in the internal administration of the Indian States, or to coerce the States to become associated with British India in any constitutional structure. To clinch the interpretation of this declaration, it is enough to put one question: what, according to this declaration, is to happen if the States are unwilling to be associated

with British India? Is British India to be barred from the goal of responsible government, because the States do not choose to join? That the relations of British India with the Indian States introduce complications into the problem may be conceded. That these complications have been aggravated by the theory of direct relations with the Crown set up by the Princes and their counsel to which the Butler Committee and the Simon Commission have lent a too willing ear may also be conceded. But it is quite clear that Parliament did not intend the progress of British India towards the goal to be blocked by the reluctance of the Indian States to join her.

MONTFORD REPORT MINCONSTRUED

Reference may now be made to some passages in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report upon which reliance is placed by the Simon Commission. In paragraph 21, they quote a sentence from paragraph 120 of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, in which the distinguished authors say: "Granted the announcement of August 20, we cannot at the present time envisage its complete fulfilment in any form other than that of a congeries of self-governing *provinces* associated for certain purposes under a responsible government, with *possibly* what are now the Native States of India finally embodied in the same whole in some relation which we will not now attempt to define. (The italics are mine). For such an organisation the English language has no word but 'federal'." On this passage the following remarks have to be made. It has been taken by the Commission out of its context so as to convey a very different meaning from what the two authors intended. They state that the goal of responsible government could not be contemplated without self-government being granted to the provinces. That the Native States were not an indispensable part of the responsible government of India contemplated by them is quite clear from their use of the word 'possibly', thus indicating that it was only a *possible* contingency and not a *necessary* development of the policy

of His Majesty's Government. If the Native States made up their minds to come into the union, it could only be on a federal basis. But the form of the union and the relations between the States and British India could not be outlined. That, as between the Central Government and the provinces, the two authors of the Report did not contemplate any federal union is quite clear from the sentences which precede and follow the extracted passage. In the previous sentence the Report says that the existing relation between the provinces and the Central Government afforded a plain warning to those who were disposed to be misled by false analogies from federal constitutions. In the sentence which follows the extract they observe: "We are bound to point out that, whatever may be the case with the Native States of the future, into the relation of provincial and central governments the truly federal element does not and cannot enter." They went on to describe the necessary process of decentralisation and uttered a warning against the ready application of federal arguments or federal examples to a task the very reverse of that which confronted Alexander Hamilton and Sir John MacDonald. The same ideas were repeated in paragraphs 300, 340 and 350 of the same Report. However desirable it may be that the Indian States should enter into a close association with British India, their unwillingness to do so cannot be a barrier to the attainment of responsible government by British India. The true position between British India and the States and between British India and the provinces has been correctly described in paragraph 120 of that Report.

RELUCTANCE OF STATES CANNOT BAR BRITISH INDIA FROM THE GOAL

It may be said that the Montagu-Chelmsford Report is not the last word on the subject. Let us now turn to the announcement of Lord Irwin in October 1929. He stated: "In the full realisation of this policy (the attainment of Dominion Status) it

is evidently important that the Indian States should be afforded an opportunity of finding their place, and even if we cannot at the present exactly foresee on what lines the development may be shaped, it is from every point of view desirable that whatever can be done should be done to ensure that action now taken is not inconsistent with the attainment of the ultimate purpose which those, whether in British India or the States, who look forward to some unity of All-India, have in view." Here also the attainment of Dominion Status by British India alone is not barred or ruled out. It is, of course, common ground between the two schools of thought that it is eminently desirable (though not indispensable), that the Indian States should also join British India. As to the exact form of the union between the two Indias, if and when it takes place, no one has ventured to predict the lines on which the association should be carried out. All that has been suggested is that nothing should be done now which would create an obstacle to the adhesion of the Indian States and that the door must be left open to the larger integration of British India and the States. There are many conceivable forms of association between British India and the Indian States. There may be a federation of the Indian States as a solid federal body as pictured by the Maharaja of Bikaner, alongside of the organisation of British India as a unitary government and a machinery for the co-ordination of the two separate bodies. Such a conception of the future would not interfere with the evolution of the Government of British India on the established lines. Again, it is conceivable that the constitution of the future Central Government of India might be of a hybrid or anomalous type not strictly conforming to any existing type. What is important is that there should be no assumption as to the future type of the Government of All-India, that we should not now be called upon to make alterations in the existing structure of Government on the basis of uncertain assumptions made with reference to a remote future and that we should not do anything to arrest the political

development of British India towards the goal for the sake of this distant prospect.

RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT ESSENCE OF THE IDEAL
AND THE TOUCHSTONE OF ALL REFORMS

There are some conclusions, however, to which one is inevitably led by the foregoing discussion. Whatever may be the form of integration of India, the goal to which Parliament stands committed, to which the people of India have been looking forward and whose attainment they have a right to expect, is the goal of responsible government. This is the cardinal fact which has to be borne in mind in every attempt to frame or outline a constitution. It cannot be too strongly emphasised and it must be gripped by the reader as one fundamental test which must be satisfied by any constitutional proposals, whether complete or sketchy.

With becoming diffidence the Commission disclaim again and again any intention of devising the constitution of the future Central Government of India. They point out that its form must depend upon the wishes and opinions of the constituent members of the future All-India, which, they conceive, must be united in a federation. While they concede that the integration of India cannot conform to any known pattern, they put forth certain analogies and propose certain steps for immediate adoption on the assumption that they will serve to keep the door open for future developments, or, to adopt another metaphor, to throw out the first strands of a solid and enduring bridge across the gap that divides the Indian States from British India. How far their three concrete proposals will serve the purpose and may be acceptable is a question which we may discuss later. The more important point to be considered among the suggestions made by the Commission is their proposal for the demolition of the existing structure of the Central Government. They say that their first duty is to break up the existing structure so

that the edifice of a united India might be built on new foundations in accordance with the plans of a future architect. In support of their destructive proposals they claim the authority of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. But paragraph 120 of that Report to which reference is evidently made lends no support to the proposals of the Simon Commission. What the authors of that Report mean when they speak of demolishing the existing structure is the necessity for devolution and decentralisation, for cutting the rigid ties between the central and the provincial governments and for giving the provinces the largest measure of independence compatible with the due discharge by the Government of India of its own responsibilities. They took care also to point out that the federal conception could not enter into the relation of the provincial and central governments even in the future.

WHAT KIND OF FEDERATION?

The popular conception of federation is very loose and ill-defined and the word has a soothing effect on many minds. But for the purposes of political discussion we must understand the term in its accepted technical sense. Federation may be of various forms; it may be of the type that is prevalent in the United States of America and in Australia; it may be of the type that has found favour with Canada; it may be of the unique type of the German Imperial constitution which was in force from 1870 till the inauguration of the German Republic; it may be of the form that has been found suitable for the unique conditions obtaining in Switzerland; or it may be only a federation in name like the federation of the Leeward Islands. In what sense exactly the word is understood by the Commission is not very clear. But it is obvious that, in whatever sense they might have used the term, the federation conceived by them is of an extremely non-descript type and does not satisfy any of the tests of a genuine federation. What exactly is at the back of their minds may be

inferred from the constitutions which they rely upon as furnishing useful analogies. The associations which they refer to by way of analogy are the old German federation and the League of Nations. It is an irony of fate that the Commission, while not tired of warning against false historic analogies, should themselves fall into the mistake of proposing for serious consideration such false analogies. Let us consider whether either of the associations referred to by the Commission can possibly furnish any useful model for India.

ANALOGY OF THE LEAGUE MISLEADING

Every tyro in politics knows that the League of Nations is not a federation in any sense of the term and is still less a State. It has again and again been pointed out that the League of Nations is not a super-State imposed upon the member-States. The member-States have not sacrificed any part of their sovereignty. It is merely an association for the purpose of pacific settlement of disputes and the prevention of war by mutual agreement. Its resolutions do not bind the member-States, until they are ratified. The League has no coercive powers over its members and its decisions are ineffective for want of sanctions. Nobody would dream of calling the League a State or a super-State or a federation of States. Is this the sort of tie that the Simon Commission wish to bring about between British India and the States in the future? Is it the tie which any nationalist would desire to see formed in the future? It is conceivable that a closer association between British India and the States may not be possible; but nobody would care for such a loose association or call it a federation.

ANALOGY OF GERMAN FEDERATION ALSO MISLEADING

Let us now consider the other analogy of the old German federation. Evidently the old German federation referred to

by the Commission is the loose federation of German States established in 1815 which continued to exist till it was superseded in 1870 by the Imperial constitution. Here again the association between the various States is usually described as a confederation or confederacy rather than as a federation. Every tyro in politics knows that a confederation is only a congeries of States which do not make a State at all. The internal sovereignty of each State was quite unimpaired and the Diet, the only organ of the federation, was nothing more than an assembly of ambassadors of the various States of the League. It had no central (or federal) executive with real power over all the citizens within the area concerned. The only mode by which the Diet could carry out its orders was by calling one or two members of the federation to attack the recalcitrant State and by invading its territories to compel submission. It is needless to dilate further upon the features of the German federation which seems to have appealed to the Simon Commission. It had only one virtue, that of preventing a closer association of the various States into an organic whole. The federal constitution of the German Empire which succeeded it was, in the words of Dr. Preuss, one of the most eminent German constitutionalists, successful in preventing the emergence of an independent and politically responsible government. Perhaps the very defects of the old German confederation constitute its merits in the eyes of the Simon Commission. Here again let me repeat that it is quite conceivable that the Indian Princes, though not perhaps their peoples, may be unwilling to draw into a closer association with British India. It would then be folly to suggest the alteration of the structure of the Government of India in view to the prospect of the very loose and unsubstantial fabric pictured by the imagination of the Simon Commission. Admitting the necessity of visualising the future ideal of India and of keeping that ideal in mind in any alteration of the constitution, I have pointed out that *responsible government* must be the true ideal of India and that it

is not advisable to make any changes in the constitution of British India with an eye to the shadow of a federation held out by the Commission.

UNSUITABILITY OF FEDERATION

In arguing for the ideal of federation it is urged by the Commission that, apart altogether from any question of an ultimate federal union between the Indian States and British India, there are very strong reasons for the reconstruction of the Indian constitution on a federal basis. Before examining in detail the arguments advanced by the Commission in support of this opinion, let us note some important admissions made by the Commission. It is admitted that the present constitution of India, as it has been gradually evolved and established since the commencement of British rule, is of the unitary type as opposed to the federal. It is admitted that a change from a unitary type to a federal system is unusual, that federation has often been the intermediate process whereby independent States have agreed to relinquish part of their sovereignty before they were ready to merge their separate identities in a unitary State, and that the general tendency of federations once formed has been towards increasing centralisation. It is admitted that federation schemes usually postulate a number of clearly-defined States, each with a distinct provincial consciousness, and that this condition does not now obtain in the provinces which are only administrative areas. It is admitted that the proposals of the Commission involve a radical alteration of the structure of the Central Government. It is admitted that the provinces derive their measure of autonomy from a common centre and already form part of a single political system, while the Indian States, possessed of internal sovereignty, are completely independent of one another and that, while the provinces have a long tradition of over-riding central authority with wide powers, the limited powers of intervention possessed by the

Government of India in Indian States are derived from a very different source, and carried out in a different way. It is further admitted that the Commission are trying to federate elements, some of which have not been finally de-limited, while others have yet to express their willingness to enter.

THE MECHANICAL CONVENIENCE ARGUMENT FOR INDIRECT ELECTION

Let us now turn to the arguments of the Commission in favour of their position that, in the interests of British India itself, a federal as opposed to a unitary structure is called for. One main argument is based upon the practical difficulty of applying the principles of Western democracy to such a large unit as British India. In one part of their Report the Commission call it the argument from mechanical convenience. They point out that representative democracy as understood in Britain depends upon the possibility of a close contact between the elector and the member and that this cannot be secured with constituencies of the size and population that have been created in British India, especially for the Central Legislature. Let us grant that representative democracy of the British type involves limitations upon the size of the constituencies. What is the remedy suggested by the Commission? They seem to think that a system of indirect election would be a solution of the difficulty. They think also that the system of indirect election is bound up with a federal system. Each of these positions requires to be carefully scrutinised. The system of indirect election is proposed only for the constitution of the Central Legislature and not for the provincial legislature. The difficulty of applying the principles of Western democracy has not therefore been removed in the case of the provincial legislatures. It may be said that the difficulty upon which stress is placed by this argument is more or less the mechanical difficulty of a candidate getting into touch with a multitude of electors spread over a vast area. So far as the administrative arrangements for elections are

concerned, they have to be provided for in connection with the elections to the provincial legislatures and they will not be aggravated by popular elections to the Central Legislature, the franchise for which will certainly not be wider than that adopted for the provincial legislatures. As regards the difficulties of a candidate or member securing contact with the electors, they undoubtedly do exist under the present system. But they can be reduced to a considerable extent by an increase in the number of seats and the consequent reduction in the present size of the constituencies. The true remedy, however, is the growth of an efficient system of party organisation. In no large country in the world would it be possible for a candidate or member to get into touch with all the electors, except with the aid of a well-developed party organisation. It is a truism of political history that the development of party organisation depends upon making the government responsible to the people. But the scheme of reforms proposed by the Commission makes no provision for rendering the Central Government responsible to the electorate. If the system of direct election by popular constituencies fails to secure contact between the elector and the candidate or member, a system of indirect election by the provincial legislatures is *a fortiori* open to the same charge. Under a system of indirect election it would be quite unnecessary for a candidate to the Central Legislature to approach any popular constituency and educate any popular electorate to understand the significance of the issues arising before the Central Legislature and form their opinions on such issues. The system of indirect election recommended by the Commission must be condemned for the very reasons which have led them to condemn the system of direct election.

IS INDIRECT ELECTION ESSENTIAL TO FEDERATION?

Apart from the argument referred to, the Commission seem to have become enamoured of the system of indirect election for other reasons also. They seem to regard indirect election

as of the essence of the federal system and they advocate its adoption as paving the way for federalism. This is apparently all that they mean when they talk of leaving the door open for an ultimate federal union. There seems to be not a little confusion in the minds of the members of the Commission as to a connection between the federal system and the system of indirect election, between a system of direct election and the Parliamentary or Cabinet system, and between the federal system and the Presidential system. To clear this tangle of misconceptions, it has to be pointed out that the federal system does not involve the principle of indirect election as an essential requirement. Even in the United States of America, which is the earliest and most conspicuous example of a large country which adopted the federal system, the principle of indirect election for the constitution of the Senate was for very good reasons abandoned in 1913 in favour of the system of direct election. The examples of Australia and Canada are sufficient to show that a federal union is not incompatible at all with the Cabinet system and does not involve the Presidential system. It is needless to go further in disproof of the assumption made by the Commission.

PRESIDENTIAL SYSTEM INAPPLICABLE

The Commission frequently repeat the statement that the British Parliamentary system is not the only model for the Central executive and that the Cabinet system which is a peculiar product of British history, tradition and habits of thought is not suitable for transplantation in other countries. The Commission do not care to point out what the other alternatives to the British model are. The two models to which they refer are the old German federation and the League of Nations. We have already seen that these analogies are false and misleading. The only other model that we can think of is that of the United States with its Presidential system. Apart

from the fact that the Presidential system is workable only because of the American traditions and habits of mind, it cannot be copied in any country which is not prepared to adopt a republican constitution. Though the American executive is irremovable for a period, its responsibility to the people is secured by the periodical election of the head of the Government. It is obvious that the Presidential system cannot possibly be applied to India.

RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT NO PART OF COMMISSION'S IDEAL

Failing the British model and the American model, what is the expedient by which the deadlocks which are bound to arise between an irremovable executive and an elected majority in the legislature can be solved? The Commission are not prepared to throw any light upon this question. It must be pointed out, with reference to their conception of a federal union of India, that it is open to the fatal objection that there is no element in their scheme, now or in the future, of any responsibility to the people. There is no federal system in any civilised country of the world which is not based upon the principle of responsibility to the people. Federal systems generally involve a bi-cameral legislature. Whether the Upper House is constituted by the principle of direct election or indirect election, the lower and the more influential House is always formed by direct election by popular constituencies and serves to maintain the responsibility of the government. The necessity for an upper chamber may be open to doubt in the opinion of some theorists, but the necessity for a popular chamber in a federal system has been universally admitted. Yet the whole trend of the scheme of reforms recommended by the Commission is in the direction of making the Lower House non-popular (not to say unpopular). If the Commission did not feel hampered by the existence of the Council of State and had felt themselves at liberty to suggest a brand-

new constitution, there can be no doubt that their leanings would have suggested a single house of legislature formed by a system of indirect election. Their proposals amount to a negation of the principle of responsible government to which the British Government has solemnly pledged itself.

INDIRECT ELECTION INCOMPETENT FOR COMMISSION'S PURPOSE

The Commission seem to be under the impression that the principle of indirect election proposed by them will result in making the provinces the ultimate units of federation. This assumption seems to be the keystone of the Commission's edifice of a Central Legislature and therefore invites an examination as to whether it is desirable and whether it will be brought about merely by the expedient of an indirect election. The reason why, in the view of the Commission, the ultimate units of federation should consist of provinces is that, inasmuch as it is assumed to be possible in the future to bring in the Indian States as political entities but not the peoples of the States, the provinces of British India should also be brought in only as entire units and the people of British India should cease to have either part or lot in the composition of the Central Legislature. The Commission may perhaps be right in supposing that the rulers of Indian States may at present be unwilling to give their peoples, as distinguished from the rulers, any voice in the Indian Legislature. But it does not follow that there is any justification for depriving the people of British India of any direct voice in the constitution of the legislature. This would be a contravention not merely of the pledge of responsible government and the democratic principle, but also of the very essence of the federal system as understood in the modern world. The principle of federalism is not intended to curtail or affect the sovereignty of the nation, but to reconcile this fundamental principle with the desire of the constituent States to retain

some of their individuality. Granting, however, that this reactionary proposal may have the merit of serving as a bait to draw in the Indian States, it must fail of its purpose, unless the Commission are prepared to go further and lay down that the representatives of each province who may be elected by the respective provincial council shall record only a single block vote in accordance with the instructions given by the provincial council by which they were elected, just in the same manner as the members of the Diet in the old German federation or the members of the Bundesrath in the German Empire were required to vote. A further difficulty in the accomplishment of the object of the Commission is created by the principle of proportional representation by which the provincial councils are to be required to elect their representatives to the Federal Assembly of the Central Legislature. An election in the ordinary way by a majority vote by a provincial legislature might be regarded as an election by the majority who may be supposed to hold certain views in common. But the very object of the system of proportional representation is to secure the representation of groups and sections of opinion. And apart from the many other objections which can be urged against the principle of proportional representation—which have stood in the way of its being adopted even in England—it would be impossible to decide which of the groups voting in the provincial legislature, or the representative of which group, is entitled to speak in the name of the constituent legislature. For it may very well happen that the various groups and their representatives differ among themselves. The principle is inconsistent with the object so dear to the heart of the Commission.

ARGUMENT OF ELASTICITY

The next main argument for a federal ideal is that it is only a federal structure that will possess sufficient elasticity to allow of the union of elements of diverse internal

constitution and of communities at very different stages of development and culture. It is claimed that this form is the best suited for the union of backward or excluded areas and of special provinces like the North-West Frontier Province. Here again there is a confusion of thought in the mind of the Commission. For the purpose of attracting the autocratic States of India into some association with British India, it may perhaps be conceded that the federal structure which allows internal autonomy to the constituent members may be desirable. But when the position of British India is examined, it will be found to be incompatible with the needs of the situation and the professed aims of the Commission. The very fact that there are communities at different levels of education and political development, and that there are areas which require special treatment, shows that the relations between the Central Government and the local governments cannot possibly be the same throughout. While provincial autonomy might be feasible in the case of the major provinces, it would, in the opinion of the Commission itself, be unsuitable in the case of the backward tracts and special provinces. The internal autonomy of the constituent provinces enters into the very essence of the federal structure, or at any rate, far more so than in the case of a government of the unitary type. It is quite clear from various passages in the Report of the Commission that they do not propose the abandonment of the central control over these special areas and tracts. This second argument must be rejected as tending to establish the very contrary of the conclusion which the Commission seek to justify.

ENCOURAGEMENT OF NATIONALISM

The next argument of the Commission is that it is only under a federal system that the sentiment of nationalism can be given effective expression. It is not a little surprising that the Commission should claim a superiority in this respect for the federal structure. A federal system is by its very nature one

that encourages a divided loyalty among the people. It is unquestionable that a government of the unitary type is far better calculated to promote the sentiment of nationalism. The defects of federalism are well known and acknowledged by all political thinkers. The promotion of a provincial outlook and provincial loyalty as opposed to a national outlook and the recognition of the claims of the country as a whole, the want of uniformity in methods of administration and in laws in regard to which uniformity is desirable, weakness in the conduct of external affairs, liability to dissolution by the secession or revolt of States, the weakness of the Central Government in enforcing observance of its laws and decrees and treaty obligations, the evils arising from the greater complexity of administration, the duplication of government machinery and services, the absence of a power of intervention in the event of breakdown of the State machinery, and the absence of any power in the central authority to check the oppression of minorities are among the many defects of the federal system. It is because nationalism is of recent growth in India that it is all the more necessary to make no alterations in the structure of government which may interfere with the growth of the sentiment.

FEDERALISM NOT FULLY FOLLOWED EVEN BY COMMISSION

Let us now see whether the federal ideal is strictly adhered to by the Commission in their scheme of reconstruction of the Central Government. In the first place, they propose to vest a power of intervention in the provincial Governor for such purposes as the protection of minorities and the preservation of order. In so intervening, the Governor will be under the superintendence of the Governor-General, for they say it is on the strength of the central administration that the peace and safety of India ultimately depend. In the chapter in which the Commission deal with the relations between the centre and the provinces, the Commission provide for the control of the Governor-General in Council over the provincial government in

a field defined by certain categories. Though I consider the provision for such control to be desirable and necessary, it may be noted that this provision is more consistent with a government of the unitary type than with a government of the federal type. The power which the Commission wish to reserve with the Central Government to settle the distribution of subjects between the centre and the provinces and to prevent any challenge of its action in the courts may also be considered to be not quite consistent with federalism.

QUESTION FUNDAMENTAL

Some people may be tempted to ask whether this lengthy discussion about the unitary type and the federal type may not be a question of mere names and definitions and whether there is any substance in this controversy. There are no doubt federations and federations, and some federations may resemble in character a unitary government which has carried out a large measure of decentralisation by statute. In such cases the Central Government and the provincial governments will ordinarily work in separate and well-demarcated fields of legislation and administration. What then, it may be asked, is the practical difference between such a government and a federal government? In the first place, it would be easier for the Central Government to exercise special powers in emergencies like the breakdown of the machinery of a provincial government and to exercise certain powers of control over the vagaries and aberrations of the provincial governments where they result in the oppression of minorities and in injustice to them. In the next place, all powers which have not been specifically parted with to the provincial governments would necessarily vest in the Central Government. What is known as the residuary jurisdiction, in cases not otherwise provided for, will be exercised by the Central Government. Thirdly, it would be easier for the Central Government to carry out necessary changes in the constitution

without recourse to the cumbrous formalities required under a federal constitution. Fourthly, it would be easy to maintain uniformity of laws and methods of administration throughout the whole country. Fifthly, the federal mentality is always prone to weaken the central power, for according to its theory the power of the centre is derived from the provinces. A unitary government which has carried out as large a measure of decentralisation as practicable in favour of the provinces has the merit of combining the advantages of federal and unitary governments. It can afford within necessary limits the fullest scope for development of the provinces in accordance with their special capacities and resources and for diversity in methods of administration wherever uniformity is not essential. It may be urged that it is possible to provide some of these features in a federal constitution; but it is not easy. It must also be remembered that theories have a great influence upon men's minds in the practical working of constitutions. The greatest practical advantage flowing from our adherence to the unitary ideal is that it will not involve any break in the lines of our political evolution and that it will not call for any radical changes in the structure of the Central Government.

IDEAL FROM VIEW-POINT OF STATES A GENUINE FEDERATION WITH BRITISH INDIA

Let us now turn to consider the future ideal of India from the point of view of the Indian States. We must be careful here to distinguish between the rulers and the peoples of the Indian States. The rulers of the Indian States claim to represent their subjects in external affairs. The relations between British India and the States are treated as a matter of external policy in regard to which the Princes consider themselves solely entitled to speak on behalf of their peoples. Having regard to the treaties assuring them of their internal sovereignty and the rules of quasi-international law applicable to their relations, it cannot be said that the Princes'

contention is untenable. This is the reason why the Princes have stoutly opposed the suggestion that the subjects of the States should be represented at the Round Table Conference. British India has therefore no right to enter into any negotiations with the people of the States against the wishes of their rulers. But the question of the future ideal of India and the form that any federation between British India and the States should take raises issues of the greatest importance in which the people of the States are as deeply interested as the people of British India. Apart from the fact that the interests and view-points of the States and their rulers cannot always be identical, it is not possible to ignore for all time the right of any people to have a voice in the government of their State. In considering the ultimate evolution of the polity of India as a whole, it would be most short-sighted to refuse to take the people of the States into account. What exactly should be the nature of the transitory arrangements to be made before the final goal is reached, we shall have to consider presently. So far as the final shape of the political organisation of India is concerned, it is impossible and unwise to conceive it as an association of British India with *the rulers only* of the numerous Indian States. That such an association is impossible can be easily demonstrated. Even the Simon Commission, with all their anxiety to please and placate the Princes, recognise the difficulties inherent in the political integration of autocratically governed States and democratic governments in which the governments acknowledge a constitutional responsibility to the people (para 231). But they make light of the difficulty of combining such incongruous elements and consider that the difficulties have been exaggerated. The only analogies which they can put forward are those of the old German federation and the League of Nations. It has been already shown that these analogies are totally misleading and inapplicable. What India wants is a union of its peoples and a consolidation of the different parts of the nation

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in an organic whole and not a loose and fragile association. An association between rulers alone may have the uses of an alliance in the international sphere, but such an alliance is not an organisation and can never be a substitute for a union of peoples. It is the intimate union of peoples in a definite organisation that can alone endure. Alliances of rulers alone can never last. History bears abundant witness to the truth of this proposition. Leaving out of account the numerous alliances between European sovereigns which have been formed and dissolved or re-shuffled any number of times, the very instance of the German federation quoted by the Commission proves the truth of the proposition. The old German confederacy which was formed in 1815 was no federation and no union at all. It broke up as it was bound to do, and even the Imperial constitution, which superseded it but vested all real power in the hands of the Bundesrath, failed to satisfy the national aspirations of the people. As remarked by Dr. Preuss, with the growth of nationalism the centre of gravity of public life was more and more shifted in favour of the Empire. The tenacious resistance of the old powers to political evolution in accordance with the dictates of nationalism was a source of weakness and discord and was considered to be one of the contributory causes of the disaster which overtook Germany at the end of the Great War. It may be urged that, in speaking in the same breath of the forces of nationalism in Germany and the tendency to democracy in the Indian States, I am allowing my imagination to run away with me and that the stolid contentment of the people of the Indian States is likely to last for some generations without disturbing the peace or pleasures of their rulers. But no one who has watched the growth of nationalism in Europe in the last century and in Asia in the present century can doubt that ideas are moving in the world much faster than at any previous epoch. To think of a federation between British India and the rulers of the Indian States only, or of a federation in which

there would be no place for the representation of the peoples of the States, as the final form of the political evolution of India, may be in keeping with the Princes' dream of a political Paradise. The only political organisation of the future that can endure and possess the elements of strength, vitality and powers of resistance against aggression is an organisation based upon the active support and intelligent participation of the people. These considerations should be sufficient to induce us to reject unhesitatingly the pseudo-federation outlined by the Simon Commission consisting in a unicameral legislature, representative only of the States and provinces as ultimate federal units, with the Governor-General at the apex of the structure in his dual capacity as Viceroy and as the political head of British India. It need be hardly pointed out that a federal structure of this extraordinary kind with an apex deriving authority from two sources, one Indian and one extra-Indian, is utterly incompatible with the ideal of responsible government and that this feature alone must ensure its rejection. Whatever may be the answer to the difficulties propounded by the Commission in paragraph 231, an ultimate ideal of federation without the element of responsibility to the people or representation of the people must be ruled out.

TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

If a federation of the genuine type between British India and the States is to be the future ideal, what is the nature of the arrangements to be provided in the interval that must necessarily elapse before the final consummation? Should the States be separately organised as a solid federal body as pictured by the Maharaja of Bikaner? Should the structure and garb of the Central Government of India be now altered in anticipation of the distant wedding day? Is it possible to accelerate the progress towards a union? These are the questions to which an answer must be found. In this connection the question has often been asked why the

relations between the States and British India should follow any particular pattern or type of association recorded in history. The Simon Commission also consider that the application of the federal idea to Greater India cannot follow any known pattern. There is no objection in principle to the formulation of an interim scheme contrived to meet the special needs of British India on the one hand and the Indian States on the other, or of an ultimate scheme which would embrace India as a whole and harmonise the interests of all its parts. While it is not necessary for India to fashion its future constitution in strict accordance with any past model, it would be ridiculous to throw away the lessons to be drawn from past history and experience. What the essential features of any future constitution must be has been indicated. Subject to these conditions, the union of the two Indias may be achieved by discussion and negotiation between British India and the Princes' Chamber or any other body representing the States, or by the gradual accretion of units to an existing constitutional scheme. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report evidently conceived the Government of British India as adhering to its present type and acquiring a responsible character, and the States entering into a closer association with the Central Government of British India, if they wish to do so. It is far from likely that the States would all decide to enter into partnership with British India at the same time. The forecast of a gradual accretion of the Indian States to the constitutional scheme of British India is more likely to be fulfilled by the course of events.

A CONSTRUCTIVE SCHEME

The only solution which will provide for this gradual accretion of States and which will not bar the way to the genuine federation of the future is to allow the States to join the British Indian constitution on some such lines as the following. So far as the major States of Indian India are con-

cerned, they may be allowed to send their representatives to both the Indian Legislative Assembly and the Council of State, the quota of representatives being determined on the same ratio to the population as in British India. Assuming that the constitution of the Assembly provides for a quota of one member for every million of the population, Mysore with its population of 6 millions would be entitled to send 6 representatives; Hyderabad with its population of 12 millions would send 12 representatives; Travancore would be entitled to send in 4 members, Baroda 2 and Kashmere 3. States which do not possess the requisite population for a seat may be conveniently grouped together according to their geographical contiguity and allowed representation on the same basis. Similar arrangements may be made for representation in the Council of State. It may be thought that representation of the States in the Upper Chamber alone might be sufficient; but this course would be open to several objections. In the first place, it would not be possible to provide for adequate representation in the Council of State without unduly enlarging its size. Secondly, the Legislative Assembly which represents the people directly would and should be the more important body of the two Houses, especially in matters of finance, and it is right that the Indian States should have a voice in the deliberations of the Assembly.

As regards the method of selection of the representatives to the two Chambers of the Indian Legislature, it should be carried out in such a manner as not to infringe the principle of internal autonomy of which the Indian Princes are naturally very jealous. The ruler of each Indian State, or the rulers of each group of States, should have the sole right to determine the method of selection of the representatives. The State should be left free to nominate its representatives in any manner it deems best. The ruler of a State may nominate the representatives to both the Council of State and the Assembly according to his own sense of fitness.

He may nominate his Dewan or any high official or any trusted non-official. If he considers it proper to consult the wishes of his people, he may make his nomination from a panel of candidates recommended by the Legislative Council or other body, if there is one. Or if he considers that the people of the State are sufficiently advanced, he may permit the representatives to be elected by them. British India would have no right to interfere with the internal arrangements for the selection of representatives by the rulers of the States. Gradually, and with the progress of education, it may be expected that the representatives of the States would be chosen by a system of election. It is not an extravagant hope that even the Indian Princes, who are most convinced of the present need for autocracy and who are most jealous of their internal autonomy, will admit the possibility of adequate enlightenment of their people and their fitness for the franchise as a future ideal.

With regard to the rights and powers of the State delegates for the Indian Legislature, they should for the present be strictly confined to participation in the discussion and decision of all matters which will be included in a schedule of all-India subjects. When matters affecting British India alone come under the consideration of the Legislature, they should not be allowed to attend or vote therein. This restriction on the ordinary rights of a delegate to the Indian Legislature is absolutely necessary in the interests of the principle of mutual non-interference between British India and the States in matters affecting either of them only. When a sufficient number of the major States shall have fallen in with this scheme, it may be possible to entrust the political and foreign portfolio to two Indian members, of whom one may be chosen by the Viceroy either from the State representatives in the Indian Legislature or from among the Dewans or other high officials of the Indian States represented in the Assembly. During such transition period as may be found necessary, the members in charge of the political portfolio may be responsible to the Viceroy only and

not to the Indian Legislature. During the same period any questions relating to the purely internal concerns of the States, or the personal concerns of their rulers, may be dealt with only by the Viceroy and the political members of his Council and not by the Governor-General in council as a whole. Before any federation in its final form can be thought of, it would be necessary for the Indian States to acquire sufficient confidence in the Government of India to renounce their contention of direct relations with the Crown and to give up the claim set up on their behalf by the Simon Commission to military support by the British Crown, as distinguished from the Government of India, against internal disturbances in their States.

Though the Government of India may have no right to compel any Indian State to enter into closer association with British India, there is no objection in policy or principle to hold out inducements to the rulers of the States to enter into such closer relations. In providing for the representation of States whose rulers may be willing to send delegates to the Indian Legislature, it may be laid down that only those States are entitled to representation which may have achieved some of the minimum requirements of political progress. The privilege of representation may be conferred only upon those States which have established a legislative council with a representative non-official element, fixed a civil list and effected a separation of the privy purse of the sovereign from the State revenues, and provided for an annual audit by an independent auditor and the publication of his report. Perhaps the best way of securing an independent audit would be by the appointment of an Auditor-General for the States by the Government of India. These conditions are very modest and the Princes should welcome an independent audit, so that it may not be possible for their enemies or critics to accuse them of squandering the resources of their States for their personal and family purposes. The scheme outlined provides for the automatic growth of the future constitution of India on progressive lines.

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Two important questions have to be referred to before we pass from this subject. It has been suggested that the representatives of the States should take their seats only in the Council of State and that this body should gradually become the more important body of the legislature and attract all the business that is common to British India and the States, leaving the Assembly to be atrophied. This suggestion would be obnoxious to all the objections that have been pointed out to a unicameral legislature in the centre.

COUNCIL FOR GREATER INDIA INEXPEDIENT

The other question to be considered is what provision should be made for consulting the wishes of those Indian States which may not be willing to enter into any union with the Indian Legislature. The Simon Commission have proposed a Council for Greater India consisting of 10 representatives of the States and 20 members including the Political Secretary and members elected from the Indian Central Legislature. On mature reflection I feel convinced that the creation of any such standing organisation, inclusive of the representatives of the States and of British India, would be an insidious menace to the existence of the Indian Legislature. The existing Chamber of Princes, coupled with the appointment of *ad hoc* committees by the Chamber of Princes and the Indian Legislature to confer with each other, would be sufficient for joint consultation and discussion between the States that keep out of the scheme and British India.

It may perhaps be urged that the restriction of the right of any section of the members of the Legislature to partake in the decision of all questions is anomalous. But as conceded by the Simon Commission, any solution of the unique difficulties of the Indian problem must partake of an anomalous character, and the constructive solution that has been suggested above is far less open to objection and far more in keeping with the growth of political ideas. In view of the preceding discussion as to the future

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volution of the Government of India, it is quite unnecessary to re-erect the existing structure of the Central Government. Progress will be best achieved by building on the existing foundations. The foregoing scheme has the merits of flexibility and capacity for growth and may well be regarded as India's contribution to constructive political thought.

SAFEGUARDS PROPOSED BY COMMISSION INCONSISTENT
WITH RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

One of the principles laid down by the Commission as at the basis of their scheme of reforms is the necessity, during the transition period, of providing safeguards for the maintenance and efficiency of the fundamentals of government. That it may not be possible for India to come into the full enjoyment of Dominion Status may be conceded. But what India is keen about is that the intervening period should be abridged to the shortest possible limits. There could be no difference of opinion as to the need for securing the stability and efficiency of the government and the proper discharge of all its vital functions, whether during the transition period or after the attainment of the goal. Nor is there likely to be much difference of opinion as to the need for machinery to ensure these objects. But as regards the character of the safeguards and the length of the period during which special safeguards will be necessary, differences of view will arise. It will be clear from the whole trend of the Simon Report that, far from abridging the route to the goal, the Commission's proposals will have the result of prolonging it to infinity. The goal of responsible government in the centre will never recede into the distant horizon and can never be reached. People in India cannot possibly be expected to agree with the opinion of the Commission that, for many long years, the presence of British troops and British officers serving in Indian regiments is inevitable for the purpose of securing the safety of India from external aggression and internal disturbances. Nor can the people of British India accept the view that efficiency of

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administration is likely to be imperilled by the transfer of responsibility to the people in the Central Government. As for the need for the protection of minorities, it may be conceded that for this purpose it may be necessary to vest special powers of intervention in the Governor or the Governor-General. But it is open to question whether the purpose will not be better achieved by the adoption of safeguards in the constitutional instrument. It has often been found that the Governors of provinces have been unwilling or unable to exercise the powers vested in them by the Instrument of Instructions. In any event the power of intervention, such as it may be, to be vested in the Governor or Governor-General should be derived, not from an authority external to India but from the constitutional enactment.

PROVINCIAL SCHEME CONSIDERED

Parts 2 and 3 of the Commission's recommendations which deal with the provinces and minor areas are much less open to objection than the parts which deal with the Central Government and the subjects of Defence and the relations with the Indian States. The recommendations of the Commission for the abolition of dyarchy and the transfer of responsibility to the legislature throughout the whole provincial field, for the adoption of the principle of joint responsibility of the whole ministry, for the extension of the life of the provincial councils to five years and for the enlargement of the size of the provincial councils, will meet with general approval. The provision of powers to enable the Governor to meet emergencies and breakdown in the machinery of government, the imposition of a responsibility upon the Governor for the protection of minorities, the provisions for the requirement of previous sanction of the Governor-General and his subsequent assent to provincial bills, and the power to give or withhold his assent to bills, must also be approved. The provision that the Governor may include in his Cabinet one or more non-elected persons does not fit in with

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the principle of responsible government and is liable to be abused. It is only too probable that in every province there will be as many officials appointed as ministers as there are now civilian members in the Executive Council, and that these places will be given to the members of the Indian Civil Service in substitution for the members' places which they will lose. The administrative experience of officials is of course valuable to every government, but it can be easily made available through the official Secretaries to Government and through the heads of departments. The proposal that the scale of ministerial salaries should be alterable only by a provincial Statute, that the salaries of ministers should not be liable to be reduced or denied by a vote in supply, and that a vote of censure could be proposed only against the ministry as a whole and carried after due notice, must be welcomed as ensuring a spirit of co-operation among the ministers and securing them against the contingency of snatch-votes and reckless attempts to curtail salaries by disaffected members of the legislature. These provisions would not detract from the power of the legislative council to get rid of a ministry with which it is dissatisfied. The power of the Governor to direct administrative action otherwise than in accordance with the advice of the ministry, for the purposes specified in paragraph 50 of the Report, might perhaps be accepted during the transition stage, but should not *prima facie* form part of the permanent features of the constitution. Similar considerations apply to the special powers proposed to be conferred upon the Governor in the fields of legislation and finance.

In their proposals for the re-distribution of provinces, the Commission do not seem to have appreciated the advantages of the present arrangement by which people with different creeds and languages are required to live together and cultivate the virtues of tolerance and good-will and are induced to extend their outlook beyond sectional interests.

It is unfortunate that the Commission have not been able

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to recommend the abolition of the principle of separate communal representation. The question of the separate representation of the Mahomedan community is one which can be satisfactorily settled only by agreement between the communities, and let us hope that the discussions of the Round Table Conference may lead to some satisfactory result. It is undesirable at this stage to pursue the discussion of this delicate subject.

Upon the question of franchise it is necessary to make one remark, that while there is no objection in principle to an extension of the franchise, the proposals of the Commission that a franchise committee should be appointed with instructions to enfranchise a definite percentage of the population, irrespective of any question of principle, so as to raise the electorate to 20 per cent of the adult population is of a somewhat doctrinaire character. The proposal that after 15 years a second franchise committee should be appointed with instructions to enfranchise not less than 20 per cent of the whole population partakes of the same character and offends against the principle laid down by the Commission themselves, that constitutional legislation should result from the needs of the time and not from the arbitrary demands of a fixed time-table. Limitations of space forbid me from going further into the details of the scheme of the Commission with regard to provincial governments.

COMMISSION'S PROPOSALS REGARDING THE CENTRE

The proposals of the Commission to extend the life of the Legislative Assembly to 5 years and of the Council of State to 7 years are in accord with the trend of public opinion. But in almost every other respect, the recommendations of the Commission are open to criticism. The absence of any proposal for the transfer of responsibility to the legislature, the substitution of a system of indirect election for direct election to the Assembly, and the attempt to convert the legislature into bodies representative only of the provinces or

States as units and not of the people at large, are sufficient to justify the chorus of disapproval with which the publication of the Report has been greeted.

I have already dwelt at length upon the system of indirect election to the Central Legislature which is the pivot of the Simon Commission proposals regarding the Central Government. It is necessary to add here that the argument of the Commission that, for the proper representation of provincial wants in the Central Legislature, the members of the latter should be indirectly elected cannot possibly hold water. Every one who is acquainted with the working of the Central Legislature is aware that, upon matters affecting the special interests of a province, the representatives of that province are loyal to their constituency and generally vote solid. The disadvantages arising therefrom in connection with the removal of all inducements to candidates of the Central Legislature to educate the electorate at large upon issues of all-India importance have been already referred to. The argument that the provincial elector would be embarrassed in his choice of a candidate by the double function of the successful candidate, as a member of the provincial Legislative Council and as an elector to the Central Legislature, is met by the Commission by a reply which is as amusing as it is cynical. They say that the distinction between all-India questions and provincial questions is not clear to the mind of the voter and would not therefore matter at all. He votes for the man whom he trusts and therefore he will trust him for both purposes. In the first volume of their Report the Commission commented upon the absence of party platforms and the importance attached by the voter to persons rather than policies. It is strange that they should express the view that the inability of the elector to distinguish between provincial and all-India issues does not matter. It is equally strange that they should think that a candidate who can be trusted for the provincial council can be trusted for the Central Legislature also. If the Commission consider that the question of political

policy or programme must play an important part in elections, they should certainly have realised that political parties and programmes for the provincial and imperial councils do not run on parallel lines and that a candidate whose views are acceptable on provincial questions may not hold equally acceptable views regarding imperial questions. One inevitable result of the system proposed by the Commission is the introduction of all-India politics into elections for the local legislature. Instead of achieving the advantages expected from it, the system of indirect election to the Senate became unpopular in the United States for the reason that real choice by a legislature came to mean choice by a party majority in a legislative caucus and the determination of that caucus had often been pre-arranged by a small group of party managers, or settled in a party convention which directed the members of the party in the legislature how to cast their votes.

IS THE PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM UNSUITABLE?

It is necessary to refer to a point upon which the Commission have laid strong emphasis in various places in their Report. They are convinced that the British model is unsuitable to the conditions of British India. It is an interesting commentary upon this conviction that they consider this model good enough for the provincial legislatures and governments. Apparently their reason for this inconsistent view is that the failure of the Cabinet system and the consequent instability of government will cause more harm in the central sphere than in the provincial. The remark that the Parliamentary system is hardly found outside the English-speaking world amounts to a large order. On the other hand, it has been adopted in most countries in Europe and in the self-governing Dominions. That the full success of the Cabinet system requires the condition of two parties, and two parties only, may be conceded. But this condition is not being fulfilled now even in England and is notoriously wanting in the other countries which have adopted

it. Nevertheless, governments have continued to function fairly successfully, and except in Italy and perhaps Spain, there is no desire to abandon the Cabinet system. We have also pointed out already that the Commission have not ventured to suggest any other alternative except the fantastic model of the German federation and the League of Nations.

The views of the Commission with regard to the Secretary of State and the Council of India will commend themselves to no one in India. It is only necessary to remark that their proposals are distinctly reactionary in so far as they depart from the recommendations of the Crewe Committee that, where the Government of India are in agreement with a majority of the non-official members of the Legislative Assembly, either in regard to legislation or in regard to resolutions on the budget or on matters of general administration, assent to their joint decision should only be withheld in cases in which the Secretary of State feels that his responsibility to Parliament for the peace, order and good government of India, or paramount considerations of imperial policy, require him to secure reconsideration of the matter at issue by the Legislative Assembly. So far as the people of India are concerned, they have long asked for the abolition of the Council of India and are opposed to the Secretary of State for India being allowed a status different from that of the Secretary of State for the Dominions.

In the preceding issue of this Journal, I have discussed the views of the Commission on the subject of Defence at some length and do not consider it necessary to go over the same ground.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Owing to persistent propaganda, a large volume of public opinion has been created in Britain in favour of the Report. It has been vigorously supported by the Press and it has been held out as one of the most masterly reports ever submitted by a Royal Commission and as a historic

State document. Even in moderate circles in England there is a prepossession in its favour and it seems to be held that the Report is bound to hold the field, unless and until the contrary can be proved. This is not unnatural, for the other side of the case has not been placed before it. I do not belong to the school of Indian political thought which considers it useless to attempt to educate or influence public opinion in Britain. I still retain faith in the English people. The Simon Commission express the hope that, if their Indian fellow-subjects extended to them the courtesy of studying the Report as a whole, they would find that it has been inspired by a spirit of genuine sympathy. I have done this more than once and I have found myself unable to discover any overflowing sympathy with the aspirations of the people of India. Nor have I been able to discover any proof of extraordinary ability, insight or statesmanship. The first volume of the Report which presents a survey of existing conditions is merely as assemblage of well-known facts, crude generalizations and unsifted statements. They have uncritically swallowed the statements made to them without any attempt to probe the facts or discover an explanation. For instance, they have based their theory of the non-martial areas and races of India upon the traditional libels of the people by military officers who have ignored the long process of deliberate demartialization carried out by the Government in the past. The excellent article of Mr. Chaudhuri in the July and September numbers of *The Modern Review* of 1930 is a thoroughly documented refutation of this theory. They have uncritically accepted the theory of direct relations with the Crown put forward by the Indian Princes and endorsed by the Butler Committee.

They have departed from the fundamental principles set out by themselves in planning their scheme of reforms. In recommending the break-up of the existing structure of the Central Government, they have ignored the historical background of the existing constitution and the lessons

to be derived therefrom. After laying down that constitutional legislation should arise from the needs of the times, they have thought it necessary on *a priori* grounds to frame a time-table for the extension of the franchise and direct that at the end of 15 years it should be extended to 20% of the whole population. While proclaiming that the constitution must provide opportunities for natural development and automatic growth, they have made no provision for the development of responsible government in the centre. While disapproving of a division of the functions of the government, they propose to take away from the Central Government the subject of Defence which is the most fundamental of the functions of any government. While approving of the British Parliamentary system as a model for the provinces, they reject it as a model for the Central Government.

There is no indication in the Report as to when the goal of responsible government may be expected to be reached in India. Is British India to wait for the goal till all the States are willing to join a federation, or is it perhaps never to be reached? They do not seem to have appreciated the difficulties attendant upon the attempt to induce the States to accept any genuine form of federation. The three ideas for which perhaps the Commission take credit to themselves as original are their contrivance of the system of indirect election to the Central Legislature, their formulation of a unicameral federal legislature on the pattern of the old German federation or the League of Nations as the future ideal of India, and their proposal to remove the constitutional barrier to Dominion Status by taking the Army out of the jurisdiction and control of the Government of India. The plan of indirect election is the pivot of the whole machinery. They do not realise that their whole scheme is inconsistent with the principle of responsible government. Their proposals in regard to the Secretary of State's control are of a reactionary and retrograde character and carry out the design of putting off responsible government. They have failed to take note of the

political forces moving the world which cannot leave India unaffected. They do not realise that the spirit of nationalism which has been kindled cannot possibly be quenched, and though it may smoulder for a time, it will continue to spread with increasing intensity. They have failed to take note of the portent of the participation of the women of India in public life and political agitation, a phenomenon quite unknown in this country. They have failed to realise that a new generation is growing up in India which is thirsting for political emancipation and is not prepared to follow counsels of patience or moderation, and which is not wanting in young bloods with Bolshevik ideals. Combined with the poverty of the people, the forces of political unrest may burst in a tremendous revolution. Unfortunately the Commission do not realise the wisdom of providing an adequate outlet for the forces of nationalism into beneficent and constructive channels. It is not unnatural that there are many in India who believe that the one purpose which has dominated the Report is how to make India safe for British rule and British Imperialism for as many centuries as possible. The Report is a pretentious monument of political unwisdom and lack of imagination, insight and constructive statesmanship.

Radha's Love I

BY PROF. T. VIRABHADRU

One episode in Sri Krishna's life which has captured the imagination of Hindu poets, ancient and modern, is Radha's love. That this subject has still a great hold on the poet's mind is proved by the numerous verses and pictures which appear in the Indian magazines from time to time. The most famous of these poets is Jayadeva of the 11th century A. D., whose *Gita-Govinda* (The Cowherd in Song) is a vivid portrayal in human shape of the divine love of Radha for Krishna. The poet shows at the outset his enthusiasm for his subject in the following words :

"The sky is thick with clouds. The forest looks dark owing to the *Tamala* trees. This, my boy, as children are, is nervous to go out in the dark. Radha, *you* must bring him home in time." Having left home under such instructions from Nanda, Radha and Krishna stopped wherever they saw a bower on the bank of the Jumna and indulged in love-sports which ever remain sacred to us.

In the opinion of many readers, in these songs the spiritual cravings of the human soul longing for union with the Divine Spirit are adapted to love-poetry. Besides being a great Bhakta (devotee), Jayadeva is a scholar, poet and artist of a very high order, and his lyrics sung by musicians who enter into their spirit fill us with rapture. There are in the poem 24 songs each of which is called *ashtapadi* (a song in eight lines) among other verses of high poetic excellence. The definition of poetry given by the English poet that it must be 'simple, sensuous and impassioned' suits this work very well and the poem is specially pleasing on account also of the descriptions of nature frequently brought in which are very fresh and charming. The scene of Sri Krishna's love-sport is laid in

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the forest of Brindavan, and the season of spring, the green creepers, the fragrant flowers, the refreshing breeze, the pleasing *koil* (cuckoo) and the dark-blue Jumna serve as an excellent background to Radha's union with the Ruler of the Universe. A student of English literature will see a point of resemblance between Jayadeva and Spenser. Each has a double motive in his poem. Just as we find in the author of *Faerie Queene* a combination of ethical and artistic motives, we find in the poet of *Gita-Govinda* a union of intense religious devotion and deeply sensuous love poetry. In some lyrics we get rapturous praise of Vishnu who appeared in ten incarnations for the protection of mankind and in some others we get voluptuous descriptions of love, some of which are generally expunged in modern editions. At the end of each section, the poet prays to Sri Krishna to save him from sin and shower His blessings on humanity. But even in the prayer of the pious devotee, erotic poetry and its images are visible:

May that God, the dark spot on whose chest (really due to the *Kasmira* which Lakshmi scented her breasts with) looks like the stamp she put on his heart, fill me and the whole of mankind with love.

Krishna, the Great Lover that he was, had many love-affairs and it was but right that Lakshmi, His Queen, should set upon His heart a seal of her affection lest it should be stolen away by others!

Again elsewhere he prays:

How I wish Hari remembered us all at the moment when Radha, blinded by love, came fearlessly to Him not minding the presence of the love-full and bright-faced milkmaids and holding him tight in her embrace and talking to Him lip to lip to say 'Thy face emits nectar: Thy song is divinely sweet,' kissed Him to her heart's content on the plea of praising His music; when He flooded the world with the radiance of His smile, a smile that captivates beings both human and divine!

Thus the poem is a source of pleasure both to *Alankarikas* (critics of art) and *Bhaktas* (worshippers of God). God Krishna

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appears to the poet in two shapes. Once he sees in the blue-coloured Krishna the perfect image of loveliness and beauty and another time he sees in him the Royal Swan floating on the lake of the sage's mind and he is conscious of the double motive when he addresses his readers thus:

Learned men, If your minds consider it a privilege to meditate on Hari or if you are lovers of aesthetic beauty, listen, then, to these sweet, soft and delicious words of Jayadeva's song.

The story of the poem is briefly this. As the poet says,

In the season of Vasanth (spring), suffering acute pain caused by the high fever of love, wandering with her limbs as soft as the Vasanthi flower up and down in the forest and seeking, in several ways, her lover Krishna, Radha was addressed by her companion in the following loving words:

The maid pitying her mistress groaning under the load of love, speaks to her about the season of spring which ever makes lovers restless and takes her to the place—full of nature's beauty—where Sri Krishna is playing with a large number of beautiful young girls on the bank of the Jumna. Radha who is unable to bear the pangs of separation from her lord pours out her heart to her friend and impresses upon her how helpless she is when her mind is always directed to Krishna though he has completely neglected her and has been happy in the company of other women. The kind companion accordingly conveys this message to her Master who, she understands, is in the same plight. The messenger comes back to the love-sick Radha with the news of Krishna's own pitiable condition and his eagerness to see the Queen of his Heart and exhorts her to go to the bower where her dear lover is anxiously awaiting her arrival. Unfortunately over-burdened with love, Radha is unable to stir out and laying her in a cool bower the good maid once again runs for Krishna who now loses no time in returning to his love. But to his disappointment he meets with a cold reception and a long list of previous crimes is prepared for him from which no escape is possible. At last Krishna

having admitted all his faults and fallen on his knees, and the maid having advised Radha not to lose the prize which she has secured as the result of great waiting, Radha extends her love, enters the bower and the lovers enjoy eternal bliss. But it must be kept in mind that the element of narration is very little. In fact there is no story interest at all in the poem. It is a string of lyrical verses and songs, and if there is any story element, it is only a pretext to introduce a song or it serves as a connecting link between one song and another. These songs are highly musical and to one who is at home in the language have a wonderful charm. Below is given a song in which is presented a picture of Sri Krishna surrounded by the *Gopis*, who intoxicated with love, sang and danced in their lover's company. Radha and her companion, in the course of their wanderings in the forest of Brindavan on the Jumna bank, come to the place where the Lord is sporting with the happy young girls and the maid seeing Krishna from a distance describes to her mistress the Eternal Lover in the following words :

1. With the yellow silk on his blue-coloured and sandal-coated body, with the garland of *Tulasi* beads around his neck, with the jewelled ear-rings moving in the course of the play and lending a glow to the cheeks, with his smile full of radiance,
Look where Hari shines in the centre of a group of bright-faced cow-girls sportive and full of love.
2. A cow-herdess, with breasts swelling revealing love in excess, warmly embraces Hari and goes on singing in a high pitch, in the fifth tone, in unison with his flute : Look. . . .
3. Lo ! A maiden, not yet adept in love, looks at the lotus-face of Madhusudan, whose eyes, full of tricks, have let loose in their motion the God of Love, gazes at it in wonder and seems as if lost in meditation : Look. . . .
4. Here a woman with her slow-gait coming nearest, as though to whisper something in the lover's ear and having her hairs on end, presses her lips to his kiss-inviting cheeks : Look. . . .
5. There a girl wishing river-sport in the Jumna with Krishna when

he is with another in a beautiful bower, draws him by his silk garment and smiles : Look. . . .

6. See a young woman joining Krishna in the Ras-Dance marks the beat with the palms of her hands, the gold rings on her wrists making a pleasing sound in harmony with his flute while Krishna nods and smiles as though saying 'yes, thy skill is great' : Look. . . .
7. Mark how Krishna embraces one of the girls, kisses another, otherwise delights a third, looks lovingly at a fourth and pursues a fifth into the bower : Look. . . .
8. May this, the sweet immortal song of Jayadev, giving the wonderful love-sport of Kesav in the forest of Brindavan make mankind blessed :

Look where Hari shines in the centre of a group of bright-faced cow-girls sportive and full of love.

In this poem are sketched the several stages through which Radha's love passes. The heart of the love-laden Radha is laid bare and her various moods are poetically presented. She is first introduced as wandering in her love-mad condition through the forest. Reaching a sequestered bower she expresses to her maid her grief at the neglect of her lover who is engaged in the love of other women. The thought of her Lord, the Life of her Life, feeling happy in the company of persons other than herself grieves her very much and she therefore suffers from the pain of jealousy which is too full in her heart. But soon jealousy yields place to love and her mind could not be prevented from rushing to her sweet lover though he has treated her with scant regard. How could any one forget the Great Being whose mere name, physical union apart, fills the heart with amorous delight? This overwhelming passion is revealed to us in her words addressed to her companion :

My mind is very curious in that it again desires for Krishna who, having left me, is enjoying the company of those young women for whom his passion seems to be growing every minute. It still enumerates his many virtues, does not assume anger at any time, drives off his faults to a distance and on the other hand is elated at the mere thought of him. How helpless I am !

It is natural to lovers to indulge in reviewing, when alone or in the company of a confidant, the past history of their love-affair and remember with pleasure the details of the incidents of their previous meeting and every little word of love and kindness spoken on either side in their past interview. Such a retrospective survey gives relief to the mind in its moments of anguish or depression and at the same time intensifies the present passion. So we see Radha the romantic heroine giving a vivid picture of the amorous sports of their past union in her address to the maid in tones full of love and pity:

Dear friend, my Krishna ever inspires amorous desires in me. The moment I think of him the details of our past delights come back to my mind. My heart is filled with these memories and they refuse to go out of it, however much I try. Once we both agreed to meet in a bower in a retired spot. I went there in the night, unobserved by any one. But he was not to be found. The darkness and the lonely spot made me uneasy. Disappointed and helpless, I was looking anxiously in all directions when my sweet lover, who had gone there before me, came suddenly from behind a tree, laughed at my fears, flew into my arms and made me blessed. Generous maid, how unhappy I should be unless you brought about our union and the fulfilment of my heart's desire.

But the human mind is not always steady and much less that of a woman and a woman suffering from the pangs of love. The thought of her lover's indifference pains her and jealousy once again assumes power in her heart. She now feels unable to reconcile herself to the idea of her Krishna loving other women than herself. When she considered his heart as her own, how could she tolerate its being claimed by others? The following account given by her to her maid of her lover's behaviour on a certain occasion reveals her attitude:

When Sri Krishna was one day indulging in sport with a large group of milk-maids that surrounded him, without any constraint in the forest of Brindavan, I made my sudden appearance there. He looked at me and the flute fell down of itself from his hand. His

cheeks moistened with sweat. His eyes made sign to his girlfriends to leave him at once. In shame he bent his head. In fact he could not look me straight in the face. Yet, I should be happy when I think of him for he is *innocent*!

Thus a conflict between love and jealousy goes on in her heart and the love-sick Radha, a victim to this unfortunate struggle, is helpless as we can learn from a message which her maid conveyed to Krishna with a view to persuade him to start at once and rescue her from the danger she was in:

1. The precious pearl-necklace resting on her breasts, she with her withered body, considers a heavy burden :
Radha, O Lord ! Radha,
So plunged is Radha in the grief of thy separation.
2. The soft smooth cooling fluid-like sandal on her body she looks upon, in great fright, as poison : Radha . . .
3. The breath of her own deep-sigh, she feels, in her pain, to be the fire of the God of Love which burns away all things in its flame :
Radha . . .
4. The eyes full of water like the lotus-flower just cut off from the stalk, she directs eagerly to this side or that to know if thou art coming : Radha . . .
5. The bed made of tender leaves—palpable to her own eyes—she shuns, as she would a hot furnace : Radha . . .
6. The cheek like the motionless infant moon at evening time, she supports on the palm of her hand which is silent and knows no change : Radha . . .
7. The sacred name of Hari she utters every minute courting death (because of your neglect) like a pious old man repeating "Hari, Hari" who knows his ending drawing near : Radha . . .
8. The song of Jayadev laid at the feet of Kesav, May this make all—singers, and hearers—happy :
Radha, O Lord ! Radha,
So plunged is Radha in the grief of thy separation.

The condition of Radha is so critical that the lover's absence any longer will bring about ruin. The disease has become so acute that immediate help is necessary. The fever of love having risen, the lovely girl has now gone into a

delirium and the maid portrays her present state to the lover by saying:

She has hairs on end : sighs often : talks much : shakes with fear :
groans every now and then : meditates on something : wanders up
and down : closes eyes in joy : drops down : rises again : falls in a
trance. If you are by, Heavenly Physician, in this her fever of
love, will not the tender-bodied girl be saved by the medicine of
your love? Else in you she will surely see the God of Death.

Disappointment in love leads to despair which results in
confusion of mind. This mental state in Radha is described by
the poet when he represents her as waiting in a bower for her
lord who does not turn up at the appointed time. She waits
and waits and her mind having lost its balance, she speaks
thus:

My lover does not come in spite of his promise. Of what avail
are my youthful bloom and beauty when he does not want them?
It is certain he does not care for me. Alas! In relying on
the advice of my maid to wait here, I have made a fool of myself.
What shall become of me in this wretched plight? Shall I not
become the world's laughing-stock? I have neglected the world
for him and he has neglected me!

But true love prevailing, she consoles herself:

No! He might have been detained by friends on the way
who induced him to join their play, or can it be he is wandering
hither and thither being unable to discover this spot in the
darkness of night? No. Now I see! the truth is, having heard
of my sad plight, my Love is so broken down as not to be able to
move.

Love and jealousy, optimism and despair, each in its turn
takes possession of her mind and in one particular mood
she would speak words which she would disown in her better
moments. When, after her long waiting, the maid returns
without Krishna, her rage is so great that she accuses the maid
of unfaithfulness. She suspects that she played the traitor i. e.,
herself enjoyed Krishna's love. A true womanly touch! The
road from greatness to pettiness is a beaten road in the case of

women more than in the case of men. The poet of the
Ramayana shows a similar weakness in the character of Sita,
his heroine. Sita is the ideal of womanly purity and chastity
and holds a unique place in the hearts of Indians—men and
women. She has all noble virtues but once betrays her woman-
ly frailty. When Rama left his cottage on the Godavari bank
in pursuit of the golden deer, having left his wife in charge of
his brother Lakshman, the false deer—an agent of the demon-
king—at the moment of death cried out, "Ah Lakshman! Ah
Sita!" The simple-hearted wife taking these words to mean
Rama's trouble from some enemy or his death, asked his brother
to go and save Rama from danger. But the obedient and
dutiful younger brother would not budge an inch—such was
the mandate of Rama never to leave Sita alone in the forest.
But his stubbornness had to give way, when Sita, whom she
looked upon as mother, called him names and pierced an arrow
through his heart by saying that Lakshman would not be
moved by Rama's death because he wished to have Sita for
wife after his elder brother's death. The result of these
impious words was Lakshman's departure, Sita's loneliness and
her capture by Ravan, the giant-king. This incident was
brought in by the great epic poet to humanise the character of
his heroine and to prove that after all women are women. So
Radha too was a woman when she attributed evil motives to
her maid.

Disappointment in love leads to anger and indignation.
So when Krishna appeared at last, Radha's anger was so great
that she said:

'Go back to your Love. Your mind is as dark as your body. You
really deceive those that depend on you. I am ashamed of your
evil deeds. Do I not remember how as a child you were a
murderer of women?'

The only course left open to Krishna in these circum-
stances was to offer his mistress a genuine apology for his past
conduct and give her good assurances regarding his future

behaviour. Below is given an example of this attitude on Krishna's part:

1. Open thou thy lips for a moment, the lustre of thy teeth (the light of the moon) will drive off my fear (the terrible darkness); may thy face (the moon) bless my eyes (two chakora birds) with a taste of thy nectar-lip:
Beloved One! Sweet-Nature! Beloved One! Sweet-Nature! Cease the causeless revenge: the fire of love burns now my heart: deny me not the sweet honey of the lotus (thy face).
 2. Should thy anger be real, lovely girl, prick me with thy sharp arrow-like nails, tie up my shoulders, bite my lips, or choose whatever (punishment) gives you satisfaction: Beloved one. . .
 3. Thou art my ornament: thou art my life: thou art the pearl I have been seeking in the ocean—the dreary world: accept these my greetings: receive me: my heart ever yearns for fulfilling this one desire: Beloved one. . .
 4. Blue lotuses though they be, little girl, thy two eyes have become red. Would thou wert able to make me Krishna, the dark, sanguine, with the help of thy love-darting looks: Beloved one. . .
 5. The pearl-necklace hanging on thy breasts, an adornment to thy heart—I wish it every success: the golden zone encircling the waist shall have every sweetness: are not these, proclaiming the Love God's purpose, an inspiration, Sweet Friend, to lovers to be happy? Beloved one. . .
 6. Rivals to the land-lotus, solaces to the heart, delights to the lover, thy soft tiny feet would I gladly touch and decorate with saffron and rouge. Smooth-Tongue, speak but once to me and I am blessed: Beloved one. . .
 7. Antidotes to the Love-God's poison, thy lovely feet, put them on my head as its ornaments: the unbearable fire of love scorching me within will then vanish and all my agony disappear: Beloved one. . .
 8. This song—addressed by Krishna to Radha—giving bliss to all young women, will shine as an ornament to Jayadev's poetry, containing words that surpass all: Beloved one. . .
- Fortunately for Radha, even in her weakest moments, her

true affection for her lord does not completely desert her. Love once again welling up in her heart, she forgives him, extends her hand and realises in him the image of all her love, joy and hope.

Love is the soul of Radha's moral being and jealousy, despair, shame and anger are its off-shoots which come and go according to her moods. They are the clouds which gather round the sun and enable it to shine all the brighter after their passing away. Radha is the womanly shape given to love in ecstasy as we can gather from songs of the type given below:

1. Eagerly waiting, does she look on all sides for you, fond of tasting in secret honey from the sweet lips of young maidens:
Lord! Hari! Ruler of the world!
In the bower-abode does Radha decay.
2. Full of a desire to come to you, she attempts to walk but, being weak, drops down after a few steps: Lord. . .
3. Tying the tender lotus-stalk on her wrist to counteract the heat of love, she pulls on her life simply because of the memories of your past delights: Lord. . .
4. Putting on your dress and looking every moment at the ornaments on the body, she proudly asks "Am I not Krishna? Am I not Krishna?" Lord. . .
5. Anxious for thy presence, she often asks the maids, "What prevents Hari from coming at once to this appointed spot?" Lord. . .
6. Exclaiming joyfully, "Hari has come, Hari has come," she greedily kisses the thick cloud-like darkness: Lord. . .
7. Decorated and ready for receiving you in the appointed place, she worries at your delay and giving up shame cries and sobs: Lord. . .
8. Conferring bliss on lovers of art and beauty, may this, the song of Poet Jayadev, live in the world for ever:
Lord! Hari! Ruler of the world!
In the bower-abode does Radha decay.

Love is generally reciprocal and so the poet represents Krishna the lover as being swayed by the same feelings as

Radha. The message of the love-laden Radha's plight brings back to Krishna's mind her great love for him and, ashamed of his own conduct, he himself falls into a passion:

1. Seeing me surrounded by a group of ladies, she left, which I, filled with shame and fear could not prevent:
Alas! Alas! Disappointed,
She went away like one indignant.
2. What speaks she, what does she, so plunged in the grief of my long neglect? My wealth, my friends, my house, my life, of what avail they to me? Alas. . . .
3. Ever present to my mind is her face with its knotted angry eyebrows like the red lotus-flower disturbed by the dark bee flying over it: Alas. . . .
4. Having enshrined her in my heart, I delight every minute in her love: How foolish then my looking for her in the forest and how vain my grief in missing her? Alas. . . .
5. Slender-bodied girl! 'Troubled is thy mind with jealousy', I know: Knowing the secret, on my knees, thee shall I gladly pray: Alas. . . .
6. Thee I see before me and thy coming and going: Sweet Love, why hesitatest thou to come running as before to give me a warm embrace? Alas. . . .
7. Forgive: Never, Never shall the like of this be done: Show, Loveliness! thy face: The God of Love preys hard upon me: Alas. . . .
8. Composed is this by Jayadev, the servant of Hari, the moon born in the Ocean of Bindubilva. Alas. . . .

Like Radha, Krishna becomes love-mad and cries "Radha! Radha!" every minute. Like Rama in search of Sita in the forest of Dandak, he finds tongues in trees which speak of his Love. He sees her form in every shape and listens to her name in every sound. When the cuckoo sings, he hears the voice of Radha and often in the forest of Brindavan, He goes up and down and runs about for nothing. People laugh and he hides his love.

Though separated from her, he feels she is ever with him enshrined in his heart or dancing before him; and though he is busy elsewhere, she feels that by uttering his name or recollecting his deeds, she indulges in blissful love-sport with him. Her spirit is so absorbed into his that she sometimes feels transformed into Krishna. In her rapture she sometimes forgets she is Radha and jumps and leaps in glee crying, 'I am Krishna! I am Krishna!' About the mystics it is said that to know God they become God, and Radha often fell into that mood. Thus the ecstatic union of Radha and Krishna is a mystic union, and in Jayadeva, the poet of love, the reader finds one of the great mystics of the world.

The Maid of Orleans

By K. R. SRINIVAS IYENGAR

Lovers of antiquity may find in the French Official Tax Ledgers, opposite DOMREMY, the apparently unmeaning entry: 'Nothing, for the Maid's sake.' This should by no means be construed as an incredible concoction of Post-war France. Even in the moth-eaten ledgers of bygone ages, an identical entry may be found ineffaceably radiant opposite the name of this particular town. And it means simply that DOMREMY should ever be exempt from taxation, however ruthlessly the other parts of France may be bled by it.

When was this entry first made in the Official Ledgers, and why? To answer this question we must look back into the night of History, about five centuries behind. In the dim vistas of the past are visible certain isolated and fiery spots, filled with the very essence of glory and breathing the very perfume of divinity. To one of the most dazzling of these spots should the reader now transport himself with the wings of his imagination,—to the newly-finished cathedral in Rheims lighted by the pale rose glow of the July sun of 1429. It was the coronation of Charles VII. But the memory of Charles VII is a frightfully dim thing today. And Rheims, her beautiful cathedral, long and till lately one of Europe's splendid marvels,—they fell to pieces during the gloomy days of the War in 1915. Thus the day and the entry that it saw are significant neither for the forgotten glories of Rheims nor for the architectural excellence of her cathedral: and certainly not in remembrance of the weak-willed Dauphin. It must be due to someone else outshining the galaxy of all names famous in French History. Undying transmutations and social upheavals, the name and the hallowed

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memory of that insignificant someone have survived and will surely survive as long as man does not banish the last shred of the divinity that in some form or another shapes his life in this planet of ours.

It was the Maid of Orleans. Who has not heard of the fragile girl, nurtured in the solitude of her father's humble hut, and yet who was to gain a throne for her king and save the country of her forefathers? Perhaps we know too much about her: not that she would bend under the weight of too numerous a crowd of the irrelevant facts about her; but that the repugnant individualisation of so ethereal and evanescent a creature should perchance eventually eclipse the true inwardness of her glory. It is not enough if she simply sways the hearts of millions. It is far more important for the well-being of the world that she should be, as she now is, looked upon and venerated as the first preacher of the gospel of patriotism and the first prophet of a national revolution.

For the nimble girl, drowsing dreamily in her parental garden in Domremy, even as she was hearkening to the secret whispers of unseen angels, had in herself the undeveloped germs of a patriot and a revolutionary. In that remote period the one political factor which the people understood was the effete organisation known as feudalism: and feudalism was first and last an international institution. It was reserved to Joan to comprehend the simple truth of Nationalism and formulate the simple patriotic slogan: 'France for the French.' Joan had no quarrel with the English: only let them keep to their own homes and not wish to put their finger in every pie! She would have none of it.

"What—shall this kingdom fall, this land of fame,
The fairest which the eternal sun beholds
In all his round, the paradise of lands,
Which God loves like the apple of His eye—
Must it endure a shameful foreign yoke?"¹

¹ From Schiller's 'Maid of Orleans.'

The interrogation irritated and incensed the girl. Others might whisper that Joan was only an unschooled girl in her early teens: but as for her, what of that? Had not the mysterious voices, she knew not from where they came, persistently goaded her to action? Was she not chosen to be the lucky instrument of some divine enterprise? the organ pipe of a new message? Modesty and girlish propriety were all good and in their own place. But they had nothing to do with Joan. The heavenly guardians hovering over her and watching her movements had willed it otherwise once and for all. She was to serve her country in the hour of its greatest trial, and serve it she should at all costs—and serve it she did with the final sacrifice of her own life.

It is unnecessary to recount the brief, brilliant, almost staggering tale of her exploits. In one interview the inert but well meaning Charles is won over to her point of view. One subtle move on her part and one kind word of encouragement to her followers made Orleans hers. Another dash across danger and Rheims was taken back. 'The King of Bourges', in other words, 'The Sleeping King of the Sleeping City' was now the undisputed king over a considerable part of his domain. The heroic Maid, so true to her God, King and her Country, was herself to conduct the coronation. But alas! she was mistaken. She knew not that Charles was unfit to wear the crown and would but groan under the load of an undeserved honour. But near him was standing, erect, majestic, imperious, with her sword drawn and held firm, and the flag of France unfurled and grasped with three delicate white fingers—it was Joan, the lily of the coronation. All eyes were rivetted on her. The stupendous task she had accomplished was as a live thing floating before their eyes. She had dared where the marshals had feared. She had struck incisively and won where they would ignominiously have retreated. What was her remuneration to be? Charles declared that Joan shall have any boon granted; only let her ask for it. And

she quietly said: "Let my place Domremy be exempt from taxation." The royal boon was Joan's indeed: a momentary sigh of relief thrilled her: she had at last done something for her place of blessed memory.

They advised her to be back at Domremy, helping her father. But her thirst for action was insatiable. What, rest indeed? Was she to rest in peace when beloved Paris was still in alien hands? She caught the tune and lisped the numbers. But she had to reckon with the intrepid folly of a demoralised Court. They shut their ears resolutely to the gospel of war. Why Paris? There were luxuries enough in Rheims and they were satisfied. As for Joan she might work her sorcery wherever she liked and find avenues for her girlish activity wheresoever they opened. Let her only leave them alone.

At any rate, *they* left her severely alone, the king, the Court, and the whole ungrateful lot. She had only a handful of followers, a mere escort, yet each one brimming with love and enthusiasm for the august Maid. What more glorious company was ever engaged in battle (if it were not Shrimati Sarojini Devi's band within the cordon at Dharasana) so unequal, so fraught with pangs of privation, so urged forward by means spiritual and causes just? Joan's end was 'tragic' but the word is perhaps inappropriate. At a time when the modern press has no' after all these fifteen years exhausted the cooked-up catalogue of Belgian atrocities, it would be gross impertinence and bad taste on the part of one to point out and expatiate upon the broad humanity of the ancestors of Richard III who loved Joan so much that her soul they summarily despatched to Heaven: rather, tortured her soul ere it could ultimately shake itself free from the burning column of her wasted body. It is too grim a story and all the bloodshed in the Great War were too ineffectual to mark the spot in Rouen where the young saint of but nineteen summers was burnt on a charge of heresy!

Let us rather conjure before our minds another and a happier vision. For her end, however tragic, was but the

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termination of a life of resplendent illumination and the sign of the inauguration of another of uncommon divinity. Despite the hand of hate that burnt her, she has survived to surprise and confound her worst enemies. Far more than a mere name she has now become an international institution. Canonised so late as 1920, Saint Joan has been through the centuries a living influence, a benign presence, ever permeating our lives: even twentieth century materialism has been powerless to still its green fragrance. Her glorious martyrdom on the altar of liberty paved the way for the freedom of her motherland much more than the collective martyrdom of millions. In her superb example the French realised, as in a vivid dream, that more was in themselves than with their kings and nobles. She was, in other words, the unconscious cause of French class consciousness and indeed of every type of national self-consciousness. And so she will go down to posterity as the maiden-saint of France, who preached the gospels of Freedom and Revolution and Renaissance to all subject nations and subject races on earth—aye, from the unscalable heights of her lofty martyrdom—and nerving them to action, rousing them from the hypnotised slumber of down-trodden ignorance to the divine consciousness of the Truth that Man is born neither slave nor master, but only as himself—an independent entity—an unsullied phenomenon—an atom of the Absolute.

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H. H. Sir Rama Varma (Mulam Tirunal), G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.
Late Maharaja of Travancore
(Born Sept. 1857. Ascended the Musnud. 19th Aug. 1885. Died 7th Aug. 1924)

(From the Travancore State Manual)

In Memoriam: H. H. the late Maharaja of Travancore

(September 1857—August 1924)

Six solar years have run their course in the invisible march of time since that fateful night of August the 7th, 1924. It was a night of inky darkness, and men's hearts beat as furiously as the rain falling in torrents beat the earth. One beloved being, tragically gripped by sudden malady, lay facing the bar, and while he hardly stirred or breathed or even gasped, there stood outside the Palace gates at Trivandrum, in that ample thoroughfare, a surging mass of humanity unheeding the pelting pour of the heavens. It was but three days before that Trivandrum heard with a shock that Maharaja Sri Mulam Tirunal was forced to take to his bed. Conspicuous good health was one of his inseparable attributes. So now here was cause for alarm. His fragile frame enclosed a determination never to take ill, but here he seemed to have yielded. That was rare, but that rarity enhanced its gravity. So those were tense days of evil import. The land was already under the stress of panic. An unprecedented flood had done havoc throughout central and north Travancore. People were homeless, foodless. Broken hearts and shattered nerves were everywhere. The alert Maharaja and his loyal officers were working, hand in hand, with the generous public to carry relief to the afflicted. A conscientious officer of courage and energy, Dewan T. Raghaviah, made a lightning tour over the whole sea of seething waters, and laid before his anxious sovereign a true picture of the stricken land. That was on a Friday afternoon, for it was a custom not to be lightly breach-

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ed, that the Dewan should meet the Maharaja for the transaction of business at 2-15 p.m. every Monday and Friday. The interview would occupy about an hour. His Highness took in the whole situation and asked the Dewan to put in his hands a written account of his tour in due course but proceed meanwhile with whatever relief measures were required. That memorandum of the Dewan's was promised for submission for the next day. But alas, the next day ere dawn the Dewan was summoned by the Maharaja's physician to the royal bedside, for upon his bed His Highness lay under burning fever. A shaky tooth had been neglected against warning, and poisoning supervened. His Highness opened his eyes to behold the Dewan standing beside him in his bedroom. Consciously for him, it was not to be thought of, and with that shyness which to the last never left him, he gently waved him off, and in sheer wonder asked that was amiss. In recent memory he had not been so prostrate. He rallied on Sunday, and anxiously called for the flood-report which he said had become overdue. He scanned the daily papers and strained to keep up the daily routine of work and worship, for both were inextricably entwined in his composition. But on Monday the frail body broke down, and people's alarm rose to the point of instant expectation of calamity. The Legislative Council was in budget session, but not in the Town Hall was either heart or head for business. To the southern porch of the hall, all eyes and ears instinctively turned for tidings of the loved ruler whose life lay in imminent peril. There was a strange pull at men's hearts, a sense of some prized personal possession at the point of being lost. And the blow fell amid the hush of the midnight hour on Thursday, and the funereal notes of rung bells rent through the town, and spread the news. Sri Mulam Tirunal, Maharaja, the father of his people, friend, prince, ruler, constant as the sun, discharging each duty as surely as night follows day, a permanent institution in the country's annals, he had been taken. It was staggering to even imagine.

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For forty years, in the memory of two generations, the Maharaja was the cynosure of all eyes. Called to the throne while yet in the flush of first youth, for he was only twenty-eight, he was the central figure in the scheme of things. On the 19th of August 1885 he formally ascended the ancient *musnad* of his illustrious ancestors, and placed with his own hands upon his youthful head the plumed and jewelled turban of his royal house, and was proclaimed Maharaja of Travancore. And in his speech that day he said he little expected that at the early age of twenty-eight he would be called upon to undertake the grave responsibilities of a ruler; he prayed that the Author of all good who in His infinite and inscrutable wisdom had seen fit to cut short a most valuable life, (referring to his predecessor the scholarly and far-famed Maharaja Visakham Tirunal), may what in him was dark illumine; give him the courage to follow in his foot-steps to strive to promote the well-being and happiness of the two-and-a-half millions of peaceful and industrious subjects so unexpectedly committed to his charge.

It will not be the task of these memorial lines to write a history of four decades of ceaseless and benevolent activity. And the tale is there not only in the finished and authenticated documents of modern administrative evidence but also in the visible records of land and water, of wood and mortar, of railway and roadway and boatway. These will endure and tell their story. He wrought his people lasting good. Praise and bubble reputation lured him not; nor did blame deflect him from the straight path. Passions stirred him not; and personalities left him cold. In very truth he was a rare example of the psychological phenomenon of dual personality in action.

To sketch upon a casual canvas, some stray touches of this Maharaja and recall to the memory of those who knew him personally and admired him with all their heart, who served him loyally and cherish his memory in a golden halo, is the ambition of the writer. His own knowledge may not perhaps be the result of direct association or experience, and may on that

score err. But he greatly relies on what is as good as close intimacy.

Coming from the court of the Maharaja Gackwar of Baroda whose Revenue Ministership he had just relinquished, the late Mr. R. C. Dutt said that he was privileged to stand before His Highness of Travancore that morning. "So gracious was His Highness, so charming in his courtesy, that in a moment he made me forget that I was in the presence of an august sovereign upon an ancient throne. I felt like before a well-known friend." He was so gentle. "Diffident in manner, though decisive in opinion", said Mr. C. W. E. Cotton, on the occasion of the opening of the Shashtipurthi Memorial Institute, three years after His Highness's demise. He must have been an extraordinarily sensitive man in his youth, and shy on occasion. But his exalted office cannot allow of a blushing ruler upon whom were fixed the eager gaze of thronging multitudes. Our Maharajas are yet happily the central figures, in true Indian setting, of picturesque ceremonial. A tall, well-formed, fair-coloured, handsome prince, with dark lustrous eyes and aquiline nose, we can well trace his lineaments back to the day of his accession, when he was in his twenties, and imagine for ourselves what a prince-charmer he must have looked. And from then onwards, diffidence and shyness contending with the need to look his part and keep his countenance against the onslaught of rivetted eyes must have helped him in due time to develop an austere, almost immobile expression, that at last one never could guess what thoughts were hidden in his heart. "H. H. is cold", said some; "he has no heart", said others; "he has no opinions of his own", said yet others. "You might as well go and speak to that wall", thought a few. Such was the serenity, the royal composure he had cultivated. But beneath it lay the most impassioned soul. Eager, quick, high-tempered almost to the point of vehemence when any subject was engaging his consideration, he brought to his responsibilities a matchless detachment. A sheer intellec-

tual delight in assuming an opposition-attitude, so that each question may receive a comprehensive study, possessed him. And to the last he would seem as if he was animated by a strong personal bias, and one could not make headway against the position he had taken up. Then at last the discovery is delightfully made that he was merely helping to reach a faultless conclusion, and that no motive actuated him but the highest interest of the State. Nine Dewans served him. The Dewanship under him was no bed of roses. Unsparing himself, he gave no peace or quarter. From the twilight hours of the dawn to the twilight hours of dusk, he was a worker. Lord Curzon said at Gwalior: "If you want your men to work, you must yourself exhibit enthusiasm. If you want them to conquer torpor or apathy, you must be to them the embodiment of personal zeal." Without fear of contradiction, it may be claimed for Maharaja Mulam Tirunal that no other prince better exemplified this ideal than he. His day began at 4 in the morning. And after ablutions he was at his table. His correspondence was heavy. And he wrote every letter in his own bold clear hand, large rounded letters, in violet ink. Visitors were received from 6 to 8, and then he was off for his cold plunge bath in the Palace tank, no matter what weather, and for his unfailing worship of Sri Padmanabha. For him it was neither custom nor ritual, it was not the discharge of a traditional routine, it was not the visit of supervision of a member of the committee of management, for the Maharaja curiously is one of a body of managers, eight and a half as it is styled, he being the half voter; the temple-worship was to him what water is to the fish. If, except when away from Trivandrum, His Highness should be absent from the temple any morning, his people would take alarm. Why, he must be very ill, too ill to come to the temple. And unless so prevented he would not stay away. Breakfast finished by 10, he was at his desk again, with plenty of work and visitors interspersed, till near one o'clock. To pay respects to the Maharaja was the simplest process. The ordinary visitor who was quite willing

to take his chance just crossed an open courtyard and marched through a moss-covered corridor to an unpretentious ante-room and found a very well-mannered, clean, white-clad, waiter. He will be either a Tirumulpad or a Nair. You tell him who you are. With silent steps he turns into another corridor which lies between closed doors at either end. And there beyond, in a broad rectangular hall, spotlessly clean, austere furnished, and heavily-shaded from the glare, is the ruler of Travancore, busy writing or looking through papers. The visitor is announced, and unless His Highness is in the middle of some writing, forthwith summons the visitor. It is interesting to note that the visitor is left with His Highness within closed doors, and perfectly free to have a full say beyond earshot of any one else. If on the other hand something should prevent the granting of the interview, information is at once given, and no time is lost in waiting. The writer here cannot resist the temptation to remark that perhaps in the point of accessibility His Highness was unique. And what about the interview itself? The visitor is at perfect ease except for what nervousness pertains to him, and in the space of a few minutes is enabled to make a full and free submission. And not a word either of complaint or grievance or information is lost upon the wakeful and keen ruler who is all eyes and ears. And subtle cross-examination, quickly done, reduces the interviewer to definite commitments and exact claims. There is neither prevarication nor circumlocution. The moment the visitor is dismissed, His Highness dashes off a few lines upon the facts gleaned either to the Departmental Head, if he is big enough to be the recipient of a royal letter, or to the Dewan, and until the matter is investigated and disposed of keeps in touch with it. Nothing is too remote for his interest, nothing is too trivial for his attention. And his wonderful method and natural curiosity supplied the necessary time and energy to pursue all things, big and small. To the Dewan and to the other officers of his service this set an example and a discipline. To the prying

meddler this set the necessity to test his facts ere he trespassed beyond his bounds. Thus there filtered down from the top a splendid standard of duty and disciplined energy, and the machinery of his Government hardly stood still. Besides the bi-weekly visits of the Dewan for the afternoon hour, a very few others, perhaps one or two others, were on the regular visting list on appointed days in the week. Tea at two o'clock, freedom from work and the chance to unbend till 4, when he was ready for his daily drive. He preferred the gracious dignity of a coach and pair and the escort of his five *sowars* to the more democratic and unrecognised hustle of the motor car, and you could tell the time of day by observing His Highness's equipage. Punctual to the minute he drove to and fro, and the handsome horses trotted to time with the wishes of their royal master. An early supper, some reading and some chat, and to bed by 9. The day was thus ordered for stress and ease combined, and saw constant endeavour and careful husbanding.

As he did not sit behind serried ante-rooms, as sat Jove beyond the clouds, every one, big and small, paid respects to the Maharaja. Each was gratified that such honour was easily his or hers, while for His Highness it was a most welcome opportunity. His ample intelligence took in the multitudinous variety of matter, manner and mind that thus passed in review before him, and he thus furnished himself with unrivalled material for the tackling of problems of State. At the same time, he became master of the keenest critical faculty. His judgment was sharpened, his store of information well filled, and he was never caught napping. And these acquisitions, patiently yet cheerfully made, were ever placed at the disposal of his Dewans and other officers. He never grudged the time or the effort to take his full share of the discussions and developments of the big questions of policy. In fact he hungered for work. For policy and principle he had a rare aptitude, for detail and drudgery, a rare patience. On no matter did he feel—'My Dewan and other officers will prepare the

material for me and it will come at a higher stage for my study. Why should I bother now?'; no, that was not the attitude; on the other hand from the beginning he made most valuable contribution to the very initiation of new policy. Reference to old papers and previous efforts in the same direction, the difficulties then encountered and suggestions for fresh ways of overcoming them, were to be had for the asking from the varied store of the tireless Maharaja. He would volunteer help and information at every stage. He knew who else in his service could be called upon to assist with profit. He knew where any paper was lodged and all its previous history. And yet it must be remembered that he brought no cut and dried training when he took over his onerous charge. Supreme natural endowments were arduously applied to the obligation to keep pace with the needs of progressive and prosperous government. The secret lay in the absolute negation of self, in the humility and the readiness to learn, and above all in an open mind and what one of his best officers and friends, if a subject may claim to be called the friend of his sovereign, described "an entire absence of side"; and all this work was done in the seclusion of his apartment, not in the blaze of publicity. And only the Dewan, and perhaps the Chief Secretary or any other senior officer could witness to the conspicuous share of the Maharaja in any achievement. To the rest of the world, everything appeared in the name of the Dewan, and every one who tried to draw out His Highness in private talk was politely referred to the Dewan.

For, His Highness had assigned a very high place to the office of his Dewan. Having chosen his man to fill it, he did all that he could from his own eminence to raise the Dewanship in the estimation of his officers and his people. He looked upon it as the keystone in the edifice of Government. He was anxious to secure the best men for the post. Service, attainments, experience, character, even in opposition to his in some features, unbending rectitude and unabating enthusiasm, were in his eye a better recommendation to his favour. Seven out

of his nine Dewans were men proved in the field of real administration. Ramiengar he took over along with his crown from his illustrious uncle, as Her Highness the Maharani-Regent took over Dewan Raghaviah. By the way it is interesting to note that both Ramiengar and Raghaviah were acknowledged Revenue officers from the Madras service of grit and gruesome energy. Both tackled every administrative department in their zeal for reform, and both, each in his own way, exercised a remarkable influence upon the Maharaja in the pursuit of their goal. Both received the C. S. I. Both exhibited a purposeful determination, and while Ramiengar carried the day as he towered so much in age and experience before the young Maharaja, Raghaviah won the complete confidence of the sagacious and mature Maharaja, an acknowledgment of which was made both by Her Highness and Mr. Cotton on the Installation day in 1924. Dewan Gopalachari was the accident of an evil hour when the Maharaja and the Madras Government were in bitter wrangle over political practice, but the accident proved unexpectedly happy. The Dewan displayed real ability and fine loyalty. Mr. (now Sir. M.) Krishnan Nair came from the ranks of Madras public men and filled the office of Chief Justice, ere that of Dewan, in the State. Rama Rao and Shungrasoobyer were doyens in the State service whose every interest was bound up with the country, and the Maharaja was the idol of their affections. Krishnaswami Rao had virtually become a Travancorean. Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao had made a mark in the Mysore service, and brought behind his name a big volume of credit. Sir P. Rajagopalachari carried courage illumined by genius, and for five years, ere he attained to it, aimed at the Travancore Dewanship as the prize of his brilliant career. The very chance of being Dewan to Sri Mulam Tirunal seemed to Rajagopalachari a worthy ambition. These stars of diverse magnitude were all linked to that ever-fixed mark, the Maharaja, that looked on tempests and was never shaken. They came, severally drawn, and yoked to the car of

State, pulled with all their might, but there stood at the helm the quiet Charioteer whose worth is unknown although his height be taken. Ramiengar's conscious superiority was shaken before the innocent assurance of the new ruler; Rama Rao and Shungrasoobyer banked upon their undoubted allegiance against the stress of the Maharaja's restless energy. All Krishna-swami Rao's tact and suasion were sore tried by the Maharaja's apparent persistent ways. And V. P. Madhava Rao who brought with him a zeal for reform and a love for too much publicity champed at the reins, often tightened here and there, and at the end of two years was thankful to be liberated. But returning to Travancore after having been Dewan in Mysore and Baroda, he exclaimed with unfeigned warmth that the Maharaja had not his peer in the entire Indian continent. Dewans Gopalachari and Krishnan Nair would deliver their very souls into his keeping. And the splendid intelligence of Rajagopalachari first met its match in the ruler of Travancore. For the first year the silent Raghaviah could not make headway against the seemingly obtuse Maharaja but for the next three years it was his privilege from hour to hour, from event to event, to be associated with such a sovereign. The writer is confident Raghaviah will pay any price for one brief day again with Sri Mulam Tirunal.

But His Highness's princely qualities were eclipsed by one self-imposed disability. He was too modest. He would not parade his views nor allow them publicity. In the beautiful words of Nagam Aiya,—than whom no one else stood in closer or more affectionate intimacy with the Maharaja,—“His Highness is too modest for these times and is content, especially in an age of fuss and bluster and advertisement all around, to allow his talents to lie hid under a bushel relying on the silent reward which good works may bring in due time, and leaving out of account altogether the fact that men and measures are generally judged ill in a hot scramble for bubble reputation which has in a manner to be induced before being obtained.”

These are difficult days. A very active press is focussing attention on all questions from day to day. And things are said either for or against men and measures with a vehemence which allows of no mean. A strong and constant iteration of facts as they are and a wide publicity for them is the least that can sustain one against the odds. That need, however, never appealed to His Highness, a trait which is deeply marked in his successor in the immediate rulership of the State.

It was not His Highness's way to at any time appear to trench upon the open field of public administration which duly had been entrusted to the hands of the Dewan. Between the sovereign, who was the origin and the ultimate law of the land, and the ever-growing instruments of popular voice, the Dewan stood, a well-recognised buffer between conscious power and conscious aspiration towards power. The position called for supple fingers and nerves of steel. Maharaja Mulam Tirunal gave every external support for the upkeep of that position. No man, simply because he had the ear of the Maharaja, dared to trifle with the Dewan. Knowing quite well how much it was possible for him to affect or influence events, yet His Highness ever appeared to rely on the advice of the constituted adviser, and always so far denied himself as to say that his only course was to follow such advice. It is difficult to adequately describe the premium this attitude placed upon the dignity and the responsibility of the Dewan-ship. And the Dewans who served him can never repay the debt they owe him for this. In the hour of conflict whether with him or with contending forces in the body politic this vote of confidence, so to speak, of the ruler, was a most sustaining factor. And in the vexed region of official patronage, the Maharaja was a model of detachment. Some one candidate or other may have dared to place too great a reliance upon the favour of the Maharaja. But he was given, equally with any other but short shrift. None dared to take the ruler's name lightly; none dared to tell the appointing authority. “I shall be backed by

the Palace; so propose my name." It did not mean that the ruler did not favour any particular candidate. Nor did patronage finally vest in the Dewan. But between himself and his Dewan, His Highness had established definite conventions in the discharge of business. He put each new Dewan, nicely, in the way. They exchanged private letters which roughly may be averaged at one per hour of work per day. It has to be remembered that the Maharaja wrote autograph, and that obliged the Dewan to do likewise. And that in the midst of routine and special work, of ceremonial to keep and to attend, of visits to pay and to receive. And to the Dewan this meant a ceaseless strain. And the Maharaja was no slacker. A state of arrears was unknown to him. Delay was anathema. Problems arose to be solved, not shelved.

In the foregoing paragraphs the writer has perhaps hardly succeeded in giving even a few hasty touches of a personality who, within the narrow confines of his dominions, and within the narrow scope for initiative and execution of a modern sovereign, still left the imprint of a vivid and high-souled purpose. Within the compass of a few manuscript leaves, it is not possible to draw a full picture of a long life of unrelenting endeavour. And under *Pax Britannica* the ruler of an Indian State is in a peculiar position of opportunity and restraint. The Maharaja's life was a conflict and a compromise. For forty years he worked for his people, and his achievements will ever be borne, inscribed in letters of gold, in the history of Travancore. But withal, one that knew him well, and loved him dearly exclaimed upon his passing, "He was not a happy man. He never smiled." Perhaps that is an integral part of Kingship. Both head and heart must bear wounds hidden from common view. But when the full story is told, the world, which did not know him while he lived because of his own self-immolation, will learn the unique contribution he has made to the roll of honour of Indian Kings from the time of Janaka, the pious, and will identify him in that glorious valhalla.

QUILON, 7th Aug. 1930. 470

Spiritualism: A few Aspects

BY C. L. R. SASTRI, B. SC.

"For the drift of the Maker is dark, an Isis hid by the veil,
Who knows the ways of the world, how God will bring them about?
Our planet is one, the suns are many, the world is wide."

—Tennyson: *Maud*

"Give a dog a bad name and hang him," is an old, though a trite, proverb. It is conceivable that, as the poet says, it has had its "day" and "ceased to be". There is, one fancies, a time-limit for all things; and even good sayings, perhaps, have a period set to them. Every generation has its stock of catch-words: the most up-to-date seems to be, "Give a thing a high-sounding name and bow before it." There are those who (carelessly, as I think) call this a scoffing and an unbelieving age; and they may be right, according to their lights. My purpose here, however, is to show that, in a certain sense, this is an age of deep and abiding faith. That faith, indeed, may not be of the sublimest quality: it may not touch the stars. But, such as it is, it does duty as well as a nobler one: like Mercutio's wound, "'tis enough, 'twill serve". The chief thing is to possess a creed—of whatever degree of excellence. We must all, in other words, try to label ourselves somehow: we must all contrive to fit into some intelligible system. So that it will be seen that it is of the very greatest importance, before we begin life earnestly, to belong to a brotherhood, to join a coterie, to enlist under the banner of some "ism" or another. Nor is this difficult. There is, fortunately, no lack of "isms" just now. They are, if I may be allowed the expression, running about helter-skelter, and it is for us to catch any one of them and pin it (metaphorically speaking) to our breasts: nothing is easier. After doing this,—after, that is, baptising ourselves in the waters of a neat little faith,—it only remains

to give it a magnificent name, a name that, in Stevenson's phrase, has "boodle" in it, a name, in short, that can be relied upon to dazzle and intimidate the world. Then we shall have completed our business, and, henceforward, can lounge through existence as safely as may be, and with a clear conscience: we may even enter the magic circle where that honoured dame, Respectability, lives, moves, and has her being.

The foregoing remarks have been suggested to me by an article that appeared in a certain number of *The Indian Review*. The title of it was "Spiritualism"; and it was written by Mr. C. S. R. Somayajulu, a spiritualist hailing from Allahabad. His object in writing it was, obviously, to demonstrate to the uninitiated—to the "Philistines", in Matthew Arnold's expressive word—the overwhelming and unutterable beauty of Spiritualism. It was also to lament, parenthetically, how we, Hindus, who at one time, it would seem, gloried in the practice of it, have, in these degenerate days, fallen off, or at any rate glided down imperceptibly, from that high pedestal, and forsaken it for what Burke calls the pomps and plausibilities of this world. Mr. Somayajulu, I gather, was, along with Mr. V. D. Rishi of Bombay, a delegate to the International Spiritualistic Congress held recently in London, under the auspices of the International Spiritualists' Federation of Paris. It is not, in the circumstances, surprising that he should thus come in hot haste and shake out, as it were, clouds of impressions from his coat-sleeves. He is, of course, delighted with the state of affairs that he found there, and when he contrasts it with that which prevails here, he is naturally stricken with remorse. For he says:

"Even those who thoughtfully perform the ritual and intelligently study the philosophical treatises seem difficult to assume a frame of mind which realises the usefulness, necessity, and possibility of spirit-communion."

The statement, in my opinion, requires some sort of rejoinder.

I remarked at the commencement of this article that this age is not wanting in faith (of a kind) and that numbers of

"isms" are running about in a panicky fashion simply asking to be caught and attached to our persons—for life. "Spiritualism" is one of these "isms" that are thus languishing to be taken hold of and fixed to our breasts—as a sort of brooch. It is, comparatively, a cult of recent origin, though it counts its members by the hundred, or even by the thousand. If, in the course of this article, I shall take occasion to say a few things against it, it is not, I submit, to be supposed for a moment that I regard it with derision, or that I esteem its followers any whit the less: my only object is to show that there is a side to it which is not often considered,—that, in the words of Job, "there is a path which no fowl knoweth, and which the vulture's eye hath not seen."

Now, if there is one subject more than another which, as the saying is, needs a careful sorting of the mixed straws in our beards, it is this same subject of "Spiritualism". We must, therefore, be very clear in our minds as to what it is we are dealing with, as any confusion of thought will only tend to make matters worse. Let me begin at the beginning.

"Spiritualism" and "Spirituality" are not, as some may think, synonymous terms: they do not mean the same thing. Nor, I suggest, are those who are spiritualistic necessarily highly spiritual. "Spiritualism" may lead to "Spirituality": only in so far as it does that is it a step in the right direction. But—let us face the facts—it also sometimes *thwarts* a man's spiritual progress and makes him feel satisfied with enormously smaller things instead of urging him to strive ever more and more upward, to strive past all barriers, and become one with God Himself, our souls' ultimate rest and home; and thus be in a position to sing with Browning:

"There's heaven above, and night by night
I look right thro' its gorgeous roof;
No suns and moons tho' ever so bright
Avail to stop me; splendour-proof
I keep the broods of stars aloof.

For I intend to get to God,
 For 'tis to God I speed so fast,
 For in God's breast, my own abode,
 Those shoals of dazzling glory passed,
 I lay my spirit down at last."

In sober truth, Spiritualism often enough *checks* one's advancement in the path of the realisation of God. For, in the first place, we must make up our minds to think of God and of God alone, and not of any "spirits," nor even of anything connected with them. I do not, in saying this, deny the existence of "spirits". When God created man, He created his body as well as his soul, and it only stands to reason that when the body perishes, the "spirit," or the "soul," gets released and inhabits whatever region it is ordained to; and in this sense, of course, there is no death, we are all immortal. We die—but to continue our lives, so to speak, in another dimension; and nothing really is destroyed except, perhaps, at the time of the world-cataclysm, and even then it is probable that the souls are reborn when the next world-cycle begins. Without the "soul", indeed, what are we but so many lumps of flesh and bundles of bones, so many *in-animate* things in short,

"Rolled round in earth's diurnal course,
 With rocks, and stones, and trees"?

That is what is meant by the Biblical words:

"For this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality. So when this corruptible shall have put on incorruption, and this mortal shall have put on immortality, then shall be brought to pass that saying that is written, Death is swallowed up in victory. O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?"

This much, then, is common ground. But the question arises, why should we try to communicate with the spirits at all—granting, that is, that we can communicate with them? Mere human curiosity apart, what useful purpose does it serve? Many spiritualists fondly suppose that matters will become wonderfully simple if we can communicate with the departed, and communicate often. The deep mystery in which the entire universe is now wrapped up, as in

a kind of mist, will slowly begin to vanish until a time will come when it will all be as simple as an arithmetical sum: even the babes of this world will then be in a position to understand the real truth of things, and everyone of us will be made aware of the whole past, present, and the future: in a word, the long-awaited Millennium will dawn. I shall not try to dispel that illusion,—I shall not attempt to overturn the house of life that the spiritualists have been building up about themselves for them to live in. But, frankly, this is not, I protest, possible. We may be able to communicate with the dead now and then; but life (and death) will continue to remain as mysterious as ever. It is not in mortal man—created though he be in God's own image—to pierce through that screen which death has interposed between this world and the next; and even if, as in many cases, the two worlds may be one and the same—most of us being evidently, so enamoured of this life that we cling to it, with a touching tenacity, even when we are at death's door; and thus probably continue in this very world though our bodies perish—even if, I say, the two worlds, as in many cases, be one and the same, the mystery remains, and ever will remain, a mystery still. The sages themselves, it seems to me, cannot know *all*. In our Father's house are many mansions, and none of us, however highly developed, can penetrate every one of them. God, in His infinite wisdom, has so ordained that no mortal shall, try how he may, see through His inscrutable ways—or see through them to any appreciable extent. So that, it strikes me, trying to make ourselves wise through "spirit-communion", even if it is possible, is not the right way of setting about the affair: it is extremely *mal a propos*. God, so far as I can make out, did not intend spirits to be a kind of *via media* between Him and us. Moreover, it is, to say the least, very, very doubtful whether even the spirits know, or can know, much. It does not follow, as night the day, that, simply because a person happens to have passed through the portals of death, he has at once become omniscient: he may, at best,

understand a little more of himself, that is all. And then, the spirits of the highest order (for there is an hierarchy in "spirits" as in almost everything else) may not care to communicate with us, however anxious we may be that they should. If they care to, it shows that they are still attached to this world, be it never so slightly; and this becomes a *reductio ad absurdum*, because souls that have attained "*Moksham*" have their bonds with this world cut off in their entirety. Now, if "spirit-communion" is to be valuable, it will be so only if we can "commune" with the best of them: which, as we have seen, may not be. Let us make no mistake. None of us can become ultimately better through the intervention of "spirits". None of us, alive or dead, are, so to speak, our brothers' keepers. So far as the soul is concerned, we are completely alone: we must all, in the last resort, look after ourselves. So that all this talk about "spirits" and "spirit-communion" goes, in our opinion, very wide of the mark. It forms no part of true spirituality: it is, as Sir Thomas Browne would have said, "nothing in the metaphysics of true belief".

Moreover, we should not try to probe these Divine mysteries to the very bottom. Without knowing it we may be becoming too clever; and Nemesis may yet await us. There is a limit to human knowledge: it is as if God had said, "Thus far and no further." But this is not all. There is, I think, a positive evil lurking in contemplating too much on "spirits" and "spirit-communion". It may become an obsession, a bee in the bonnet: and obsessions, we know, are extremely difficult to eradicate when once they are allowed to take root in the human soil. There have been persons who, after taking to this idea, have almost become spirits-mad: it has become their chief occupation in life. Thinking of spirits night and day, as everyone will admit, is not exactly conducive to the right development of the soul: instead of soaring God-ward, it tends to soar spirits-ward: which is, in my opinion, substituting a very small thing for a very big thing. To a person of this description,

everything in course of time becomes coloured by "spirits" and by what they have, or are supposed to have, communicated to him: it is an instance of the dyer's hand becoming subdued to what it works in. In time even God may be displaced and "spirits" put in His stead. This is not a wild conjecture: it sometimes actually happens. For all things (great or small) the man will begin to take hints and suggestions from the spirits. He will not think of Divine guidance: it does not even strike him to pray for God's help: there are spirits to assist him, and he feels quite happy. Let spiritualists (or the most of them) say what they will, a time comes in their lives when they begin to rely for almost everything on their friends, the spirits. It is always, with them, spirits-this and spirits-that.

My whole point is that too much has been made of spirits and spirit-communion. I may say, summing up, that spirit-communication is not advisable; and that what the spirits say (or are alleged to have said) is not in every case trustworthy. Let us not, then, go to "spirits" for inspiration. Let us go to God himself for inspiration; and ignore all the intermediaries. No amount of spirit-communion can be a substitute for communion with God. When God is everywhere about us, only waiting for our thinking of Him, why should we, in a manner of speaking, turn our backs on Him, and think of "spirits" instead? If we wanted salvation, could we, as Hamlet asks his incestuous mother, on that fair mountain cease to feed and batten on this moor? Moreover, it is a mistake to think that we become spiritual through first becoming spiritualistic. Some may become so: but not all. Are we so muddle-headed that the bewildering spectacle of the whole Universe, with the sun, the sky, and the stars, cannot compel in us a premonition of the all-pervading Divinity, but that we must wait till the "spirits" tell us that God exists, that this world and this life are not everything, that, in short, there are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamt of in our philosophies? Cannot we think of these matters ourselves, without any external aid?

Topics for the Conference

BY GEORGE JOSEPH

THE PRESENT SITUATION

The Indian political situation is in a very peculiar way. On the one hand the British Government with its Moderate allies in India are taking steps to convene a Round Table Conference, whose business will be to frame a Constitution either towards Dominion Status, or of Dominion Status. On the other hand, Nationalist India under the leadership of Gandhiji and the Congress is fundamentally sceptical about the Round Table Conference and has launched on the campaign of Civil Disobedience. Civil Disobedience has resulted in considerable embarrassment to the Government and in undoubted economic damage to the people. The Civil Resisters have no use for the Conference and the Congress has declined to have anything to do with it. It is not a deadlock merely of ideals but of methods.

How long the present situation is going to last it is impossible to prophesy, but it is clear that without the dissolution of the deadlock there can be no peace in the country either for the Government or for the people, and when the deadlock is at an end, statesmen of both countries can arrive at a settlement only by the method of negotiations and personal conference. In other words, the Round Table Conference will have to meet and beat things into shape, immediately or later.

PROBLEM FOR THE INDIAN DELEGATES

The trouble however is that, when the Round Table Conference assembles, the delegates from India will be in a singularly unfortunate position. The delegates of the British Government know what they want or are clear, within very narrow limits, of how much they are prepared to concede; in other

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words, they are in a position to have a mind of their own. Whatever else the Simon Report may or may not be, it is clearly a document which will serve as the starting point of discussion from the British side. It may be only a basis of discussion but it is the result of a close enquiry and represents a series of coherent proposals covering the whole ground with due regard to practical realities. The English delegation therefore can start on this basis assured of a considerable degree of weight and logical conclusiveness.

To say that there is no document of anything like equal weight on the Indian side conveys no reproach. The proposals of the Statutory Commission are the result of three years' enquiry with all the assistance of the officials and Government departments and the representatives of certain important Minorities. The Nehru Report was the result of a series of fragmentary conferences. Though a number of topics were carefully and earnestly discussed, it will be idle to claim for it the thoroughness and comprehensiveness of the Simon Report. It is also to be recognised that, for the time being, the Nehru Report has been formally declared to have lapsed, and there is no body of proposals which can be rightly put forward as the considered opinion of political India in framing a Constitution for the future.

It must therefore be recognised that when the Round Table Conference meets, the Indian delegates will be at a considerable disadvantage. On nearly every topic that will arise as to the future Government of India, the Statutory Commission has had its say and the almost inevitable process will be for the Conference to ascertain what the Commission thinks about it and it is only after such ascertainment that the further process of modification and amendment can take place. I concede that, if on any particular topic the Nehru Report or the Central Committee's Report have relevant and useful proposals, they will also come under consideration, but it must be conceded that, with reference to nearly all of them, the delegates

who go from India will have no authoritative guidance from Indian opinion as to what line they should take. Each of them undoubtedly will be men of experience and enlightened patriotism and their views will be listened to with the greatest respect; but my point is that, with reference to controverted questions, not one of them will be able to fortify himself by appealing to a body of well-informed, coherently expressed, opinion in this country as the genuine national view. This will be a grievous misfortune, for when points of conflict emerge and English opinion is ranged against Indian, Englishmen will be able to appeal to the authority of the Simon Report as roughly indicating the joint opinion of the three parties in Parliament and can claim that it represents what Englishmen think about it. As against that, the Indian delegation as a whole will not be able to point to an informed public opinion in India as the source of its authority. On large questions like India's ambition to achieve Dominion Status and her desire to be mistress of her destiny, there will be no room for doubt; but the trouble is that the Round Table Conference is not convened to discuss such ideals or abstract issues but to frame a Constitution which will give body and expression to legitimate Nationalist ambitions. If the Round Table Conference is to be of profit to India and not a mere trap, if negotiations are to succeed in an honourable fashion, we must get down to the particular from the general, from the abstract to the concrete and it should be possible for Indian delegates to say that, on concrete issues of government and administration, there is a definite and intelligible view in India, and that they are charged with the responsibility of expounding and pressing it on the Conference.

Judged in the light of this unescapable need, one can only regret that the Indian reception of the Simon Report was uncritically adverse and wildly denunciatory. It is one thing being able to kick the British out of the country neck-and-crop and then proceed to frame a Constitution or to carry on

any government that will evolve in the meanwhile; but if it is a question of talking things over and bargaining, I do not know what can be done except to study carefully and patiently the proposals put forward on behalf of the British Nation as a whole and to say definitely how much of it is satisfactory to us and what amendments will have to be made for a satisfactory settlement. In this article my intention is to make a humble contribution to such a study, but it is right that I must indicate my approval of the general scheme sketched in the Report. What I see in it is this:—An Imperial Army over which India will have no control but towards the maintenance of which she will have to contribute fixed or variable sums: a Dominion Army without any British element in it responsible to the Indian Government: a Federal Government at the centre to which the Indian States will in course of time adhere: a series of Provincial Governments responsible to legislatures elected on a franchise which would bring in treble the number of the present voters.

ARMY

In regard to the question of the Army, readers of the "Triveni" might remember that long before the Simon Report was published I ventured to point out that the lack of touch between the Army and the political classes constituted a paradox which threatened to block or impede vitally the march of Nationalist India to the building up of a successful Indian Government. The Simon Report enforces the same conclusion in an unmistakable way. The dilemma with which I was oppressed is stated thus:

"The Declaration of the 20th August 1917 stands in its full implication; the British people and the British Parliament have no thought of going back on it. Yet here is the difficulty which appears almost insurmountable arising from the continued presence of the British element in the Army in

India. It is impossible to relinquish control of an army containing this element to ministers responsible to any elected legislature. Such a transfer could only take place when no part of the Army in India consists of British officers or troops recruited by the Imperial Government." (Simon Report, Vol. II, page 197).

The refusal of British officers and troops to serve under any authority other than their own Parliament must be taken as one of the root facts of the situation. In the present state of British opinion and racial consciousness, it will be idle to suggest that the refusal is not fundamental and unescapable. It should be acknowledged at the same time that India cannot at the present moment defend herself without British officers. This inability may be due to the fault of the Government, I am not concerned about that; what I am on is the present fatal circumstance that if British officers and troops are removed from the Army in India, that army will necessarily break up, and that if the British elements refuse to serve a government responsible to the Indian legislatures, the only thing we can do is to make terms with them and to avail ourselves of their services. Just now it happens that they refuse to serve us; and we have really no alternative in the case. The only thing is to look upon it as a temporary expedient, real and vital, as long as it lasts, but it should be the definite object of Indian policy to reduce the duration by making ourselves fit and equipping the necessary forces at the earliest possible moment.

This can only be done by hastening the organisation of the Dominion Army and if necessary the Dominion Navy. It will be composed of purely Indian elements and it will be wholly responsible to the Indian Government. As far as I can see now, there will be a nucleus of professional soldiers, and cohering about it there will be a series of reserves, volunteers, territorials and urban battalions, coming out of the classes which now furnish the moral and material strength of the Nationalist

movement. In the course of twenty years it should, perhaps, be possible for the Dominion forces to relieve the Imperial forces of the whole of their responsibility for internal security and of a considerable portion of responsibility against external attacks. But I admit that there are a number of outstanding questions as to the relation between the Dominion Army and the Imperial Army, questions of finance, of training, co-ordination, of instruction in Colleges, the relative strengths of the armies, still to be settled. We should expect the Round Table Conference to affirm beyond peradventure the complete authority of the Indian Government to develop and equip the Dominion forces according to their unfettered judgment. As for the other questions which are of a highly technical and complicated kind, my clear view is that the Conference will not be in a position to settle them. A body like a Royal Commission on which India, the Army and the War Office will be represented must investigate these problems immediately.

THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

As for the Central Government, the Report advocates one on a federal basis. Till the Report was published, the general trend of public opinion in India was in favour of a federal solution. Just now one of the results of the anti-Simon complex is that there is a whole and full blast of opposition against Federalism, and very authoritative voices have been raised in favour of Unitarism. I cannot go into the whole series of arguments for lack of space, but the one factor of the Indian States and the impossibility of bringing them into any unitary scheme makes Federalism really inevitable.

I am concerned about a very serious thing. It appears to me that the Army being made Imperial and the Viceroy being entrusted with foreign relations and Indian States (which is really the case even now), the functions of the Government of India get extraordinarily limited. The Government of India will in future be concerned only with the Civil Departments

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such as Customs, Income-Tax, Currency, Posts and Telegraphs and Railways. As far as these Departments are concerned, I cannot think of a single reason why the government administering these Departments should not be made straightaway responsible to the Federal Assembly. According to the proposals in the Report, the Provincial Governments are going to be made wholly responsible and they have cast on them the infinitely greater burden of preserving Law and Order. It is generally acknowledged that, if an electorate can be entrusted with responsibility for the maintenance of Law and Order, it can be entrusted with everything else. If therefore, the Provincial Governments, which will be composed on the whole of men of slighter competence than the statesmen of all-India reputation who will go to Delhi, can be entrusted with the heavier burden of maintaining Law and Order, safety and tranquillity, I do not see why the distinguished leaders in the Federal Assembly and the Council of State (if it survives) should not be entrusted with the administration of the Federal subjects. It seems to me that once the Army is imperialised and the responsibility of it is taken away from the Indian Government, it logically follows that the government in the Civil Departments may be made responsible to the legislature. The grant of responsibility at the centre may be accompanied by over-riding and emergency powers vested in the Governor-General. The Governor-General, who will also be the Viceroy vested with such powers, will be able to see that in extreme cases the safety and tranquillity of the country are not put in peril. It must be further remembered that the Governor-General in his capacity as Viceroy will have all the Imperial forces at his disposal and the margin of safety is more than covered. I make this proposal with a certain degree of confidence because I am convinced that this improvement on the Report will not affect fundamentally the integrity of the whole scheme, because it keeps intact the imperialisation of the Army and will not prevent the complete

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federalisation of the Indian States, if and when they choose to come in. Secondly, in view of a good deal of criticism of the Report in India, it is likely that this amendment will rally into reconciliation Nationalist opinion.

INDIRECT ELECTION

On the question of indirect election, I grant that there is no precedent for it in other forms of Federal Government. I do not however see why the proposal should not be canvassed on its own merits. The idea of a Central Parliament for the whole of India, directly elected and with any reality of contact between the electors and the representatives, is fantastic and difficult to visualise. The other day Sir William Layton is reported to have worked out the figures and said that, on the proportions observed in the British Parliament, a Central Assembly in India will count about 4200 members. It need not be 4200 but surely the number is bound to be extraordinarily excessive and inconvenient. Apart, however, from that, the first thing which struck me when I read of the proposals for indirect elections with proportionate representation was that by this means the whole problem of communal representation had been solved. With indirect elections there will be no question of Hindu electorates or Mohammedan electorates, Sikh or Christian or European. The whole series of difficulties raised by the communal electorates are put an end to by one stroke. If this experiment succeeds and the device of proportionate representation assures for the Minority communities safety, it may be possible to extend it to the Provincial elections later.

When we come to the Provincial Government, it is generally acknowledged that the Report proposes something very much like Provincial Autonomy, but there are three key positions to be considered in this regard.

RESPONSIBILITY THROUGH STATUTE

The proposal in the Report is that responsibility should be

created as a series of conventions and statutory rules. This is no doubt the case in the British Dominions, but in view of our experience in India (the failure of Provincial Governments to follow the conventions suggested in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, that the fate of the Ministry should be decided purely by the non-official members, is illustrative), I think that it is better that the doctrine of original responsibility to legislatures is defined in the Statute itself.

NON-ELECTED MINISTERS

Secondly and following from the last, the idea of having non-elected ministers must be definitely given up. The whole notion of entrusting men in the service of the Crown with ministerial power is repugnant to the doctrine of Responsible Government. Members of the Civil Service are and must essentially be administrative. They have nothing to do with the policy of governments and no one in the service of the Crown should have the prospect of securing ministerial offices. As long as the possibility of such succession is there, the relation of the ministers and the civil servants becomes difficult and demoralising. The proposal to call to a democratic Ministry men who could not face an election successfully is altogether indefensible.

Within the same range of criticism will come the proposal to have as Secretary to the Cabinet a member of the Civil Service. I do not know if such an office as the Secretary to the Cabinet is essential. I doubt it. Before the War the British Cabinet got on well enough without a Secretary and they did not even keep minutes of the proceedings. But if Indian experience suggests that there must be a Secretary, I would much rather that the Secretaryship is held as a political office by the Principal Private Secretary of the First Minister. He may, as Secretary to the Cabinet, be granted an adequate salary.

THE GOVERNOR AND THE CIVIL SERVICE

Thirdly, since the object of these Reforms is to transfer power from the Indian Civil Service to the leaders of legislatures, the Round Table Conference should insist on it that nobody in the service of the Crown should be the Governor of a Province. The Minto-Morley Reforms, the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, and nearly all attempts to liberalise the government of the country, had been the victims of sabotage at the hands of the Indian Civil Service. If future governments in India are to function according to the professed intentions of Parliament and the undoubted aspirations of India, special steps will have to be taken to ensure that the Civil Service does not throttle the Reforms. I do not see any way of doing it except by making it impossible for a member of the Civil Service to be the Governor of a Province. If this key position is secured nearly everything else will follow. In that case Governors will have to be brought from England or chosen from the front rank of statesmen in India. I know there is considerable difficulty in getting good men from England even for the three Governorships. The reason is well known. The expenses of these offices are so heavy that the Governor really loses money at the end of his term. It is not as if the salaries attached to these offices are not considerable but the expenses are great. Obviously the right thing will be to create public opinion which will make it unnecessary and even improper for a Governor to live on the present extravagant lines. They are usually men of simple English habits and I do not believe they take kindly to all this red-coated splendour.¹ It is really because they are expected to live as the old-time Nawabs and Maharajahs that they are not able to live within their salaries and allowances. It is only a question of a healthy public

¹ For an illustration of the embarrassment felt by a Viceroy under similar circumstances, see Lord Newton's *Life of the Marquis of Lansdowne*.

opinion, and I am hopeful that with the salaries offered it should be possible to get Englishmen of the right type to fill these high offices. If members of Parliament are expected to subsist in an expensive country on £400 a year, I do not see any reason why they should not be able to get on easily in India, which is a much cheaper place, on a salary of 5 to 10 thousand pounds a year. Further, there is always a possibility of getting as Provincial Governors Indians of sufficient capability and detachment and acceptability. If the Indian States come into the Federation, I can think of a number of Princes, not necessarily on the *Gadis* of their States, who would make fit and excellent Governors. If it is suggested that men in public life closely associated with political parties will not make good Governors in their provinces, there is nothing to prevent a Punjabi to act as Governor in Madras or a Madrasi in Bengal. By this means the particular difficulty suggested might be easily overcome.

John Masefield

BY M. CHALAPATHI RAU, B.A. (HONS.)

King Robert is dead. Long live King John !

When Robert Bridges made his "testament" and died the spirit of the race-course was brought into the literary circles of England. There was a rush and a slight uproar; the critics became lyrical in praise of this poet or that; the reviewers became refreshingly irrelevant to indulge in commendatory reminiscences. George Bernard Shaw alone seemed strangely silent; one wondered why he did not proclaim himself the most eligible and competent candidate. But when it was announced that John Masefield was crowned with laurels, the critics criticised themselves and the reviewers became once more relevant.

Many were in the running; oddly enough England at the present day is a nest of sweet-singing birds, a grand and fit company though few; and any one of them looked like the winner. But most are out of tune with the moment. It is as difficult to point out the first among living poets as to mark out the last Elizabethan or the first Victorian. Sir Henry Newbolt, Laurence Houseman, Edmund Blunden, Alfred Noyes, Siegfried Sassoon, John Drinkwater, Humbert Wolfe, J. C. Squire, Walter de la Mare are all popular names in modern English poetry; each of them has attained beauty and dignity in thought and expression; each of them has wrought a certain calm and riot in the hearts of readers; but none of them has the dash, the gallop, the gusto of either Kipling or Masefield. These are the major names in modern English poetry. Rudyard Kipling, most buoyant and youthful of poets, seems so old; he has the wearied look of a Victorian beaming like a fossil, the poet of Imperialism, extremely in tune with Boer Wars and the high notes of Joseph Chamberlain, but his thundering jingoism died down long ago; and it is bad luck that Mr. Baldwin is not in power.

If the selection of Masefield has not inspired universal applause but drawn a mild protest from Mr. J. C. Squire in *The London Mercury* and half-hearted approval elsewhere, it is because he does not belong to any political cave or literary coterie: he is alone and apart, a figure cast in the mould of antiquity, living a lonely life of sensations steaming in thought and singing to sweeten his solitude.

The Labour Cabinet has shown rare intuition in finding its subconscious self in literary England. We do not know whether it was the choice of Ramsay MacDonald or Jimmy Thomas or George Lansbury; but whosoever it was it does credit to his head and heart. Masefield strikes one at first sight as the poet of the gutter, the cabin, the bye-street, the race-course, the shadows of the underworld, and the sunshine of the open fields; he is of the very stuff and spirit of the Cabinet, representative of engine-drivers and coalminers, of the men with too weighty a burden, too weary a load, of men who had faced the wolf at the door and known naked hunger and starvation. W. H. Davies is the powerful poet of the tramp and so of the poor; but he has not drawn and overdrawn, portrayed and pictured on so large a scale and with such intensity as Masefield has done; he sings almost always of himself and out of his own lusty lungs; his poems are like the hidden jewels and pent-up felicities of a tramp—charming and dainty and spontaneous. The Sitwells also descend to the lowest levels but they properly belong to America; Sitwellianism is a product of America rather than of England. Where else is the din, the smoke, the squalor, the heat and the hunger of the underworld and the backworld shown with such piercing pathos, such sincerity and strength, such robustness and felicity that make the pictures ring in memory? He has surveyed vast strips of life in majestic sweeps; he has taken experience in clutches and lit up the tunnels of the dark world and made it as real and human as the romantic renderings of other poets; but most of all he has brought down poetry from the clouds to the running road and the open sea.

When Masefield made his debut in Edwardian England there was not much notice of him; England was intoxicated with the rollicking muse of Kipling and the somnambulant muse of Swinburne; he seemed a mere imitation of nobody, with an odd chaos of echoes from Kipling, Swinburne, and Yeats, writing to please himself. There was nothing either startlingly original or strikingly odd. But he burst upon the complacency and ominous silence of 1911 with a crash and a boom. It was in English poetry what the first appearance of the tank was in the Great War. He invented a new instrument, a new style, a new theme, and seemed oddly pessimistic and ghoulish with a streak of the dare-devilry of the tight-rope dancer in riding his metre. He was odd, and more, he was original. With a sudden crack of the whip he drove the foaming muses and made them of the earth earthy, made the boxing-ring, the tavern, and the ghastly yells and gibberish oaths as solemn as the sacred rhythms of poetry. It had seemed as though Kipling had given the finishing touch to English poetry; originality tended to artificiality; poetry became gaudy, all frizzles and frills; a sibilant swish or the leisurely flow of recurrent liquids was looked upon as the consummation of art and an achievement; but Masefield came in like the Pied Piper of Hamelin and took away all the rats of literary review-land.

Since then he has steadily maintained a stream of novels, dramas, poems, sketches, and criticism. But nowhere is he so much himself and nowhere is he so authentic and true and immortal as when he writes of the sea. The sea is his first and last love. We are told how he grew sick of the life he was living and found his freedom at sea by becoming a sailor, without friends or money; and then the struggles, the adventures, the youthful experiences, and the tall straight blue-eyed boy with shy manners and sensitive mind became the dignified poet with strange gestures reminiscent of sea life. He seemed to have come back from the sea like a Messiah with a mission, for in the *Consecration* to his *Salt-Water Ballads* (1902) he

made clear of what his 'songs shall be fashioned' and his 'tales be told'. He would tell not of princes and prelates but the scorned and the rejected, not 'the bemedalled commander beloved of his throne' but the 'lads who carried the koppie and cannot be known', not rulers but rankers and tramps and slaves, the men with too weighty a burden, too weary a load, sailors and stokers of steamers; for,

"Others may sing of the wine and the wealth and the mirth,
Mine be the dirt and the dross, the dust and the scum of the earth!
Theirs be the music, the colour, the glory, the gold;
Mine be a handful of ashes, a mouthful of mould."

The ballads are vivid and various in their rhythm, frail and faulty as infant prodigies, some dainty, some freakish and odd, full of far-fetched figures and unfamiliar phrases that have to be explained in a glossary; but all tuned up to the lilt and the superb thrill of 'Sea Fever' which shows him in his naked spirit stirred with the clear call and the wild call and crying out its surging impulse,

"I must down to the seas again, to the lonely sea and sky,
And all I ask is a tall ship and a star to steer her by."

Ballads and Poems (1903) is full of echoes from other voices. *The Ballad of Sir Bors* reads like a pale parody of Yeats' *Innisfree*. In *Cargoes* he achieves natural magic and makes music out of a mere cacophonous catalogue. There are other good poems like *The Gentle Lady* with such fine turns of expression, such telegraphic terseness, such deep thoughts; *A Creed* with all the passion, the philosophy, and the delicacy of the faith in rebirth,

"These eyes of mine have blinked and shone,
In Thebes, in Troy, in Babylon,"

and *C.L.M.* wherein a mother's martyrdom is so neatly and tersely put:

"I cannot see, nor breathe, nor stir,
But through the death of some of her."

In his novels he seems to have suffered from a philosophy of life. Such novels grow an unwanted appendix, and though

they swell in size and sentiment they only seem to suffer from elephantiasis. No one with a point and a philosophy can succeed unless he advertises himself like H. G. Wells or Arnold Bennett. The tragedy of Masefield as a novelist is that he is not Wells or Bennett. In *Margaret*, *Multitude and Solitude* and *The Street of To-day*, we come across life in lumps presented in beautiful snatches of superb narrative and splendid purple patches, but they read like incoherent prose romances miscalled novels.

His *Shakespeare* is a masterpiece of criticism, original, lightning-like, revealing, and refreshing. Shakespeare is a sure touchstone; to touch him is to reveal oneself as a dull bore or an original genius and Masefield shows himself as a genius. To write a book on Shakespeare and to say things which nobody has said before is a great thing; but when he says them in a new and subtle way, in his own way, with such charming sentiments and felicitous phraseology, and throws a new and a strange light on some of the dark patches, and discovers some new dainties and delicacies, he shows himself as a genuine critic of a high order. His prose runs in good rhythm; it is vivid and limpid and light; and he is everywhere fresh and full-throated. His *Gallipoli* is poignant and tearful, without the gaudy eloquence of Churchill or the light-heartedness of Ian Hamilton. As a historian in *Sea-life in Nelson's Time* he writes splendid prose revealing the best beauties of English prose rhythm.

As a playwright he is a sad failure. He writes as superbly and well as ever, but he lacks the dramatic instinct. This is surprising because his *Shakespeare* shows his profound knowledge of stage technique. He seems to slip by the best moments in a strangely silent way, as an airman avoids hill-tops and low abysses. In *Pompey the Great* (1910) he missed a great opportunity of making it as effective a play as Drinkwater's *Oliver Cromwell* and *Abraham Lincoln*. Some have called the *Tragedy of Nan* (1909) finer than *Oedipus*; it is at least comparable to Hardy's *Tess*; and though it may not reach

he heights of tragedy, it is really a good play tinged with drama, pathos and tenderness.

But it is as a poet that he has lived and will live; for when he timid thunders and mild echoes of his early poems with their outbursts of hectic heresies and anarchies found shape in the startling production, *The Everlasting Mercy*, he pronounced himself primarily as a poet and as anything else next. *The Everlasting Mercy* announced a new Bolshevik English Literature, a red revolution and a new anarchy in English verse, a new mould and strange matter; and Masefield appeared as the first and final master of that mould. Mr. Squire has wildly damned it as a 'sensational Salvationist' poem; if it is sensational it is not the crude sensationalism of the two-penny thriller or the cheap sensationalism of modern patch-work poetry about grey-coats and trenches and shrapnel over which Mr. Squire and his tribe would exult; it is the roaring rush of a submarine in the deeps of the heart; and it is not one-tenth as 'Salvationist' as Mr. Squire would seem to think, it is too genuine and convincing a work of art to be cheap propaganda. It is the irruption of smouldering sentiment under the impulse and delight of drink and song. Saul Kane makes his bow and without a prologue flings the facts of his life right away in the face of the reader like hailstones; and the mystery of his spiritual agonies, exultations, and transformations remains a mystery to the end. He seems to speak to the call of the Infinite. In his heresies and mockeries, his bluntness and downrightness, the attitudes and abysses of his mind, and the rapid rise and fall of the verse, its broad-based and broken rhythm, the poem showed new possibilities in the field of English poetry. The poem rushes like a hurried parade of a mob of words under the command of a mob-orator; and some lines are surprisingly beautiful in their hurricane harmony and reach the very tops of poetic expression midst the dense patches of shocking doggerel or dull mock-heroic. It is intensely dramatic; and in its descriptive power the dashing verse echoes the sense from first

to last; and we can feel the humour, the thrills, the coarse satisfaction, and the devilish daring of a drunkard and a brute in the gasp of spiritual pangs. Here we come across realism breaking in beautiful rhythm, and Masefield shows he is a master of his material when he has such felicities as,

"Try to imagine if you can
The type of manhood in the man,
And if Y'd like to feel his pain,
You sprain your thumb and hit your sprain."

and such bawdy expressions as,

"I'll bloody him a bloody fix,
I'll bloody burn his bloody ricks,"

all quite beautiful in their surroundings. It is the very pith of pathos, the core of realism, and when it is weighed in such a nice balance of rhythm and touched with such thought and expression, the dullest doggerel becomes the best of poetry. Masefield seemed to have jumped out of the common ranks with a mighty jerk of imagination; for *The Everlasting Mercy* carried with it the repudiation of his own past. He repudiated everything; he repudiated the dull elegiacs and half-hearted Yeatsian echoes and Kipling's tunes; he repudiated the straight-laced pedantries into which verse was lapsing; he repudiated the cheap alliterative associations and the hackneyed rhymes; he repudiated himself and his comrades. It was a great outburst of tense thought and violent imagination, downright, passionate, and clear; flashing and breaking on the rocks of rhyme without fear that the rhyme may twist in deadlock. Such poems attain perfection through the sheer force of genius and originality and keep the critics dumb.

Next was published *The Widow in the Bye Street* (1912) which revealed another slice of life in another mould of form. The lines are splendid, the pathos real, the story convincing, the widow and her ill-fated son living pictures; but the tricks of rhyme and style lend themselves easy food for parody in such master hands as Squire's. The verse is turgid also here and

there and seems to moan like a wounded monster. *Dauber* (1913) next was a *tour-de-force* unmatched in descriptive power and overwhelming in the tragic intensity of Dauber's spirit. Dauber is not only the animated spirit of the sea battling with aspirations and realities but the very self of Masefield; the self which had in his youth sought the refuge of storms and the consolations of sails and ships. But dramatic as is Dauber's tragedy, it is the background of the great and tumultuous spaces of the sea in harmony with his agonies that shows the genius of the poet. The verse crashes like a cataract of compressed passions lit with the smile of sacrifice; and we can feel tears in his voice. He is Turner-esque in his descriptions. He has done in English poetry for the sea what Conrad did for it in English prose and thus discharged in full his debt to his first love. Then he lapsed into the dull mechanics of *The Daffodil Fields*, food for parody. The story is baldly melodramatic, and the verse is stiff and familiar in its prisms and prunes, and runs like a bull following a red rag. Then during the Great War he was stilled for a moment like all poets till in 1917 he published *Lollington Downs*, deeply reflective, and philosophic, and starting from a basis which forms the final altitude in the philosophy of many other poets.

But it was with *Reynard, the Fox* (1919) that he attained the highest pitch of achievement in verse. All the searchings and experiences and agonies of years seemed crowned in this masterpiece which made itself the supreme point in that branch of poetry wherein Masefield has made himself a specialist. It is marvellously executed. The matter is hard stuff and in the hands of inferior artists would lend itself to bald narration and tenth-rate poetry. But Masefield is in his element. It is a moment when the matter dissolves in form and the form fuses the matter, and there is neither subject nor style distinct, but a living whole like a soul living in the body. *Reynard, the Fox* is one of those rarities in literature that open new realms

but are left unmatched by any things that follow in their wake. It is like the tragedies of Shakespeare or the epics of Milton, not so unique but as rare; it is Chaucer at his best thrown five centuries forward. He presents on a chart of the countryside before a background of delicate engraving such a vast gallery of pictures, 'much character in little space', and presents them with such marvellous turns of expression that light up the whole picture as a glow-worm shows the green world around. The only explanation is that it is art cut and thrust by the sanity of true genius. There is apparent artlessness in his art: one wonders on the top of the breaking foam of his verse where intuition ceases and art begins. Among such poems which are neither short nor long there can be no pause; the reader finishes the whole as a jockey finishes his race, his blood bumping in bubbles of animation. One marvels at Masefield taming the muses he himself makes so furious. It is not like an occasion when Paderewski plays on the piano and makes himself one with the symphony he himself stirs up; it is not like the song that trills through the slender throats of birds, not the lyre, not the lute, not the war drum, not the pastoral pipe; it is the very raciness of the Ghost Heath Run. He writes about a real thing which he must have seen and thrilled at and bubbled at with blood-heat, and composed it, in the first instance, at a white heat of emotion. Such things cannot be wrought out of imagination compact; they must be seen and felt. So also *Right Royal* (1920) where such an intense and lurid light is thrown on steeple-chasing. It is a masterpiece on a lesser scale. The reader feels himself riding *Right Royal* in a steeple-chase. The poem is photographic in detail, showing every important stage of a great race, and it is a memorable and living picture following in reel after reel of lightning and thunder.

Then Masefield seemed as if he was exhausted and wrote poems that seemed mere parodies of his own masterpieces. Poems like *King Cole* (1921) and *Enslaved* were interesting in a

way, but they showed nothing of the surge and phenomenal swell of the preceding ones and left a sense of unstilled singing. Beside *Right Royal, King Cole* is an ineffectual piece. He had apparently worked himself to weariness; it was work enough to drain away the spirit of the most exuberant poet; it was not the work where songs spring up from solitude or study; it was the bursting utterance of a mind in tension speaking on feverish feet under the moment's inspiration. He seemed to have found out his voice and lost it altogether. The *enfant-terrible* became a gentle dove. He kept silent as if suddenly he had gone blind, or his heart ceased to beat, and lived like one of his own dead selves. He looked like 'a parson come to senses' or a poet losing vision. Such inspired pieces as *The Everlasting Mercy* and *Reynard* took toll of his blood; and the occasional prose stilled his fever with its restrained rhythms. Masfield believes in the hurried utterance of the hour and that explains his over-production and carelessness. For the faults of his poetry are the faults of over-production and feverish spontaneity. His greatest lack is the lack of humour, though the little patches of humour that spread in a line or two are exquisite. But even the humour and the paroxysms of philosophy move on hurrying feet; for he always moves. When he moves he scintillates; when he stops he only stagnates; he dignifies oaths and jokes by the touch of poetry; he invests a heresy with the golden tinge of truth; and the heart-beat, the temple-tremor, the foot-falter are clearly imprinted in the very words that beat like echoes in endless moan. But he stopped his gymnastics; and the verse that had jumped, and swayed, and jerked, and swerved, and bumped in soulful sprints like those of Saul Kane, seemed to lose its dash and vigour and meet its end in dull doggerel. He seemed to wander aimlessly among Arthurian legends looking after quaintness and persiflage, though even in old age he echoes his childhood's anarchies. *The Midsummer Night* with its wreck of luminous phrases is

full of images drawn from the sea and the hunting field which were the back-ground of many of his earlier poems.

Masfield comes fit, though oddly unfamiliar, to the post of Poet-Laureate. He is the very spirit of the Labour Cabinet; the apostle of the bottom-dog. Like the true Labourite he is a Little-Englander intent on his country, its bleak skies and green pastures, its cottage tragedies and country-side racing. It is this fact that strikes us when we think of his selection. First and last he is an Englishman. He is the mirror of the English countryside, the English slum, the English character. His verse knows no rare luxuries, it tramps in the very rags of realism. It is only his larger and bolder utterance that places him above W. H. Davies; it is daring above subtlety; inspiration cut by art above art propelled by inspiration. The people gave Mr. MacDonald power, and Mr. MacDonald rescued Masfield from his solitudes and strange silences, and gave him back to the nation. Let us pray for the resurrection of John Masfield. And now we see him seeking society, declining intimacy but gaining respect; and there is an applause and a soft murmur; and the Sitwells shaking their noses; and Davies singing a song; and Mr. Squire stately in his assent; and Kipling twinkling from behind his spectacles; and Bernard Shaw twitching an impish smile; and the ponderous frame of Gilbert Keith Chesterton rolling away with the latest paradox. And one sees John Masfield yawning a modest smile and humming to himself,

"We are neither saints nor Philip Sidneys,
But mortal men with mortal kidneys."

Indian Renaissance: A Misconception

BY PROF. P. T. SRINIVASA IYENGAR, M.A.

I desire to quarrel with the Editor of this journal for the sub-title he has chosen for it. I am perfectly satisfied with the name 'Triveni'. It proposes to be the meeting place of three holy Indian streams. The Ganga carries her muddy waters to the thirsty sands, though she is born from the pure, clear snows of the Himalayas; the mud that she manages to dissolve in the waters into which the hot plains of India melt the snows, is the rich alluvium which enables the land to smile with plenty. Layer after layer of Gangetic clay, now several hundred feet thick, has each laid at the feet of man, season after season, the rice that forms his principal food-stuff. Flowers, like angels, dance in the sun where Jahnavi flows; tall waving trees invite the weary pilgrim to rest in their cool shade, and the gods, too, have taken their abode in the homes built along her banks by devoted men, who have wrestled with the difficulties which refractory rocks offer to the skilful hands of the artist, and, by conquering them, as only Indian workmen can, raised temples corresponding in beauty to the concepts which have taken shape in the form of concrete images in the minds of Indian teachers. The white mud of the Ganga symbolizes to me the bright *Vaidika* culture which, too, stratum on stratum, has contributed to the rich flow of Indian ideas through the ages, to the growth of flowery words that grace Indian poetry, and has enabled Indian man to emulate the giants in climbing over the castles of the gods, and imprison in the spidery web of mental images the divinities who inhabit the lofty regions where the aspiring soul feels choked by the tenuity of the atmosphere it has to breathe. As the Ganga rises high and falls low alternately,

though she never wholly dries up and is always keeping up the life of men who drink her milk, so too the culture of the Veda has now risen and then declined in popularity, but has always sustained Indian religious life. Its face is always changing but its essence is always *sanatana*.

The dark Yamuna whose waters are ever crystal-clear, represents to me the non-Aryan, *Avoidika* sources of Indian inspiration and achievement. There is first the group of the clear-cut categories of the Sankhya analysis of human experience, so ancient as to inspire the reverent attachment of all cults and sects, and yet so modern that the most up-to-date scientific reasoning cannot upset it: age cannot wither, nor custom stale the prismatic brilliance of the Sankhya concepts. There is again the totality of the Yoga practices, of whose existence long prior to the age when the Rishis began to sing the Vedic hymns, proof has been recovered from the bosom of sand-mounds recently in the Sindhu valley. There are the schools of logic, also non-Vedic in origin and opposed to the unifying synthesis of the Vedanta and its subsumption of all fleeting name and form into one eternal, changeless noumenon; these schools have furnished sharp knives with which to cut asunder specious sophistry. And lastly the *Agama* schools, those that emphasise *ekabhakti*, devotion to one God to the exclusion of others, had their origin in Pre-Aryan times. Siva, the embodiment of the energy of both the lower material and the higher spiritual life, whose dance is the prototype alike of the dance of the atoms and the whirling of the electrons which evolves the cosmos out of the chaos and of the dance of the devotee intoxicated with God-love, Siva who is both the serpent that kills and the phallus that creates, was certainly worshipped from the ages when man used but stone tools. So, too, the dread Mother, the leader of human hosts to slaughter in the name of victory, who dances decked with a girdle of skulls which but reveals her nakedness, on the body of her prostrate husband, for he is

but a corpse, as the great Acharya tells us, when she does not form half of his body, and as the Tantrika puts it, when the sound 'i,' which is her body is taken away, Siva becomes 'sava.' And Krishna was the beloved of milkmaids, charmed their ears with his mellifluous lute made of reed and danced the mystic dance with them, in the far-off days when man had reached but the pastoral stage in his age-long march on the path of progress; and even today human beings have to void their hearts of guile and hate and become like simple, and, if you like, savage milkmaids, before they can hear His music and see His dance. And as if to emphasise this symbolism, the bulk of the waters of the Ganga flows from the Himalayan home of the Rishis, and though the Yamuna rises not far from this region, the bulk of her waters flows from the Vindhyan hills—the home of the Nishadhas in the past as in the present.

What, then, is the divine Sarasvati, who flows invisible to human eyes? In the sacred plain of Kurukshetra, they say, if you apply your ears to the earth you can hear her rumbling deep down in the bosom of mother Earth; but if you wish really to hear her, you ought to withdraw the outflowing *Pranas*, as the tortoise withdraws her limbs, become a tiny spark of flame in the cave of the heart, filled with nothing, a plenum and a vacuum, and then she will flow with a thundering roar, even as the Ganga fell on the head of Isvara; and you will have to render taut the *Prana* and receive the flood of *Amrita*, or you will find yourself floating, dazed, on a mighty stream, beaten to and fro like a boat that has lost its rudder. For Sarasvati symbolizes the divine energy which works unknown to men, deep down in the stream of collective human life. Historians try to explain the causes of the fall, one after another, of the civilized nations of antiquity; they tell you that priestly craft and royal selfishness brought about the downfall of Egypt, so that the ordinary inhabitant of the Nile valley who was neither crafty nor selfish sank to the state of the ignorant and superstitious *fellaheen* of today; they tell you that morbid sexual

practices, as well as the bite of the mosquito bearing malaria organisms killed the Hellenic and the Latin civilizations. Granting these for purposes of argument to be complete explanations of the death of civilizations, we are yet faced with the problem why particular people got at particular times a special uplift. We may go further and ask why man was evolved when he did, why life rose when it did, on each of which occasions a spark of the divine fire entered material forms of a given degree of complexity. The only answer is that, besides discoverable and calculable causes, there is an invisible current of divine life which now and then wells up in the history of the world and produces profound perturbations, and this invisible stream is symbolized by Sarasvati. Hence I say I welcome the title 'Triveni'.

Which I do not in the case of the sub-title, *Journal of Indian Renaissance*. For what is Renaissance but rebirth writ large? And rebirth implies a previous death. I vehemently deny that before this age Indian culture died. The premier Indian Art—Architecture—has ever since its birth in far-off neolithic days been always progressing. Then Indians worked with stone tools on wood, of which a profuse supply came from the Dandakaranya. The use of wood as material for artistic self-expression led to the elaboration of details characteristic of Indian art, in which it is rivalled only by profusion of the tropical forest. The manufacture of iron tools did not lead to the substitution of stone for wood; it was only when the increase of population led to the denudation of the forest (and not the example of Persia, as alleged in text-books of Indian history) that stone began to be used for sculptural and architectural work. And this has progressed without a break to this day. More temples have been built in the 19th and 20th centuries than during any other previous period. Of literature the crop in recent times has been no less in quantity. Of preaching, the art of the improvisator, music, dancing, there has never been any decline. As there was no death of cultural

activities, there could have been no rebirth. Human progress has always been like that of the waves on the sea. Every standing sheet of water, which by packing close one in front of another forms the sea, rises and falls, each in its own place, and the top of the wave moves on. There occurs a series of rhythmical ups and downs, but yet the top seems to move horizontally. When the waves meet a bank they break and die with a roar, like a wounded animal. But, alone, Indian life has never met (and will never meet) a shoal of the ocean of time, and has never been broken. The wave rises and falls and progresses without end. Does not the shape of India, which as the *Upanishad* has it, "hangs like the breast, that is the *yonî* of Indra", show that she is the heart of the world? She will beat now fast, now slow, but will never cease to go. The word 'Renaissance' leaves a bitter after-taste in Europe plunged into darkness: her science was gone; her art died out; the *pax Romana* disappeared and for many centuries cultured life vanished. Then she came in touch with the light that was Greece and she woke up. Painting, sculpture, architecture, music and poetry, all had a glorious rebirth; and science, the handmaiden who bears aloft the lamp of modernism, was born. Did Mother India ever close her eyes similarly? Did the unsightly moss ever encrust the top of the waters that met in the *Triveni*? Did not Ram Mohan preach in Bengal, Dayanand write in the Punjab, the *Bhaktas* dance before Vithoba, and Thyagaraja sing before Rama, all in recent times, and keep up undimmed the light of ages?

The River

BY SHRI RABINDRANATH TAGORE

(Fragments of a Bengali Song, translated by Sudhansu Bose)

There at the feet of deep blue sky,
There amid clouds all soft but high,
There in bosom of snow so white,
Slept the river, slept out of sight.
The great sun touch'd her lips some day,—
Up rose the river, down that lay.
Then quite happy in light of day
Once she thought of an outdoor play.
Alone she was all night and day,
No one was there, with her to play.
No talk was there, no word to hear,
No one to sing a song was there.
Thus with a low sound and patter
Out she came, a line of water.
Whate'er in the world might there be
She thought she would have all to see.

* * *

On, on as the river does move,
Companions join in many a group.
They all, like her, from one's own home
Out there come in the open to roam.
Like anklets, bracelets of a bride,
Pebbles jingle as she doth glide.
There on her body glistens the light
Like a necklace of diamond bright.
She babbles, babbles once so meek,—
Where doth she get so much to speak?
In loving union friends there meet,—

One leans on one in playful treat.
 They join in noisy cry at last
 Lock'd in an embrace all so fast.
 The water in loud tumult runs,
 It shakes and shocks the earth at once.
 Down there she pours with clatter loud—
 Rocks too tremble, they look'd so proud.
 The stones also crack and burst asunder,—
 Ah! she cuts the way like thunder.
 Trees on sides, each like a tower,
 They're struck at the root and cower.
 Great big boulders and masses of stone
 Fall with crash within watery zone.
 On water turbid mix'd with mud,
 Foams there float in many a squad.
 How eddies and circles arise!
 Like a mad one again she hies!

* * *

Near the fields of paddy and fodder,
 Plantain groves and bamboo yonder,
 Amid topes of mango and jack,
 Peeps there a hamlet from their back.
 There is stored the paddy in barn,
 Straw in heaps you find as you turn.
 There are cattle in cowsheds neat—
 How black and brown and white you meet.
 At some place stands an oilman's hut
 Where seeds are crush'd with noise in rut
 At some other turns the potter's wheel,
 All through the day it gets his reel.
 There's the grocer with book of 'story
 Chanting Rama's eternal glory.
 Somewhere else in the village school,
 Read all the boys with throats quite full.
 With a big bounding birch on lap

The master sways in sly sweet nap.
 In zigzag course and broken line
 Yonder path does village entwine,
 Where loaded carts by fat bulls drawn
 Move with a noisy creak from dawn;
 And pariah dogs, lean and stiff,
 Roam there hungry at dust to sniff.

* * *

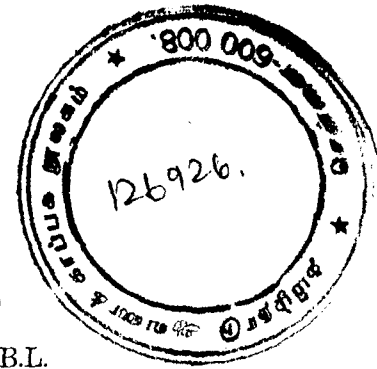
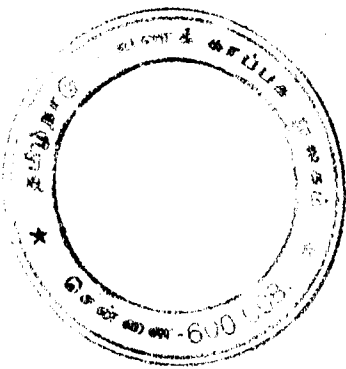
Then as she goes on more and more,
 Fuller she gets there's no doubt sure.
 Thus land gets scarce and banks all hide,
 Eyes also fail and they prove poor guide.
 Blue, blue becomes that water-flow,
 Briny to taste doth water grow.
 Bottomless does the water show,
 And boundless seems its onward flow.
 The land recedes far out of call,
 You find water and water all.
 Hark! how very loud is the noise there!
 Water too is of deep blue rare!
 There, it seems, is the wide wide sea.
 Who's to say where its banks could be?

* * *

Here ever so far look we may,
 Nothing there is that we can say.
 Nothing there is but noise and cry
 And all that water, wind and sky.
 Only waves are there and only foam,
 No man is there and none there roam.
 Here ends all land and all the place.
 The river closes her good long race.
 She will have now but endless play
 All through night and all through the day.
 She'll dance and sing all day and night,
 Never will there be end in sight.

TRIVENI

She'd have no more to run the race,
 The sea on bosom gave her place.
 He will now wash her mud and clay,
 And in a nice blue bed will lay.
 He'll cover her in sheets of foam,
 And rock in cradle of wavy home.
 He'll pour sweet music in her ears,
 That gladdens weary minds and cheers.
 So will the river in embrace lie;
 Oh! for ever will last that tie.



India of the Villages

BY C. V. KRISHNASWAMI AIYAR, B.A., B.L.

There has been lying on our table for a long time a translation, by a daughter of a distinguished Indian, of a novel in English by one who has earned a very high reputation as a successful wielder of the English language. And we owe the talented translator—must one say translatress?—an apology for the delay in recording our appreciation of her brilliant enterprise. "Murugan, the Tiller" by Mr. K. S. Venkataramani of the Madras Bar, has deservedly won admiration as an interesting picture of the Indian countryside. In times when India is at the crossways, socially and economically, those unacquainted with the true inwardness of Indian life are apt to forget that India of the ages has not always, or ever principally been, India of English schools and colleges, of the ambitious, of seekers after wealth, of lawyers and non-co-operators, of legislative councils and elections. If, of any country, one could say that most of its denizens were men of plain living and high thinking, men who loved the kindred points of heaven and earth, it can be said of India. It was, therefore, a happy thought of Mr. Venkataramani to have attempted to portray the real rural India with its simple life and inexpensive pleasures. Such a picture was needed not only for those who were strangers to the country, but even to the generation that knew not the real glories of their ancient land and had grown up with new social and economic values even in this country. Though English is fairly well known to many who are likely to read such a book, the appeal of such a novel could be directed even to those unacquainted with it, with great profit. Such work has been successfully accomplished in one direction by Krishna Kumari's Tamil translation. It is in the fitness of things that the task has been attempted by

a young lady, for, are not the most lovable, as distinguished from the admirable, characters in the novel, three young ladies, Sita, Janaki and Kokilam? Even the hero acknowledged that the mainspring of all his useful endeavours was a woman—Meenakshi.

There are translations and translations. There is the one which some Western scholars of Sanskrit works have made one familiar with—literal translations which smell of the dictionary—conscientious work but so unreadable. There is the other class which has as much relation to the original as a paraphrase to the original verse. There is again the one which, without a violent departure from the words and phrases of the original, has the verve of a new work by itself. Krishna Kumari's rendering must be placed in the last class. If one were not told that it was a translation of an English novel, one is not likely to discover it from a reading of it. Perhaps this is due to the peculiar Hindu character of the story. More likely it is the genius of the translator. Her command over the Tamil language is commendable. That language is not an easy one to master, or to clothe modern ideas with. There is always the danger of a fall between vulgar colloquialism and the jaw-breaking obscurity of a classical style. Even those who are among the learned are apt to employ ununderstandable coinage of Tamil substitutes for English terms, or the English terms themselves. The present writer remembers the dismay with which he read a report of a Tamil Sangam which spoke of "சங்கத்தின் பிரமசஸ்தை ஒயிட்வரஷ் செய்ய எஸ்டிமேட்" (an estimate to whitewash the Sangam premises). Krishna Kumari deserves congratulations on the way in which she has avoided such pit-falls.

As Krishna Kumari herself indicates in her preface, the ultimate value of a translation is based on the qualities of the original book itself; and so it may not be inappropriate to set down here a short estimate of the latter. The story is shortly

told. Two friends, Ramu and Kedari, start life in an Indian college. The former ends it as a "slaughtered innocent", the latter gets all prizes and medals. Ramu begins as a clerk, and by honest and useful work for the people, ends by rejecting a proffered Executive Councillorship. Kedari has a brilliant career as a Junior Vakil and succeeds for a time by devious means, but fails ignominiously and becomes a convert to Ramu's faith in rural and agricultural life. The main influence on Ramu's life was Murugan his hereditary tenant and his insistence on the value of agriculture and simple village life, though he himself falls a victim to the thirst for wealth through the evil means of a toddy-shop. In describing the career of these the author has employed his rare powers of observation and command of the English language. Janaki, Ramu's wife, Kokilam the better half of Kedari, Sita the typical Brahmin village girl, whom Ramu had befriended in her unhappy days and who returned his brotherly love in diverse ways, Meenakshi the practical woman who set her son-in-law Ramu on the way to official life with most unexpected but very satisfactory results, are all characters whom no reader will fail to love. That a search for success in this world need not be conducted all at the sacrifice of others, but that heaven and earth are kindred is the main motif of the author.

In depicting the life of his heroes and heroines the author has, however, overdrawn the picture in several places. One rises from a reading of his work with a feeling that he has hardly been just to the great legal profession. One would fain imagine that Markandam Iyer is not a common type of the successful Vakil or that Kedari represents most young hopefuls of the Bar. A profession which has given to India a W. C. Bonnerjee, a Motilal Nehru, a V. Krishnaswami Aiyar, cannot be said to be one in which success can be achieved only by devious means. Yet over and over again in the course of the book, such is the impression created. Nor has India always or exclusively been a region of patient ploughshares.

Its literature has enshrined many a description of popular and wealthy cities, where painting and music and literature have flourished and been encouraged by kings. Man does not live by bread alone, and the Indian has never been satisfied with smiling corn-fields and rivers overflowing with silt. It will be a drab world indeed where every one looks only to his three acres and a buffalo or a cow as his source of light and life. That, however, would seem to be the author's solution of the economics of life. Nor has the author been quite fair to the Government of recent times in the matter of irrigation works. Writing from the banks of the Godavari, the present writer can speak of the magnificent work done by a Cotton to divert water running waste and to make two blades grow where one only grew before. Perhaps this onesidedness is inevitable in a work like a novel written with a purpose, and one should not look in it for an evenly balanced judgment. It is, however, needful to look at brighter and ampler sides of life. It cannot be all countryside. Heroes and heroines are plentiful even in this backward country, in the regions that are not quite beyond city walls or are only reclaimed hill-stream-fed valleys. Would that the author or the translator Subramaniam and Krishnaswami Aiyars, with their high endeavours in the realm of Art and Letters, in the amelioration of the sick and the suffering! As the writer of the introduction to the translation says, the lady-translator is well qualified to embark on such work, and who else but a woman can describe adequately the mainsprings of life in a country which its sons and daughters delight to think of as their "Mother Land" while other hosts go forth in defence of a "Father Land"?

The Anklet Bells

By V. N. BHUSHAN¹

SCENE I

[HIGH UP IN THE SKY IS THE CHARMING MOON, LIKE AN EMERALD PENDANT OF THE NYMPH OF NIGHT. AROUND HIM ARE STAR-MAIDS, DANCING LIGHT IN DELICATE MEASURES.

BEYOND THE SMILING OUTSKIRTS OF MATHURA CITY IS A VAST BUDDHIST *Vihara*, WITH A SNOW-WHITE *Mandir* IN THE CENTRE. IN IT IS SEATED UPAGUPTA IN A MEDITATIVE MOOD, —A YOUTH OF FIVE AND TWENTY, CLAD IN TAWNY ROBES, WITH A BRIGHT GLEAMING FOREHEAD.]

Upagupta

(Sings)

Ah, Lover! Brother! Guide! Lamp of the Law!
 I take my refuge in Thy Name and Thee!
 I take my refuge in Thy Law of Good!
 I take my refuge in Thy Order! *Om*!
 The Dew is on the Lotus; Rise, Great Sun!
 And light my Leaf and mix me with the Wave!
Om, Mani Padme Hum, the Sunrise comes!
 The Dew drop slips into the shining sea!

(Rises) . . .

Methinks, I heard a noise, rare and strange,—the solemn sound of some anklet bells, like miraculous music jingled out of the bowl of heaven . . . Who's there? . . . (none speak).

. . . No reply breaks the silence and echoes round . . .
 . . . a mere mirage of the mind, perhaps . . . (sleeps)

¹ Translated from his own play in Telugu.

The Dancing Girl

[ENTERS, A FLOATING FAIRY VISION OF SWEET SEVENTEEN, ATTIRED IN A FLAMING SAREE OF PINK AND GOLD. INVALUABLE TRINKETS OF AMETHYST, EMERALD AND RUBY ADORN HER FORM; AND THE TINKLING SOUND OF HER TINY ANKLET BELLS IS BEING WAFTED FAR AND WIDE. IN HER HAND IS A GLITTERING WREATH OF ROSES.]

(Looks anxiously)

This, perchance, is the far-famed Buddhist *Vihara*—bright with the glimmer of golden pines; and Oh, how lovely looks this prayer-hall, like a laughing lotus afloat on a pool of light. (NEARS THE *Mandir* AND SEES) . . . Upagupta dear, the lord of my love and life, asleep in the lap of luxuriant moonshine, like a lovely jasmine bloom bright with its scented treasure. O, how like a second moon does this dream-begotten darling shine! Fairer far than the dew-washed dawn; fairer far than the fairest one is this youth; and yet he mocks his youth with a *bhikshu's* garb and pilgrims thro' the endless world. Would he were mine in my abode of joy and drink with me, and dance with me, and dream with me . . . (PLACES THE WREATH AROUND HIS BROW, TO THE RAPTUROUS RHYTHM OF HER ANKLET BELLS).

Upagupta

(Wakening quickly) Whence is this tinkle and whose is this touch? Who dares disturb my dream and calm?

The Dancing Girl

(RETREATING INTO THE SHADE OF A WAVING CREEPER) . . . It's I . . .

Upagupta

Hueless and formless is that I, stranger friend!

The Dancing Girl

Philosophy even in sleep, my beautiful one!

Upagupta

(ASTONISHED). . . From behind the folds of thy purple veils, who art thou to thus accost me, fearless one.

The Dancing Girl

I, the dancing-girl with golden anklet bells, a-trysting come for thee, enchanting one.

Upagupta

Maids like thee have not a place in these monastic homes!

The Dancing Girl

They have, dear love, a place for me, even as for you.

Upagupta

No more, maid, of this mockery. . . (GLANCING AT THE WREATH BESIDE HIM). . . and from where has this come?

The Dancing Girl

I have woven it, dear, for thee with bright passion-flowers plucked from my love's blossoming creeper.

Upagupta

It's clear, girl,—the flaming secret of thy heart. Cease hence all crude designs and lure me not with thy evanescent beauty's glimmer and glare.

The Dancing Girl

Upagupta, lover mine, for thee have I left the high-wayed city of pleasure, and glided down to woo thee here amidst this rustic rapture, while the gulmohur's fragrance floods the passionate hours. For thee have I forsaken my all, to drink lip to lip with thee, from the pearl-rimmed bowl of youthful wine. From the dawn of my maidenhood thou hast figured liminous on my love's horizon. . . .

Upagupta

Why dost thou, dear sister, adore my frail body's airy nothing? Thy work and worship all these days is nought but a shadow-chase. All life, in man and woman, in bird and beast, in stone and stream, demand thy service and deserve thy love,—the love divine that perennial flows in the human heart. All youth, all wealth, all pride, all power—are illusive pleasures. The noblest hymns of sacrifice and service alone abide. Depose hence from thy heart's throne passion's false and flimsy idol, and, instead, light the lamp of eternal love and service for one and all.

The Dancing Girl

Enchanter, why this philosophic treat, when thy beauty stings me, as a bee the banksia bloom? This delicate earthen jar is bubbling hot with the simmering wine of youth. And an youth art thou; only while youth and emotion last is the frolic of love and light. The beatific blossoms of pleasure are the perpetual pride and privilege of youth,—not your moral codes or ethical laws. Leave that lot to the senile ones; come hence with me, my lovely dear, and we will dance featly on ripples of joy, to the tune of my anklet bells!

Upagupta

Thou art aflame with frenzied passion. With eyes unhooded of their habitual glare, perceive but once the simple truth. It is not because he couldn't enjoy the royal fancies and the family pleasures that the great Siddhartha spurned sweet home-life's enmeshing joys, and fled far beyond the frills of society on a holy quest for divine wisdom. Nor birth, nor age stretch their leaden hands to obstruct the holy search. Turn, therefore, towards thy inner Self, and behold in its radiant lustre the effulgent torch of loving service—ready to guide and guard thy steps across the ascending mount of life.

The Dancing Girl

O my lover!

Upagupta

Here hovers the banner of the Buddha's light; here flutters the whisper of the Buddha's voice; hold them aloft with praying hands, and flash them across the land, from shore to shore. Down thro' the ages rings the Tathagata's message, sweet and shrill. Come, our order of sisters hails and welcomes thee to prove thyself a superb spark of great Asia's ever-blazing Light.

The Dancing Girl

Like the floating cloud on high to the parched-up tongue, is this talk of faith to this love-sick self. Canst thou not behold how from out of me overflows the ecstasy of love? See how the soft sky is hung high, to be the bridal couch of the star-girls and their lunar lord. In this silent, sequestered spot, Beauty, Joy and Colour are awandering now, and shall not our singing and triumphant youth tether the flapping wings of time, and thrill the world with the endless rapture of the divine clasp and kiss!

Upagupta

Om, Mani Padme Hum, Mani Padme Hum.

The Dancing Girl

Thou still dreamest, dear, of devotion's path. Come and be my playmate, dear, in the many-hued mansion of pleasure and I will jingle my golden anklet bells to entice us to emotion's lofty heights, where we will the love-grape crush and quaff the gushing wine; my saviour, O! (HURRIES TO CLASP HIM).

Upagupta

(ELUDING HER GRASP) . . . Thy saviour . . . yes when occasion comes . . . But no more, my sister, run love-blind thro' slippery alleys to hug destruction's form. In spiritual silence chant the psalm of divine love and there find thy haven of calm. (RETREATS BEHIND THE *Mandir* SHADE.)

SCENE II

[HIGH UP IN THE SKY IS NOT A SINGLE STREAK OF LIGHT. AND THE CLOUD-CLUSTERED NIGHT, LIKE A PROPHETIC PALL, IS OVERHANGING THE DESOLATE STREETS.

WITHIN THE WALLS OF MATHURA CITY, AT ONE EXTREME END IS A DILAPIDATED COTTAGE. IN THE FLICKERING LIGHT OF A LONELY OIL LAMP IS TO BE SEEN, HUDDLED IN A CORNER, THE EMACIATED DANCING GIRL, SUFFERING THE FINAL PANGS OF SEPARATION. TO A NAIL IN THE WALL ARE HUNG HER GOLDEN ANKLET BELLS.]

The Dancing Girl

Sinner, worst and last;—a tainted, tarnished soul, fit to suffer the lashes of a resurgent passion. My comely contours glittered and gleamed with nought but the purple blood of passion. My speech was but emotion's empty vaunt. Like a fresh, pinion-gifted lark, 'high-mated with the spheres,' with unconquered Upagupta left behind, I sallied forth with vengeful vigour into the unchartered skies of starry romance. And beyond the skies, higher and higher still, till ambushed Nemesis from behind, dealt a mortal blow, and here I lie—a faggot bundle of comrade evils. In reckless revelry did I put forth my barge's sails, and float across life's tempestuous main. But little did I dream that I was then a chalice of common misery, tasted by many but beloved of none.

(A SHARP PAIN LIKE A DEEP SWORD-CUT CREEPS THROUGH HER FLESH, AND SHE IS STARTLED) . . . O, but now, the pangs of pollution course through my blood. O, Upagupta dear, tho' a bud of life, you oped your petals and sang to me the lyric of light!

Upagupta

(ENTERS, WITH A FACE FURROWED WITH WRINKLES HERE AND THERE. IN HIS HAND IS THE *bhikshu's* VESSEL OF WATER.)

Om, Mani Padme Hum, Mani Padme Hum!

I take my refuge in Thy Name and Thee!

I take my refuge in Thy Order, *Om!*

(DISCERNS THE DANCING GIRL) . . . Poor soul! . . . Retribution is now in its ripened prime. She would not suffer the censers of good words to be swung to her in the meridian of her maidenhood. All is willed by Him in whose hands Time and all her seasons roll. Who can the inexorable line of Fate avert, or who arrest the tidal wave of destined doom? . . . Poor soul. (POURS A LITTLE WATER IN HER MOUTH)

The Dancing Girl

Who art thou, ministering angel?

Upagupta

Thy invited saviour, 'Upagupta dear.'

The Dancing Girl

Come at last—light of my life, saviour of my soul!

Upagupta

Yes, to chant to thy soul Love's eternal litany and show it the upward path.

The Dancing Girl

Aid me, my saviour, with the love of your heaven-kissed heart. The turbulent waters of my tortured past around me flood and fume. Farewell, life of the anklet bells; farewell, O thrills of bygone life . . . quick, my saviour, chant Sakyasimha's immortal psalm and lift my soul unawares to its parent light . . . (CLOSES HER EYES. . . . BY A STRANGE COINCIDENCE THE ANKLET BELLS TINKLE AND TWITTER OBEYING A WAYWARD BREEZE)

Upagupta

Now is thy deliverance from the shackles of ignorance ; now is
a revelation of the ineffable Light.

Om, Mani Padme Hum,
The sunrise comes,
The Dew drop slips
Into the shining sea !

My Teacher

BY K. CHANDRASEKHARAN, M.A., B.L.

My teacher of childhood days is a short plumpy figure, quite springy of body and of spirits. Though every one of us dreaded him and his threats when we were one of his flock, we have begun now so much to like him and his ways as to accord him the place of a regular confidant of our heart's secrets. For he has the rare prudence and tact to adjust himself to individual idiosyncracies, and has not much aversion to play even the second fiddle to us at times. Before trying to study the mentality of the children tendered unto his care, he understands with considerable shrewdness the proclivities and prejudices of their parents. Especially careful is he about the mother and in no time secures her good opinion, which means, all the choicest preparations of the house are known to him earlier than to anybody else. But his familiarity never assumes freedom with women. He has the saving commonsense to be conscious of his place in the scheme of things. He is fond of eating good things and his appetite shows no weakening, for all the little worries of the world. He possesses a good stomach and a heart that grudges not anyone his wealth.

He was, till recently, a teacher of our local High School, holding supreme sway over a small section of one of the lower secondary forms. He is master of a little arithmetic, which, with much ado, he can always be sure of. Indian history is with him a favourite and never was a boy in his class without experiencing a strange delight at his method of narrating the facts. His native talents for histrionic display impelled him often to pose, now as the princess Samyukta with the garland, while the boys ranged all around formed the galaxy of illustrious princes of the land who had congregated to

seek the fair hand of the daughter of the ruler of Kanauj, now as the Emperor Akbar himself, holding his august Court, having for the Imperial throne of Delhi his wooden chair, and for the sceptre, his own cane with which he meted out punishment to the truants. His loud guttural tones, when he taught religion and morals, attracted boys and masters of the nearer classrooms. His efficiency as a schoolmaster depended on the cheerful countenance he wore before the tender and playful children. Why, by his very readiness to throw off any weight from his heart, he glides well through life, even as a log when scooped to shape floats lightly on the billows. The imagination of young minds felt not the curb in his care: for he gave ample scope to their frolics and even joined them in their merry sports. Each boy in his class was labelled with a nickname that was either aptly descriptive of his physical contour or highly suggestive of his brain capacity. And it was a constant source of diversion both to the teacher and to the taught to hear the names repeated in quick succession to an amused audience, composed of masters and pupils of the other classes. He has a leaning towards the rich and the offspring of magnates are ever his dear concern. His cleverness in managing his class and his smooth contact with his superiors are the despair of many others who try to follow in his wake. The story runs that, during his early career as a teacher, he once got information of the intended surprise visit by an Inspector of Schools. He kept it a secret within himself and was alert in his duties. The rest of the classes were either unruly or dozing, steeped in ignorance as they were, of the impending danger. Only my teacher was piously teaching geography to the boys with the aid of a big map, which being a novel feature received the rapt attention of the whole class. The Inspector came and found the whole school in an extreme disorder. The only man that was near his heart was my teacher and the instantaneous reward of such capital teaching was a promotion to the next higher form with a good remark about him in the report.

My teacher is invariably the private tutor to all the well-to-do boys of the place and naturally excites the envy of his colleagues. The time-honoured traditions point him as an inevitable appanage to the prosperous families of the locality. He was once endearingly styled by one of the leading men of the town as the "generalissimo of our Luz forces". His practical knowledge of the world and prudence are solely responsible for his assiduity in trying to prove useful to all, and specially to those in position and in attaching himself to their households. None can miss him at marriage feasts and other important functions in the higher circles.

Though not wise enough to discern greatness in people, he has the faculty to worm himself into their favours, once their title to recognition is established. There is in him just the proper admixture of native traits and intelligence which lead him on to fresh conquests. Weak as his flesh may be, his spirit is willing, and while age is corroding his heart he is able to evoke the same old lively interest from his patrons and friends. And it is a frequent sight to find him engaged in familiar conversation with almost every one on the road, be he the most noteworthy or the least significant person. For never does he betray physical fatigue despite his declining years, in going on errands or doing kind offices to those who need help from others. With his peculiar knack of acquitting himself well with men in general and with women in particular, his services at marriage alliances are greater. His pride is, that rich and poor, all and sundry, resort to his note-book where all the horoscopes of the prospective bridegrooms are contained. He is a good mediator and excels in the art of exaggeration.

He has not much education and cannot make fine distinctions of character. But accustomed to the ways of the rich, he manages to hide his drawbacks. He can attempt to be sage-like in his counsel with the serious-minded and frantic in his frolics with the light-hearted. He can change his airs to the moods of people. In the presence of the prodigal he is callous to the

core, but with the shrewd and the careful, he evinces a feeling of responsibility and even devises methods of economy.

He is always delighted to know the lucky and the prosperous. For he never makes a secret of his admiration for Fortune's chosen few. He pities those who are not favoured despite all their qualities. He is not tired of harping on the maxim, "These things won't do for this practical world."

He is prepared to spare only those in position for the slights that he may have to bear occasionally at their hands. For he will retaliate whenever he is meddled with by those of the ordinary rank. Though he is all sense and propriety to the world in general and is prepared to regret the fact that many abandon all principles when they become borrowers, he is unaffected personally by such scruples. It is very difficult for him to part with money. He has scarcely known the day when he has with generous impulse given a pie to a beggar. For he was brought up in ideas of the strictest economy of living.

With all his weaknesses, he is still the same old teacher to me. Like the ripples of the mid-ocean, his emergence and disappearance in this world may signify nothing to the public at large. But to me and to those who know him intimately he is a potent instrument for self-forgetfulness. His presence clears the gloom of my house and his conversation acts as a lubricant smoothening all the parts to a working order. He has become more akin to me with the passing of years. His reverence for my mother's memory which is ever seeking an outlet in a string of praises at the mention of her name, knits me closer to him. For he remembers still with pride her great satisfaction in seeing him fed sumptuously. Howsoever the rest of the world may consider him, he is as familiar to me as the very sod under my feet. I cannot but choose him, for

"So long has he been with us
And such joys has he seen with us."

The Round Table Conference and its Personnel

BY K. ISWARA DUTT

It was generally agreed both in Great Britain and India that to hold the Round Table Conference without inviting Gandhiji would be wicked, while to hold it without securing his co-operation would be unjust. We are now confronted with the lesser of the two evils, for none but the perverse would deny that the mission undertaken by Dr. Sapru and Mr. Jayakar against overwhelming odds and carried on with rare tact and perseverance and a high sense of patriotism, was a stupendous effort to rope in the Congress leaders and make the R.T.C. representative as well as real. That, in an atmosphere of war, the peace-move has gone to pieces is little surprising, though very sad. No purpose is served by our apportioning the blame between the Government and the Congress for the break-down of the negotiations. The correspondence since released for publication discloses that while H.E. The Viceroy regarded "a discussion on the basis of the proposals (contained in the prisoners' letter to the peace-makers) as impossible," the congressmen suggested that "the time has not arrived when any further peace negotiations should be carried on." It is abundantly clear from this animated correspondence that "there is a vast difference between the two positions," the difference is fundamental and the gulf that divides the parties is almost unbridgeable. They say there is divine dispensation in each curve of history and we must only learn to submit to events with composure.

One thing, however, is significant. Congress abstention from the R.T.C. is not made light of, except by a few bureaucrats in India and an equally negligible number of die-hards in England. On the other hand, it is widely resented and more widely

regretted. Everybody in the world knows that the imprisoned Mahatma, in Mr. Slocombe's exquisite phrase, incarnates the very soul of India and *The Daily Herald* recognises that the R. T. C. without "the heart of the Nationalist Movement" is "Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark". And so early as in May last (vide Mr. Slocombe's third despatch) Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru acknowledged the Congress to be the greatest political force in the country and gave convincing arguments in support of the imperative necessity of obtaining Gandhiji's approval for any constitution granted to India. We may take it that he still holds the same view and regrets Gandhiji's absence at the London Conference much more on that score.

What cannot be cured must, however, be endured, especially as there is little scope for the realisation of the truth in Mr. Mahomed Ali's inverted epigram that 'what cannot be endured, must be cured'. Gandhiji and his men are prepared to face the music of the jails as well as of the *lathis* while politicians of other schools of thought are willing to face the London winter and British statesmen for hammering out a constitution for India. Much also depends upon the composition of the Indian delegation. The list of Indian members selected for the Conference, as *The Indian Social Reformer* puts it, "contains a few good names, several indifferent ones, and some bad ones." If the first handicap which the R.T.C. is destined to feel is the absence of the Congressmen, its second handicap is the very presence of some who woke up one morning and found themselves famous as invitees to the Conference. As Sir P. Ginwallah frankly observed, "some nominations cannot be understood except perhaps on the hypothesis that they were to make the Conference still more picturesque by the addition of local colouring." The position easily becomes worse when obscurantism is combined, as it now is in several cases, with reactionarism. It is contended that some of the invitees are, at any rate, intended for representing "interests" in the

country which is so different from serving the interests of the country.

Then there is another aspect. Granting that we are reconciled to the inevitable absence of the Congress and the equally unavoidable inclusion of the reactionary element, can we afford to overlook some other glaring omissions? Dr. Besant complains—and there is point in the complaint—that the absence of the representatives of the Home Rule League (and of the Congress) "would deprive the Conference of the knowledge which was absolutely necessary, if the real state of feeling in India was to be known." To quote Sir P. Ginwalla again, "one of the dominating issues in the Conference is the transfer of control in matters fiscal and commercial, to Indians. Yet there is practically no representative of the business community." The Rt. Hon. V. S. S. Sastri also, according to Reuter, would have liked to see Indian business more strongly represented, and he regretted the absence of Sir Purushottamdas Thakurdas. Even *The Statesman* was not prepared for the exclusion of Dr. Besant. The New Delhi correspondent of *The Hindu* understands that "the Hindu Maha Sabha would shortly issue a statement dis-associating itself from the London Conference and stating that the Hindu personnel of the delegation did not represent Hindu India." The depressed classes are still depressed as they think that they are not adequately represented. In regard to the Muslim delegation, one may wonder on what basis men of the eminence of Sir Md. Habibullah, Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolah, Sir Abdur Rahim, Sir Md. Iqbal, Sir Ali Imam and Mr. Hassan Imam and the Rajah of Mahmudabad were shut out. Perhaps, it is because they do not enjoy the reputation of being, in the words of *The Times of India*, stiff men like Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Mahomed Ali. *The Leader* thinks that the Hindu representation is both weak and inadequate and says that "men of the calibre and position of Sir Sivaswami Iyer and Dewan Bahadur Govinda Raghava Iyer of Madras, Sir Purushottam Thakurdas of Bombay, Mr. Sachchi-

dananda Sinha of Bihar, Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru and Rai Bahadur Sitaram of the U.P., Lala Harikishenlal and Dr. Gokul Chand Narang of the Punjab would have greatly strengthened the Conference." It is "particularly disappointed at not finding Sir Sivaswami Iyer among the members as he is so exceptionally able, informed, and sound."

It is something that the women of India are not ignored but it is doubtful whether they will be satisfied with the extension of the Government's invitation, limited to Mrs. Shah Nawaz who goes to the R.T.C. with her father (Sir Md. Shafi) and the Zamindarini of Kumaramangalam who goes there without her husband (Dr. Subbaroyan). In fact, Mrs. Cousins is of opinion that the two lady delegates are not amongst the hundred of best known women leaders of the past ten years.

On the provinces' basis, it is made out that Madras leads with 10 seats, Bombay follows with 9, Bengal gets 7, the Punjab 7, U.P. 6, Bihar and Orissa 2, C. P. 2, Assam 1, N.W.F.P. 2, and Burma 4. According to the classification of communities, the British Indian delegation consists of 21 Hindus, 14 Muslims, 2 Sikhs, 2 Parsis, 2 Depressed classes men, 4 Europeans, 1 Anglo-Indian, 1 Indian Christian, 3 Burmans etc. 6 of the delegates, it may be further noted, co-operated with the Simon Commission by working on the provincial committees which "aided and abetted" it. 5 of them had experience as Executive Councillors in the provinces while 2 were in the Viceroy's Executive Council. 4 are ex-Ministers and 3 ex-Vice-chancellors of Universities (Sir C. Setalvad, Sir Sultan Ahmed and the Rt. Hon. V. S. S. Sastri). Of the rest some are distinguished non-officials and some, of course, magnificent non-entities.

It is interesting to note that the list of delegates includes one who ascended the throne of the Indian National Congress. But the irony is that Mr. Mahomed Ali is not only an ex-President of the Congress but also an ex-Congressman, in one sense of the term, though of course,

technically speaking, ex-Presidents are ex-officio members of the Congress Committees. And the man who thundered yesterday against British domination is today welcomed by British die-hards for playing the role of the hot-gospeller of Muslim reactionarism. Another interesting feature is Dr. Moonjee's inclusion. He and Mr. Jayakar represent the school of "Responsive co-operation" in politics and the Hindu Maha Sabha. The bearded Doctor is the only man going to the R. T. C. after suffering incarceration as a result of his participation in the present Civil Disobedience movement. It is apparent that Dr. Moonjee has set aside every other consideration and agreed to go to London, so that he might knock the Maulana and other extreme communalists on the Moslem side, off the perch. Then there is Dewan Chamanlal who represents Labour. He is one of those whom *The Manchester Guardian* has apparently in view when it speaks of "men on the very fringe of the Congress outlook," but he seems to have given an eleventh-hour slip to the Conference.

"Perhaps, the best delegates chosen are those by the Princes," observes the Simla correspondent of *The Statesman*. They represent, in his view, "the ten best brains among Indian Princes, and communal considerations have not worried them, because among the ten, there is only one Moslem chief." If that is so, it is commendable. In this connection a reference may be made to the wide rumour that herculean efforts were made by some of "the best brains" to prevent invitation being extended to such Indian politicians as were guilty of having identified themselves with, or closely guarded the interests of, the peoples of the States. It ought to be therefore consoling to the States' subjects to find that H. E. the Viceroy has taken a broad view and rightly included in the British Indian delegation, Dewan Bahadur M. Ramachandrarao and Mr. C. Y. Chintamani who presided over their annual conferences and espoused their cause.

The personnel of the Conference is on the whole, as *The*

New Statesman rightly characterised it, both impressive and glaringly incomplete. That it is "glaringly incomplete" is obvious from the exclusion, for one reason or other, of Congress leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Pt. Motilal Nehru, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, Pt. Malaviya, Mrs. Sarojini, Dr. Ansari, Mr. V. J. Patel, Mr. N. C. Kelkar, Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar, and Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya. The inclusion of these ten stalwarts (the first 6 are ex-Presidents of the Congress and the last 4 first-rate political brains) among the delegates would have meant a sea-change to the whole aspect of the Round Table Conference. That the list, even as it is, is still "impressive" cannot be denied. And, in the interests of truth it must be readily acknowledged that the impressiveness of the delegation is largely due to the Liberal element.

Who fails to be impressed by a team consisting of the Rt. Hon. V. S. S. Sastri, Sir Tej Bahadur Supru, Sir Pheroze Sethna, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Sir Cowasji Jehangir (Jr.), Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan Bahadur M. Ramachandrarao, Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, and Mr. J. N. Basu? They are men, as *The Hindu* neatly acknowledges, with a long and distinguished record of patriotic public service. On the Moslem side, they are reinforced by Sir Mian Mahomed Shafi—he belongs to the Liberal Federation—who is a host in himself. They will undoubtedly have the able assistance and ungrudging co-operation of men like Mr. Jayakar and Mr. Jinnah, Sir A. P. Patro, Dewan Bahadur A. Ramaswami Mudaliar and Dr. Ambedkar. The interests of the country ought to be safe in their hands. It is to them principally that we turn at this critical juncture, for arguing India's case, for pressing India's claims, and for winning India's object. Theirs is a heavy task, an onerous responsibility. They are aware of the rocks ahead and alive to the difficulties at home. The deplorable abstention of the Congress has but weakened their hands, the attitude of the bureaucrats here and the die-hards there has added to their embarrassments, and the reactionarism of the communalists has filled their hearts

with despair. They are in an unenviable position. Yet, they are taking courage in their hands and forging ahead. They are embarking upon a glorious though perilous mission. It is but just that in these circumstances the country should with one voice wish them well, so that they might carry on the fight the more resolutely. The talk of hostile demonstrations at Bombay on the eve of their voyage to England is unfortunate, and, I am afraid, is a serious reflection upon the spirit of Gandhism.

The Liberal statesmen can be depended upon to tell Great Britain with all the emphasis at their command that, in the present temper of India, "no scheme short of the utmost advance possible would be acceptable." The Rt. Hon. V.S.S. Sastri with his statesmanlike grasp of problems and "copious yet fastidious English diction that is not within the compass of half a dozen English speakers," Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru with his political astuteness and great powers of advocacy, Mr. Chintamani with his encyclopædic knowledge, Mr. Jinnah with his parliamentary gifts and political commonsense, Mr. Jayakar with his sweet reasonableness and silvery eloquence, and other eminent friends with their varied gifts *will* undoubtedly fascinate the British delegation as well as the British public. And they *may* win at least something approximate to Dominion Status.

The Secretary of State for India, let us recall, wanted the Indian leaders to attend the R. T. C. and win by "argument". Argument, he said, is the winning card. And for arguing, the Liberals are most eminently fitted. Their great leader Gokhale was said to have, besides knowledge and eloquence of a high order, "a spirit of practical compromise in politics, a distrust of abstract logic as a solvent of political problems, and a natural instinct for what was practical, and aversion for extremes." Almost every Liberal leader of note has these traits in a liberal measure. The Liberal delegates will play a dominating part in the proceedings of the Round Table Conference. If they and other friends succeed, theirs is the glory. But if they fail, their very disillusionment is the nation's gain, and the

Empire's loss. They are almost the last band of Indian politicians who have still an abiding faith in the British connection and British sense of justice and fairplay. Their number is fast diminishing and their faith is being now put to an acid test. Britain can ill afford to lose their friendship too.

Some of the R. T. C. delegates have already gone. Others are going. The rest will go. Is it too much to hope that in England they will "go together" and return to India with a scheme which is "so liberal as to challenge the scrutiny of the Congressmen" who, while they (the delegates) will hobnob with British statesmen, will undergo ordeals in the jails here? They dare not come back empty-handed. That the British Indian delegates to the R. T. C. would all consider themselves, not as Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, Sikhs, Depressed classes and Indian Christians, but as Indians first and Indians last, and also, not as Liberals, Justicites, and others but as Nationalists, is the wish of their countrymen.

It is said that "the same Chinaman whom you would have taken in Pekin for a phantom, come up from buried centuries, would appear verdant and burgeoning to you in San Francisco or Boston. The poor Jew, departed but recently from a sordid village of East Europe, marked with the premature signs of age, will astound you with his own vim and cleanliness along the banks of the Hudson or the Mississippi." Let it be also said that the Indian politicians, though divided and weak in Madras and Bombay, Allahabad and Lahore, Delhi and Simla, are united and strong in London, will impress England with the righteousness of their cause and the strength of their demand, and rise to the full stature of free citizens in the world's greatest Empire.¹

¹ Written on the 15th of September, 1930.

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 Philosophy of Art.—By D. RAGHUTHAMA ACHARYA. With an introduction by Dr. James H. Cousins. [S. Ganesan, Triplicane, Madras. Price As. 12.]

This little book of 89 pages I have read with intimate sympathy and real delight. It is itself a fine work of art. So it is somewhat of a pain to pass it under the vegetable-cutter of a reviewing pen.

Mr. Raghuthama Acharya has freely surrendered himself in his book as all good artists do. It is a brave measure for a young man. "The philosophy of Art" is rather felt than analysed, and the discussion is set in the mellow light of intuitions. The theme is not pumped out with scientific rigour or any measured output of scholarly labour so usual with rational enquiries of this kind. But the intuitive perceptions come out in jerks from hidden springs of mind and matter. So Mr. Acharya's speculation has the freshness of children's play on the sea-sands: every random run a pebble or a shell, wet with spray and foam; and the clap of hands is heard all over in the innocence of the play.

In this little book there are many fine passages of song and reverie; reverie that is still seeking for the full and final glory of the unfulfilling dream of infinite Bliss and Knowledge; for the song that is still longing for a touch of the eternal cosmic rhythm. The net result is a book of fine suggestions which open up long avenues of thought.

The touch of reverie and song is in almost every page twinkling a glimmer from the cosmic void. And wherever the intuition has been perfect the ideas have carved out for themselves a beautiful, independent life of their own, like the ripe fruit that is of the tree and yet not its own for ever, but which must seek for its fulfilment beyond the maternal shade of green. You may pluck it from its paragraph, its setting and context and nothing is lost.

The philosophy of art is the philosophy of life and Mr. Acharya with a fine vision and a sense of rhythm never forgets this essential

spiritual oneness. Rhythm is the Goddess of both the mundane and the divine artist. For rhythm is the soul of movement, of expression, of creation.

The ten chapters Mr. Acharya has given us represents his ten moods of intuitive leisure. The central impulse is the same, the moving spirit is the same. The idea which builds a sentence builds the paragraph as well. The paragraph grows into the chapter and the chapter into the book, obeying the same artistic impulse and spiritual urge, like so many sparks from the same fire on a windy day.

Mr. Acharya seems to waver between the excellence of reason and the glory of intuition. This is responsible for some measure of unevenness without variety and vagueness without suggestiveness. The attempt to give intuition the vehicle of reason, the effort to deck reverie with the clothes of logic, generally results in a hybrid, deficient in vitality and imagination.

Mr. Acharya has produced an excellent book. He has spiritualised the discussion of art and given it a touch of life, freeing it from the jargon of technical and hackneyed words. The lamp of art takes its wick and oil from the objective life around but burns, casting a steady lustre, from some magic force drawn from magic depths of its own. Mr. Acharya sees this mysterious source of artistic power. I wish him joy as an author, and his first venture an immediate success.

K. S. VENKATARAMANI.

Press and Press Laws in India.—By HEMENDRA PRASAD Ghose.
[20 Strand Road, Calcutta. Re. 1.]

The Press in India has played an important part in the evolution of the national life. But it has a chequered history. It has heavily suffered in the past and is still passing through a severe ordeal. As the late Mr. Ambika Charan Mazumdar said years ago, "from the proud position of the Fourth Estate, it has been reduced since 1910 to a humble suppliant before a district officer with the halter tight around its neck, and yet there is no knowing when that halter will be either removed or relaxed to enable it to breathe more freely."

It was in 1780 that the first Indian newspaper "the Bengal Gazette" (a political and commercial weekly) came into existence. Even within a year of its first appearance, it fell a victim to bureaucratic wrath. Since then, the Indian Press and particularly the Vernacular Press, has been exposed to restrictions and rigours which have very nearly stifled its freedom. Among those who were the

earliest advocates of the freedom of the Press, Sir Charles Metcalfe and Lord Macaulay must be mentioned without fail. At the instance of the former, the latter drafted a bill in 1835, conferring freedom on the Press in India, and introduced it in the Supreme Council of which he was a member. That was the origin of the Act No. XI of 1835. But what Sir Charles gave, Lord Canning denied in 1858, owing to the exigencies of the Mutiny. This gagging Act was in force only for a year and did not much affect the growth of the Press. In spite of handicaps, there was gradual expansion, and in 1875 there were no less than 478 newspapers in the country. The bulk of them were in vernacular. But impatient of criticism, Lord Lytton gagged the Vernacular Press in 1878. This obnoxious Act was repealed only four years later by Lord Ripon, India's greatest Viceroy. After his departure, the Government had again their own way. In the author's words, "a bitter feeling obtained among officials trained in bureaucratic traditions and by no means free from the demoralising prejudices incident to their position in this conquered country, that they were denied the protection they demanded against Press criticism." As a result, the Indian Official Secrets Act, 1889, the Newspapers (Incitement to Offence) Act, 1908, and the Indian Press Act, 1910, were thrust upon the country, to its great disgust. Thanks to the voice of political India and the report of the Press Laws Committee, presided by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, the notorious Press Act was repealed in 1922 and the other Acts were modified. Seven years have scarcely passed when the Press Ordinance was promulgated by the present Viceroy H.E. Lord Irwin and the Indian Press materially injured. This is the bare outline of Mr. Ghose's able "review of the measures adopted by the British in India to circumscribe the liberty of the Press." Persons interested in the subject will find Mr. Ghose's book extremely useful.

K. ISWARA DUTT.

India: A Nation.—A plea for Indian Self-Government. By ANNIE BESANT. [Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras. Re. 1-8-0]

"India belongs to the great nations of the far past, but while they are dead and are now only known by unburied cities, by ruins, by fragments, by papyri, by tiles etc., India still lives and is continuous with a history running backwards to the most archaic times." That is Dr. Besant's contention in the wonderful little book under review. The story of India is unique and Dr. Besant, who has dedicated the

best part of her eventful life to the country, is most eminently fitted to deal with the subject.

In her historical introduction to the public, she elaborates her central point with a wealth of statistics and fervour of eloquence which leave a deep impression on the reader's mind. She next deals with the contribution made by the reviving agencies of Hinduism—the Brahmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj, the Theosophical Society, and the Ramakrishna Mission, to the evolution of Indian Nationalism and illustrates how in this great land of ours, "Religion has inspired Nationality." Reviewing the economic position, she speaks of the great drain on India in the shape of money raised as revenue from her people and sent out of the country, the crushing and inelastic taxation on the cultivators of the soil, the excessive cost of the British Government with its highly paid British officials, its continual employment of European experts etc., the unfair treatment of indigenous industries, and the comparative neglect of works useful to India. As Gokhale said years ago, "the excessive costliness of the foreign agency is not, however, its only evil. There is a moral evil, which, if anything, is even greater. A kind of dwarfing or stunting of the Indian race is going on under the present system." That this is partly due to the system of English education received in this country is amply borne out by the chapter on education. In the following pages, she traces the growth of the national movement and the rising spirit of Indian aspiration and urges the British to give due weight to "the demand of a Nation that has reached self-consciousness, and that is determined to be free." As a contribution to debate, she also offers a possible scheme of Self-Government which utilises existing materials but replaces everywhere election by the people for selection by a Government. In summing up the book, she makes a heart-moving appeal to England to "make India free so that England and India may go hand in hand, for the world's sake."

The book was originally written fifteen years ago. The passage of time has not minimised its value. It is now running its fourth edition. Judged by its contents and quality, it deserves even wider publicity.

K. ISWARA DUTT.

The Garden Creeper.—By SANTA DEVI and SEETA DEVI translated into English by Seeta Devi. [Published by the Prabasi Press, 120—2, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2-8-0.]

Any one taking up the English Novel of today could perceive

at once how different it is from what it was till a few decades ago. Time has changed, and one supposes everything must change with it too. A fine construction of plot, a vivid portrayal of characters, and a minute analysis of all the inner workings of the mind in complex situations,—these have made for the success of the old writers. But the very modern novel seeks none of this sort of skill to engage the attention of the reader. The present writers hardly exert themselves for any ingenious or elaborate plot. No great care is bestowed upon details, and still less upon the cast and development of the characters. In the free and easy manner of telling of the modern novel it is accepted, however, that society, life and nature are all delineated with equal veracity. True, a touch here and there, a fine stroke of the brush in unexpected places, may be enough very often to reveal the hand of an artist. And in its beautiful suggestions the sudden effect goes, perhaps, to make up for the absence of other enduring literary requisites.

As a good example of this recent way of writing, this attractive volume, with the charming title of "The Garden Creeper", is well worthy of mention. Here is a simple tale of Bengal told with natural facility of language, and with gentle ripples of humour breaking in now and then. Mukti, the heroine of the story, represents the golden mean between the two disturbing extremes of her father and grandmother. Her liberal English education leaves her but steady and unspoiled. The authors reach the end with the least apparent effort on their part, and this, certainly, is no mean merit to urge on behalf of any novel. "They let Mukti gaze at the sleeping cloud children that clung to their necks, as if to a mother's breast. As the light touched them, they, too, woke up, and, discarding all drowsiness, mounted higher and higher up till they disappeared from sight." Sentences like these appearing now and again bear out convincingly the high literary gifts of the rising authors.

K. SAVITRI.

Selections from the Note-Books of Samuel Butler.—By A. T. BARTHOLOMEW. (Jonathan Cape: 3/6 net).

In Vol. III, No. 2 of *Triveni* I contributed a paper entitled: 'Samuel Butler, the Sinister Prophet of Renaissance.' Since writing the paper I have had the pleasure of re-reading Samuel Butler's *Note-books* in the above abridged edition. The original which I had at the

time of preparing my article was published in 1912 under the able editorship of Butler's friend and biographer, Henry Festing Jones. While its price was forbidding, the matter was too weighty. Butler's typical admirers (of whom I am one), of course, would fain have the octavo volume of 450 pages quadrupled. But since as yet this is but a small community it is desirable, even inevitable, that the cream, the essence of Butler's innumerable 'notes' should be issued in the present attractive form. Also, it is fitting that we should have the 'Note-books' in the 'Travellers' Library' in which we already have four of Butler's works. With this there are five and surely no more brilliant set of a modern author's works could be thought of. It is to be hoped that Mr. Jonathan Cape would issue at an early date 'Life and Habit' also in this handsome series.

As regards the merits of the book itself it is needless, it would even be banal, to speak. Of himself he says (p. 68): "I am the *enfant terrible* of literature and science. If I cannot, and I know I cannot, get the literary and scientific big-wigs to give me a shilling, I can, and I know I can, heave bricks into the middle of them." Butler had gauged his abilities with a grim cocksureness: and without doubt he did heave bricks 'into the middle of them.' Only, these were bricks of thought, original, pioneering, profound. The most varied thinker of his generation, as *The Nation* has called him, Samuel Butler's 'Note-books', even in their pruned shape, will be for ages to come the storehouse of thoughts which by their very perversity of expression hide truths of unchallengable human significance. For the rest, I am content to recommend it to the readers of this review and of my paper.

K. R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR.

Lincoln.—By EMIL LUDWIG. Translated by Eden and Cedar Paul. (Putnams, London: 21 net).

Herr Ludwig is world-famous as the biographer of Napoleon, Bismarck, Kaiser Wilhelm II, Goethe and Jesus Christ. His 'July 1914,' in its outspoken vivacity no less than in its scholarly treatment of the origins of the world war, is in the fore-front of War literature. His 'On Mediterranean Shores' is a Travel book but such a charming and exhilarating one. Lastly, his 'Diana' has given an inkling of Herr Ludwig's powers as a novelist. The impression one has in the end is that Herr Ludwig is a voluminous writer: but as

every page in every one of his books fascinates and throbs with interest one need not complain.

It was inevitable that Herr Ludwig should write sooner or later about Lincoln. As he writes himself: "He has fascinated me for years . . . a personal sympathy which I have never felt so strongly for any other great man of history." I always thought that Bismarck was Herr Ludwig's best hero and that 'Kaiser Wilhelm II' his best biography: but having read 'Lincoln' I have to change my opinion both ways. 'Lincoln' indeed seems to me to be the best biography he has written: in spite of its 500 pages of close print, it never bores the reader. The one unfortunate thing in this as also in all of Herr Ludwig's books is the overdoing of the historic present tense which irritates the reader. At times it is very effective: but more often it only causes an unpleasant reaction. I might also add that a bibliography of works on Lincoln would have proved of immense value to students of history.

For the rest I have nothing but unstinted praise for the book and for the author. It is easily the most complete and at the same time the most diverting of biographies of Lincoln. In its pages Lincoln lives again: rather, the age of Lincoln—in its strange paradoxes and in its multifarious complexities—is itself in pulsing motion. Beginning with his life in his father's cabin when only four years old, the story of America's greatest son is narrated with a scintillating charm through the too numerous vicissitudes of fortunes up to the fatal moment when "he dies at 7 O'clock; in a strange bed like a pilgrim, slain on Good Friday, like a prophet." Criticism is almost dumb before this immense book. This superb performance, this grandly moving tale stands on its own outstanding merits. Columns of praise cannot enlarge its central solidity by one single jot of efficacy. I commend the book to my readers.

K. R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR.

Contract Labour in Burma.—By Mr. A. NARAYANA RAO, M.A., Sometime member of the Legislative Council, Burma. [The Current Thought Press, Triplicane, Madras. Price Re. 1—4—0.]

The author states in his preface to this excellent publication that his object in writing it is to rouse the conscience of the public and the Government against the abuses in Contract Labour in Burma and pave the way for the humanisation of the existing conditions which

he deems to be 'a slur on our sense of morality and decency'. The book is written with such a wealth of information and with such sincerity, that we have no hesitation in saying that the author's object will surely be realised in ample measure.

Mr. Narayana Rao supports every one of his assertions about the tragic existence of the Indian Labourer in Burma with facts and figures which speak for themselves. The woes of the poor Indian from the moment he leaves his village home for Burma beyond the sea till he returns to the motherland a few months—or it may be in some cases a few years—later, not a rupee the richer for the adventure, are depicted in this book in a manner that is both arresting and moving. To the credit of the author it has to be said that though he arraigns the 'Cooly Maistry'—the chief object of attack—before the tribunal of Public Opinion mercilessly, he displays a sympathetic understanding of the attitude of the sons of the Burman soil towards Indian immigration. What he pleads for is only the correction of the abuses inherent in the contract system of labour, and as regards the larger problem of Indian immigration just and honourable treatment of Indians, if the Burmans want their help in future in moving their harvests, manning their industry, dealing with their transport, cleaning the streets and sewers of their cities. Surely, none could say that the author is unreasonable or ambitious for his own people in making this plea.

The book gives the reader valuable details about the recruitment of Indian labour, the plight of the Deck passengers, the problem of immigration, the inner workings of the contract system of labour, the housing conditions in Rangoon and elsewhere in Burma, the labourer's working hours, his standard of living, social conditions, and running throughout the book, the exploitation of the labourer by the labour contractor at every stage. Published as it is close upon the recent unfortunate clash between Indian and Burmese Labour in Rangoon, the book is of special interest to all students of labour and to the legislators in particular. We strongly recommend it to them. The printing and get-up of the book are quite good.

S. C. SASTRI.

Current Topics¹

THE PILGRIMAGE TO LONDON

In this number of 'Triveni', Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer, the eminent Liberal leader, gives a most authoritative and crushing reply to the ill-starred Simon Report and points out why representative Indian opinion is ranged solidly against its main proposals. Mr. George Joseph, the Justicite, believes, on the other hand, that the Simon proposals constitute a reasonable basis on which further discussion might proceed. Both of them are in favour of Indian participation in the Round Table Conference. Mr. K. Iswara Dutt, a younger publicist with Congress leanings, subjects the personnel of the Conference to a searching analysis and hopes that, despite the regrettable abstention of the Congressmen, a united Indian demand in London might hasten the advent of Dominion Status.

But, frankly, we are not in love with the Conference or its personnel. It is true that a few stalwarts like Sastri and Sapru, Ramachandra Rao and Jinnah are proceeding to England to argue the Indian case for self-rule, but their voices are almost certain to be drowned amidst the endless bickerings of the reactionaries and rank communalists of whom the Conference is far too full. The Conference meets under the worst auspices, and in an atmosphere of intense distrust. The country is in the throes of a great upheaval, which is not less spiritual than political. The noblest of her sons and daughters are in prison, and those that are outside deeply regret their inability to throw themselves into the struggle. The common people have, during recent months, seen too much of 'Law and Order' to believe in the *bona fides* of a Government that is ultimately responsible for these strange happenings. Businessmen all over the land are in a sullen mood. It is idle to talk of peace or the restoration

¹ 25th September, 1930.

of normal conditions without first placating the Congress. No settlement can be satisfactory or final to which the Congress is not a party. The largest slice of Reforms that the Indian delegation might succeed in wresting from Britain will fall far short of the 'substance of Independence' which the Congress demands, and we are likely to witness in 1932 a repetition of the scenes of 1921—the Liberals agreeing to work the Reforms for what they are worth, and the Congressmen refusing to touch them with the longest stick. We admire the heroism of those of our countrymen who are attending the Conference under the present conditions. We wish them the success which they undoubtedly deserve: none will rejoice more than ourselves if they can bring back Swaraj in their pockets. But even at the risk of appearing unduly pessimistic and cynical, we must state that, in the present temper of the nation, their mission is doomed to failure.

It will not do to accuse the Congress of playing the part of the dog in the manger. While Congressmen will not participate in the Conference without adequate guarantees regarding certain fundamentals, they do not prevent other parties from going on a pious pilgrimage to London, and even using the admitted strength of the Congress as a powerful lever for the achievement of their ends. For, after all, it is not so much the soundness of the Indian arguments in London that will win Swaraj, as the power behind the Congress and its preparedness to make heavier and yet heavier sacrifices in the cause of freedom.

THE FAILURE OF NEGOTIATIONS

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jayakar have not brought about peace between the Government and the Congress. Their selfless and patriotic efforts certainly deserved a better fate. For several weeks the country was on the tip-toe of expectation that the long-drawn fight would cease and we might settle down to a peaceful solution of the problem of Swaraj. When

the first scanty news of the breakdown of negotiations came through, widespread disappointment was felt, and there was a tendency in certain quarters to blame the Congress leaders for what appeared to be their intransigence. It was urged that, without achieving a decisive victory, they presumed to dictate terms of peace. But a careful reading and re-reading of the published correspondence and a survey of the entire position leave no doubt in our mind that, from the start, the Governments, central as well as provincial, committed a series of blunders which inevitably hampered the negotiations. While affording facilities to the distinguished ambassadors to interview the imprisoned leaders, they outlawed the very organisation which was in a position to restore peace. While professing to treat the Slocombe interview of Pandit Motilal as the starting point of the negotiations, they clapped the Pandit in jail almost immediately after that magnificent declaration of his pacific intentions. And at the very moment when the peace-makers were closeted with the Viceroy at Simla, peace-loving Congressmen like Pandit Malaviya and Dr. Ansari were hurried to prison in indecent haste. Who can gainsay the statement of the Congress leaders that 'the will to peace' was wanting on the part of the Government?

We may not agree with Gandhiji when he demands the freedom to manufacture contraband salt or talks of the right of secession from the Empire even before Dominion Status is achieved. But we suspect that it was not on these academic questions that the peace-talks broke down. It was the tiresome repetition by the Viceroy of the tortuous and vague phraseology of his Assembly speech of July 9th, and his blank refusal to proclaim a general amnesty, that must have finally decided the Congress leaders' attitude. If the Viceroy felt that he could not commit himself or His Majesty's Government to the formula of Dominion Status with transitional safeguards, how should the Congress leaders be expected to nullify the Lahore resolutions and call off a nation-wide campaign started with the

definite object of winning immediate Swaraj? If the Congress has not come off victorious in the struggle, neither has the Government. It is a drawn battle,—a stalemate, and each party has to concede something to the other. But the Viceroy insisted on the Congress giving up the fight and lowering its ideal of an Independent India, while he would not, on his side, progress an inch from the attitude taken up in his Assembly speech or even undertake to release all prisoners. A sinister significance is sought to be attached to President Jawaharlal's statement: "For myself, I delight in warfare." But is it not the correct position to take up when peace is clearly not worth having on the terms offered? Peace may yet be restored, and at a later stage the Congress may be persuaded to send delegates to the Round Table Conference. Gandhiji made it clear that the door for further negotiations lay open. But meanwhile it is neither fair nor reasonable to blame the Congress for refusing to lay down arms in return for doubtful gains.

'TRIVENI' AND THE CONFERENCE

A friend who is somewhat statistically inclined has counted up the number of life-subscribers, ordinary subscribers and contributors to 'Triveni' voyaging to England in connection with the Round Table Conference. But it turns out that an even larger number of them are in prison for breaking the law. This only proves that, quite apart from the Editor's personal views on political questions, 'Triveni' has won in ample measure the support and sympathy of individuals belonging to different schools of thought. We believe that very little useful purpose is likely to be served by the forthcoming Conference, but that does not prevent us from wishing God-speed to our friends who are attending it.

In addition to the 'big guns' who will be at the Conference as full-fledged delegates, there are younger friends proceeding as secretaries. Mr. K. M. Panikkar is secretary to

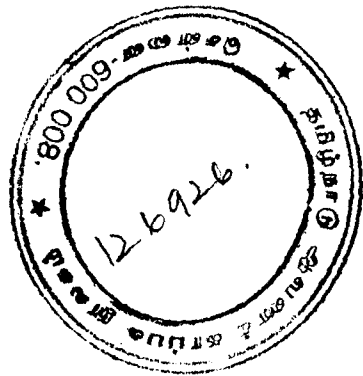
the Princes' delegation, and with his brilliant attainments and thorough knowledge of Indian history, he is bound to be of immense help to the Princes. Mr. N. Krishnamurti is one of the Travancore officers attached to Dewan Bahadur T. Raghaviah, who is himself Sir Mirza Ismail's Adviser on behalf of the South Indian States. It is curious that an important State like Travancore has not been conceded the right to be represented by her own delegate at the Conference. But the choice of Mr. Raghaviah as Adviser will go a very long way to make up for this serious omission. Readers of 'Triveni' must be familiar with the exquisite style of Mr. N. Krishnamurti and the wealth of emotion, albeit chastened by intellect, which always characterises his writings. In the present number he renders homage to the memory of the illustrious Sri Mulam Tirunal, late Maharaja of Travancore. Mr. Krishnamurti's love of Travancore—the land of adoption of his Andhra forefathers—is unbounded; and his devotion to the Royal House, verging on adoration, is almost medieval in its intensity. Who knows but that the young secretary may not one day represent his State in a more exalted capacity?

Neither a delegate nor a secretary, Prof. N. G. Ranga, another valued friend and contributor to 'Triveni', wishes to present to the British public the view-point of the Indian peasants and workers. The Professor is an ardent student of Indian economic conditions, and being a ryot and the President of the Andhra Ryots' Association, he is eminently qualified to espouse the peasant's cause. He represented the Kistna-Godavari constituency in the last Legislative Assembly after Mr. T. Prakasam's resignation, and as "a Nationalist back-bencher" created a profound impression by his outspoken condemnation of police and magisterial excesses. The Trustees of the Pachaiyappa's College, Madras, objected to his participation in politics, and the Professor resigned his place forthwith. It is understood that during his stay in England he will work in co-operation with the Independent Labour Party, and

incidentally plead for the re-distribution of Indian provinces on a linguistic basis.

LINGUISTIC PROVINCES

It is not usual for an Editor to cross swords with his contributors, and when the contributor happens to be one of Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer's eminence, the hesitation is all the greater. But there is one small paragraph in his article on the Simon Report which we cannot leave unchallenged. For very many years we have been strong advocates of the re-distribution of Indian provinces on a linguistic basis, and we have never believed that the emergence of a healthy sub-national consciousness in Bengal, Behar, Andhra or Karnataka has militated against the wider patriotism for All-India. We remember how, on the eve of Sir Ali Imam's retirement from the Viceroy's Executive Council, Lord Hardinge complimented Sir Ali on being not only an Imperial patriot and an Indian patriot but also a Behar patriot. The present Indian provinces are haphazard aggregations of territory without any intelligible basis of organisation. For administrative convenience as well as for the speedy growth of a variegated yet harmonious Indian nation, the division of provinces according to language is eminently desirable. We hope to elaborate this point in a subsequent issue.



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Opinion of
K. Ramakotiswara Rao, Esq., B.A., B.L.

Editor, "TRIVENI"

TRIVENI OFFICE

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