

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

MESSAGES AND GREETINGS

[The following messages and greetings have been received by the Editor on the occasion of the first anniversary of the *Twentieth Century*.]

H. E. THE GOVERNOR OF U. P.

The *Twentieth Century* has completed its first year, and in that short time has established itself as an exponent of sober and thoughtful views on the problems of the new constitution, besides covering a wide range of other interests. I wish it continued success and the maintenance in the future of the high level of achievement it has shown hitherto.

HARRY HAIG

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THE RT. HON. SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAGU, P.C., K.C.S.I.

The *Twentieth Century* has already achieved a distinct position for itself among the Indian magazines and has also attracted considerable attention in England. Apart from its excellent get-up which is a testimony to Indian skill and efficiency, it has during the first year of its existence furnished a very varied and wholesome bill of fare to its readers. Some of the articles have been of a very high order. The function of a monthly magazine is very different from that of a daily newspaper and I think it has been discharging that function with marked ability and efficiency, and if the standard of its first year is maintained in the coming years, I think it will be rightly looked upon as a sane and influential medium of

Indian opinion. I desire very sincerely to congratulate its Editor and staff on the excellence of their achievement.

TEJ BAHADUR SASTRI

THE RT. HON. V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI, P.C.

Annamalai University, Annamalai Nagar

I have watched though not closely, the way your magazine has established itself among the organs of true education in public affairs. Your talent and experience devoted to its development are a guarantee of its future. My good wishes, for what they are worth are with it.

V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

SIR C. P. RAMASWAMI IYER

This journal has been of great educative and cultural value. It is one of the best conducted magazines of its type. I wish it every prosperity.

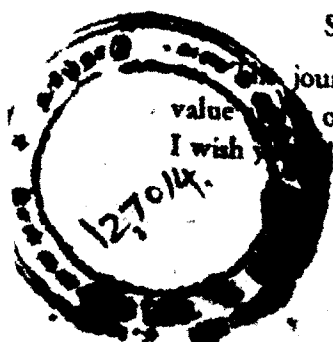
C. P. RAMASWAMI IYER

MR. M. R. JAYAKAR

During the one year that it has been in existence, it has done wonderfully well, and if it progresses at the same pace, I have no doubt that before long it will occupy a very prominent place amongst Indian periodicals.

Wishing you all success.

M. R. JAYAKAR



MR. C. Y. CHINTAMANI

Chief Editor, The Leader

I am glad that the *Twentieth Century* has completed the first year of its existence. I congratulate you on the success which has attended your efforts. I wish the *Twentieth Century* many years of useful and prosperous life.

C. Y. CHINTAMANI

MR. K. NATARAJAN

Editor, The Indian Social Reformer

The *Twentieth Century* has, during its twelve months' existence, made its mark as a reliable and weighty exponent of Indian thought and culture. I wish it every success.

K. NATARAJAN

MR. SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA

Editor, *Hindustan Review*, Patna

I am glad that the *Twentieth Century* has completed its first year. I desire to convey to its conductors my good wishes for its long and honourable career of public service. As a great believer in well-conducted periodicals, for advancing cultural progress in the country, I wish success and prosperity to so well-edited a monthly as the *Twentieth Century*, which has already achieved a distinct position as one of the leading reviews in India.

SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA

SIR MIRZA M. ISMAIL**Dewan of Mysore**

I have been a regular reader of the issues of the *Twentieth Century* which, under the able editorship of Mr. Iswara Dutt, is seeking to encourage constructive thinking and constitutional methods of political work in India. It bids fair to be a bright addition to the number of Indian journals and to perform a valuable service in guiding public opinion. I am very glad, indeed, to hear that the *Twentieth Century* is flourishing so well and on the happy occasion of its first Anniversary, I cordially wish it a very prosperous career.

MIRZA M. ISMAIL

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COL. SIR K. N. HAKSAR**Political Member, Gwalior**

The *Twentieth Century* is an adolescent of 35; the journalistic enterprise named after it completes to-day the first year of its infant life.

The Century has registered many vicissitudes in different climes but humanity has survived them all and its ardour for progress, for wider knowledge, for its summation, its synthesis remains unabated, is indeed keener and deeper.

In the history of India, 1907, 1919 and 1935 must remain striking landmarks apart from the unforgettable events of 1914-1919 in which the entire civilised world was involved.

Once again there is a possible menace to the World's peace but let us hope that the British Empire and, therefore, India will remain unaffected by it, even if it develops into a tragedy which War always is—even though a Law of Life.

No well-wisher of the journal—*Twentieth Century*—can desire it to escape the struggle and strain of healthy existence, but one could wish that the ups and downs it may

experience will conduce to its vigour and sobriety and thus mark it out as an example and an inspiration.

At any rate I wish that the *Twentieth Century* may preserve a balanced outlook and prove of yeoman's service to this country and Great Britain. It seems to tend in that direction by the catholic hospitality of its pages. Its promise is more than fair and my wish for it is the fullest realisation of that promise.

KAILASH NARAIN HAKSAR

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DR. GEORGE ARUNDALE**President, Theosophical Society**

I sincerely congratulate the *Twentieth Century* on the good work it has been doing throughout the year. It is an excellent production full of interesting and valuable articles. I hope it will have many years of such service to render to India.

G. S. ARUNDALE

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DR. B. PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA**Member, Congress Working Committee**

Let me hasten to congratulate you on the completion of the first year of the *Twentieth Century*. It is my earnest wish that you will run a race with time and if possible overtake the century before it closes. A good beginning goes a long way in journalism toward success and you have had it. For the rest your widely receptive heart must ensure abiding success for your enterprise, encompassing as it does within the range of your contributors, all grades of men and writers,—from Lord Lothian down to myself!

B. PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA

BABU RAJENDRA PRASAD**President, Indian National Congress**

I have had opportunity of reading some numbers of the *Twentieth Century* and have been struck by the high tone of the articles. Of course that was to be expected from the class of writers who have been contributing to it. I congratulate the Editor and the organisers, on their successfully taking it through the first year of its existence and wish the magazine a return of many such new years in its career of useful service to the country.

RAJENDRA PRASAD

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PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU**President, National Liberal Federation**

I heartily congratulate the *Twentieth Century* on its first anniversary. During the short period of its existence it has acquired for itself a prominent place among Indian periodicals. If it continues to maintain its present high standard it will be able to challenge comparison with some of the best foreign journals. I wish it every success in the years to come.

HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU

THE ONWARD MARCH

The first year of a journal is known to be often critical and always trying, especially in this country where the rate of infant mortality among newspapers and periodicals is notoriously high. With this number the *Twentieth Century* reaches the second milestone in its journey and finds us seized with the birthday emotion (so strong in infancy) and provoked into a reminiscent mood.

Oh, what a pleasure, what a thrill it is, to think of those small beginnings and early months, when nothing sustained us more than the hope that 'everyday was packed with possibilities and every letter might bring luck'! And it is the fulfilment of that hope that has enabled us to complete the first year with such success as has attended our efforts in no niggardly measure.

The *Twentieth Century* had not to linger long unclaimed after its advent. In fact, its very emergence was the theme of warm comment in the Press and of public appreciation. Within three months, from its humble habitation in Lukerganj, with its suburban detachment, the *Twentieth Century* found a place in 'strategic' centres of European capitals, with their humming life. Within six months, it had the honour of being mentioned in the *London Times*;—a rare compliment to a new journal in India—of being referred to, by the then Secretary of State for India, Sir Samuel Hoare, in the course of a speech he made at Oxford on the eve of the publication of the India Bill; and also of being quoted in the debates in the House of Commons—a compliment equally rare. And within a year, it had the unique dis-

tion and privilege of publishing an exclusive article on 'India Under The New Constitution' by no less a personage than the Most Hon. The Marquess of Lothian.

If its articles on the new constitution commanded a hearing in very influential and important quarters, they also seem to have created a wrong impression about the journal in some. It is necessary to remove what is obviously a misapprehension. On a perusal of its numbers, men without bias will find that the *Twentieth Century* may have had preferences but was in no way guilty of exclusions. It always believed that suppression of views (as of news) militated against the high standard of journalism, if it did not actually violate its fundamental principles. Its pages were open to—and enlivened by—all schools of thought and "all grades of men and writers from Lord Lothian down to—." Its past ought to serve as a guarantee for its future.

The *Twentieth Century* has so far depended for its existence more on its patrons than on subscribers and advertisers. For this reliance on public-spirited support it is needless to apologise. No journal of any consequence has ever performed the miracle of maintaining itself in its first two or three years. It may be recalled that the promoters of this journal asked for a capital of Rs. 50,000 and a period of three years for its material existence so that it may by then get a reasonable chance of establishing itself both on the cultural and commercial sides. It is encouraging to find that there are now clear signs all around, of the growing strength of the *Twentieth Century*.

By its record, judge ye! It is the good fortune of the *Twentieth Century* to have been the recipient of heartening messages and greetings from His Excellency the Governor

of the United Provinces and the leaders of public life in India, on the occasion of its first anniversary. To all of them we express our deep obligation and profound gratitude for the kindly thought which prompted them to send us those messages, and the graceful terms and generous sentiments in which they are couched. We also sincerely thank our contributors who have enhanced the value of the publication, our colleagues in the Press for the encouragement they have given us from the very start, and our subscribers and advertisers who have been our main support. Theirs is the credit for this enterprise in Indian journalism and it is on their continued co-operation that its progress will depend.

"The perplexities of to-day" as Morley wrote once, "are as embarrassing as any in history, and they may prove even more dangerous", and, it may justly be added, the problems of to-day are as difficult as any in our history, and they may prove even more intricate. There is great need in the India of to-day for men with constructive minds, for thinkers and writers who discuss public questions in "a spirit of objective realism" and place before the world, "facts weighed with care and conclusions measured with breadth and comprehension". The *Twentieth Century* seeks—and invites—their co-operation. The march of events is creating a new set of circumstances under which the *Twentieth Century* hopes to play an effective part as "an exponent of sober and thoughtful views" and as "an organ of true education in public affairs" and too, to reach a higher level of achievement.

K. ISWARA DUTT
Editor

P. K. BANERJI
Asst. Editor and Manager

THE DAY'S WORK

By COL. SIR K. N. HAKSAR

[What is 'the day's work' for us in the India of to-day? Let us hear Sir Kailas. A personage of clear insight and robust faith, he, always commands a respectful hearing.]

Since the Crown assumed direct responsibility for the Government of India there has never been a legislative measure placed before the Mother of Parliaments which alike in England and India aroused more apprehension and inspired less hope than did the measure which is now the Government of India Act—1935.

It were superfluous to run up and down the gamut of criticism in the two countries. From various, not always necessarily conflicting points of view it has been condemned as a 'bad' scheme. Some fear that it will lead to the undoing of Britain's work in India, others that it will perpetuate more than did its precursor the Act of 1919, the political bondage of India and her economic exploitation by Britain.

Nobody has yet seen in it any potentiality of good for the two countries whose fortunes have become gradually but so closely knit together during the last nearly three hundred years.

Even the framers of the scheme, as it has finally emerged from searching scrutiny and comprehensive compromises, can hardly feel in their hearts that it is quite what they had desired it to be.

For them it may, however, be said that they were obliged to stop short of the limit to which they would probably have gone and had to submit to reservations and safeguards which

they felt to be ungraceful and unnecessary.

But this aspect of party politics in England and of Parliamentary balance will come home to India only when India is herself the victim of real parliamentary parties.

Meanwhile it occurs to one to say that all the turmoil, so rich in dithyrambs and cheap sneers,—'Govern or get out'—etc., etc., has not bred a single classical phrase which hit off the certain issue of the future.

Anyhow the Act has come and it has come to stay, for how long in its present shape must remain to be seen. But what can be seen, rather than perceived, is that its life is in the care of India's wisdom and sagacity. And in any event, it may provide the first rung on the ladder of a welded India.

The Act has features which the Law of Heredity can explain and Natural Selection vindicate. Its evolution will be subject to the Survival of the Fittest and judging from the example of other Dominions of the Empire there is no reason to suppose why a historical Mendel's law should not assert itself in this Acts' progeny.

Possibly because Spenser is now out of date and human society no longer regarded as an organism, we in India do not seem to believe that the laws of Life, universally and visibly operating in Creation, birth, growth, adolescence etc., apply as well in the political as they do in the biological sphere.

It may be noted in passing that the phenomenon of life makes manifest that adolescence at birth, that is, the ability and the opportunity to discharge the functions of adolescence soon after birth is throughout the animate kingdom associated with a very short life.

Apropos of this principle and to demonstrate that we are just born in the world of politics, let us go back a while into what must be called our very recent history.

From 1860 to 1885 what was the position of affairs?

Was England pursuing any other aims than she is doing to-day? Were we as discontented during that quarter of a century as we are to-day? And what were our desires, our hopes and our ambitions in the latter year? When did to-day's ideals take birth? If only yesterday, speaking in terms of the life of Nations, have we really attained maturity?

How much is there to-day that we must do, that can only be done by us and can be done without the assistance of the British Government, indeed, despite that Government? Anyone who analyses Sir M. Visveswaraya's 'Planned Economy for India' cannot but feel impressed with the magnitude of our task, with the illimitable possibilities of improvement that can be effected by self-help, if only a missionary zeal inspired our patriots. Why, if no more were done than the improvement of live-stock the gain to this "agricultural country" would be enormous and the lives of the masses happier. But this improvement comprises phases the thought of which might well shock Hindu-India.

Every intelligent student of the History of Europe must realise the change that Luther's preaching wrought in that Continent. So long as India wants to progress and prosper as Europe and America have done, the need for a Reformation must grow more insistent. Revivalist sentiment will rivet the fetters more firmly than any illiberal Act of the British Parliament. The country needs the emergence of a Protestantism against the archaic, established order. It was European Protestantism which introduced a new era, radically different from any the world had ever seen before.

Carlyle said:

Protestantism is the grand root from which our whole subsequent European History branches out. For the spiritual will always body itself forth in the temporal history of men; the spiritual is the beginning of the temporal. And now, sure enough,

the cry is everywhere for Liberty and Equality, Independence and so forth; instead of King's Ballot-boxes and Electoral sufferages: it seems made out that any loyal obedience of men to a man, in things temporal or things spiritual, has passed away for ever from the world. I should despair of the world altogether, if so. One of my deepest convictions is, that it is not so. Without Sovereigns, true sovereigns, temporal and spiritual, I see nothing possible but an anarchy; the hatefulest of things. But I find Protestantism, whatever anarchic democracy it have produced, to be the beginning of new genuine sovereignty and order. I find it to be a revolt against false sovereigns, the painful but indispensable first preparative for true sovereigns getting place among us.

In India, similarly, sovereign beliefs engendered in different circumstances must yield to the exigencies of an altered world, ideals born of other economic conditions than those of to-day and made parts of Religion must be recognised as not inherently worth living and dying for but fit to be abandoned and replaced by saner, more rational objectives.

Popular Religion, with its unlimited connotation in India, its Protean forms, its all-embracing character which has built such a wide bridge between itself and true Religion as practically to have banished the latter beyond the pale of life,—rational, indeed, true spiritual life—is the bane of our country and all hope of advance with the current of progress must remain unfulfilled as long as false gods are worshipped and sectarian shibboleths, born of self-seeking, hypnotising priest-craft, hold sway.

The kernel of the Vedas and Hadees should form the pabulum of the hungry devotees of Religion in India. All the conflict and clash of wills resulting from a limited vision, from bigotry and fanaticism as much as from sacrificing the ultimate to the immediate advantage must yield place to good-will all round. We must learn to trust. From trust alone can result common benefit.

We want the Aggregate Will of the peoples of this country to come into being, to take shape.

Reverting to the new Act, it is difficult to understand the despair with which some regard its provisions. In this land where half the people believe in Karmic Evolution and the other half regard the Persian Farhad not as a romantic legend or a myth but as a model typifying what is possible to human achievement by resolute, sustained labour, it is surprising in the extreme that the hankered after goal should be treated as unattainable because of the reservations and safeguards in the Act. Such despondence betokens a lack of healthy, valid self-confidence and a disbelief in the power of man to be the architect of his own destiny. Personally I find nothing in the safeguards to suggest their automatic enforcement.

Given a little realism, a modicum of tact, a sense of justice and equal measures of patience and perseverance, there appears to be no reason why these safeguards should not operate subject to the governing motto 'India First'.

I cannot see that it is impossible for India to work the new constitution, as it is, in such a way that India's valid interests shall be automatically safeguarded. And why should we not have the fairness to admit that some at least of the 'Safeguards' are in India's own interests as determined by the present posture of affairs in the country, that they are needed for the protection of its *peaceful development*, the *sine qua non* of real liberty.

To many it seems that willing participation in the working of the new constitution would be in the nature of a leap in the dark.

Naturally, it is never easy to forecast the future, to foretell how things will shape, what unexpected difficulties, what unforeseen contingencies might arise to delay progress

towards the goal of India's mistress-ship in her own home. But prevision, sagacity, a steady pursuit of attainable ideals have served humanity before now, and their exercise has determined both the near and distant futures of Nations, as history bears witness. Surely, England's own position in India to-day is the outcome of the persistent exercise of such human qualities and endowments.

So let us gird up our loins and looking neither to right nor to left but steadily at the goal, work in the spirit of the Evangel 'Whatever is given to thy hand to do, do it with all thy heart and all thy might.'

Just as it requires Faith to believe in the mercy of Providence, so it requires faith in the ingenuousness of human nature to apprehend that every profession of statesmen is not artful chicanery or sinister subterfuge. When doubts assail, resort can always be had to Mahatma Gandhi's panacea—Prayer—not the articulate invocation of the gods of yore, but a silent communion which braces the heart, uplifts the soul, vivifies drooping spirits and lends fresh energy for the day's work:

Prayer is the burthen of a sigh,
The falling of a tear,
The upward glancing of an eye,
When none but GOD is near.

ABYSSINIA, INDIA AND THE LEAGUE

By LANKA SUNDARAM

[An international crisis, far more significant than that precipitated by the Sarajevo murder in 1914, is now facing the world as a consequence of the latest developments in the Italo-Abyssinian dispute. It is pertinent that Dr. Sundaram should below discuss these incidents, as well as the implications of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose's demand that India should withdraw from the League of Nations.]

Abyssinia still holds the field of international relationships, as a consequence of the grave developments of the past few weeks. The Italo-Abyssinian dispute has now assumed the aspect of a *denouement* in one of the highly tragic dramas of Shakespeare. Zero hour in the life of the League of Nations has arrived and even before this causerie appears in print the greatest decisions in defence of the mighty principles which inspired the promoters of the Geneva organisation might have taken place, at once sealing the immediate future of a throbbing world.

On August 20 the *Manchester Guardian*, which is recognised to be the most responsible and dispassionate of British journals, trounced Signor Mussolini's "treachery" to the Allied and Associated Powers which made it possible for Italy to attain her present international stature. Two days later, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald told the world, on the basis of the discussions of a vital meeting of the British cabinet of twenty-two, that "we have now made up our minds quietly, calmly and coolly. We have a very clear mind as to what should be done." Within forty-eight hours after this British decision, Signor Mussolini emphatically declared that Ital

would pursue her design in Abyssinia "with Geneva, without Geneva or against Geneva." After this unequivocal exposition of the Italian plans for the immediate future, Signor Mussolini rushed in to add a postscript to the effect that Rome would unflinchingly respect the British interests in Africa and give the necessary guarantees for the observance of that declaration. At the same time the Italian nation had no doubts as regards the protection of its interests in Europe in the event of sanctions being enforced by any country or group of countries as a coercive measure intended to compel the *Duce* from backing out of the Abyssinian campaign on which he has staked the nation's fortunes.

While the situation was thus fully surcharged with chauvinistic tendencies, a further element of uncertainty has been introduced when Mr. Rickett, the London financier, announced that he obtained a seventy-five years' concession from the Emperor of Abyssinia for the exploitation of the mineral resources of the country on behalf of the American company of Delaware called the African Exploitation and Development Company. This was considered to be a shrewd move on the part of Haile Selassie to drag the U. S. A. into the picture and thus negative the earlier resolve of the American people to shut their eyes to the developments in Europe as a result of the new Neutrality Act which prohibits their country from getting mixed up with international imbroglios. A first-class political and financial sensation as this concession hunting proved to be, it was only after strenuous efforts were made at London and New York that the situation was brought under control and the Socony-Vacuum Corporation induced to withdraw its financial interest in the project. As a result, the Tripartite Treaty between England, France and Italy of 1906 was maintained intact. But the situation continued to get out of hand.

On September 4 the League Council met and the long-awaited-for Italian indictment of Abyssinia was presented to the world. In uttering this indictment, Baron Aloisi insisted that it was no longer possible for Italy to continue to participate in the League proceedings with Abyssinia as her equal and that Italy would recommend Abyssinia's ejection from League councils, having come to realise the unwisdom of the former Italian support for Abyssinia's claim to membership of the League of Nations. The Italian case against Abyssinia was on all hands held to be flimsy. The Committee of Five appointed by the League Council exonerated both the parties as regards responsibility for the Ualual incidents, thus taking the sting out of Italy's claims over Abyssinia. On the following day, Professor Jeze, the French spokesman of the Abyssinian delegation to the League Council, tore to pieces the Italian charge-sheet and while doing so bitterly attacked Italy's imperialist designs. This incident produced a thorough collapse of all diplomatic procedure at Geneva, and the Italian delegates to the League Council walked out, while demanding the replacement of Professor Jeze by the Abyssinian Minister to Paris, M. Teckle Hawariate.

Even the amplest reparation which Abyssinia was prepared to offer Italy, even including the tentative acceptance of the suggestion that some sort of an international mandate for Abyssinia, thus guaranteeing fullest scope for the operation of Italian supervision and assistance, was turned down by Signor Mussolini as being inadequate. It was but natural that Sir Samuel Hoare, the British Foreign Secretary, had to issue a grave warning to the League of Nations and to Italy, from the rostrum of the League Assembly on August 11, that Britain was prepared to "fulfil within the measure of her capacity the obligations which the Covenant lays upon us." While so doing Sir Samuel promised British support for any

scheme designed to adjust international demands, particularly those belonging to such countries which do not possess adequate facilities for the possession of colonial raw material. Britain was always accused to be the villain of the peace of imperialism of the post-War era. But this emphatic declaration of the part of the British Government has introduced a new element of importance in the process of regulation of international relationships.

M. Laval followed up this important pronouncement of the British Foreign Secretary with a reiteration of the French desire for the upholding of the League Covenant and the obligations imposed thereunder upon the nations of the world. Meanwhile, Mr. Cordell Hull, the American Secretary of State, emphasised the necessity for the upholding of the Kellogg Pact, even though the U. S. A. had on a former occasion unceremoniously rejected the Abyssinian appeal for intervention. Almost immediately and even before the curtain was rung down upon the session of the League Assembly, Signor Mussolini has reiterated the Italian position that there is no looking back and that, whatever might be the verdict of the Committee of Five, he would proceed to fulfil his mission in Abyssinia.

It is now definitely certain that Italy would introduce belligerency into world affairs by attacking Abyssinia. The results of aerial warfare, with the additional weapon of the now highly effective type of chemical warfare, are not easy to forecast at the present moment. More than everything else, the attitude of world Powers to the ever-shifting position of Italy is not certain. If war is declared, most of the world Powers are bound to be dragged into it. Economic sanctions and the closing of the Suez Canal are certainties. But if military sanctions are imposed by either England or France, or by both, the greatest calamity to Italy is bound to occur.

Still, without sanctions the League of Nations cannot survive. And the League must survive. After all, as Dr. Temple, the Archbishop of York, put it, a baton charge on civil population by the police is an element of the strategy of peace.

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Any statement from Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, one of the foremost leaders of nationalist opinion in India, must be read with respect. In one of his recent periodical statements to the Indian Press from his residence at Karlsbad, Mr. Bose advocated the withdrawal of India from the League of Nations. In so doing, Mr. Bose emphasised that India does not derive any benefit commensurate with her financial contribution to the League funds, that Indian representation at Geneva is neither national nor effective, that the question of minorities in India cannot be settled by the League and that India does not possess a seat on the Council of the League. Unfortunately, Mr. Bose was more imbued with an idealistic approach to world problems intimately affecting India than with any realistic approach to the facts of the case.

It is perfectly true that India spends some twenty lakhs of rupees annually, both by way of a fixed annual contribution to the League budget and by way of travelling and other allowances to the members of Indian delegations to numerous League conferences. It is equally true that the present representation of India in the *personnel* of the League Secretariat and in the International Labour Office is not adequate and that even British spokesmen of India such as Lord Lytton and others demanded the rectification of this unfortunate position at a very early date. It is beyond doubt that the unwritten constitution of the British Commonwealth of Nations precludes any member thereof, even including such an ultra-nationalistic member like the Irish Free State, from bringing intra-imperial disputes to the notice of the League

of Nations, and that such a powerful unit like the Union of South Africa refused to be bound by the unwritten law of the Empire that intra-dominion disputes should not be seised by the League, when she ratified the Optional Clause of the Permanent Court of International Justice in 1931, even though she preferred to settle them otherwise than at Geneva and at the Hague.

But what is the constitutional position of India? Notwithstanding any arrangement to the contrary, the Government of India is as yet part and parcel of H. M's Government in Great Britain in so far as it is the Secretary of State who is ultimately responsible to the Parliament for the good government of the country. If this is recognised, why should the Congress decide to capture the new councils. There would have been greater logic and consistency in the nation simultaneously boycotting the Delhi legislature and the League of Nations in one and the same breath. After all, twenty lakhs in our national budget do not constitute any serious percentage, even though every pie of relief given to the Indian taxpayer is a great achievement indeed.

But before such an attempt is made, some very important considerations ought to be borne in mind. Even in the old Imperial Legislative Council such veterans like the late Sir Surendranath Banerjee, the Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mr. M. A. Jinnah and others demanded the recognition of the principle that whenever Indian delegates for the Imperial Conference were nominated, they should be selected from a panel elected by the elected members of the Council. But both the Imperial Conferences and the session of the League of Nations Assembly are attended by delegations of the Governments of the countries which are members thereof. If Mr. Bose wants India to wait till the

Government of India becomes fully Indian in character and control, an opportunity for Indian association with international activities would have been fatally deferred for a long time to come. It is a pity that Mr. Bose underestimated the psychological and international value of such incidents in our national life as for example when Lord Sinha affixed one of India's signatures to the Peace Document and when the Rt. Hon'ble Sastri pledged India's name to the Nine Power Treaty guaranteeing the territorial integrity of China. In this incorrigible world of ours such events are of first rate importance, whether the persons concerned had a truly national mandate or not.

In his advocacy for India's withdrawal from the League of Nations, Mr. Bose ignored the importance of our membership of the International Labour Organisation. It is to be wondered whether Indian labour delegates like the late Lala Lajpat Rai, Dewan Chaman Lal, V. V. Giri and others are "denationalised". In any case, would Mr. Bose have expected the wonderful results India achieved by steady participation in the activities of the International Labour Organisation but for our adhesion to the League Covenant and Part XIII of the Peace Treaty in particular. Would Mr. Bose have put the Indian Factory Act of 1935 on the statute book, but for the moral binding of the League, i.e., international labour conventions in this particular, conventions upon our country? Would slavery have been abolished in Burma, not to speak of similar abolition in the neighbouring kingdom of Nepal but for League intervention? Would the opium policy of the Government of India have responded to Indian opinion, but for the League's Opium Convention of 1925 and for the subsequent activities of the Central Advisory Board on Opium set up under its auspices? Or, for that matter, would white slave traffic have been abolished but for the

lead given by Geneva?

Unfortunately, ideological differences have prevailed upon Mr. Bose to advocate such a policy of withdrawal from the League of Nations. No patriotic Indian would tolerate the anomalous position which India occupies at Geneva. Everyone wants complete freedom of action. But we live in a highly anomalous world and our entire scheme of things is anomalous. But as the French proverb says, it is the first step that counts. In any case, this dictum does not mean that we should fold our hands in a mood of smug satisfaction. To be cut off from international contacts is not sound policy in the present state of international affairs. Mr. Bose himself commends that India should participate in all international congresses, but that was in a different communication to the Indian Press. Towards the prosecution of the World War, India made a direct contribution of one hundred million sterling, besides equipping and defraying the cost of some thirty lakhs of Indian combatants in the field of battle on the Western Front, in Mesopotamia and East Africa, and in this decision of the country Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mr. C. Vijayaraghavachariar and Mahatma Gandhi have themselves played a fulsome part. If India could take an equal part, under the implications of the League Covenant and in the event of the League of Nations imposing sanctions against Italy, in the preservation of the territorial, political and historical integrity of Abyssinia, something fundamental would have been achieved in the cause of human progress.

EDUCATION FOR A BETTER SOCIAL ORDER

By K. G. SAIYIDAIN

[In the following pages, Mr. Saiyidain, Principal, Training College, Aligarh Muslim University, puts in a very eloquent plea for "a new Orientation in the field of Indian education so that it may lead to "a better and humaner social order" and further indicates the lines of development of educational theory and practice.]

The existing system of education in India has evolved and developed under certain peculiar circumstances. It represents a decided break from the traditional views and schemes of education which had been in operation before the establishment of the British rule in India. But this break was not the result of any careful analysis and scrutiny of the needs and forces of the existing situation in the country and it did not think out consciously the nature of its relationship to national life and culture. Nor did it envisage clearly the nature of society that it wanted to bring into existence. The early Christian missionaries as well as the officials of the East India Company regime worked according to their very mixed lights and purposes to replace 'English' education for the existing system. There were certain abortive attempts to develop the 'indigenous' system but they were soon given up when Macaulay pronounced imperiously in favour of the Occidentalists. Since then the general lines laid down at the time have been accepted as, in the main, sound and satisfactory and subsequent changes and developments have taken the form of modifications of detail in syllabuses and schemes of organization. There has been no serious attempt, however, to examine the basic foundation of the educational scheme

or to interpret its bearings on the important and ever emerging problems of national life. The Government is, by its peculiar position, unwilling, incapable and ill-qualified to undertake this task. Again the exigencies of the political situation have absorbed some of the best brains of the country, and cultural issues, amongst which education occupies the foremost place, have not received their due share of attention and have become obscured in comparison with more insistent political problems. Creative thought has not, therefore, been applied to educational problems. It was, however, primarily the function of the teachers themselves—in schools, colleges and universities—to grapple with these far-reaching issues. But they have failed to do so, partly because there is not amongst them, as yet, a sufficiently developed sense of real responsibility and partly because they are, as a body, so overwhelmed by the mechanical and routine aspects of their activity—thanks to the system under which they work—that they have been unable to view the situation steadily and as a whole. This is a very great danger which besets the work of teaching—which threatens, in fact, all those who are engaged in any activity which must, by its nature, involve a great deal of prescribed routine; the danger, namely, that in their pre-occupation with the day-to-day problems they may lose sight of the underlying objectives, purposes and ideals which their activity is designed to serve and may find themselves helplessly caught in the unavoidable routine, unable to take their bearings in the world of physical phenomena and spiritual forces which environ them. This is by no means an imaginary or far-fetched apprehension, possessing only speculative interest for the educational theorist. It is an ever present practical problem, challenging the mind and professional integrity of teachers. The entire history of education is an eloquent, if sobering, demonstration of the truth that educa-

tion almost always tends to lag behind the renaissant forces and needs of human life, and teachers are apt to rely on methods and assumptions which may have been valid in the past but are in no way adequate and suitable for the existing conditions. This accounts for the curious fact that the development of educational theory and practice has often proceeded by means of occasional jerks. The emergence of some great educationist of vision or of a group of creative educational thinkers startles the static, self-complacent educational world into a realization of its backwardness. It becomes aware, for the first time, of the great social and intellectual changes which had been reshaping, as it were, the theatre of its activity without, however, having impinged on its consciousness! An attempt is then made, with varying degrees of success, to link education more closely to the needs and the ideals of the age and to rid it, so far as possible, of dead traditions and practices which have been hindering its liberation.

If this has been true in the past—and no serious student of educational history would question it—it is much more emphatically and imperatively true of our own age, the most characteristic feature of which is change—quick, continuous, universal change in ideas and institutions. Never in the whole history of the human race has there been such a state of flux in human affairs; during the last two hundred years the material and intellectual conditions of our existence have been transformed beyond recognition. When Bergson expounded his philosophy of Creative Evolution, when he stressed Change and Becoming, rather than Being, as the only reality in the Universe, he was not only giving expression to a truth of universal application but also directing our attention to the central *motif* and tendency of modern life and civilization. No individual or community can expect to

fulfil its rôle effectively and successfully unless its mind and its behaviour have been attuned to this truth and their capacity for progressive adjustment and adaptation has been quickened and disciplined. This fact constitutes a persistent challenge to modern education which it dare not ignore except at the risk of reducing itself to utter futility. Educational problems, it must be remembered, do not take their birth in an academic vacuum; they arise in response to, and gain their characteristic colour from, the existing social, political, moral and economic conditions. If education fails to take cognisance of these factors and the far-reaching changes which they are undergoing to-day, it will be overwhelmed by them and will be unable to offer any sound guidance to the coming generations, who may find themselves involved in a tragedy of greater magnitude than that in which the Great War and its Aftermath have plunged the present world. But the ignorance or the indifference of most people, including teachers, to this situation and the tenacity with which they cling unthinkingly to obsolete, traditional ways of thought and action is truly amazing. It is curiously reminiscent of what Mr. H. G. Wells says of his old mother in a recently published book 'Experiment in Autobiography'.

Vast unprecedented forces beyond her ken, [he writes] were steadily destroying the social order. . . . to which her beliefs were attuned and on which all her confidence was based. To her these mighty changes in human life presented themselves as a series of perplexing frustrations and undeserved misfortunes for which nothing or nobody was clearly to blame. . . .

If they do not want to grope helplessly in the midst of these "perplexing frustrations," it is the duty of all educational workers—teachers as well as administrators and educational thinkers—who are gifted with intelligence and

imagination, to abstract themselves occasionally from their meticulous pre-occupation with the daily routine and to ask themselves seriously: what are the real objectives and purposes of the activity in which they are engaged with reference to the demands of national life? Are the means and methods adopted by them likely to lead towards their realization? If education were merely synonymous with the teaching of a number of formal subjects to more or less reluctant pupils—as some teachers seem to think and demonstrate by their work—then the prospect before the teaching profession will be very blank and depressing, indeed! But happily that is not so, for the real nature of education partakes of the quality of a far-reaching and joyous human adventure in which the teacher sets out to create a new world, first in the life and spirit of his pupils and then in the outside world of men and affairs. In the pregnant words of the great poet-philosopher, Sir Mohammad Iqbal:

The nations of the East should clearly realize that Life cannot create any revolution in its environment unless it takes place first in the depths of its own being and no new world can come into existence unless it first takes shape in the minds and spirits of individual men and women. It is an inevitable law of Nature which the Holy Koran has expressed in simple but significant words: 'Verily God does not alter the fortunes of a nation until they bring about a change in their psychology'—it is applicable with equal validity to individual and collective life.¹

It is in this bringing as out of an inner, psychological revolution that the distinctive sphere of education lies, and the present-day educationists should address themselves seriously to the task of so reconstructing educational theory and practice that it will take into account all the vital forces which are reshaping the modern world and orient the grow-

¹Preface to his book of poems: *Bang-i-darā*.

ing generations towards a better and humaner social order. The object of this paper is to indicate, however imperfectly, the direction of the required orientation.

II

It is necessary for our purpose to grasp clearly the nature of the forces which are operating in modern life so as to quicken the pace of Change and confronting us with a bewildering complexity of new problems. The most powerful factor in this process of disintegration has been the development of Science which has not only accelerated these changes but also brought them more effectively under our conscious control, giving to us the power of intelligent direction and participation in them instead of our acting as blind victims of an inexorable Fate. It has reshuffled the properties of the world-stage on which we have been playing our parts and greatly altered the outlines and boundaries of our physical universe. What is perhaps even more remarkable is the change it has necessitated, and partly produced, in our traditional world-view and our habits of thought and action. Man lives his life to-day in a patently changing, dynamic world in which 'the stable' and 'the precarious' are inextricably intertwined, in which there are, at every step, 'plural possibilities' offering choice and discrimination to the individual, in which all experience is adventurous, on-going and progressive.² In theory this has always been so, but the recent advances in science have accentuated this quality of life and transformed it into an urgent practical problem. In practically all realms of human thought and endeavour science rejects the idea of a static goal or a predetermined finality. This unfinished, open world demands the active, intelligent and resourceful co-operation of every individual

²Cf. Childs: *Education and the Philosophy of Experimentalism*.

for its progressive development and fulfilment. Hence the most important quality by far which individuals will need in a world of this description is *Creative Intelligence* constantly exercising itself on the old as well as the new problems and situations which may arise out of the matrix of a developing environment.

The educational problem which this situation precipitates may be expressed in these terms: shall we remain content with an education which, at its best, transmits to the younger generations the accumulated culture and acquisitions of the past and tends to fix and pre-determine habits of thought, belief and conduct by teaching children 'the already known solutions' of past and present problems—an education which places the greatest emphasis on passive assimilation and unquestioning conformity to what is given? Or, do we require, actively and urgently, such a re-interpretation of our educational philosophy and practice as will develop creative intelligence and adaptive thinking in the students, giving them the will and the capacity to evaluate critically the existing institutions and social processes and to take part actively in that continuous 'reconstruction of experience' which is the basis of all progress? These alternative interpretations that face us do not, by any means, possess merely theoretical interest; they express what is really the most fundamental educational issue of the age for, on this choice, depends—so far as conscious effort can control it—the future of our culture and civilization. Our education in the past has been consistently and emphatically a process of indoctrination; often in the name of religion and, as often, in the interests of the state it has sought to repress or, at least to discourage, habits of free thinking and unbiased inquiry. The English Public Schools are a very apt instance, in spite of their other commendable features, of how educa-

tion has tended to suppress individuality in favour of herd discipline and conformity to traditions. In the East as in the West, education has always allied itself strongly, whether consciously or otherwise, with the existing social institutions and acted as a means of their preservation long after they had outlived their original utility. If you look around and study the structure of Indian society, you will find it strewn with relics of such obsolete and obviously unjust institutions as the Caste system, a social order which can at best be described as 'feudal,' inequitable economic conceptions and privileges, the unsatisfactory status of women, the contempt for manual labour and labourers and, almost everywhere, a striking divorce between rights and obligations. Whatever justification may be offered of some of these conceptions and institutions as expressions of an earlier social order and of education as a means of their preservation—and I feel such justification is apt to be overdone—modern education will stultify itself if it defines its task as the uncritical acceptance of this fundamentally defective and unjust social order and its mechanical transmission to passively receptive children. The insinuation into their experience of any social, political or economic doctrine in such a way that they would be incapable later of thinking critically about them will rob them of intellectual freedom, and deny them opportunities to learn to think freely and fearlessly. But this is what we are, consciously or unconsciously, doing every day in our schools, providing no activities, opportunities and situations that may provoke and stimulate fruitful and consecutive thinking although, as Professor Dewey emphatically says: "All which the school can and need do for the pupils so far as their minds are concerned is to develop their ability to think." If, therefore, we believe that our education should, on the one hand, conserve and transmit the values which India has attained in

the past and, on the other, participate in the remaking and improvement of our institutions and traditions—if we believe this then “the formation of an experimental attitude of mind should become the unified and unifying goal of education in its intellectual phase.”³ For living—in the modern age, in particular—is not, at its best, a mechanical routine but a creative art, and the capacity to think intelligently is not a philosophic luxury but an imperative necessity for all except those who are worthy cases for a lunatic asylum.

This point of view is likely to arouse opposition on the plea that the dynamic conception of education will encourage teachers to become partisans and advocates of their own favourite social and economic theories and thus let in by the backdoor the very indoctrination which it condemns. The answer to that objection is twofold. Firstly, it is based on the naïve assumption that the advocacy of traditionalism and the *status quo* is not partisanship but fair-mindedness, while a progressive and forward outlook is unfair partiality. No intelligent person should be seriously taken in by this fallacious reasoning. Secondly, this view does *not* advocate the instilling of definite social and political creeds, whether radical or reactionary, in the young; it merely demands for them protection from that premature crystallization of ideas which is at present induced by the joint pressure of the school and society. It is difficult, if not impossible, to shelter the child from the weight of social forces and ideas, even when they are definitely unenlightened. But it is certainly possible so to orient the work of the school that emphasis will be placed on active, personal thinking rather than a mechanical acceptance of ready made opinions. Modern educational practice, at its best, is feeling its way towards a transformation of schools into active, genuine and living communities where

³Dewey: Educational Frontier—Page 62.

shared activity and purposeful planning are possible and carefully stimulated, for it is only in such a context of thought wedded to action that the capacity for creative thinking can develop.

FIFTY YEARS OF INDIAN ADMINISTRATION IN MYSORE

By M. K. V.

[Mysore is one of the brightest spots of Indian India. It owes its progress alike to its high-souled rulers and to a succession of illustrious Dewans—the present incumbent of the office being the much esteemed Sir Mirza M. Ismail. In this article the writer makes a rapid survey of half a century of Indian administration in that model state.]

If Mysore is transferred to Native Administration, everything that we have built up in the past would fall into pieces, the country would be deeply submerged in debts, the people would be surrendered to all the dangers of misrule and they would in a short time begin to clamour for the re-introduction of our rule.

So wrote an eminent British official in 1870 describing the consequences, as he conceived them, which would attend the transfer of the Mysore State to its Ruling Family. The administration of the State had been taken over by the East India Company forty years before, i.e., in 1831, from the hands of its Ruler, the grandfather of the present Maharaja. Lord William Bentinck, the then Governor-General, had been led into the belief that the Maharaja had allowed to fall into arrears the annual tribute of 24½ lakhs of rupees which he had agreed to pay to the Company under the Subsidiary Treaty of 1799. He determined to enforce the penal provisions of the Treaty which empowered the Company in case of default in the payment of the tribute to assume the direct management of the country; and accordingly he wrote to the Maharaja asking him to make over the administration of the State to the Company. This demand was immediately

complied with without any protest by the Maharaja who quietly surrendered the reins of government to a Commission of British officers, appointed by the Governor-General to administer the country directly under his own supervision.

The Commissioners had hardly entered upon their duties before it was discovered that the Maharaja's authority had been superseded without any justification as no default had ever occurred in the payment of the tribute. It was found that the Maharaja was very punctual in meeting his pecuniary obligations under the Treaty although he was enabled to do so only by sacrificing even the bare necessities of administration. He had actually made a payment in advance of 6 lakhs of rupees at the time Lord Bentinck called upon him to surrender the government. Lord Bentinck, when he came to learn of it, frankly acknowledged that he had committed a grievous blunder by his hasty action and that he was misled by the exaggerated accounts conveyed to him of the affairs of Mysore. He proposed that immediate restitution should be made to the Maharaja by handing back his kingdom to him. But this proposal did not find favour with the Court of Directors who decided to keep the country for some time under British management with a view to introducing into it "a better and more efficient system of government".

As years rolled on, the condition of the country was much improved by a succession of distinguished British administrators and all branches of government were reformed and placed on a modern footing. The avowed purpose of the assumption of the country was fulfilled and nothing remained but to hand back the country to its rightful sovereign. The Maharaja, who was getting old and naturally anxious to see the country restored to his dynasty, began to urge his claims to restoration but with no success. His repeated attempts to secure a recognition of his rights were met with a refusal.

His subjects took up his cause and sent up a monster memorial to the Viceroy praying for his reinstatement but equally with no effect. The justice and equity of his claim, however, was so obvious that it attracted to itself the sympathies of many fair-minded and distinguished British politicians like John Stuart Mill and John Morley and many Anglo-Indian officials who saw in him a much-wronged Prince. The Mysore question, as it was called in those days, led to a good crop of Press writings and political pamphleteering. Some of the ablest British journals of the time advocated his case in a manner at once fair and convincing. The question ultimately trailed itself to Parliament, and after a momentous debate in the Commons which took place on February 22, 1867, it was finally decided to hand back the country to the infant son of the Maharaja, when he came of age.

This decision was universally hailed at the time as a triumph of British justice and fair-play, but its wisdom and expediency, however, was questioned by some who thought that it was not in the best interests of the people of Mysore who till then had enjoyed all the benefits of British Administration, to transfer them like a flock of sheep to Native Administration. They foretold that the people would be plundered by a host of ill-paid and greedy Indian officials and that the British Government would be called upon once again to intervene in the affairs of Mysore in no distance of time. Others, though not so prophetic in their assertions, gravely doubted whether Indians were capable of carrying on the government of a rich and prosperous State like Mysore.

It was thus in an atmosphere in which the abilities of Indians were at a discount that the new Administration came into existence on March 25, 1881, under the guidance and control of His Highness Sri Chamarajendra Wadiyar Bahadur, the father of the present Maharaja. It began its career under

especially onerous conditions. The country had just then passed through one of the most disastrous famines, recorded in the annals of Indian famines. More than a fourth of its population was swept away, and many a prosperous and teeming village was ruined beyond redemption. Every source of revenue was at its lowest, and the cash balances at the treasury were hardly sufficient to meet even the demands of day-to-day administration. The severe retrenchments which followed, had left every Department of the State in an enfeebled condition. The new Administration inherited, moreover, a public debt of eighty lakhs of rupees from the British Commission and to add to its difficulties the annual liability of 24½ lakhs of rupees by way of tribute to the British Government was further enhanced by a sum of 10½ lakhs.

In spite of these handicaps, the State has, after fifty years of administration by Indians, disappointed all the prophets of evil. It has falsified their prognostications and stands to-day as the foremost in the rank of Indian States challenging comparison with some of the British Provinces in point of its administrative efficiency and its attempts to promote the welfare of its people. The young Ruler His Highness Sri Chamarajendra Wadiyar Bahadur, entered upon his duties with vigour and enthusiasm, and by initiating a policy of progress and enlightenment laid the foundations of Modern Mysore. He inaugurated the new regime by introducing the beginnings of popular government into the State. The Representative Assembly which he founded for bringing the people into closer and intimate touch with his government, was the first popular institution to be established in India. It has subsequently been given a constitutional status. It meets twice annually, discusses the legislative and financial programmes of the year and brings to the notice of the Govern-

ment questions which directly affect the people in their daily life. The happy union of the interests of the Ruler and the ruled and the close co-operation between the people and the Government brought about by this institution has in no small measure contributed to the progress of Mysore. Within a short time of his assuming the reins of government, the young Ruler was able to restore financial prosperity and to overcome most of the difficulties which confronted the new Administration at the outset. His career which was so bright and so full of promise was, however, cut short to the great regret of his people by his sudden demise at Calcutta in December 1894.

He was succeeded by his son, the present Maharaja, His Highness Sri Krishnarajendra Wadiyar Bahadur, and during his minority the task of carrying on the administration of the State devolved upon his mother, Her Highness Kempa Nanjammani Avaru Vani Vilas Sannidhana, C. I. Under her guidance the advancement of the State found no interruption, and the spirit in which she carried out the laudable policy of her illustrious consort and the success which attended her efforts brought increased prosperity to the State. Referring to her administration, the late Lord Curzon observed:

The smooth progress of events during the minority has been largely due to the unfailing tact and discretion of Her Highness. If I may be allowed to say so, she has set an example of public and domestic virtue which has been of equal value to her people and to her family and which has earned for her the admiration and respect of all.

His Highness the present Maharaja assumed the direct administration of the State in 1902 on attaining his majority; and ever since then, inspired by the high and lofty idealism of his parents he has always kept the State in the van of progress. These three outstanding personalities who have

presided over the Administration of Mysore since the Rendition, have, with the assistance of an Indian *personnel*, made Mysore, India's model state.

It would be tedious here to set out at length the progress achieved by the State in the several directions. It has always been in the van in combating illiteracy, disease and destitution and is equipped as no other with works and institutions of public usefulness or amenity. The revenues of the State which hardly aggregated to 80 lakhs at the time of the Rendition have been much improved and now stand at 360 lakhs. More than a sixth of it is spent for spreading enlightenment among the people; elementary and middle school education has been made free and by a system of liberal scholarships the education of women and the backward classes is given a special impetus and encouragement. The percentage of literacy is very high and compares not unfavourably with that of some of the most advanced British Provinces. The State was the first to emancipate the condition of women by conferring political and other rights on them and to prevent child marriages. It has actively pursued a policy of developing its natural resources and its irrigational and hydro-electric works mark the triumph of Indians in modern engineering skill and technique. The Krishnarajasagar Dam which has helped to convert nearly 125,000 acres of arid desert land into a veritable garden was conceived and executed throughout by Indian engineers. The Hydro-Electric Works at Sivasamudram, besides bringing in handsome revenues to the State coffers, is contributing materially to its industrial development and adding to the amenities of life in nearly two hundred and fifty towns and villages. The people's rights and privileges have been extended by transferring to them substantial powers in the management of Local Self-Governing Institutions like District Board,

Municipalities and Village Panchayets. The State is the largest manufacturer in India of silk, soap and sandal oil. The people are leading a happy, prosperous and contented life and are proud to acknowledge their allegiance to their Sovereign. The progress achieved by Mysore is so remarkable that persons who had seen it in 1881 would hardly recognise in modern Mysore the country which was handed over by the British Commission. By its all-round development Mysore has shown successfully what Indians can do in the sphere of modern administration.

The State would have had a more distinguished record of achievements if it had not been saddled with a tribute. Though the enhanced sum of 10½ lakhs of rupees was not collected for the first fifteen years after the Rendition, the full tribute of 35 lakhs of rupees was levied for a period of 32 years from 1896 to 1928 when it was reduced to the original sum of 24½ lakhs of rupees. Since the Rendition Mysore has paid nearly 15 crores of rupees to the British Government, or nearly 10 per cent of its net revenues, which no other State in India has done. There can be no doubt whatsoever that the extinction of this payment would place at the disposal of the State large resources to pursue the high ideals which it has set before itself and enable it to confer greater benefits on its people. No less a person than an ex-Finance Member of the Government of India, Sir Basil Blackett, has borne testimony that there is no question of the money released by the extinction of the tribute going into the personal pocket of the Maharaja, but that it would be of benefit to the State. Mysore has been applying for it on grounds economic, historical and political, and it is entitled, if for no other reason, at least as a just requital of half a century of steady progress and development to the abolition of a payment which weighs so heavily upon its people.

OMAR'S SUFISM AND WINE

By R. G. RAJWADE

[Any new approach to Omar's Rubais is interesting. Mr. Rajwade's interpretation is even striking.]

Was Omar a hedonist?

Is the wine he celebrates the juice of the grape, or is it the symbol of a mystic idea?

The Orientals incline towards a mystical interpretation of Omar's Rubais. They take wine to mean religious fervour, and love to mean love of the Truth or the Divine grace. The western scholars take the other view. They leave the deeper meaning alone. For them his wine is not divine knowledge, nor his mistress an allegorical figure.

Also is Omar a Sufi? and is his method that of symbolism?

The key-note of Sufism, says Miss Gertrude Bell, is the union, the identification of God and man. The highest good to which the Sufis can attain is the annihilation of the actual: to forget that they have a separate existence and to lose themselves in the divinity as a drop of water is lost in ocean. This losing of the soul in God is only a return to the conditions which existed before birth. The world is posterior to God only in the nature of its existence and not in time. Matter is eternal. The world came into existence when it pleased God to manifest Himself beyond Himself, and will cease when it will please Him to return into Himself again. "Thou art but the glass. His is the face reflected in the mirror; nay, he is the mirror also," says Jami.

According to the Sufis, to quote Gertrude Bell again,

there is neither good nor evil, for both alike flow from God, as all flows from God. There is neither reward nor punishment. Paradise is the beauty, hell the glory of God; and finally there is no distinction between God and man. The soul is an emanation from God, and man is justified in saying "I am God."

This in brief, is the Sufistic convention. The world has no tangible existence; all that is is God, and beyond him there is nothing. This convention in its essentials is like the Vedanta doctrine of Maya and the Advaita doctrine of Shankar. According to Shankar the attainment of the true state is dependent on the annihilation of the separate consciousness; and this separate consciousness is the direct result of imperfect knowledge (*avidyā*).

Obviously at several points Sufism diverged from the teachings of the prophet, though ostensibly it adhered to the Koran. "Behold, the world is like the shadow of a cloud and the dream of the night." It is as unsubstantial as the one and as will-less as the other. How then is it possible to attach responsibility to the reflection in the mirror? Therefore the Sufis abandoned free-will.

It is surprising that Sufism should have found a home in Mohammedanism, the least mystical of all religions. In any case though unpopular with the orthodox it attracted most of the poets towards it—Jami, Jellaluddin, Attar. The reason is not far to seek. In the Sufistic convention there is a mass of beautiful thought which lends itself remarkably well to artistic treatment. This mass of thought had become invested with exquisite symbolism of wine, of saki, the rose, the nightingale, the tavern, the beloved. The Orient has quite a pronounced leaning towards the picturesque, and the imagery attendant on Sufism satisfied this craving.

Thus a formula was evolved, fixed and accepted. The

convention became a law, and poetic utterances became mouldy. When Omar started writing verse he borrowed freely from the Sufistic stock-in-trade. For in a country hag-ridden by tradition, that was a sure way at least to get a foothold, if not to be hailed and acclaimed. We know that like the Sufis Omar too does not believe in free-will, and that the commonplaces of his poetic thought are principally Sufistic. But this green stage could not last long, for Omar was a thinker first and a poet incidentally. When he tasted the sweet and bitter of life, he realised that the formulised ideas could not support him any longer. So he had to work out for himself a new philosophy, which eventually turned out to be different both from Sufism and Islam. To illustrate some of the points of divergence between him and the Sufis: while the Sufis rejected both "worldliness" and "other-worldliness" because this world is unreal and the other only a reunion with God, Omar consistently recognised this world as the only world and destiny as the only providence. Secondly, while the Sufis, not only had no dread of death but welcomed it as a merging in the infinite, Omar is hag-ridden by his awareness of death. Thirdly, while the Sufis could not conform with the Koran on the doctrine of the resurrection of the body, Omar did.

Most of the critics have suffered from a patent habit of trying to explain and interpret Omar either only literally or only symbolistically. Many reject the symbolistic method on the ground that it is far-fetched. But this is wrong, for most of the Persian poetry of those times is admittedly literary and artistic and conventional. I do not mean to say that the thought is stale and not new. Far from it. But the moulds in which it is presented, the imagery and the symbolism with which it is clothed have not much varied. These symbols were ready-made. Of these the central or the key symbol is

love for God symbolised as wine. It is a superb symbol. The "hint" and the "transparency" are both amply present, and the resemblance though subtle is vast. There is much in common between the two states, drunkenness and ecstasy. Both are states in which the inner wine glows with a fire and the pitcher of clay is forgotten.

Fitzgerald says that with Omar "the abstract is not only likened to but identified with the sensual image". This is nothing unexpected or unnatural. This was the only logical conclusion of the method. I admit that there must have been Sufis who made a big pretence of Sufism; who indulged in the most hectic and nerve-wrecking sensuality under the pretext of the hidden meaning. The symbolistic garb must have covered a multitude of sins. But who is to blame for it? The poets who abused it and not the convention which was abused.

So like every poetaster Omar too must have experimented with the device in a preliminary way, but he was too much of a thinker to find solace in a formula. He was too vast for it. He saw the spectacle of the potter kneading the clay, possibly of kings, and he did not take long to be convinced of the futility of the life on this earth. He saw the magic shadow-shapes that come and go. What is the purpose of life? questioned a voice within him. He knew he was unable to answer. Unrest ensued. So he put his tongue in his cheek and said "sensual pleasure". This is an existence between two voids. It might be unreal, an illusion; but this illusion is all we have got. He knew there was more than a touch of pretence in all this but he kept it up.

What know we of future? said Omar. It is the music of a distant drum: faint, inaudible. The present is the only solid ground to stand upon. Everywhere he saw a mark of interrogation. What comes after death? What is before

life? It becomes obvious here that if Omar had had faith in the Sufistic theory of emanation from and merging in God he would not have been so restless. He was taught that the world was an illusion. That was precisely why he wanted to grasp the reality. In this world of fakes he wanted to grasp the truth.

It was this world-weary Omar who attempted to weave his poetry round a formula. The attempt failed as it was bound to fail. The poet who was lost in song merged forth; the man set himself free from his allegory, and Omar's fascinating personality shone out: half-epicure, half-Sufi, and wholly sceptical. This was the true Omar, with all his humours and passions, as frankly before us as if we were at table with him after the wine had gone round. It is only when he reflects on cosmos that Omar rings true.

The central note in Omar is the theory of predestination. The Sufis, as has been shown above, could not believe in free-will and Omar was one with them.

The ball no question makes of ayes and noes
But right or left as strikes the player goes.
And he that toss'd thee down into the field
He knows about it all—he knows,—he knows!

A greater will than yours is guiding you. You have to ask no questions; but merely to abide by the dictates of this power. You were ushered into this universe and "why not knowing, nor whence". You just flowed in like water; and you go out without knowing whither "like wind along the waste". Your entry and your exit just take place without any reference to you.

The moving finger writes and having writ
Moves on. Nor all thy piety nor wit
Shall lure it back to cancel half-a-line;
Nor all thy tears wash out a word of it.

All that will be read on the Dawn of Reckoning has been written down on the morning of Creation. The world is not a place of trial but an ordeal. A divinity has already shaped your ends and rough-hewn them too.

We are no other than a moving row
Of magic shadow-shapes that come and go.

Where then was the escape? It is here that Omar leaves the beaten track of Sufism, to follow a single path of his own. Subdue consciousness! But how? The Sufis did not approve of artificial aids such as opium or hashish or the wild hysterical dancing of the dervishes. So Omar brought about what was or must have been according to him, a compromise between his dynamic personality and the spirit of the age which was static, of accepted values. The two wines—the wine of the Sufis and Omar's wine—mingled. Omar shifted from the symbolic to the real wine. During the genesis of symbolic ideas drunkenness meant nothing but an ecstatic frame of mind. Omar's change of meaning was calculated and timely. For him now, wine meant both religious fervour and the daughter of the grape. Wine the effect—religious devotion—got confused with wine the cause—the intoxicant. But even now the meaning is a little limited. The use of wine is strictly medicinal, and its purpose is to subdue consciousness.

"To attain unconsciousness of self is the only cause I drink me drunk with wine."

Grape juice is the only antidote to the rank poison of life.

Omar's view of life continued to grow and evolve. Chronologically a little later, wine changed its meaning again and became more comprehensive. It is obvious that the wine with which Omar wanted to have his body washed after death was not spiritual. The abstract now is not only identi-

fied with the sensual image but is displaced by it. This is the third stage. To start with, wine was a Sufistic symbol; then a drowsy syrup, "poppy or mandragora", drunk with a view to putting an end to consciousness; then an active pleasure-principle. Gradually it changed form again and became a symbol for a second time; but what it symbolised now was by no means religious frenzy, but the joys of this world. It meant "rose-buds" in Herrick's sense. The world might be illusory and unreal, but it has its deeply soothing, compensatory pleasures. In the darkness of predestination there is the light of the beloved's face; in the silence of the impending ruin, the song of the nightingale; in the stench of death, the fragrance of the rose.

If these meanings are accepted the difficulty in regard to the interpretation of the poems vanishes. Every Rubai that Omar wrote is covered by one or the other of these four meanings, and not one is left unexplained. Besides, the growth is organic, and partakes of the nature of a development.

The uncertainty of tomorrow and the consequent philosophy of *Carpe Diem*, which Omar came to hold shed a good deal of light on the question set forth in the beginning of this article. The garden-town of Iram is sunk in the sands of Arabia, and Jamshed's seven-ringed cup too is gone.

The wine of life keeps oozing drop by drop
The leaves of life keep falling one by one.

The sands of life are running out. Today is brief halt here; make most of it, for the dawn of Nothing may be on you before you know it.

A hedonist then? Yes, Omar was a hedonist; but his hedonism is his own, compounded of many simples, particularly two—one a profound feeling of resignation and the other, religious scepticism. His libertinism, his excessive

love of wine were an outcome of his helplessness and consequent wrath. His desire to commit sin in order to give God a chance to bestow His mercy on the sinner was born of his doubt.

Hedonist and Sufi—Omar's individuality is peculiarly his own, for he found no solace in any creed, nor ever forgot himself except in dalliance with the daughter of the grape.

DISARMAMENT, SECURITY AND WORLD PEACE

By K. R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR

[“Disarmament is a slogan rather than a fact”, observes Prof. Srinivasa Iyengar pithily in the course of this article which is an arresting survey of international politics and he also discusses the allied problems of security and world peace.]

As we read the newspapers to-day, we have strange forebodings about the future. Affairs seem to have jangled out of tune and grown indescribably harsh. For weeks we hear of nothing but of Germany's vigorous re-arming or of the Italo-Abyssinian friction or of the latest complication in the Far East. World politics are indeed in the melting pot. Yesterday the Supreme Court invalidated President Roosevelt's policies; to-day Mr. Hoover joins hands with Huey Long and the Hearst Press in denouncing the Roosevelt administration; monarchist activities in Greece and Hungary are openly in evidence; two more ministries have met death in France due to natural causes, but M. Laval is again at the Foreign Office holding innumerable tete-a-tetes with Mr. Anthony Eden on the issue of peace; and in England Mr. Baldwin has become Premier for the third time and has placed the Government of India Act on the Statute Book.

Other less sensational bits of news arrive also. There is a strike of 150,000 American students for one day, an obvious anti-war demonstration. Leaders of sixteen Churches of Great Britain and Ireland submit a Memorandum to the Royal Commission on Manufacture and Trading in Arms, advocating government control of the armament industry.

And the Rt. Hon. Stanley Baldwin tells his audience at Llandrindod Wells:

Powers (are) in a state of protracted convalescence after the virulent plague of 1914, unwilling to undergo the major operation of disarmament, some contending that the whole disease was a figment of the imagination, others contending that it would be cured if it was ignored.

Mr. Baldwin thinks further that remedies like economic nationalism and dictatorship can only prove (or have already proved) worse than the disease. His own panacea would be "collective security" through the instrumentality of the League of Nations. Mr. Baldwin, after all, is merely echoing the words of Mr. Henderson at Oslo, spoken some months earlier:

Democracies stand for a certain view which is incompatible with war or with a totalitarian state. I think that we must get the better of both these forces and subordinate them to the common good through a world union on the basis of social justice. . . . What greater cause and more splendid adventure can be set before the youth of the world than the endeavour to bring into being the age-old dream of the great commonwealth of the world as the visible embodiment of the brotherhood of man?

In the matter of disarmament, security and world peace the Conservative and Labour leaders strike a surprisingly identical note. To delight in war, said the philosopher George Santayana, is a virtue in the soldier, a dangerous quality in the Field-Marshal and a positive crime in the politician. It is encouraging to see the Die-hard Chief talking such supreme sense. But even he can do little if this at present seemingly insurmountable barrier of mutual suspicion and distrust is not destroyed. Yes, everyone of us, wherever we are and however humbly we may be situated, has to settle his attitude towards these world problems and strive to get a hearing. Even such international questions like disarma-

ment, security and world peace are in the last analysis vitally personal; we are all unescapably implicated in them and willy nilly we have but to face the things squarely.

Consider only in broad terms the causes, the progress and the results of the Great War! It fulfilled Baron Beyen's dictum that "peace is always at the mercy of an accident." Deep under the surface were smouldering economic, racial and political causes; but the immediate cause, the murder of the Archduke Ferdinand, was insignificant, nothing more than an accident. Once the avalanche began, none could stem the villainous tide, not even the autocratic emperors. Once the mobilisation orders have been given, the Czar and the Kaiser realise that even they are powerless to restrict or stop the mad thing. "It is impossible, it would demoralise the army", says Moltke; and other Chiefs of General Staffs coo in chorus.

In such melancholy atmosphere germinated the virulent plague of the Great War. "Great"—in what respects was the War of 1914-18 "great"? There have been other wars, Thirty Years' War, Hundred Years' War, and in literature, the Trojan War and the Mahabharata War. The War of 1914-18 was "great", not intrinsically in that it was fought to settle noble issues, not in the duration even, but in the utter hideousness of its nature and in enormity of its destruction. Some facts are significant. Napoleon at Waterloo employed 70,000 soldiers and lost 30,000; Wellington and Blucher employed in all 100,000 and lost about 22,000. During the Great War, the Somme offensive alone cost England 300,000, killed or wounded; and on a single day the casualties numbered 60,000. There were similar disastrous and meaningless massacres at Verdun, Marne, Tannenberg and Ypres. The lamentable toll during the entire War, victor and defeated powers included, was 8 million killed

and 25 million famished and starved, due to famine and blockade. To consider now the cost in money: the Boer War cost England, for a few months, at the rate of $1\frac{1}{2}$ million pounds a day, while during the Great War, England had to spend 5 million pounds a day till 1916, and thereafter 7 million pounds a day, the aggregate cost being the huge sum of 5000 million pounds. The aggregate cost of the War per day, the Allies and the Central Powers together, was 40 million pounds—and this idiotic mad waste continued for over 4 years. The losses at sea were equally imposing. During the submarine campaign alone 5000 allied ships were sunk at the cost to Germany of 200 submarines. Other peculiarities of the Great War were: its world-wide character; its long duration, every day of which the war was fought in some front or other; that dismal, soul-blasting strategy, trench-warfare; the use of poison gas, air bombs, tanks; lying propaganda on the grandest scale imaginable; finally, its fundamental inconclusiveness, the victory being essentially that of the dying over the dead.

The War was over and the plenipotentiaries of many nations met in Versailles. President Wilson had thundered out his Four Principles and Fourteen Points from his vantage position in Washington and a war-weary world had been too eager to think of him as its Heaven-sent Messiah. In Versailles the President was ill at ease. Astute politicians got round him and all but silenced him. The "Peace Conference" was too unwieldy a thing, to be sure; a compact body, "the Council of Ten", was needed. Wilson had his qualms: what was to become of his "principle"—"Open covenants openly arrived at"? Meanwhile things were moving brisker than ever: the Council of Ten gave place to the compactest body of all, "the council of four"! Wilson, Orlando, Lloyd George and Clemenceau—a nice quartette undoubtedly! Of these

Clemenceau was the adroit circus manager. Wilson and Lloyd George knew no French and Orlando knew no English and communication from one to the others simply declined to travel: Clemenceau knew both the languages, and this alone, even if we choose to disregard his undeniably superior capacity, placed him in a very advantageous position. Mr. J. M. Keynes's classic estimates of these men can never be bettered. Clemenceau, we are told, "had one illusion—France; and one disillusion—mankind, including Frenchmen and his colleagues not least." Wilson's thought and temperament "were essentially theological, not intellectual." As for the British Prime Minister, Lloyd George, he "is rooted in nothing; he is void and without content; he lives and feeds on his immediate surroundings." Well, they all four talked and talked, bargained and bartered, prevaricated and capitulated, made and unmade states and powers. Germany should be crushed; the Austrian Empire should be vivisected; the Ottoman Empire should be dismembered! Ex-professor Wilson and would-be Saviour of the world nodded acquiescence all right: after all, there was the League of Nations, wasn't there? Would it not, in due time, set right any number of present wrongs? His conscience was quite easy and he returned to America happy. Let me quote Mr. Keynes once again:

These were the personalities of Paris Clemenceau, aesthetically the noblest; the President, morally the most admirable; Lloyd George, intellectually the subtlest. Out of their disparities and weaknesses the Treaty was born, child of the least worthy attributes of each of its parents, without nobility, without morality, without intellect.

This was the Peace for which the "war to end war" was fought; this was the Peace that made the world safe for democracy. Wars to end? And how is this to be brought

about? By disarmament, at least by stringent limitation of armaments,—agreed the Pundits. Wilson's fourth point reads:

Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.

That is, for Wilson, a sufficiently straightforward statement. It was decided at Versailles that there was to be a League of Nations, strangely reminiscent of the Congress of Vienna and Holy Alliance. The Covenant of the League was drawn up and the eighth Article accepted the excellent principle that

the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations.

A Daniel come to judgment, we might say like Shylock (to be like him soon disillusioned by the action that follows.) A beginning must be made somehow, somewhere; and Germany answered the purpose well. Her navy was scrapped, she was denied an air force, and her standing army was limited to 100,000, and Krupps were refused the right to trade in arms. Germany did not demur, in fact couldn't have done; perhaps she hoped that other nations, France especially and England, would follow suit. But they did not; eventually, as we would show now, they only increased their armaments.

The other day Mr. Lloyd George, announcing his return to active politics, remarked that to-day the nations are spending 1000 million pounds on armaments as against 700 million pounds per year a decade or so ago. We will give further details. To take the armies first:

State:	1913: Strength:	1931: Strength:	Percentage on budget in 1931:	Cost per head of population: (in dollars)
Britain	250	300	14	11
France	750	700	22	13
*Germany	800	100	5	3
Italy	650	600	24	8
U. S. A.	100	150	17	7

The following table will give a rough idea of the fleets of the powers (in 1932):

State:	Battle ships:	Cruisers:	Torpedoes:	Submarines:
England	15	60	150	60
U. S. A.	15	30	250	85
Japan	10	40	125	75
France	9	25	65	110
Italy	4	25	110	75

During the past two or three years naval armaments have increased a good deal. Besides these a new arm has come into prominence since the Great War: the airship. In this France leads with 2500 airships, America has 2300, Japan 1600. England and Italy have 1500 each, Russia 1000, Roumania 800, Poland 700, and other states in descending order.

That is not all. These names and numbers are rather dumb things. Let us see a little more in detail about some of the modern agencies of destruction that are sure to be used by all the powers in the event of a war. Mr. H. G. Wells gives a vivid account of future wars in his "Salvaging of Civilization":

The next well-organised war, we are assured, will be far more swift and extensive in its destruction—more particularly of the civilian population.

(*Since Hitler's rise to supreme power Germany's armaments have considerably increased.)

There will be tank transport mercilessly ploughing up the entire surface of the land they traverse; there will be aeroplane bombing, each bomb capable of destroying a small town. It appears that in 1926 the British Air Force calculated that the French Air Force could then drop 300 tons' weight of bombs on England in a single day, as much as the Germans dropped during the four years of the War! In a recent editorial the *Manchester Guardian* wrote:

Now (1935) thanks to technical progress and French rearmament in the interval, the 1926 figure will probably have more than tripled. We may assume something approaching a 1000 tons' weight of bombs as the French striking power. Our own will not greatly lag behind.

That is where over fifteen years of disarmament and League rule has brought us! The liberal paper continues:

A single-handed air war between England and France (and it could only be fought by air) would mean the partial or complete collapse of civilization in most of Southern England and Northern France. . . . It would be a mutual suicide club.

A pretty prospect for the world indeed! It was bad enough in the old days to be shot dead or to be ridden over by galloping horses: a nicer fate awaits future combatants and non-combatants. Tanks would obligingly reduce them into pulp, into a grey jam! Civilians and soldiers, men, women and children, will all meet the same fate. And mines and submarines will sink all shipping deeper than ever plummet sounded. There will be gases too to help us—to voyage through eternity. Tear gas, mildest of all, that could be used even to disperse recalcitrant mobs; Lewisite, effervescing with the vapour of human kindness, that kills one before he knows what has really happened; Phosgene that deceptive gas "which seems a small matter at the time and kills distressingly the next day," and minor things like Mustard gas whose

function is to compel the wearer to remove his mask so that the more deadly gases could fatally operate. It appears that Science has also discovered means of disseminating disease germs from the air so that men, crops and cattle, at the front and within cities and in the countryside,—could all be annihilated. In the unutterable chaos of such future wars, where could one hope for safety? The safest place will be the General Head Quarters of the contending armies, adds, grimly Mr. Wells,—beauty spots "carefully buried, sand-bagged, and camouflaged." (The inverted pyramid of our civilization would thus achieve its final destiny!) And "there military gentlemen of limited outlook and high professional training will, in comparative security, achieve destruction beyond their understanding."

These accounts are likely to produce cerebral symptoms in some of my readers. After all, there is now (as I write) no war going on (the Bolivia-Paraguay tussle is a never ending phenomenon and may be left out of account.) May one ask how things are in these days of peace? There are armaments and they cost a huge lot and there are millions of unemployed starving: bad enough! But the war mentality does irreparable damage to the morality and manliness of nations even in times of peace. Let me quote a sentence or two from Mr. Wells's recent book, "The Work, Wealth and Happiness of Mankind":

this drilling of millions of young men, this incessant training of young Frenchmen mentally as well as physically to kill Italians and Germans, of Poles to kill Germans or Russians, of Russians and British and Americans to kill anybody who happens is not a good thing Every year in times of peace something between one and two thousand carefully chosen young men of exceptional physical ability are smashed, burnt alive, or otherwise destroyed in the training of the air forces of the world alone. There is also a steady destruction of choice young men in submarines.

The sad fate of R.101 and the casualties in army and navy manoeuvres tell the same tale.

An allied problem is the curious position held to-day by the armament industry. Armament firms are capitalist concerns first and last and right through; they are out to make money; and, paradoxically enough, they are cosmopolitan and international in outlook. They have generally very humanitarian motives. They wouldn't have fallen under Dr. Johnson's dictum: "Patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel". No, armament firms do not discriminate between nation and nation: they just sell their wares to the highest bidder, or to the solitary bidder whoever he be. They know that once some nation buys a thing, others must do the same: "water finds its own level." A few instances should suffice. In the 19th century Krupp sold his guns to the Khedive first and then Germany and other nations placed orders for the Krupp guns; Lord Armstrong sold his new model guns to Austria and Denmark before Britain herself could appreciate his national services; and Sir Basil Zaharoff, on whom hoary Oxford University conferred the degree of D. C. L. (God bless the mark!), persuaded Greece to buy the first submarine (that not only went under water but managed off and on to come up again), persuaded Turkey to buy some others, till the submarine craze possessed all the nations. It is said that British armament firms sold to both sides during the Boer War so that English soldiers who died had the dismal satisfaction of having been done to death by English guns. More manufactured may be by their own kith and kin. More incredible still, it is said that British and French armament firms sold to Germany during the Great War through Holland and other neutral countries and that Britain got optical instruments for their navy from German firms through Holland. What generosity of understanding! What fine im-

pulses towards mutual help!!

The armament firms to-day are plying a roaring trade. The Vickers-Armstrong concern in England, the Schneider-Creusot concern in France, the Bifors concern in Sweden and others in Holland, all working on the old Krupp patents, and the Mitsui and Mitsubishi concerns in Japan, these and others are octopus organisations that wish to thrive (as they have done in the past) on war and its incident human slaughter. They are impartial, as we already pointed out: Vickers are selling to the Japanese and Chinese with equal facility; Schneiders are selling equally to the Czechs and Hungarians that they might the better cut one another's throats. And this sort of thing is bound to go on so long as the industry is not nationalised. But this brings forward a fresh bunch of problems. What would be the position of weaker state then? Would it not lead to the domination of the smaller powers by the bigger ones that have their own nationalised armament industries? And what is to be done with the activities of firms like the Imperial Chemical Industries Ltd.? It is, as it is, no armament firm; but in times of war it can become one, it can manufacture Lewisite and Phosgene and what not. At present a Royal Commission in England is considering some of these problems.

The foregoing paragraphs must have made it clear that disarmament is a slogan rather than a fact or even an indication in the post-War world. Does it mean that the League of Nations has done nothing at all? Oh no, it is not so bad as that; it has met and talked and passed resolutions. What would you more? And America has given the world the Washington Treaty and the Peace Pact. And the Nobel Trustees are awarding peace prizes to some individual or other year after year. Again, what would you more? We will now attempt a brief survey of the history of disarma-

ment during the past fifteen years, touching only on the most important conferences, pacts and resolutions.

Soon after the signing of the Peace treaties and the inauguration of the League of Nations the question of limitation of armaments was taken up. In 1920, accordingly, two committees were set up: "the Permanent Advisory Commission on Armaments" and "the Temporary Mixed Commission on Disarmament." The Commissions confabulated and deliberated and in 1922 something emerged as the result of their labours—the "Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance." The moot point has ever been the relative priority of Security and Disarmament. "Give me security and I shall disarm"; "Disarm and you will automatically have security." These represent two schools of thought. Together they form a vicious circle. Security and Disarmament—which is the horse and which the cart? Which should lead the other? or should they march together breast forward? The "Draft Treaty" fortunately linked these two questions in a satisfactory way. The signatories to the Treaty were to make a considerable reduction in their armaments; secondly, they should bind themselves to assist such of the signatories who find themselves called upon to resist aggression by other powers. The 1923 Assembly of the League of Nations accepted the Draft. But the "Great" powers smelt a rat, were unwilling to be entangled too easily in future wars, and the Draft was consigned to (shall we say) the Dead Documents Department. Great Britain took a leading part in this, backed by the Conservative government then in office.

The next initiative towards disarmament was taken by the European smaller powers under the leadership of Dr. Edouard Benes of Czecho-Slovakia. It was blessed by the British Labour Government of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald. In

1924 Dr. Benes presented the so-called Geneva Protocol. It was a good arrangement, as far as it went. The powers were to renounce war as an instrument of national policy but were to recognise instead the jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice set up at the Hague as early as 1920. Disputes could be referred to the Court and much unnecessary bloodshed could be avoided. Its sober sense carried away a number of states, and eighteen of them, including France, signed the Protocol. What had happened to England? Mr. MacDonald had asked for a dissolution, the Zonoviev scare had turned the tide against the Labourites, and Mr. Baldwin was entrenched in power with one of the biggest majorities in recent times. Sir Austen Chamberlain, the new Secretary for Foreign Affairs, could not sign the Protocol; and it was torpedoed altogether. (In 1925 some leading powers came to a paper agreement renouncing Poison Gas as a weapon of warfare in future: but in the actual event of a war, it is too much to expect the powers to attach much significance to this 'scrap of paper'.)

Sir Austen Chamberlain had sabotaged the laudable efforts towards peace of his predecessor in office and of Europe's prominent statesmen: no wonder he was feeling uncomfortable in his mind. He decided to make a fresh start in the matter and consultations took place between him and Briand of France, Grandi of Italy and Stresemann of Germany. They were all sober, sensible people; they realised that something must be done and done immediately. The will to security and the fear of aggression, the will to peace and the fear of wars, they all inspired Europe's elder statesmen with the gravity of the situation. The Locarno Pacts emerged at last out of these seemingly interminable talks. Non-aggression pacts between Germany and France and again between Germany and Belgium were signed; Britain and Italy

agreed to be sort of "trustees" guaranteeing peace, at least non-aggression, in Western Europe. Similar pacts were also signed between Germany and some of her eastern neighbours, but these were not guaranteed by Britain. One tangible result of these Pacts was that Germany entered the League of Nations as an equal of the Powers with permanent seats on the Council. It was loudly proclaimed that Locarno Pacts rather than the Peace Treaties changed the temper of Europe. Stresemann wrote about the Pacts in the new *Encyclopaedia Britannica*; and Sir Austen Chamberlain was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

The Locarno Pacts were signed in 1926. Other persons and personalities flirted with ideas of peace and disarmament between 1926 and the commencement of the World Disarmament Conference in 1932. The story is interesting. In 1927 the Soviet government brought forward a proposal for universal disarmament and next year a similar proposal for partial disarmament; both were summarily rejected as fantastic by the Great Powers. Early in 1928 Briand had a jewel of an idea: what if Uncle Sham contracted an alliance with Dame France? Mr. Kellogg was not to be taken in; nor was he less prolific of ideas. He despatched his scheme for the out-lawry of war to the numerous *chancellories* of the world. Replies were received, all favourable. The Kellogg Peace Pact was signed in Paris by all the nations of the world. "No wars except wars of defence!" cooed the ambassadors in affectionate harmony. And should there be aggressive wars, what were the other signatories to the Pact to do? Deliver a homily perhaps! Remind the belligerent nation of the horrors of hell torture, of the iniquity of *perjury*! Nothing else was contemplated; the Pact carried no sanctions. That is how the Pact came to be as stupendously futile as it was universally popular.

Nor was the League of Nations idle all the while. Early in 1928 fifteen nations accepted the "Optional Clause in the Covenant", agreeing to refer to the Hague Court of International Justice certain types of disputes. After the signing of the Kellogg Pact in August 1928, the League decided to move further in the same direction. In September 1928 the General Act was signed by most nations. The General Act aimed at establishing a comprehensive framework of arbitration in disputes of all kinds arising between the signatory nations. It extended the meaning and scope of the "Optional Clause." It was a good thing that the League adopted the General Act. But as usual, different powers signed with sweeping reservations. France barred all treaty revision, knowing full well that her differences with Germany would most likely hinge on that point. Britain likewise barred any disturbance of "present conditions", presumably keeping in mind India and other dependencies. The General Act was to have nothing to do with "situations or facts prior to the said accession." But future troubles must inevitably have their basis in past complications! Troubles do not arise in the vacuum of the pure present or the pure future: but Britain made her reservations, and France hers, and other nations theirs. In a word, the General Act was as useless as it was harmless. Two years hence Briand, ever optimistic, brought his proposal for a United States of Europe. It went the way of other similar proposals—it died of inanition.

We might gather our breath here and stop to think of the Naval Disarmament during this period, 1920 to 1930. As a result of the Great War Germany was eliminated from the naval powers of the world. In 1921 the long standing differences between United States of America and Japan came to a head and war was in the air. By grace of God it occurred to President Harding to summon a Naval Confer-

ence at Washington and it occurred to Japan to accept the summons. The leading naval powers, Britain, United States of America, Japan, France and Italy, agreed to a particular ratio for the strength of their navies so far as Capital Ships were concerned: the ratio was 5: 5: 3: 1. 75: 1. 75. The Powers also agreed to destroy about 70 Capital Ships that were already in their possession. (Probably they were old and useless ones!) It cannot be denied that the Washington Treaty stopped naval expansion.

In 1927 the second Naval Conference was summoned to Geneva. Italy and France resolutely kept out of the Conference. The other three powers met, but they could not agree to extending the ratio to cruisers and other types of vessels also. England's conservative government was partly responsible for this. However, the original ratio for Capital Ships was still retained. Three years hence, Mr. MacDonald (that man of Conferences, author of three Round Table Conferences, Economic Conferences and others too numerous to mention) summoned the third Naval Conference to London. Italy and France attended, but behaved ever like a pair of Kilkenny cats. Italy demanded parity with France; France denied her right to this; and they quarrelled. Japan's representatives were no less fissiparous; they were unwilling to extend the 5; 5; 3 ratio to cruisers also. But resourceful MacDonald appealed over their heads to the Japanese Prime Minister at Tokyo and a comparatively satisfactory three power agreement was signed. For certain of the clauses not even France and Italy could object; so they too initialled the treaty.

We are at long last at the threshold of the World Disarmament Conference of 1932. It was becoming increasingly clear for some time that it was not of the slightest use considering the army, navy and the air force separately and trying

to evolve formulae for their limitation. A nation's armaments on land, air and sea had to be taken in mass to evaluate its total strength and suggest any proper limitation. Since 1925 the League of Nations realized this and tried to bring into being the World Disarmament Conference. There were many alarms and discursions, of course, but in 1931 the League passed the "General Convention for Improving Methods of Preventing War." Mr. Arthur Henderson, then Britain's Foreign Secretary, was elected the Chairman of the World Disarmament Conference in his personal capacity, so that he was able to retain the post even when the Labour party was routed at the polls after MacDonald's apostasy and rise to notoriety as Head of Britain's National Government. There were further minor delays. But even the longest lane must needs have a turning and so the World Disarmament Conference began its sittings on February 2, 1932.

The Conference opened with a feeling speech by Mr. Henderson, whose attempts towards harnessing the stray influences for peace and international good-will are among the few hopeful bulwarks of civilization. The Conference was to tackle all types of armaments and sat through the major part of 1932, 1933 and 1934. It was then adjourned *sine die*. To trace step by step the progress (or lack of progress) of the Conference during the three years of its sittings were a hopeless and useless task. It is enough to mention here in the briefest summary some of the queer turns the Conference took and some of the proposals and counter-proposals placed before it. It would be a classic lesson in evasion, vacillation and prevarication; it would also be a sad commentary on the policies in evidence in the chancellories of the various nations.

Soon after the Conference commenced its work, it received its first check from Germany. Chancellor Bruen-

ning had gone to the wilderness and the new Junker government under Papen, Schleicher and Neurath insisted on the Powers acceding to its demand for equality in armaments. There were flutters in the dovecotes of Paris, Rome and London. The Conference had again and again to be adjourned, for days at a time, so that the representatives of England, France and America could evolve a formula to meet the German demand for equality in armaments. Italy felt she had been slighted by the Powers and bided her time. At last the principle of theoretical equality was conceded to Schleicher's government in December 1932. Already it was too late. It was always too late when it came to concessions to Germany. Things were moving too quickly in the first days of 1933 and on January 30 Hitler became Chancellor. Meanwhile MacDonald pilgrimaged to Rome contemplating a Four Power Pact. Mussolini had his revenge: so they wanted his help after all, did they? Why then did they ignore him in Geneva when Germany's equality claim was under discussion? He would make Mr. MacDonald realise that Signor Mussolini's Italy was not a thing to be trifled with! He broached the question of Treaty Revision, the very men-perturbations were felt in France. Strange Treaty of Versailles, its sacred inviolability, the sanctity of the After some shilly-shallying a diluted, harmless Four Power Treaty was signed all right.

Now began the historic (or histrionic or hysterical) deliberations in Geneva. Everybody wanted peace, there was no doubt about that. But how to achieve a consummation so devoutly desired by one and all? Each state had its own panacea, in fact was prolific of panaceas; only other states were not equally enthusiastic about them—there just was the rub! The pity of it, Iago, the pity of it! Germany for her

part said brusquely that either other nations should immediately agree to disarm to her low level or give her the liberty to rearm immediately to *their* level. The Powers self-stultifying refused to do either; they wanted Hitler's Germany to wait, watch and see. Hitler ordered his representatives to walk out of the Conference. And Germany, resigned her membership of the League of Nations. The ghost of Stresemann probably understood its significance.

Concrete or constructive proposals for disarmament at the Conference came in two stages. There was the earlier stage when quantitative disarmament was talked about. The Soviet government bravely proposed an all-round reduction of 50 per cent; America proposed a similar reduction of 33 per cent. Neither was acceptable to England. Her representatives said in substance:

England could not possibly decrease her naval armaments. The case was different with her: she wanted everyone of her ships and cruisers for purely defensive purposes. How could she further reduce them? It was not to be thought of!

Instantly other representatives realised that their armaments too were for purely and genuinely and unmistakably defensive purposes, and so they could not reduce their armaments. This was sheer diplomatic camouflage, but that was more than enough to suffocate the move for quantitative disarmament.

Quantitative disarmament was done for: verdict was given by the world that it was due to suicide while of unsound mind. The Conference caught now a new tartar in qualitative disarmament. Wiseacres tried to distinguish between offensive and defensive weapons in warfare. Was the submarine offensive or defensive? Britain and France disagreed on this point. Was the tank offensive or defensive? The two nations differed again. And so on *ad infinitum*. Each

state proposed the abolition of that type of weapon in which it was weakest and a potential enemy strongest and branded that weapon "offensive." Britain considered the submarine offensive, because, comparatively, France is much stronger in this arm than England. England could not agree to the abolition of tanks because they constitute her strongest arm. When she proposed that tanks weighing over 20 tons should be abolished, the French delegate rudely pricked this bubble by pointing out that England had precisely one tank weighing over 20 tons and that too an old one entirely useless. There was again the question of aeroplane bombing. Was it offensive or defensive? Britain had curious views on the subject. Yes, she said, aeroplane bombing was an offensive weapon in warfare; but it too had its sweet uses. Suppose there is disorder in outlying areas—in Baluchistan, for instance, or some other easily inaccessible place. Is it not more expedient, cheaper, perhaps even more humane, to employ a few bombs (as General Dyer did) and instantly quell the disorder? England thus was quite willing to outlaw aeroplane bombing—except (saving clause, that!) for police purposes in outlying areas!

France brought forward a very original proposal. Nations were to limit their armaments considerably; particularly "offensive" weapons like tanks, aeroplanes, etc. were to be kept at various centres in "dumps", wholly in trust for the League of Nations; these "dumps" were to be utilised against nations violating League covenants and disturbing the peace of the world generally. It was an ambitious scheme, and perhaps with daring and imagination could be made workable too. But a thousand questions were raised. What were offensive weapons? What was to be the limit for national armaments for purely police purposes? Under whose immediate control were the "dumps" to be? What

was there to prevent a state getting control of the "dump" located within its borders in the event of war in which she is involved? What was to be done with private armament firms? Were all armament industries to be nationalised or even internationalised? This battery of questioning left the French scheme in visible and helpless disintegration. Qualitative disarmament too was shelved.

Was that all? Was this the mouse, oh less than the mouse, less even than the dead mouse of paper agreement, for which the Himalayan mountain of the World Disarmament Conference had been labouring for months and months? It is impossible to believe it can be true, and yet it is the bare truth! Germany and Japan out of the League; wars in the Far East, in South America; sabre rattling in Abyssinia; compulsory conscription in Germany; enhanced war expenses in America, France and Britain; army manoeuvres in the air with gas masks, air attacks and defences in France and Germany; a happy budget indeed! It is very little consolation that some emasculated Anglo-German naval agreement has been arrived at. Pacts and agreements—are there not enough? Had the League Covenant been interpreted in its true spirit, could not the European nations have prevented Japan from setting up the puppet state of Manchukuo? As the *Manchester Guardian* remarked:

It is not, indeed, from lack of pacts that Europe has reached its present state but from general scepticism about the virtue that is in them.

An Air Locarno, an Eastern Locarno,—they are names, and even should such pacts be signed, there is nothing to prevent nations in emergency flouting them and other signatories with impunity. It has happened already, and it is likely to happen again. The outlook, in short, is very gloomy. In Mr. C. E. Montague's words (written several

years ago), "Civilization itself . . . wears a strange new air of precariousness." It is so hopeless that even a soldier, Major General Fuller, remarks: "If armies went to war to-day, the confusion and loss of life would be catastrophic." Why then is nothing done to preserve our civilization when there is yet time? We must plan to save ourselves, or be prepared to perish. A generation of poets, novelists and philosophers have told us what the war has been to them. Remarque, Blunden, Barbusse, Zweig, Sherif, Hemingway, Tomlinson, Siegfried Sassoon, Robert Graves, Herbert Read and innumerable other sensitive souls have been on the rack and they know what a modern war is and they have given due warning to us. Galsworthy has roundly advised us:

Let us be just and tolerant; let us stand fast and stand together
—for light and liberty, for humanity and peace!

Have we still that saving grace of essential humanity, —the integrating recuperative force that makes for universal human solidarity—that could yet reconcile the nations and perfect the brotherhood of man?

SHARAT CHAND

By SHRI RAMNATH SUMAN

[This is a critical estimate and appreciation of one of the foremost Men of letters in modern Bengal.]

What differentiates him from other writers before him may be described as his sense of setting. It can be emphatically said of him that he has added a new dimension to our conception of a story. . . . He has created individuals; . . . and not merely types.

—NIREN ROY

Sharat Chandra's rise in the firmament of Bengali literature has been phenomenal. He shot like a meteor and dazzled us with his luminous glow. There is no other Indian writer whose rise has been so sudden. Since his appearance he has dominated Bengali literature as no other man, with the single exception of Rabindranath, has ever dominated. Like a charmer, he has constantly kept spell-bound the reader of the Bengali novel. Where mighty hands failed, he came to occupy an unique position, almost an immortal one.

What was the reason, what the element to which the heart of Bengal responded so quickly? It is the philosophy, the mind, the spirit underlying his works; it is because in his works Bengal re-discovered her soul. A Bengali of Bengalis, there is no one perhaps who knows Bengal more intimately. He has the power of insight into commonplace things, the power that reveals to us the potentiality of intense passion lurking behind the panoramic scenes of everyday life. Life as found in Bengal, the life in all its roughs and tumbles, its hopes and ambitions, its longings and failures finds fullest

expression in him. He has drunk deep down into the life of his people, and, has "lit up the unlit spaces of Bengali life, its small sorrows and simple smiles and simpler wiles, restoring to their proper place of honour and importance the despised and the down-trodden; the tramp and the gull."*

The deep note of love, attended by pathos, is characteristic of his stories. He has painted love in all its thousand and one varieties. He rejoices in all. Upendra's love for Sur-Bala, Savitri's for Satish, Girish's for Shaila, the wife of his brother, all these variations have been depicted with a consummate skill, rare in other Bengali novelists. He lays bare the struggle of the soul with a deep sympathetic touch and presents us the vivid realities of Life in a most subtle way. We wonder at his tremendous grasp of facts and mysteries of life. No other India novelist has created such a variety of characters, not types. A forbearing husband, with extraordinary power of toleration, a self-sacrificing wife, with the deepest possible affection for her husband, a conspiring young pair, with half-closed eyes and beating hearts, a tortured widow, with glories of heaven in her heart, a caste-ridden society, an ignoble mother-in-law, a loving sister, a typical fisherman, and a fallen woman with doors closed against her, despised by the society, none the less with feelings and longings of the feminine Eternal, with wounds bleeding with a vengeance—all are there. Deep, generous and dedicating Love you behold with eyes full of tears and such monstrous passion as you will shudder to imagine! The human heart is laid bare here, with all its vivid realities, consuming passions, self-giving love. The physical thirst is there, but the mysterious cravings of heart and soul are also there. Like a picture gallery of Life we pass by them, sometimes with eyes full of happy tears, sometimes with a heart beating out of proportion, again with

*The Forward, September 13, 1931.

an awe and at the next step with a softened heart and impassioned soul. By the stroke of his extraordinary genius he has been able to create a galaxy of characters.

Nevertheless he seems to have been influenced by the mysteries that are latent in feminine character. Apparently—the woman interests him more than the man. His feminine creations are always brilliant, original and perfect. In fact, his greatness lies there.

An apostle of freedom and humanity, he has waged a relentless war, an unceasing crusade against a heartless society, which strikes at the root of human culture and arrests its growth. But a reformer and reformist though he is, he touches his themes with a singular tender note of love and sympathy and ennobles all that is coarse and despicable. In fact he is not a reformer in the strict sense of the term. He, like a true artist, is not concerned with the outer growth of society; he belongs to the tribe whose work is to re-discover and enlarge the essential spirit latent in human character. He is like an artist who whatever he touches, touches with the hand of magic and transforms it into a piece of exquisite beauty, pulsating and throbbing with Life-Force. He is perhaps the first Indian novelist who broke the monotony of all dead conventions and entered into the spirit of 'fallen women', has seen the ever-bleeding, ever-green wounds under a most exacting interplay of emotions. He has restored her to a place of honour and glory. He has re-discovered for her, her lost soul. In his writings with consummate skill, he depicts the women good at heart but misunderstood and un-appreciated. He has boundless sympathy for this unhappy and unfortunate lot. He is essentially human, a true Vaishnava in his artistic touches. It is the glory of Love which is supreme in his works, the Love which expresses and finds fulfilment in innumerable strokes of Life, some-

times terrible, sometimes gentle, the Love, which whatever form it takes, remains the greatest force in life, its greatest and mightiest beautifier and ennobler. And it is through the Magic of Love that he has been able to raise a fallen woman to the true majesty of the feminine heart. Sharat Chandra has brought an air of true democracy in Bengali literature.

A novelist is not like a gospeller. He is not a reformer either. Reformist he may be but not in the sense of didactics. Through the power and imagination of an impassioned soul, he dives deep into human character, re-arranges the silent Life-Force within, and brings to bear a healthy influence on our mental vision and make-up. Our heart expands; we feel the pulse of a rising, growing conscience within us and see our sympathies enlarged, the unity of impression stronger and the vision clearer. Therein lies his mission to Humanity. Sharat Chandra is great as he fulfills this mission. Not that he has not fallen from his high pedestal anywhere. In his 'Shesh Prashna', his last novel, he has fallen to the ground. But then it is not the Sharat, the artist Sharat, the true and human Sharat. Age has told terribly on him. He has fallen a victim of temptation, and has tried to play the role of a reformer, a sociologist and a teacher, and has failed rather miserably. He has become a logician and has tried to solve the problem of ultimate aim of society and accordingly to give a new face to it. In doing so he has forgot the ultimate truth of Man. Life is endless in its expressions, and by its very nature there can be no ultimate ending. Again, a true artist is concerned with the individual, and not with the society as such. Whenever he takes to unfold some secret puzzle of social law, it is for the individual and in the interest of the individual. But in 'Shesh Prashna' Sharat Chandra has forgot all his limitations.

In fact the author of 'Shesh Prashna' is not Sharat Chandra at all; it is his skeleton, without flesh, without life. A storm breathes throughout the story, but without any restraint, without any deep human urge, without any self-culture and self-fulfilment, without any cosmic realisation.

The torturing conflict between instinct and ideals, between Social Conscience and Personal Will is the great contradiction of Life, its ultimate problem, its final enigma. It is the fundamental contradiction, which is at the bottom of civilisation, and the answers which the man has given to this problem in different ages make up his cultural history.*

The difference lies in modes of setting the problem and giving the answer. The ideal which a novelist sets before him is not an argumentative judgment in favour of either the Social Conscience or Personal Will. His is a nobler mission of finding a synthesis of purpose between the two, a harmony amidst the conflicts, unity in diversity. He cannot despise the one and love the other. For him both have their proper value and place in the evolution of Man. For him both are noble and beautiful and unless and until both meet and submerge, there can be no perfect Creation, no Man. Sharat Chandra in his former works has attempted, and attempted successfully, to create this Being; but he has demolished him in his last work. Sharat Chandra, the former, the artist, remains immortal with us; Sharat Chandra, the latter, the demagogue, is lifeless and dead, without any human perspective, prerogative and destiny.

*Professor S. C. Sen Gupta in a study of Sharatchandra, In *Forward* September 13, 1931.

KINGSHIP AND ITS PROBLEMS IN THE TIME OF JALALUDDIN KHILJI

By ISHWAR TOPA

[This is the second part of Dr. Topa's chapter under the above caption from his forthcoming book—"Studies of Kingship in Medieval India."]

II

Jalaluddin had no faith in the institution of kingship, because it became the maker of its own law or followed the crooked ways that were not sanctioned in the Shariat. He was no believer in the political doctrine—'kingship knows no kingship'. Kingship, as subservient to the Shariat, was to be kept in view in order that it should be able to justify its *esprit de corps* and its very existence. If it defied the Shariat, then, according to Jalaluddin, it was no kingship in the true sense of the term and it should be discarded. In course of his talk with Ahmad Chap he had made it plain to him that he would be willing to abdicate the throne in favour of anyone among his nobles who longed for kingship which should be oppressive and despotic and thus after taking reins of government he could imbrue his hand with the blood of the innocents⁴³. If it was not possible to rule without shedding blood of the Muslims, he did not need such a kingship⁴⁴. The curse of God would descend upon him for which he had not the strength to bear in case he were to be despotic⁴⁵.

⁴³ Tarikh-i-Ferozshahi pp. 186, 187

⁴⁴ Ibid p. 187
bid p. 187

From the above-mentioned elucidation of his ideas it is clear to us that Jalaluddin considered Islam and politics as conceived then as antithesis of each other. There could be no compromise between them. Either Islam or politics should reign supreme, because both could not go well together. So politics without the Islamic basis would be despotism or absolutism which form of government could never be good for the people. Hence his willingness to renounce kingship and his insistence on the dissociation of his name with despotism. So far we have come to know about Jalaluddin's inborn hatred for rank despotism and contempt for the shallowness of kingship. In this connection the mention of the siege of Ranthumbhor will not be out of place. It will, on the contrary, make us more acquainted with the ideas of Jalaluddin. His order to retreat without conquering the fort of Ranthumbhor gave rise to a hot discussion on the principles of politics between Ahmad Chap and himself. Such a political discussion deserves our attention as it throws fresh light on the real working of the mind of the kings of the world. It is no exaggeration to say that it gives us an insight into the psychological study of kingship. As Jalaluddin and Ahmad Chap belonged to two different schools of political thought, the views expressed by them were also so divergent that an understanding between them seemed well-nigh impossible. There was a clash between the two rival schools.

According to Jalaluddin the cause of retreat was that the victory would entail immense Muslim sacrifice for which the fort was not worth it⁴⁶. To the politically-minded Ahmad Chap retreat meant defeatism and negation of all royal authority and prestige. He approached Jalaluddin with

⁴⁶ Tarikh-i-Ferozshahi p. 213

a definite view to explain to him how disastrous the consequences of such a retreat would be⁴⁷. In matters of conquest, Ahmad Chap remarked, the kings of the world were never deterred by any thought and knew no scruples that could be considered a stumbling block in their way to conquest⁴⁸. Jalaluddin was not the man who could be swayed easily by the argument of Ahmad Chap. He became all the more adamant in his convictions. To him the spirit of conquest as shown by the kings and the conquerors was nothing more than the satisfaction of their heart's desire and the proclamation of their conquest far and wide in order that their authority might be established. The infliction of misery, distress and discomfort on the lives of the people by thousands never upset them in the materialization of their political aim⁴⁹. Their enterprise was inspirited with conquest-motives⁵⁰. Even the idea of the ruination of the people could not stop them from their conquest⁵¹.

To accept the philosophy of conquest as a guiding motive in life and to think and act in the manner of the kings was a thing which nauseated him. He absolutely disapproved of their political philosophy and told Ahmad Chap frankly that it ought to be borne in mind that the laws of God and the Prophet were different from the laws of the despots and tyrants⁵². What such despots and tyrants did for the transitory honour of their country, having accumulated the punishment of Hell by taking pride in their enterprise, had no substance and value in it⁵³. As their art of politics drove

⁴⁷ Ibid p. 214

⁴⁸ Ibid p. 214

⁴⁹ Ibid p. 214

⁵⁰ Ibid p. 214

⁵¹ Ibid p. 214

⁵² Tarikh-i-Ferozshahi p. 215. It seems that such kings appeared to Jalaluddin as despots and tyrants.

⁵³ Ibid p. 215

despair in the heart of the people, Islam fled like a hare from the heaven⁵⁴. Jalaluddin remarked that his criterion was Islamic and his thoughts and action were actuated by Islamic precepts⁵⁵. The point of view of Ahmad Chap was based on the words and deeds of the despots⁵⁶. Jalaluddin reminded Ahmad Chap of the day of judgment which was to come and for every act, good or bad, one had to be answerable before God⁵⁷. It meant that Jalaluddin could not justify Islamically the ways of the despots. But the most interesting part of the political discussion was how the ingenious-minded Ahmad Chap twisted his own words into an interpretation of an absolutely new import in order to justify his political philosophy and to fillip Jalaluddin into activity. Thus he wanted to explain his position to his master with a view to dispel misinterpretation of kingship from Jalaluddin's mind⁵⁸ and requested him to follow the examples of Sultan Mahmud and Sultan Sanjar who were the protectors of Islam as well as the conquerors of the world⁵⁹. Most probably the idea at the back of his mind was to harmonise the spirit of conquest with the Islamic law. It was his last finesse against the good-natured and religious-minded Jalaluddin. But this even could not disturb the latter's belief in the rightness of religious as well as moral law. Jalaluddin was quite well aware of the fact that there was a great difference between his position and the positions of Mahmud and Sanjar⁶⁰. They ruled Islamic countries in accordance with the Shariat, and could, therefore, be called the real rulers. There could be no com-

⁵⁴ Ibid p. 216

⁵⁵ Ibid p. 215

⁵⁶ Ibid pp. 215, 216

⁵⁷ Ibid p. 215

⁵⁸ Ibid p. 216

⁵⁹ Ibid p. 216

⁶⁰ Ibid p. 216

parison between Jalaluddin's government and theirs⁶¹. He himself made a frank confession of it. He was made to rule a country which could not be denominated as Islamic. Therefore he derided at the idea expressed by Ahmad Chap regarding the advisability of following the examples of Sultan Mahmud and Sultan Sanjar. Jalaluddin remarked that even their 'Sulhadaran' and 'Rikabdarar' were better than he and far superior to him and how during his temporary government he could harbour such thoughts in order to act in such a manner as to achieve what had already been attained by them⁶². To him those Sultans were the protectors and patrons of Islam⁶³. Jalaluddin, in order to convince Ahmad Chap who was labouring under a delusion as to the actual state of affairs in India on account of his youth and pride of wealth, remarked that the non-Islamic institutions were flourishing unhampered in his reign and he could not even suppress the pagan rites of the unbelievers and could not even interfere with the ways of life the infidels were living⁶⁴. If he had been an Islamic king or a real king or at least had the dignity and power in him like the Islamic kings to protect Islam, neither would he allow the worst enemies of the religion of the Prophet to live a life of ease, comfort, and contentedness, nor let them strut before the Muslims with gusto and pomp⁶⁵. But the controlled and well-balanced fanatic mind of the believer made him tolerate such things and practices under his very nose for reasons of his weak position and low status. In his heart of hearts he did not wish to have the perpetuation of the un-Islamic institutions but his circumstances compelled him to see all things flourishing

⁶¹ Ibid p. 217

⁶² Ibid p. 216

⁶³ Ibid p. 216

⁶⁴ Ibid pp. 216, 217

⁶⁵ Ibid p. 217

which were considered un-Islamic and anti-Islamic.

Jalaluddin bravely faced the problem of the day by making his own position clear. To him his form of government was not really in conformity with the Shariat though he yearned to have it established as a reality nor could he hazard to run his government according to the religio-political principles of Mahmud and Sanjar. He realized the awkwardness of his own position and was also conscious of the deplorable status of his kingship; he confessed that the Khatibs in their sermons (kutbas) falsely proclaimed him as an Islamic ruler which he eventually found it to be untrue⁶⁶. Being thoroughly convinced of his own faith as a Muslim and of the importance of the underlying principles of the Shariat for the establishment of political power he did not even like the idea of hearing such allegations as were propounded in the sermons (kutbas) that he was a Muslim ruler because his sultanship was not what it ought to be⁶⁷. His kingship was only in name and nothing more did it convey to him though it was his ardent wish to Islamize it.

Having so far dealt with his ideas on kingship, politics, and ethics, we will now try to show how far he was successful in translating his ideas into action. In this way, we would be able to estimate not only the man in Jalaluddin but also the kingship in actuality. Success or failure of such a kingship politically is not our aim, but what kingship, in theory and practice, strove after will deserve our attention.

Jalaluddin never insulted his maliks, amirs, functionaries of the government and those whom he had elevated and dignified nor did them any harm but bestowed utmost care in not inconveniencing them nor punished them in any way

⁶⁶ Ibid p. 217

⁶⁷ Ibid p. 217

for the crimes committed by them⁶⁸. He treated them with all kindness and goodwill as the parents treat their children⁶⁹. From the days of malikship to his kingship he was never known to have laid hands on their wealth and property, nor dismissed those whom he had taken in his service⁷⁰. It was finely remarked by the author of the *Tabakat-i-Akbari* that "fining and amercing and imprisonment and torture and greed for other people's wealth which were characteristic of despots and tyrants, were never perpetrated by him during the whole time of his sovereignty⁷¹. Jalaluddin also tried to remove a distance of feeling between himself and his courtiers and officers by mixing with them without having any regard for his royal status⁷². It meant that the kingship of Jalaluddin had totally destroyed the Balbani ideas of awe and prestige and was instrumental in developing the ideal of Kaiqubad. Thus an attempt was hazarded at linking kingship with its functionaries. Jalaluddin's actual behaviour must have vitalized those humanizing forces, which were let loose during the regime of Kaiqubad. The absolutist tendency in kingship was curbed and smothered. Kingship, in toto, was humanized. Jalaluddin completed the work of Kaiqubad. It was alleged that the kingship of Jalaluddin became unpopular on account of his queer ideas of government⁷³, but if we dive a bit deep into the actual working of his government we will find, to our great surprise, that his kingship had a most sobering effect on the officials. Ziauddin Barni had

⁶⁸ *Tarikh-i-Ferozshahi* p. 193

⁶⁹ *Ibid* p. 193

⁷⁰ *Ibid* pp. 193-194

⁷¹ *Ibid* pp. 189, 190. See also *Tabakat-i-Akbari* p. 137

⁷² *Tarikh-i-Ferozshahi*, p. 199

⁷³ *Tarikh-i-Ferozshahi* p. 189. There was an unbridgeable difference between the political ideas of the Balbani school of thought and Jalaluddin's. The promulgation of new ideas by Jalaluddin was abhorrent to his maliks who belonged to the old Balbani school of politics. These maliks

committed himself to a statement to the effect that, during the reign of Jalaluddin, neither could any one among the officials take mean advantage of his position while administering affairs of the people nor could he act contrary to the law of the Shariat in matters concerning public welfare⁷⁴. If he did, he became unpopular and the people lost all faith in him⁷⁵. It was due to the salutary influence of the kingship of Jalaluddin that they always tried to be on their guard in order to stick to the Shariat⁷⁶. Jalaluddin was a keen well-wisher of his people. He took the greatest care in sorting the right type of officials for the functioning of government and never trusted the mean and the vicious nor vested them with power and authority⁷⁷. Thus in such a way it was attempted to free the government from the malevolent influences of the principles of politics which he abhorred

were trying to make him unpopular by attributing all sorts of mean motives. There was a clash between the two worlds of thought. The resentment of the maliks was due to the fact that, in the defeat of their political ideas, they had no hope of political ascendancy, political power and political influence. To them India was only a country to be exploited for the good of a certain group of people. In other words, to rule and conquer India was foremost in their minds but the welfare of the country was never at their heart. The how and why of things never bothered them. They had the adventurer's spirit, but did not know how to rule for the good of a country. They had still the foreigner's mentality. They thought that lavish expense of money and wealth could win people for ever and make them happy; oppression and cruelty, punishment and severity could crush rebels and would create dread in the heart of the people. Kingship should take all these factors into consideration. But they did not know that there were other essential factors contributing to the formation of a real, solid, and permanent base for the complete solidarity of the state. Though they were following the political philosophy of Balban, they could not catch his spirit of government underlying his political ideal. In the practice of government, India was in need of a new political outlook and force. Kaiqubad and Jalaluddin knew the essentials for the functioning of the government of a country like India.

⁷⁴ *Ibid* p. 202

⁷⁵ *Ibid* p. 202

⁷⁶ *Ibid* p. 202

⁷⁷ *Ibid* pp. 205, 206

from the core of his heart. In other words, as a ruler Jalaluddin must have taken the greatest care and interest in the general discharge of governmental duties and must have succeeded in bringing the people nearer to the government by raising their status or position in life. The public was no more considered as a chattel to be driven by the dictates of officials. The people were given scope for their development and were made to sense and feel their own individuality. Here too Kaiqubad influence was utilized by Jalaluddin for humanizing the societal forces and the state activity.

POEMS

A SYLVAN SYMPHONY

By V. N. BHUSHAN

[Mr. Bhushan has already won recognition as a poet and the appreciation of Mr. Edmund Blunden, Mrs. Naidu and Sir Mohd. Iqbal, among others. The following which is an adaptation into English of a Telugu folk-song is a very pleasant reading.]

[This is a free—and rather autocratic—adaptation into English of an ancient Andhra folk-song. . . . The story goes that once the seven queens of Sree Krishna, in a syncopated vein of superiority-complex, boasted of their beauty, and said that it would be impossible to find their equal in the world. He, the ever-sportive Lord, took the challenge up. . . . Far and away he roamed in search of her whose beauty would humble the puffed-up pride of his chosen consorts. He went, he saw, and he conquered! And then, with throbbing hearts and jealous eyes, the seven queens beheld before them—the blue-hued enchanter and the brown-limbed enchantress—V. N. B.]

Far down and deep in the forest shades
Where rich scents and sounds did marriage make,
Where the cassia bloomed and the marigolds mocked
The flickering purple of the chastened stars,
Where from their couch on the silver stream
The budding lotus-maidens blushed
At the cuckoo's amorous song from the alce-break,
Where the laugh of leaves and whisper of winds
Swept serenely poised on the swift-winged breeze
Through cedar arches and bamboo groves,
Where in tangled briar hooded snakes and horned adders
Kept time with lowing heifers and bleating lambs. . . .
There, under ever-changing gold and satin skies,

By the rush-filled river and the rain-fed rill,
The musk-smeared, round-limbed *Chenchu* maid,
Naked, save for a glorious girdle of flowers and leaves,
Stood with long-drawn bow and quivering arrow,
awaiting prey!

Of a sudden she heard a sound and saw a stir,
And rubbed her eyes to make certain and sure
Of the blue-hued wonder that moved as a dream
With lute and laughter, beneath a vine-leaved arch.

With the blue disc of halo around his youthful head,
With the waving peacock crest and the jewelled throat,
The stranger lifted his hand and played on the flute
Thrilling the forest-heart to strange wild ecstasies.
Over meadow and moor and tree and turf a rapture ran
And flooded the gold gateways of the *Chencheeta's*
heart.

She looked askance at the miraculous music-guest
As thro' a reed he breathed melodies rich and rare.
Transported anon to unknown ports of pleasure
The *Chenchu* maiden forgot speech and song
To hail or even question the audacious intruder there.
She bided time in the zone of dread and doubt
When the wizard flutist suddenly sprang to his feet
And with a winning flower-soft musical voice said:

"Dark-limbed maiden, O daughter of the forest-king!
Fresh as a flower, sweet as a song!

Pardon this trespass mine for a moment tho'—
Nymph in thy nakedness, beautiful beyond compare!
Glorious Nature's first fine careless rapture!—
To woo and wed thee in this wild cathedral here
Have I come across wild jungle ways and streams,
From distant Dwaraka on the Western coast

Where white sea-waves girdle the brown-black beach
And make foam-flowers blossom in fugitive pain.
The nut-brown maid lost in nebulous thought
Gathered her faltering courage and flying colour,
And with flushing cheek and flaming anger made reply:
"Quick, depart from here with your smiles and songs,
Why intrude thus on my woodland calm and peace,
Why trouble with music these silent jungle ways,
Why ruffle my native modesty's mauvish depths?"
The queer flutist drew a few steps near and said:
"Maiden most perfect, maiden most passionate!
For thee have I left my luxurious palace abode,
The dazzling emerald halls and onyx chambers,
And the queens with matchless gait and grace!
Come, blooming maid, be mine in my welcoming arms;
We will together throng and thrill all ports of pleasure,
And on the pinnacle of Life the flag of joy unfurl!"
A passion and a fear un-experienced till then
Seized and shattered her frame so strong
That in a wild tempestuous rage she cried:
"Go back, O wizard of waking wonder, go,
You disturb me so much, I cannot see thee still;
A strange sensitive pain rends me through;
And O flutist! see the sunset smites the sky
With fragile strokes of flickering gold!
And my father, the lord of all the lordly tribal chiefs,
With my brothers will return from the chase ere long;
And shouldst they see me with a stranger here
Surely would they fret and fume and get wild;
Go back, go back, O wizard of waking wonder, go!"
He, the lord of subtle charms, the import knew,
Saw thro' the restlessness that about her raged,
And determined to win, a step nearer went and said:

"My love, my sweet, here, before thy ebony image,
 I make an offering of all that is and shall be mine;
 Spread myself beneath thy feet of clay
 To be trodden upon ere thou greetest thy father now;
 Not till thou claspest me close and my consort be
 Will I leave this place and return home
 Maiden mine, let me no longer hide—
 I am He whom seven royal queens admire,
 And sixteen thousand *gopi* girls embrace,
 I am He who on Jamuna banks and in Mathura streets
 Jingle music to lead life to exalted heights,
 I am He whom both mortals and immortals adore,
 I am He, the ruler of worlds, the ruler of hearts!
 As he ended thus, was heard the approaching horsemen's
 tramp,
 Their upturned spears gleaming in the wan west light.
 A shudder shook the *Chencheta* from top to toe
 As she spied near at hand her father's deep-dark form
 With wind-blown locks and heavy rolling eyes;
 Her own eyes got closed in awful fear of the angry
 figure,
 The fear that made her leap suddenly into her lover's
 arms.
 "Save me"—the frightened *Chencheta* cried in pain,
 Save me, wizard of waking wonder, save me now;
 My father's wrath will curse and crucify me sure;
 Ah, stranger, whose music will not let me rest,
 Ah, lover, whose glance will not let me peace,
 Ah, clasp me close, and make me forever thine!"
 Krishna with the *Chenchu* maid in his enclosed arms
 Felt a vainglorious pleasure, a victor's pride!—
 And with a triumphant tone and majestic mien, said:
 "Nearer and dearer to me than the pendant gem

That gleams across my jewelled breast,
 Nearer and dearer to me than the queens that share
 My gold-littered throne in Dwaraka's palace-hall,
 Dearer than the flute that guards my secrets all,—
 Art thou dear and near to me my sweet *Chenchu* bride,
 Since I have fulfilled my forced vow this day!"
 As the surprised and dumb-struck father stared aghast
 At the thrilling tableau under the vine-leaved arch,
 Krishna stroked his new treasure's luxurious hair,
 And felt her unyielded body pliant at his slender touch!
 And even as his super-sweetness made him win
 A sweet responsive kiss made them one!

HEAVEN OF THE MORROW

By B. S. TANTRY

When East began her service of Love and
With compassionate hands waved the torch of Light,
In misty days of yore, benighted West
Did awaken to paths of virtuous glory.
Alas! millenniums' strife sank fallen West
Into gaping Hell of Hate and Blood. Anon,
Shall not Love heal the fest'ring sore of Power
And pelf and stay the slaying hands of armed West
Reclaiming penitent West to Love's domain?
From East to West, from Pole to Pole, joyous
Heav'n listening, do we proclaim the Dawn
Of redeemed man, when Love alone stands
Sole guardian at the gates of Freedom's shrine
To cleanse the Earth fresh with tears of toil,
Linking all creeds, all climes in undying oneness.
Life's pilgrimage is that: that is life divine;
Heaven's worship true is such service of Man!
All else is cant; all else is mockery!

THE TRIAL OF MIRA

(A One Act Play)

By MOHANLAL KASHYAP

[N.B. The play is based on authorised historical chronicles. The theme is purely about the trials of Mira which assailed her so often in her life. The author says he is highly indebted to his friend and guide Sri Harindranath Chattopadhyaya for revising and correcting the manuscript of this play.]

Dramatis Personae:

MIRA—the heroine.

RANA VIKRAMJIT—the then Rana of Mewar.

CHAMPA—A 'Sakhi' of Mira.

A maid of Rana Vikramjit

SCENE 1

Mira in her chamber at Chitorgargh musing in ecstasy. Champa enters on the Rana's errand.

Champa bows to Mira.

CHAMPA: Salutations to you, O! resplendent crest of Bhaktasamudaya—I bow with respect. Sweet queen of devotion and beauty, I pray you.

MIRA: God bless you!

CHAMPA: (after a few minutes deliberation and with a little hesitation) Great queen! will your honour suffer me to comment on the kind of life you lead? Will you pardon my impertinence?

MIRA: Most gladly, Champa! I will listen. Gratefully will I lend a hearing to your words of comment, be they favourable or otherwise.

CHAMPA: Thank you for your kindness. Then, listen, I pray you. Your honour's uncourtly and unroyal demeanour and a strangely free mode of living has worried us all.

MIRA: What do you mean, Champa? I do not follow you.

CHAMPA: I mean, Oh queen, the sort of life you live. Does it stand fitly to the grace of the royal court, oh queen to lavish such an unduly abundant favour on the sadhus of the street? Is it at all honourable to your grace to spend your time with them, to dance with them and to sing with them all day and all night long?

MIRA: Wherein lies the dishonour, Champa?

CHAMPA: Oh young queen, you know not, such a company for all the twenty-four hours is unbecoming not only to you, but also to the royal clan of Sisodias. Your demeanour has irritated the Rana as well.

MIRA: Such disgrace I count as grace. Keertan and chant are the essence of life. I could hardly live without the company of sadhus. It is the breath of my life.

CHAMPA: It may seem so to you. But the glory of the Sisodias is stained and dragged into the dust. It is shattered into pieces. You have baffled the royal honour, queen-worshipper!

MIRA: So you would like me to do otherwise?

CHAMPA: Oh kindly queen, it would be in the fitness of the royal grace and rank, if you would, if only to maintain the honour of the Sisodias—a cardinal virtue, to uphold the banner of their glory by cultivating the royal check and reserve.

MIRA: That would be death to me, oh sweet maiden! I cannot flinch from my deep devotion to the blue Lord. I cannot give up my myriad hymns and love-dreams. I live with them. I live through them. My songs and dreams take me nearer and nearer to the lotus-feet of Gopal. And that is my destination.

CHAMPA: I love and admire your devotion, dear queen! But what would all this afford you? Is it all you labour at?

MIRA: It will enlighten me and my soul. It will afford me an eternal thrill of joy, such as can be obtained only by a ceaseless communion with Gopal. The joy obtained from

the fruitful devotion of a flowering heart. Then I shall watch and watch the transformation of my delight deep in the eternal soul. That is the promise of all life yours and mine.

CHAMPA: Ah, queen of Girdhar Gopal, oh mistress of my heart—the light streams through your eyes. I am enlightened now. Pardon me and my blind outburst—O' let me kiss your feet, although I be all too unworthy!

(Bent down Champa kisses Mira's feet, and falls in an ecstasy.)

MIRA: Arise, young maiden! and dedicate your passions, love and life to Girdhar Gopal. Let us call our own lord and lover.

(Both stand up against the shrine of Gopal and madly dance and go on singing together unwearily till they are lost in a devotional fit.)

Enter Gopal, the land of these eyes,
The land of sorrow-tides and sighs.
And seated on the heart's throne. Gopal
O Piper, pipe a song to call
Some drops of love some big, some small—
When folds, unfolds this silver-ball
The fiery passion of my love
My hopes and dreams that soar above.
Then will you like to flood my flute
With mystic rapture of love mute.

SCENE 2

The royal palace of Chitorgargh. Rana Vikramjit is sitting on the throne. Enters a maid. She bows to the Rana. Rana bids her take a seat.

VIKRAMJIT: What news from Mira, maid?

MAID: Rana, she is a miracle. She is built of a mysterious clay. At every moment of disaster some spirit attends her.

VIKRAMJIT: What do you mean, maid?

MAID: It is obvious, Rana. I duly gave her the cup you sent. I told her that it was a 'Chirnamrit' specially sent for her by you. Exalted, she drank it, yea! and cheerfully. And lo! even now she lives Is that not a miracle of miracles?

And that's not all! She enchanted Champa, your honour's maid only the other day.

VIKRAMJIT: It is strange.

MAID: Yea, passing strange a deed much more than human!

VIKRAMJIT: And what of the blue serpent I sent? It must have made a clear mark on her flesh—that terrible blue serpent!

MAID: Nay, my lord, it also revealed a miracle in Mira. I took the basket and gave it to her saying—"The Rana sends for you this portrait of your lord. Keep it and cherish it."

VIKRAMJIT: And then?

MAID: Out of the basket rose her blue lord Gopal, her cherished Master. The serpent was transfigured to Girdhar Gopal. A rare wonder, you will admit, Rana! I could not help fleeing from her lest I too should be enchanted for ever.

VIKRAMJIT: (drawing a deep breath) Am I to believe you and believe my ears? Is all this true? Is it possible? Speak!

MAID: All this had happened before my very eyes, and I was surely not asleep. Sheer magic. A veritable miracle. I say—a huge mystery. It was all real, my lord! and at the same time it struck dumb wonder into my heart. It all happened like an unbelievable dream before my eyes.

VIKRAMJIT: Miraculous are the ways of Mira's life!
Mysterious—her clay, and magical!
She weaves enchanting webs around us all!

* * * * *

(Silence prevails in the hall for a while)

MAID: Thrice gracious Rana, and that's not all. Mira's mystery is even greater than what you describe it to be. Mira is an exorciser. She hath a grip on all our moods.

VIKRAMJIT: Is there anything more you can relate, O maid!

MAID: Her temple itself is a chamber of miracles. In the dead of night, when the world, the trees, the men are all asleep, a love-tale is spun behind the closed doors in her mysterious chamber. She weeps and sighs and sings. She talks and

dances with some man. This frail woman has fallen deep in love with a vagabond Sadhu of the street!!!

VIKRAMJIT: A Sadhu of the street? What do you say?

MAID: Whom else would she fall in love with? Day-long and night-long she is among those shams—shirkers of life, named Sadhus. She cannot help being there with them, to talk of love, to sing of love, and weep and sigh at the parting-hour.

VIKRAMJIT: It is humiliating!

MAID: It is, in truth, Rana! It is a bolt, a slur on the royal honour.

VIKRAMJIT: I must defend the honour of our clan at this critical hour—I must

MAID: It is your duty and your pledge! Oh lord, it is in your hands alone to preserve the glory of the race!

VIKRAMJIT: I will—and early too! I will tear away the cloak of the masked-murderers of our glory, the Sadhus in league with Mira. I will confront her with the naked reality. And then I will defend and maintain the royal cause Depart maid! leave me alone awhile for—I would think.

(The maid retires from the palace. Rana falls down in a mad frenzy. Finally, he too leaves the palace)

SCENE 3

Mira is singing in her temple-chamber of Girdhar Gopal at the dead of night

My eyes are aching without Thy sight,
Since you parted, Oh my lord!
My heart was never light.
My soul and heart, they spring and beat
At every tune and word
From lutes and lips so sweet.

(Rana Vikramjit arrives out at the door with a naked sword in his hand. He stands outside the temple-door, listening.)

My life is but a tambourine—
And to the heart's dim drum

I chant the Love unseen.
 I stand and wait along the way
 On Thee! wilt Thou come.....?
 Girdhar Gopal, to-day.....?
 Oh dearest, wilt Thou come,—
 Girdhar Gopal.....?

(A whisper other than Mira's immediately arises, perhaps, in response to the song. A pin-drop silence for a time, succeeded by a sound of several feet dangling and beating on the chamber-floor.)

Rana being taken up partly by doubt and partly by terror cannot help knocking the door. So he knocks.

MIRA: Who is it?

VIKRAMJIT: (in a very distinct voice) It's I, Mira, just open the door.

The door opens. The Rana goes in. He looks around but all in vain.

He finds no human figure except Mira in the chamber. He is taken aback by wonder and terror together.

VIKRAMJIT: Mira, whom were you just talking with? Who is the scoundrel? Speak!

MIRA: What do you say, sir?

VIKRAMJIT: I will search him out with whom were you chatting, singing and dancing together, so long.

MIRA: Who else can it be than Girdhar Gopal, Noble Rana? Who else may it be? I have been with my lord all this time—He who is my all in all, my sole companion in this world!

VIKRAMJIT: (with a gesture of surprise and worry) Where is He? (Rana makes searches in every nook and corner in Mira's chamber and Krishna's temple. But in vain.)

VIKRAMJIT: (coming back to Mira) Mira, I don't find Him. Is it all a dream, a fancy, or—a miracle? What? Have you enchanted me too, Mira?

MIRA: No—Rana! I have done no such thing. It is neither a dream, nor a miracle. It is a reality.

VIKRAMJIT: No more pretensions, Mira. Do you hear? Undoubtedly, you are a past-master at miracles, you enchan-

trous? How long shall I endure the ruin of the royal glory wrought by your hands? It is beyond endurance, I say, beyond endurance!

MIRA: You accuse me of things of which I am not guilty, Rana!

VIKRAMJIT: And do you still pretend, Mira? No longer shall you stay here, you and your Girdhar Gopal. Do you hear—frail and foolish woman!—

MIRA: Leave me alone with my Lord—Rana! I wish to be left all alone.....

Rana Vikramjit slips away. Mira disguises herself as a rustic woman. She takes her beloved and long-cherished idol of Girdhar Gopal in a basket. She is now ready to retire from the royal home for ever in the dead of night.)

MIRA: Adieu! Chittor, the home of my human clay and my human husband. (With a deep sigh and tears dropping down from her eyes) Good-bye, O' sleeping maids, Good-bye, Chittor. the home of Sisodias! My MASTER calls me. Let me reach his lotus-feet, let me attend Him.....

(Mira goes out of the fort. She treads a lonely and wild roadway towards Brindavan.....)

EXIT

A MASTER MIND OF THE TWENTIETH
CENTURY

By N. R. DHAR

The World as I see it. By Albert Einstein. Translated
by Alan Harris. London John Lane, The Bodley Head.
Limited. 8s. 6d. net.

Albert Einstein, perhaps the greatest mathematical physicist and thinker of our age, whose work in the domains of mathematics, physics and physical chemistry has created important landmarks in the progress of science, has collected his recent writings and speeches in this book. This publication shows his deep sincerity and passionate love of truth and justice.

In the first part of his book Einstein deals with the philosophical and moral aspects of human life and science in general. To him "The true value of a human being is determined primarily by the measure and the sense in which he has attained to liberation from the self". About wealth he says:

I am absolutely convinced that no wealth in the world can help humanity forward, even in the hands of the most devoted worker in this cause. The example of great and pure characters is the only thing that can produce fine ideas and noble deeds. Money only appeals to selfishness and always tempts its owners irresistibly to abuse it. Can anyone imagine Moses, Jesus or Gandhi armed with the money bags of Carnegie?

Speaking of Religion and Science he says:

What a deep conviction of the rationality of the universe and what a yearning to understand, were it but a feeble reflection of the mind revealed in this world. Kepler and Newton must have had to enable them to spend years of solitary labour in disentang-

ling the principles of celestial mechanics. A contemporary has said not unjustly that in this materialistic age of ours the serious scientific workers are the only profoundly religious people.

In his greetings to Bernard Shaw he said: "There are few enough people with sufficient independence to see the weakness and the follies of their contemporaries and remain themselves untouched by them."

In the second part, he discusses his views on war, peace, disarmament and the League of Nations. Regarding the League of Nations he says:

The grounds for my resolve to go to Geneva no more are as follows:—Experience has, unhappily, taught me that the Commission taken as a whole, stands for no serious determination to make real progress with the task of improving international relations. It looks to me far more like an embodiment of the principle *ut aliquid fieri videatur*. The commission seems to me even worse in this respect than the League taken as a whole.

In the third and fourth parts Einstein exposes mercilessly the atrocities of the Nazis against the Jews as a class including many luminaries in the realm of science and education. And he passionately and vigorously supports the Jewish ideal of life and the selfless devotion of the German Jews for the advancement of industries, science and culture of Germany.

In the last part he discusses mainly his scientific contributions and ideas. According to Einstein experience is the main basis of our knowledge of existence. One can realise reality by thinking but experience guides us about the utility of the reality. Thus from the Einstein point of view, mind is a creative force of nature but it has to rely for its operation on an external reality. In this part he writes delightful essays on the methods of theoretical physics, principles of scientific research, on the contributions of Kepler, Newton, Maxwell, Bohr, Planck, and others to science. He has also developed in simple and non-mathe-

mathematical language his theory of Relativity and the problem of space, time and ether. He has summed up very briefly his views on these matters in the following lines:

According to the general theory of relativity, space is endowed with physical qualities; in this sense, therefore, an ether exists. Space without an ether is inconceivable. For in such a space, there would not only be no propagation of light, but no possibility of the existence of scales and clocks, and therefore no spatio-temporal distances in the physical sense. But this ether must not be thought of as endowed with the properties characteristic of ponderable media, as composed of particles, the motion of which can be followed; nor may the concept of motion be applied to it.

The book should be in the hands of those, who want to know something of a master mind of the Twentieth Century, who is a great pacifist, a passionate seeker of truth for its own sake and a staunch upholder of the cause of liberty, freedom of thought and action, and of the suffering humanity and the Jews. His contributions in the progress of scientific thought and his ideas will rank as high as those of Galileo and Newton.

HINDU IDEALS

By NARAIN PRASAD CHATURVEDI

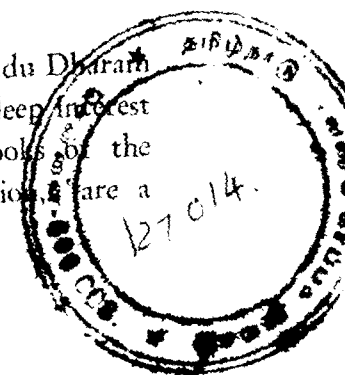
Dharma and Society. By Dr. Gualtherus H. Mees, M.A. (Cantab.), LL.D. (Leyden). Published by N. V. Service. The Hague, Luzac & Co. 46 Great Russell Street, London WC. 1. Pages 194. Price: f. 3.50 Paper 9/6s. net, f. 4.50 Cloth 12/6s. net.

Romain Rolland wrote: "For a long time to come, the intensest joy which man can know on earth, will be derived from supplementing the ideals of Europe by the ideals of Asia." But the best Hindu ideals on almost every aspect of

life are almost a sealed book because an overwhelming majority of educated Indians are ignorant of Sanskrit. Very few cultured Hindus would be knowing the well-known story *Van-Parvan* that the Brahmin Rishi Kaushika received religious instruction from a meat-seller of Sudra caste and said to him: "In my opinion you are a Brahmin in this life; because a Brahmin who is haughty and is devoted to degrading vices is no better than a Sudra, and a Sudra who restrains his passions and is ever devoted to truth and morality I look upon as a Brahmin, inasmuch as character is the basis of Brahminhood" And a sufficiently large number of educated men are perhaps ignorant of Lord Krishna's words in *Gita*: "Sages look equally on a Brahmana adorned with learning and humility, a cow, an elephant, and even a dog and an outcaste." Could there be better ideals for the removal of untouchability as it exists at present? But they must remain unknown due to ignorance of Sanskrit. Anyone therefore who gives publicity to ancient Hindu ideals is entitled to the gratitude of the Hindu community.

Dr. Mees's book at once interests you in the ideals of Hindus. The author enquires into the nature of Dharma, the fundamental motive power in the life of man as a social being, demonstrates its mystic nature, and considers related conceptions of other cultures. As he discriminates two kinds of Dharma, he equally distinguishes clearly the theory of the social composition or the theory of "natural class" (Varna) and the actual conditions of caste in India and of class in western countries and he treats of social ideals and their application.

The book is the result of a vast study of Hindu Dharma Shastras. And the reviewer is struck with the deep interest that the author has shown in these sacred books of the Hindus. "The Dharam Shastras", in his opinion, are a



curious mixture of 'life' and 'form' of the noblest and purest thoughts of humanity and the grossest superstition". The sympathetic interest of the author in Indian conditions will be evident from the following sentence: "If the class of Sannyasins and *fakirs* contains many who are nothing more than mere beggars and parasites, it still contains some who belong to the flower of mankind." It is elevating to read the opinion of Dr. Robertson (whom the author has quoted) on the Code of Manu:

- With respect to the number and variety of points the Hindu code considers, it will bear a comparison with the celebrated Digest of Justinian, or with the systems of Jurisprudence of nations most highly civilized. The articles of which the Hindu code is composed are arranged in natural and luminous order. They are numerous and comprehensive, and investigated with that minute attention and discernment which are natural to people distinguished for acuteness and subtlety of understanding who have been long accustomed to the accuracy of judicial proceedings and acquainted with all the refinement of legal practice.

The chapters on Dharma and Varna are admirably written. The book makes a reference to Hindu saints and seers and also deals with movements for social reform among the Hindu community. It provides a very illuminating reading and one will read it with profit. It will increase the importance of the book if the author quotes at some places where he deems necessary the Sanskrit *shlokas* in the foot-notes. The author deserves to be heartily congratulated on bringing out this publication which is both interesting and scholarly.

A DISTINGUISHED SON OF INDIA

By I. D.

A Selection from the Speeches and Writings of Sachchidananda Sinha. By Rām Narain Lal, Publisher, Allahabad. Rs.5.

Against Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha who is a distinguished member of the Kayastha community and a foremost leader of Bihar, the allegation can by no means be made that he has given to his community or province what is meant for India. While as a social reformer he has exercised considerable influence on the Kayasthas and as a Barrister he has risen to front-rank eminence in Bihar, alike as a politician and publicist he has achieved a distinct position for himself in the larger life of the Nation.

He belonged to 'the old guard' of the Congress until strong political differences had arisen in 1918 on the question of the Montford Reforms. But when he felt he had no option but to stand out of the Congress, he also took care to stand aloof from the Liberal party. Combining the imagination of the Congressmen with the knowledge of the Liberals, he has since the inauguration of the Montford Reforms, remained not merely an Independent but really independent—and commanded a hearing from both the parties. Within this period he had also a brief spell of office as the Finance Member of the Government of Bihar and Orissa, and performed the difficult, almost impossible, feat of escaping from a knighthood.

After winning recognition by his work in the old Imperial Legislative Council, he has established for himself a personal ascendancy in the Bihar Council by his knowledge, judgment and unrivalled eloquence. In the realm of politics he had his Waterloos and Trafalgars and nothing

impressed his countrymen more than his capacity to take a defeat or success in the right spirit. He reminds one of Lord Beaverbrook's description of Mr. Churchill:

A defeat does not sour him, even though it depresses him, nor does it turn him into a hater of the successful half of political mankind.

Therein lies Mr. Sinha's strength as a politician.

Mr. Sinha has attained eminence on several fronts by the very variety of his attributes. As the editor of the *Hindustan Review*—a journal well-known for its political and literary traditions—he has rendered a distinct service to Indian (periodical) journalism. His library reveals something more than a mere passion for collection of books: it reveals its owner as a voracious reader. His genius for friendship and for hospitality—it is extremely doubtful if he has ever had a quiet meal alone—is a part of his culture. And “for those who want sympathy or counsel he is the man to go to.”

The utility and value of the writings and speeches of a personage of so rare a cultivation can hardly be overrated. The publishers deserve to be warmly congratulated on their excellent publication which has the additional attraction of being associated with illustrious names, containing as it does a foreword (though it is really superfluous) by the doyen of Indian journalism, Mr. Chintamani; a personal note of appreciation by the greatest leader of modern Bihar and the much-esteemed President of the Congress, Babu Rajendra Prasad; and Mr. Sinha's dedicatory epistle to his “very great friend”, the Rt. Hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, who has played so imposing a part in many important national transactions.

Mr. Sinha's speeches and writings cover a wide range of subjects, and the present volume which is but a selection is divided into seven sections—administrative, political, finan-

cial, social, personal and miscellaneous. What he says deserves to be heard or read, as the case may be, both for the substance and the form. His utterances are packed with knowledge and judgment, lit by humour, and couched in a style at once appropriate to the theme. Whether the occasion requires the grand manner or the light touch, Mr. Sinha rises equal to it. The book under review is a welcome publication as it enables us to know more of Mr. Sinha—and there are few men in Indian public life worth knowing more, for what they have said and done and too, for what they are.

The Indian Peasant (and His Environment). By N. Gangulee. With a foreword by Sir Stanley Reed. Oxford University Press. Rs.7.

It is he who clears and fertilizes the land. The vernal exuberance in which it is clothed and the landscape views which it wears, arises from his exertion. It is he who supplies the necessities of life, infuses activity and vigour into commerce and keeps up the vitality of the whole country. His welfare and welfare of the whole country are so much linked with each other, that it behoves everyone to interest himself in his cause.

This eloquent passage is an excerpt from the report of the famous Royal Commission on Indian Agriculture of which the author of the book under review was an important member. In fact, it is claimed that it was largely due to his “determined insistence” to use Sir Stanley Reed's phrase, the commission itself was constituted. Except for its great educative value the Commission's Report has served little purpose. The Indian ryot has been very badly neglected both by the Government and the public. To quote Prof. Gangulee,

poverty, low standard of living, bad sanitation, malnutrition, ill-health, inadequate means of communication, and transport and a medieval social structure—these are some of the outstanding features of the Indian countryside.

In the present volume the author discusses some of these problems, and with his wealth of experience and knowledge, not to speak of his unquestioned sympathy, he sheds on them much light. The book consists of extracts from his journal and a selection of letters written by him to several persons ever since the Indian agricultural problem engaged his attention. The matter could perhaps have been more effectively condensed and the material advantageously used for a comprehensive survey of agricultural and rural problems. Nevertheless, it is bound to be received as a reliable and weighty record of the varied problems of the Indian peasant. What with the new interest taken in him by Mahatma Gandhi on the one hand and by the Government on the other, what with the appointment of Lord Linlithgow (the Chairman of the Royal Commission on Agriculture) as the Viceroy of India in succession to Lord Willingdon, and what with the growing consciousness of the Indian peasant himself, Prof. Gangulee's book is most timely. As a survey of the Indian peasant's problem in all its aspects it deserves a large reading public and a careful study. It ought to find a place in the hands of every public man in India and of every student of the Indian problem.

I. D.

Everyman's Library, (918, 919 and 920). Edited by Ernest Rhys. London: J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd.

Here are a few more 'first-fruits' of the editor's excursion into the contemporary scene of English fiction. It is but inevitable that one should greet Mr. Hugh Walpole. We feel delighted, even as he feels proud, that "Mr. Perrin and Mr. Traill"—one of his earliest realistic attempts, has survived to find its place in Everyman's. If Mr. Walpole was a disappointment as a schoolmaster, he certainly made up for it

when he took the people of the Epsom College and put them into his novel, with too much reliance on their sense of forgiveness. Then there is Mr. Arnold Bennet's "The Old Wives' Tales" which is one of the most enduring things in contemporary fiction. The atmosphere of the five towns and the life of the lower middle class, provided Mr. Bennet with a story that essentially suited his genius. It will attract readers long after many a present-day novel has been forgotten or rejected. Like humanity, Nature has its own admirers and exponents. For an understanding of the sea in all its moods, from the azure calm to the tempestuous roar, Pierre Loti's "Iceland Fisherman" (Mr. W. P. Baines' English rendering from French) is a delightful book. These are, indeed, three welcome additions to the welcome series, meant for every man interested in the good things of English literature.

BOOKMAN

Daughters of the Dawn. By G. Venkatachalam. Printed and bound by the Hokuseido Press, Tokyo, Japan.

As its name suggests, *Daughters of the Dawn* is a book that deals with the renaissance of Indian womanhood. In this delightful little volume the author, Mr. G. Venkatachalam, who needs no introduction to the readers of the *Twentieth Century*, introduces to a larger world some of the young women who have played or are playing a prominent part in the political and cultural life of India. Most of these reminiscences appeared in various journals in India, and a special mention may be made of the sketch of Sofia Somji—"a woman of action"—that appeared in April number of this journal and which attracted wide attention. Mr. Venkatachalam's list, though by no means exhaustive (for, as he himself admits, he has omitted several well-known names like Mrs. Hansa Mehta, Mrs. Lilavathi Munshi and others, and

several promising girls like Indira Nehru, Nandita Ganguli, Jamuna Bose, the Zutshi sisters and several others "who, in their time . . . will add lustre and glory to the motherland") is certainly representative. We find represented therein almost all departments of national life—politics, sport, literature and art. Dealing with such an interesting galaxy of Indian women, the book has the additional attraction of a superb get-up. Mr. Venkatachalam's vivid pen suits his vivacious temperament and the result is a bright and beautiful picture of India's "daughters". The book is, in the main, a fine performance worthy of his aesthetic conception and literary workmanship.

P. K. B.

BODLEY HEAD BOOK NOTES

Innocence and Experience. By Phyllis Bottome. Large Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.

Since Phyllis Bottome's work appeared under the Bodley Head imprint, she has published two books, both of which have achieved considerable success. The first *THE ADVANCES OF HARRIET* has now gone into three editions and the second *PRIVATE WORLDS* was the *Evening Standard* Choice, the Book Guild Choice and a Book Society recommendation and in addition a successful film has been based on it and is due for general release during the next few weeks. Her new book is divided into two parts "Innocence" and "Experience" and reveals unexpected subtleties in writing and characterisation.

The Arts To-day. Edited, with an introduction by Geoffrey Grigson. Demy 8vo. Illustrated. 8s. 6d. net.

Eight essays by well-known younger writers and critics of the day. Each one is a direct personal statement and their object is to criticise as well as explain the living practice of the various arts. Those to whom modern art is "difficult" will find light and reassurance as well as much food for discussion in this collection of essays. W. H. Auden writes on Psychology and Art; Louis Macneice on Poetry; Geoffrey Grigson on Painting and Sculpture; Arthur Calder-Marshall on Fiction; Edward Crankshaw on Music; Humphrey Jennings on the Theatre; John Grierson on the Cinema; and John Summerson on Architecture.

Humour: Its Theory and Technique. With examples and samples, a book of discovery. By Stephen Leacock. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.

One of the greatest of living humourous writers here dissects for our entertainment one of the most inexplicable of living subjects—Humour. "Why Laugh?" asks Mr. Leacock in his opening chapter. He goes on to describe the humour in the use and misuse of language, parody, burlesque and mistranslation, the technique of the greater humorists, comic and super-comic verse story-tellers and story-killers, national characteristics, Mr. Punch and his cousin, humour through the ages. This is a difficult undertaking for anyone but a Leacock. But he mixes entertainment with such sound perception and true criticism that one can only feel that the subject is handled in exactly the right way.

Sadism and Masochism. By Dr. Wilhelm Stekel. Two Volumes. 30/- net.

Dr. Stekel here discusses the nature of the abnormal instinct and its many manifestations, and gives the reader an authoritative explanation of the various impulses, their actions and reactions, together with a careful description of their effect on society and morals. The author amplifies his conclusions with full accounts of case histories.

Collected Lyrics of Heine translated, with a preface.

By Humbert Wolfe. Foolscap 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.

Mr. Humbert Wolfe's translation, first published in 1930, is here reprinted with the German text facing the English version. The *Manchester Guardian* in reviewing the original edition said "For reasonably close fidelity to the German, for truth of interpretation, for the essential simplicity and beauty of form and spirit, his versions could hardly be bettered."

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

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THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

(Facsimile letter of H. E. The Viceroy)

VICEREGAL COTTAGE,

MASHOBRA.

3. 10. 35.

Throug the courtesy of Sir Tej Bahadur
 Sapru I have had the advantage of
 making the acquaintance of 'The Twentieth
 Century' whci he sent me in order that I
 might read an admirable article by Lord
 Lothian on the new Reformat Act.

I wish I had made the acquaintance of
 this most informing periodical before,
 for I found therein so much sincerity
 me that I have at once become a
 subscriber.

While congratulating all those who are
 responsible for its appearance, I feel
 sure it will keep up the high standard
 of its articles, & prove of the greatest
 value both who are interested in all
 matters of public concern.

Williamson

MORE MESSAGES TO THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

[The Editor is grateful to H. E. The Viceroy, Sir Francis Young-
husband, Mr. F. H. Brown, Dr. G. P. Gooch and Mr. Isaac Foot
for the messages they have been pleased to send him on the occasion
of the first anniversary of the *Twentieth Century*.]

**From Lt.-Col. Sir Francis Younghusband, K.C.S.I.,
K.C.I.E., Chairman of Council, The India Society
Art and Letters, 3 Victoria Street, London,
S.W.1.**

I am glad to see that the *Twentieth Century* which
expresses Indian thought in its many aspects is now celebrat-
ing its first anniversary. India has much to give to the world
and your Journal can do much to further international
understanding.

FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND

**From Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., of The Times, Lon-
don, and Hon. Secretary of the East India Asso-
ciation.**

I send hearty congratulations on the *Twentieth Century*
entering the second year of its existence. If the high stand-
ard of the first twelve months is maintained the review is
certain to take deep root, and its leaves will be for the healing
of communal divisions and the progress of United India.

F. H. BROWN

**From Dr. G. P. Gooch, Editor of The Contemporary
Review, London.**

The *Twentieth Century*, judging by what I have seen

of it, seems to offer its readers thoughtful and well-informed
articles on a large variety of interesting topics. As Editor of
the *Contemporary Review*, the oldest of English monthlies,
I wish it well.

G. P. GOOCH

From Mr. Isaac Foot M. P., London.

I congratulate the *Twentieth Century* most heartily
upon the completion of its first year.

The magazine has already taken a definite place in the
world of Indo-European literature. The contributions made
by leaders like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru were most helpful
during the debates upon the Government of India Bill.

I hope the magazine will have a long life and will help
to constitute a bridge between politically-minded India and
politically-minded Britain.

ISAAC FOOT

THE SKELETON

(Translated from the Bengali)

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

[“I have only recently taken a solemn vow not to yield to any request coming from authors, editors, organisers of meetings, young men about to marry and lunatics whose eyes are in the habit of rolling from heaven to earth etc,” says Guru Dev in the course of his covering letter. Yet, lest he be mistaken for “a sour-tempered old dyspeptic” he has been pleased to make an exception in the case of the *Twentieth Century* and offer the following poem originally written in Bengali but now “rescued from the dark corners” of his drawers and specially rendered by him into English. The *Twentieth Century* feels honoured in publishing this hitherto unpublished poem.]

A beast's bony frame lies bleaching in the grass.
Its dry bones—Time's hard laughter—cry to me!
Thy end, proud man, is one with the end of the cattle
that graze no more.

I cry in answer:
Often has my mind crossed Time's border,
is it to stop at last for ever at the boundary
of crumbling bones?
Flesh and blood can never be the measure
of the truth that is myself;
the days and moments cannot wear it out
with their passing kicks;
the way-side bandit, Dust, dares not rob it
of all its precious possessions.
Death, I refuse to accept from thee
that I am nothing but an extravagant jest of God,
a blank annihilation built with all the wealth
of the Infinite.

HINDU COMMUNITY AND THE NEW STATE

By K. M. PANIKKAR

[How to remodel the Hindu society in view of the changing conditions which it is faced with? This problem before the new State in India is discussed in the following pages by Mr. Panikkar who always, in the words of Sir William Barton, “writes with authority”.]

The outstanding characteristic of Hindu life is that Society as it is understood in other countries, as the complex of forces in a community purposively directed towards its own betterment—does not exist in India. Hindu institutions are organised outside the State and recognise no conception of an organic whole. The two fundamental institutions of the Hindus, the caste and the Joint family, are the Hindu equivalents of Society and State and till recently they exacted full social obedience and conformity from individuals and groups. The laws and customs on which these institutions were based claimed to be above the laws of the secular Government, a position willingly conceded by Hindu and Mohamadan monarchs and acquiesced in partially as the line of least resistance by the British Government. The legislative authority of the State in India was therefore never till recent times—and in recent times only in very extreme cases like Sutti, infanticide and child marriage—used to direct social evolution. The result has been that the Hindu community has so far lived practically without legislative guidance in their social institutions.

The two characteristically Hindu institutions, the caste and the Joint family, though in theory unconnected, are in

practice interlocked to an extent which makes them in effect a single institution. The unit of the Hindu community is not the individual, but the joint family. Its widest expression is the "sub-caste", which consists of a few joint families which are permitted to inter-marry and "inter-dine". Beyond this extended joint family, the Hindu theorists recognised no society or community. That is the widest social group the Hindus evolved. The Joint family is, therefore, the rock on which the Hindu social organisation is built. The modern pseudo-sociologists of India have claimed many virtues for it and some Hindu and Non-Hindu writers have seen in it the essence of Hindu culture. They argue that the joint family suppresses the selfishness of individualism, by regulating rigidly the conduct of individuals in relation to a wider community: that it modifies the evils of private property, by vesting proprietorship in a group: that it renders the essential social services, such as old age pension, unemployment insurance etc. to the importance of which Europe has awakened only recently and so on. It is unnecessary to go into these arguments. Every primitive institution is based on communal welfare. The whole theory of primitive tribalism is that: but it cannot therefore be argued that it is better to live in a State of totemic tribalism than to evolve higher social organisations.

The Joint family is nothing more than the survival of the primitive familial community, which before the conception of society had dawned on man, created around itself walls of blood relationship and economic identity. It subordinated the individual to the group (family), provided him with a code of morals, with duties and obligations and modified his "enlightened selfishness" by the ties of the family. That it was a great step from primitive life to civilisation will easily be conceded. It provided an organised life, by estab-

lishing a principle of social obedience. At all times, the central difficulty of civilisation has been the establishment of a principle of obedience receiving universal acceptance as just and natural and to which men will subordinate their wills. In primitive and "savage" communities, this was provided by the loyalty to the tribe which was enforced by *tabus* and *Manas*. But it is essential to remember that the totemic tribe is a family united together in blood relationship with the totem. Thus the members of the Eagle Tribe are blood relations through the common ancestor. As Longfellow says in the *Hiawatha*:—

From what ancestral totem
Be it eagle, bear or beaver
They descended, this we know not.

No doubt the relationship is fictitious but the important point is, the primitive mind could trace the principles of loyalty and obedience only through blood. It is perhaps a survival of this idea and not a reflection of unrealised hope, which expresses itself in the notion of Kings being fathers of their people.

The change from the fictitious family to the real family as the unit is an important one in social growth. The patriarchal (or the matriarchal) family, in which the *pater-familias* is the undisputed master and exacts obedience from the rest, is a known stage in the history of civilisation. But outside India, in time it led to a further broadening of the social bases, mainly by two processes, first by the limitation of the family from the wide community of all blood relations that it originally was, to the strictly individualistic conception of it; and secondly by the gradual evolution of a conception of obligations and duties, transcending the family and extending to the whole community. In India the system of the Joint family not only persisted but grew in strength as a result of

the absence of these two processes. The absence of a unified secular authority to suit legislation to social needs tended to crystallise customs and strengthen institutions which had the blessings of Old-Law givers. The laws of the Hindus came to be mixed up with the religious customs. They were "revealed" codes. The fact that the Hindus had neither a supreme pontiff nor a *curia* made it worse as there was no religious authority competent to change the *Smritis*. Neither State nor Church existed and the result was that institutions which had the authority of the ancient law-givers could not be changed except by *Desachara* or *Kulachara*, that is local or family customs.

After Hindu law and with it Hindu institutions had become crystallised, even the idea of Hindu Samrajya vanished. Hindu India became split up into small States, but as Hindu Dharma and the caste system dominated all political entities, as an Empire of the mind, the growth of any principle of social obligation—beyond paying taxes and abiding by the orders of the King—was found to be impossible. It is well to recall here that the growth of the ideas of State and society, began in Europe with the conflict between the universal Church and the universal State. It was the guelf and the ghibelline in their prolonged warfare of words that evolved the theory of society. Gregory VII and Innocent III hurling their anathemas, and the Hohenstaufens issuing manifestos, were both claiming the undivided obedience of men. Indian had neither a universal Emperor nor a supreme Pontiff who claimed dominion over all. The Hindu religion recognised no organisation as authoritative and entitled to obedience, and it denied equally the right of pontiffs to bind the conscience and of Kings to alter the "eternal laws" and religious customs—the Sanatana Dharma. The conception of the State consequently was not an ethical one, involving a voluntarily

accepted principle of obedience, with its corollary of duties or obligations. This is where the Aristotelian State differed from the Kautalyan. To Aristotle and the rest of the Greek theorists the State is an ethical entity, and man's obedience to and his life through it were in the natural order of things. To Kautalya and the Indian thinkers, the State is merely an organisation of force. The Aristotelian State being "natural" was all powerful and in Europe became transformed into the Leviathan of Hobbes and the Nation state of to-day. The Hindu State being based on force was rigidly limited by the unalterable laws which the King had to enforce. To the European theorist the State is divine and all powerful: to the Hindu while the Ruler is divine the Rastra had to be based on Dharma which was beyond the authority of the Ruler and his institutions.

With the Muslim conquest in Northern India, the Hindu community became more of a non-territorial State than ever before. The Muslim Rulers did not pretend to legislate for their Hindu subjects. In fact the conception of legislation for the community was foreign to the Muslim mind whose laws are held to be equally immutable.

It is only with the introduction of English Common law and the gradual change of the English authority in India from an administrative machinery to a legislating State that the basis of Hindu customs and law came to be questioned. But until now, the British Government in India has been particularly anxious not to undertake social legislation, especially when the customs and institutions which such legislation would effect were claimed to be semi-religious. Thus except incidentally the main body of Hindu institutions, like caste and the joint family has been left untouched.

But the new constitution completely changes the position. Whatever may be the political, economic and other

shortcomings of the new Government of India Act, it is clear that in the matter of social legislation, it has full and absolute power. Hindu orthodoxy was right in apprehending that the creation of such a machinery is the greatest challenge it has ever had to face. Never before has there been an authority in India which claimed power to change the old social institutions of the Hindus. Now the *Smritis* could not only be questioned but a completely modern *smriti* could be created and promulgated without the intervention of Manus and Yajna Valkyas. Not only could they be promulgated but enforced with all the authority of the Leviathan State enjoying the *plenitudo potestas* which no secular authority in India ever claimed before.

The problem which the new State in India is faced with is how to remodel Hindu Society; how to change it from a static community governed by unchanging customs and under the grip of a personal law which in spite of modifications still remains the work of ancient law-givers; how to incorporate in our life the rich and ever-widening experience of to-day when intellectual life is moulded not only by national ideals but by the co-operative thinking of the entire world; how to adjust the growth of new social and political conceptions to our inherited culture—in short to re-shape our national ideals in terms of the awakening of mind resulting from the contact with Europe.

The crisis which orthodoxy has to face is three-fold: it relates to the re-thinking of social values, to the reorganisation of social institutions and the divorce between social customs and religion. This three-fold problem is inter-connected because the orthodox section of the Hindu community holds that every institution or custom however abhorrent to humanity (like untouchability), however unreasonable (like caste) and however anachronistic (like the Joint family)

has the sanction of religion and cannot be touched by secular legislation without offending the religious susceptibilities of the Hindus. If that were so, then the Hindu community cannot put forward any claim to share in the political power of the State. But fortunately the vast majority of Hindus reject these obscurantist pretensions and have at least since the time of Rammohan Roy increasingly asserted the right and duty of the State to change social institutions and customs by secular legislation.

That the conception of caste based on irremovable inequality and of the modern State based on the right of the individual to partake in government cannot co-exist is obvious. The pressure on Indian legislature even at the present time to enact measures for abolishing the civic inequalities based on caste is sufficient proof of the desire of the Hindu community for the exercise of the power of the State in social matters. In the new legislatures with the depressed classes adequately represented, this tendency will become much more evident and the representatives of Hindu orthodoxy who appeared before the Joint Parliamentary Committee were undoubtedly right in the alarm they expressed that the customs and institutions so long considered sacrosanct will not be safe with a democratic legislature functioning for the whole of India.

Of such institutions, the first to feel the effect of the new legislatures will be the joint family. How universal it is among the Hindus need not be pointed out. How conflicting it is with the conception of State, which India is trying to evolve is clear on examination. The Hindu society in theory is organised outside the State and of its organisation, the joint family is the basis. It creates divisions of caste which results in the fragmentation of Hindu life to such an extent as to make the community a sociological fiction. It extinguishes

social sense as the feeling of obligation to a social whole is impossible when there is no social unity.

The Joint family point of view of the Hindu community is nothing more than an inchoate mass of small units each unrelated to the other. The Joint family is therefore incompatible not only with a State claiming plenary secular obedience but with the conception of a unified Hindu society.

The continuance of the Hindu community in its present practically static form is based on a blind obedience to the extra-state laws—known as religious customs and institutions. Though these institutions are old, the problem that they face to-day is new. The social power in these institutions or customs have vanished with the growth of the legislating State and only the outer forms are left as a dead weight on the community. In primitive society custom and tradition mean the accumulated wisdom of generations. What differentiates civilised society from an uncivilised is its attitude towards custom. In civilised societies, a custom in itself is not entitled to general acceptance, unless it has a clear social purpose that justifies it. In primitive societies the validity of custom is that it has been so in other times. The mere fact that such was the habit of our ancestors is supposed to be a sufficient justification for even the most unreasonable practices.

Where the problem in India to-day differs from the problem or it has existed during the last 2,000 years is not that there is widespread protest against this but that the motive force of the protest is different. At every age since the time of Buddha there have been vigorous movements of reform in Indian society. In fact India's claim to civilisation is not based so much on her social institutions as in her movements of protest. From Gautama Buddha to Mohandas

Gandhi it is an imposing array of men that India can claim to have produced to combat the evils of her social institutions. But these great men though they gave expression to the protests of national conscience did not have the machinery of organised State to give effect to their reforms. The principle of social obedience in India remained familial and local and Hinduism continued to live much in the same way as in pre-historic times in spite of her great men. The difference to-day is that such a machinery has been created with the help of Indians themselves and is available for the radical reform of Hindu society.

The real conflict between Hindu orthodoxy and the State will come when the legislature raises in some obscure form the question of divorce between religion and custom. Such a conflict was very nearly forced when the Sarda Bill was enacted. But it is obvious to every observer that the Sarda Bill is only the breakfast of social legislators. On what they are going to dine is the question. The Hindu community offers such a variety of choice, each in turn worthy of being the *pièce de résistance*, that to forecast any menu of social legislation is almost impossible. But a few of the more important questions may be indicated. The proper control of the religious endowments of the Hindus and their utilisation for the good of the entire community; the education and control of Hindu priesthood: the equal economic and marital rights of women etc. If we take only the last, which has been pressed vigorously during the last few years by the educated womanhood of India, who can forecast what far-reaching effects a legislative programme giving effect to the claims of women would have on Hindu community. Clearly the whole law of inheritance will have to be modified. Economic equality for women means the extinction of the Joint family, as an economic unit; freedom of divorce spells its

extinction as a social institution. In fact every piece of social legislation affecting the Hindu community is bound to undermine directly or indirectly the Joint family and only by its breakdown beyond reparation can the re-organisation of the Hindu society be undertaken.

For the first time since the origin of Hindu society, the chance has now come to us to organise it on a purposive and rational basis, to make it react to our ethical sense and social vision. How the Hindu community utilises this opportunity is the main problem of the next few years before us. The chance is given to our leaders to sweep away the accumulated dirt of ages which has blackened the face of the Hindu community and made it a thing of ridicule to the world. Let us hope that those in whom the power of legislation will be vested, will have the social vision and the ethical urge necessary for this glorious purpose.

"INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION"

By G. A. CHANDAVARKAR

[Some of the world's greatest thinkers to-day are making efforts to raise a new structure of civilisation on the foundations of international understanding and intellectual co-operation. Having regard to the peculiar difficulties and problems in this country, the writer of this article puts forward in these pages a scheme which is in his opinion best suited to India for advancing the great cause.]

To-day all the civilised world over, keen-witted politicians, sagacious statesmen and astute thinkers are busy devising means to evolve unity out of diversity, harmony out of the warring elements and peace amidst nations scrambling for economic superiority or political greatness. If, in the early decades of the nineteenth century we read of Coalitions, Concerts, Balance of Power and Peace Treaties, we now as frequently hear of the 'League of Nations', 'Disarmament Conferences', Pacts and Round Table Conferences. Still it cannot be confidently asserted that the snake of aggressive narrow nationalism has been entirely killed. All that this century can claim is that it has been just scotched. The reasons for this deplorable state of affairs seem to be more psychological than even religious or political. When there is a lack of strong will to live in amity, groups of individuals grope in darkness. Pseudo-nationalism is the outcome of selfishness. Racial superiority, colour prejudices, are the outcome of greed, malice, suspicion and mistrust. Economic or political grievances, wherever they exist are the mere outward manifestations of these inward mental ailments. The root causes always lie deeper. These demand greater atten-

tion. "Communalism is the valley, nationalism is the hill-side. Internationalism is then the hill-top." To reach that top, patient and persistent efforts are needed. Life is a keen struggle with stern realities. Ideals are deeply rooted in the realities. Many a time we are called upon to subordinate lower loyalties to higher ones. Then again, aspirations and ambitions of men change according to circumstances and environments. In the race of the achievement of worldly glory, the weaker suffer humiliation. In due course, the backward begin to resist the attempts of the forward. This resistance of the weaker often leads to bloodshed and war. Instead of right becoming the might, might becomes the right.

The idea of internationalism is not a product solely of the last century. In every age and clime, similar dreams were dreamt of by men of light and learning. In some form or other, prophets and seers did feel its need and they made sincere attempts suited to their times and circumstances. In the Vedic period, amidst the din of warfare between the Suras and the Asuras, the Devatas and the Daityas, we come across the chants of "Universal Shantee"—Peace. Shree Krishna refers to it as 'Loka-Sangrha'—Unity among men. Mahatma Buddha, Mahaveera, Chaitanya, Tukaram, Ramakrishna Paramahansa, Ram Mohan Roy and Swami Vivekananda, one and all dreamt the dreams of internationalism. In other lands too, founders of religion like Jesus Christ and Prophet Mohamed did the same. But human nature complex as it is, at every stage there lay the mountains of prejudice. Much success could not fall to the lot of these benefactors of humanity.

In our own times, the League of Nations recognised the imperative need of some sort of organisation to promote the cause of Intellectual Co-operation. It was rightly felt that

the intellectuals all the world over are in a key position to influence public opinion, they founded some kind of international machinery. Various sub-committees were formed from time to time and different schemes were promulgated. The French Government endowed the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation and their monthly Bulletins showed a programme of varied and interesting work. Promoting the cause of international amity is one of the outstanding problems of the twentieth century. No cause can be more sacred, no duty more onerous and no ideal more sublime than the one of bringing about intellectual co-operation. What could be possibly done in India to achieve that noble ideal will be very briefly considered in this short article. Situated as we are in India, the following measures to reach the goal deserve consideration.

1. Methods of teaching History in schools should be so altered as to place before the students certain salient cultural features of the different rulers that ruled over India at different periods. What is best in the culture of each race should be more emphasised than the dates and the wars of the dynasties. For such a purpose new books on history should be written on the lines of Professor Jadunath Sirkar's "India through the Ages". The idea of World Federation dreamt of by Lord Tennyson needs resuscitation in all the schools.

2. Institutions like the Students' Brotherhood of Bombay should be founded in all the chief cities of India, where the members should conduct regular study classes, expounding the best that is in the literatures of India and England. Reform should begin with students.

3. 'A League of Religions' more than a 'League of Nations' seems a desideratum. For such a purpose India affords the best and the most convenient centre. The Triveni of Hinduism, Christianity and Islam, the confluence of

Zoroastrianism, Buddhism and Jainism and the meeting ground of the spirit of the 'contemplating East' and the 'practical West' are all points in favour of such a League of Religions. We cordially welcome this institution of Fellowship of Faiths in India. Clearly the distinction between the essentials and the non-essentials of 'religion' could then be placed before the public. At present the non-essentials of religion are given greater prominence than the essentials. Religious Round Table Conferences should be more frequent. Parliament of Religions cannot find a better habitation than that of India.

4. Any attempts to place temptations in the form of political or 'social' gains either to the majority communities or minority communities should be discouraged. *Worth* and not *birth* should be the sole criterion for granting privileges and rights of any kind.

5. The movement of 'Rural Uplift' and the Social Service Leagues should be given special facilities to reduce illiteracy and widen the mental outlook of the masses in general.

6. The enrichment of the vernaculars is also essential. The outside world does not seem to realise fully what 'gems of purest ray serene' lie embedded in the vast oceans of the lore of Sanskrit and the Dravidian languages. There seems to be a grain of truth in the statement of a cynic who said that "India is the most misunderstood country". Researches conducted in the history and the progress of the vernaculars to which now greater attention is paid in all the Indian Universities should be sufficiently broadcasted by means of suitable translations. The proposed Indian Literary Academy is a step in the right direction.

If these plans be adopted on more systematic lines, we hope the cause of Intellectual Co-operation will be considerably advanced.

IMPLICATIONS OF PLANNED ECONOMY

By P. S. NARAYANA PRASAD

[The talk of planned economy is the fashion of the hour. It is therefore profitable to hear of its implications. Mr. Narayana Prasad of the Andhra University has something thought-provoking to say on this interesting subject.]

There are certain words in everyday language, which are increasingly in danger of becoming blessed words. There was a time a few years ago when it was hardly possible to read a periodical or a newspaper without coming half a dozen times across the word "rationalisation". For one reason or other it seems to have had its day. Now the place seems to have been occupied by the enchanting phrase "Planned Economy." Whatever may be its import or significance, it has come to be the magic word of the day. Whatever may be its birthplace, it has spread its magic influence from country to country, from thinker to thinker and probably it occupies to-day the largest single fraction of printed space. Undoubtedly the one single factor that has contributed to the spread of this gospel of planned economy is the present inexplicable chaos in the world economic order and the bankruptcy of economic science.

There was a time a number of years ago when economic science was as discredited as it is to-day. That was during the time of Ricardo and Mill when the science of political economy consisted of a cost of production theory on a competitive basis; a theory of distribution whose laws were arrived at through no definitely interrelated principles; on a background of hedonistic psychology and utilitarian ethics and

the Malthusian theory of population opening none too bright prospects to the working man. In short it was a system which was far from economic harmonies. This little system was at that time receiving severe blows from the vigour of Karl Marx and Toynbee and the German Historical School and the principle of evolution. In their travail and controversy, then, as now, economists ceased to enjoy the confidence of statesmen and their theories, by virtue of their mutual incompatibility, stood in grave danger of a decent burial.

But just at that time two influences came to the rescue. The one was an increasing prosperity and the other was Alfred Marshall. While the rising prosperity facilitated by expanding markets and free exchange silenced the malcontents, Marshall silenced the mighty critics—although not forever. Marshall, "a brilliant mathematician, a young philosopher carrying somewhat an undigested load of German metaphysics, utilitarianism and Darwinism; a humanitarian with religious feelings but no creed, eager to lighten the burdens of mankind but sobered by the barriers revealed to him by the Ricardian Political Economy" was just the type of saviour that capitalist political economy was on the look out for, and he helped to save it. He parted company with the discredited writers in the very definition by impounding well-being into wealth. He dismissed the view that the pursuit of the science was an idle curiosity and said that it is for a purpose and the purpose is the solution of social problems. In the series of questions which he put to himself the answers show that his mind began to run from, what "is" to what 'ought' to be. He voiced the laudable sentiment that "there is no general economic principle which supports the notion that industry will necessarily flourish best or that life will be happiest or healthiest when each man is allowed to manage his own concerns as he thinks best." But

with all that, he gave to the science, with the help of his technique of enquiry and the wider sweep of his imagination, a semblance of automatism and universality which it really lacked. With the theory of value as a centre of gravity he created an imaginative universe of the theories of distribution of wealth to the various factors. He has set up the mechanism of a normal price which linked satisfactorily, in theory, production with distribution. The whole world is a market full of tumult of the buyers and the sellers who go on shouting their prices. In the centre of this market place sits the entrepreneur who cannot receive back for his goods more than what he has given to the various factors of production in return for their services. He thus gave it a mechanical perfection and it has become the delight of every economist since then to study the complicated figures which result from the collision of the balls with one another. It is in fact written that in this equilibrium there are exact propositions in which the different elements combine in production; and Pareto reached the height of this imaginative climax when he said that these ingredients are not mixed in a haphazard proportion but that they conform to a law analogous to that known in chemistry as the law of definite proportions.

But this whole conception suffers from the eminent defect of segregating itself from the world of reality. Marshall himself it may be said was partly conscious of the drawback. Keenly impressed on one side by the dynamic nature of industrial activity, but lured by the scientist's desire to discover laws he proceeded to and succeeded in, creating an average world of his, partly static and partly moving and therefore resembling neither a purely realistic nor a purely unreal structure. He proceeded to make enquiries and frame laws by impounding a number of assumptions into a *CETERIS PARIBUS*, when the whole difficulty has arisen just about that

little phrase.

Yet Marshall himself had the misfortune to witness the decay of the order he described so beautifully. It is said that he wrote the epitaph of his own work. The culmination of the contradiction of capitalism burst forth in the Great War and although on the strength of its velocity it continues until to-day it may be shown that prosperity of the pre-War period has come to a close from that date. And with the disappearance of that prosperity the mechanical system of counterpoise and equilibrium has begun to cease its existence also, until Marshall's "Principles," which ended the era of Ricardian Economy, has itself come to be, as described by one of his biographers "a current coin to some, debased currency to others and a museum exhibit to still others."

The economic disorder has come to stay. In spite of prosperity in the intervening period this may be said to have been born with the Great War. In fact Prof. Lionel Robbins has put it precisely when he wrote that "we live not in the 4th but the 19th year of the world crisis." And with the disappearance of the prosperity the phantasm of Marshall's principles too is fading. In fact its imperfections are coming more and more to the surface. At least two writers of the same school, Miss Robinson and Prof. Chamberlain have made a study of the imperfections of a so-called perfect mechanism. A successor to Marshall's chair at Cambridge, Prof. Pigou has buried this automatic system under masses of rebutting material. And Mr. Keynes wrote as elegant an epitaph to it as a capitalist economist could help.

The instances of imperfections are indeed numerous. Instead of the free markets we have only come to see fettered markets. Instead of the consumer's demands deciding the producers services, we have seen producers' tactics creating consumers' wants. The entrepreneur has become the con-

troller of the market while we are told that the consumer, dictates it. While liberal economists canvassed that prices will be kept down by competition, the combines have come in to keep prices up. The much discussed market price has ceased to be one at a time. Restriction and destruction of output instead of being looked upon as suicidal have become ends in themselves. This world of reality, bears little semblance to the dream-world of the economist. In the world of reality only one thing appears clearest that while wealth accumulates, men decay.

Now when capitalism is thus branded in its nakedness, it betakes itself. And in its hurry to cover its shame, it puts on the suit of planned economy not realising that it comes from the socialist wardrobe.

The present depression has brought to the surface the two main contradictions of a capitalist economy viz., the lack of co-ordination or anarchy in economic processes and deep divergence between the movement of production and the movement of purchasing capacity. And economists and statesmen have been lured into believing that if somehow a co-ordination could be brought about into this anarchy and if the wheels of exchange could be greased a little more, the mechanism will run smoothly once more, without necessitating a change over to socialism. Otherwise, it is clear even to capitalist economists that "unless capitalism shall clear house by taking the dirt of depression out of profits some form of socialism may tear the house completely down." Or as President Roosevelt put it: "Do what we may to inject health into our economic order, we cannot make it endure for long unless we can bring about a wiser, more equitable distribution of the national income". The same idea is given expression to by another economist Prof. A. A. Berlie, one of President Roosevelt's Brain Trust, discussing an alternative

to the recovery program,

whereby, the government of the United States, forgetting all about the constitution, would commandeer every one and everything, turning the property into government property, the factories into government production agencies, directing what and how much is to be produced, giving to each citizen a red card entitling him to a share of the goods produced.

He could imagine an American Government doing that, or in other words scrapping capitalism for the advent of socialism—if it had to. The same idea is again given expression to by General Hugh Johnson when he declared that the purpose of the recovery program is

to balance consumption with our enormous potential productivity—not by reducing production, but by increasing power to consume by more even distribution of the fruits of every man's endeavour.

The same note of lack of co-ordination and necessity for a rational redistribution of purchasing power is sounded in the definition of planned economy given by Sir Basil Blackett who defined it as

the necessary corrective to the major wastes and frustration arising out of the unregulated impact of one economic activity upon another.

He again writes of planning as

the conscious and deliberate provision by human forethought of means for regulating production, distribution and consumption with a view to securing the maximum opportunities for the satisfaction of the greatest variety and quantity of human wants.

How dangerously near the brink of socialist ideals is the votary of a capitalist ideology!

Now what are the implications of this "conscious and deliberate effort?" Is it possible to achieve it within the framework of a capitalist structure?

The one important fact to remember at the outset is that

the idea of planned economy is an exotic transplanted from the socialist soil. And there are a good number of reasons to believe that the capitalist climate is not capable of permitting this new plant to get acclimatised.

The anarchy in production, the clogged circulation of goods, the great divergence in productive and purchasing capacity are not new to this system, but they have been occurring time and again so that there is reason to believe that, being so germane to its nature, "it would not be possible to eradicate them as long as the whole complex of conditions that have constantly and inevitably given rise to them remain intact." As long as the private ownership of the means of production exists and the intervention between the various factors is established through the market by the operation of the law of value, there is bound to be concentration in big enterprises and the accumulation of capital—the private property of the capitalist. While the only property of the labouring class, their capacity to labour, is left to be rewarded in proportion to and not to the full extent of its capacity to be productive. Profit being the only incentive to productive development, the tendency to increase it, by the introduction of labour saving machinery and by reducing to a minimum the price of the commodity, labour power remains. It ultimately is a panorama of monopolistic combines, of bank capital, and of struggle for markets, and into these conflicting tendencies planned economy is expected to breathe the oxygen of peace and orderliness!

As long as it is not forgotten that the material interests are the driving force of world history, and that the struggle for these interests has not a whit abated, as long as imperialist groups are prepared to go to any lengths including war and extermination of large sections of humanity, all the talk about planned economy is futile.

In this atmosphere the attempts made by each nation to plan its own conveniences is bound to result not in greater harmony but in planned chaos.

The complicated structure of modern economy can be properly brought under control if only the interests agree to surrender part of their rights and privileges and get accustomed to view things in altogether a new light, and be guided by a common idea, will and aim which is too much to expect as long as a central authority cannot be established to exercise all pervading and complete control. There are certain premises to be fulfilled before a planned economy can be a success and in their absence nothing would be achieved.

The first of these considerations is necessarily the socialisation of the means of production and distribution. Failure in this is bound to result in constant friction and struggle with the interests as it is happening in America and the interest may in the end succeed in moulding the plan to suit their individual convenience, and that becoming impossible, in throwing insuperable obstacles in the way. In his Babson Institute Address Mr. Richberg, General Counsel to the N. R. A. said referring to the difficulties of the N. R. A. that

it is not right that any man should sabotage this co-operative movement of which he is part, or sabotage the administration of this law, which was enacted and is being administered for the advancement of general welfare.

The very fact that such a noble effort like the advancement of general welfare is being unscrupulously sabotaged and is in constant need of Mr. Richberg's canvassing for good morals betrays the futility of attempting the impossible.

The second important premise is that power must ultimately rest in the hands of the community at large or the workers, without which it would still be possible for the state or the planning authority to helplessly play itself into the

hands of capitalists. In modern Italy where under the misnomer of a corporative state labour is supposed to enjoy some semblance of power, the phenomenon is observed that the employer class, weighted with the influence of capital has been able to nullify the shadow of power possessed by the former class. During this depression even in Fascist planned economy the same state of over-production and divergence in the capacity to produce and consume has become manifest.

Again it is difficult to visualise how, as long as a hierarchy of classes is permitted to exist, it would be possible for any central authority to maintain a balance between the conflicting interests of the classes, without itself identifying now and then with this or that class according as the power is transferred from time to time. In other words as long as classes exist, conflict of interest must exist and when that is done, which is going to be the class without any interest of its own, but is only inspired by a sense of general well-being? As long, therefore, as these things are not forthcoming it is as vain to hope for a solution of the economic ills through planned economy within capitalist structures as it is vain to attempt to colonise Mars. The conclusion is obvious that those who are hoping to achieve the miracle of establishing a planned economy in the midst of a capitalist frame-work are simply the victims of a delusion. Mr. Lionel Robbins seems to be correct when he said that "nothing but intellectual confusion can result from a failure to realise that planning and socialism are fundamentally the same." So much as regards the internal administration and workability of a planned economy without socialism.

There, however, remains the further question, as to, what will be the nature of international relations under a system of planned economies. On theoretical grounds there is reason to believe that such a system may eliminate cut-

throat competition and bringing as it does to a common ideal the workers of the world it will submerge the need for inter-regional competition. There will come about, a perfect international division of labour facilitating perfect freedom of movement of goods and services. It would be under those circumstances to nobody's interest to maintain an industry if it does not pay its own way and if there are any such they will be scrapped and the factors of production so liberated are utilised for production of another type. In short in a system of planned economies, the ideal policy will be perfect freedom of international exchange.

But there are certain limiting considerations which might make circumstances such as to determine even for such states a policy which may be the exact opposite of the ideal. It is conceivable that a situation might arise where it may not be possible for a particular country to scrap one of its important industries and bring about adjustments of the released factors of production in the other lines of productive activity. In such an impasse a particular country may be forced to choose a line of action in opposition to the ideal policy of free exchange and decide to maintain, rather than scrap, the industry in question. Further there are questions of standards of living in various countries. If a particular state determines to remunerate its labour force at a lower level than another country does, or if another country is unwilling to cut down the standard of living of its labour, in either case, there may be need for one country trying to shield itself from the reactions of the standards of living and may be compelled to resort to a policy not dictated in the best interests of international economic adjustments. It all therefore depends on the character and force of nationalism in an atmosphere of planned economies. But there seems to be reason to suppose that even in that newer atmosphere while the ideal will be

free international exchange, practical exigencies might force the states to accept a policy not much different from high protectionism, which goes to show that the condition of international exchange even under a system of planned economies will not be different from what it is at present.

There is a further consideration that under the planned systems of international exchange, there would come into existence a system of bilateral bargains between state monopolies and the foundation of barter trade agreements may decide the nature of trade policy, in which case the determination of exchange will be neither costs of production nor competition but the mere conveniences of the monopolist state in which case there is ground for the justifiable apprehension of Professor Lionel Robbins that "in a world of planned economies the disorder and indeterminateness would be general."

Finally there remains the question of its relevance to India at the present time. It depends to a great extent on the fulfilment of the foregoing premises. The utility of a system of planned economy has impressed itself on the mind of eminent Indian writers and statesmen although not on the minds of the authorities. All the interests are in one voice raising their approval for some sort of a planned economy although it remains to be seen how far it would be possible in India to achieve a workable minimum of unanimity of aims when concrete proposals come to be talked of. In fact the first significant exposition of the desirability of planned economy for India has come from the representative of the European group in the Legislative Assembly, Mr. F. E. James. But it remains to be seen how much resemblance the content of Mr. James's planned economy will bear to the content of planned economy of, say, Sir M. Visweswarayya.

The latter's learned and voluminous suggestions embodied in his "Planned Economy for India," would indeed amount to a solid foundation for reconstructing India, but it is doubtful if it could be called by the name of planned economy. If we are to give it the name of planned economy we shall have to admit that every practical suggestion or policy pursued by any state at any time for the reconstruction of that country would amount to the existence of a system of planned economy. In that case we shall have to call by the name of planned economy the deliberate guidance by the Japanese State of the Japanese economic structure in the recent past. Again the pursuit by England in the early phases of the industrial revolution of policies calculated to strengthen her national economy may have to be stamped with the name of planned economy. Or the progress which Germany has made industrially under the deliberate guidance of Bismarck may have to be labelled as due to Bismarckian planned economy.

But apart from these considerations, any idea of a planned economy for India is nothing short of a visionary's dream. The very first limiting factor is the unique constitution we are going to get, unique, in the matter of financial inelasticity. Then there is a Reserve Bank that knows not its own mind. It is with these hopeful auguries that we shall make a beginning of our efforts towards planned economy. On top of all these there is the praiseworthy view of the Finance Member that the only thing that can be done at present is to "*pray*"* for disposition in the world to return to the doctrine of cheapness and free exchange." While Sir M. Visweswarayya talks of an all-round plan, Sir James Grigg thinks prayer is the only alternative!

**Underlining mine.*

Briefly outlined the various difficulties of any effort towards planned economy in India are as follows. In the first place as long as the political problem is not solved to the satisfaction of Indians—and the coming Constitution is certainly not going to do it—emphasis in activity is bound to remain on politics rather than on economics. In the second place, besides the common difficulties that any PLANNED ECONOMY has to face the curious blend of vested interests in Indian economic life is bound to remain a serious obstacle to any workable solution. Again

our ability to subordinate individual interest to the general interest does not seem to have come to that stage where it can view with the sympathy any measures designed to redistribute national income, unless it be brought about by Revolution or Dictatorship.

But this need not imply that nothing could be done in India. A great many things may be done within the little compass of possibility left at our disposal. But the only implication is not to call it by the dignified name of planned economy.

TAGORE AS A BALLAD-WRITER

By KALIPADA MUKERJEE

[Dr. Rabindranath Tagore's works embrace a bewildering variety of literary forms and themes. His name is a guarantee that this article, though limited in scope, will be read with great interest.]

The song that nerves a nation's heart is in itself a deed.—

—TENNYSON.

It is well-known that in the life of every poet there comes a time when he can no longer rest satisfied with Art for Art's sake, can no more like to be tossed on waves of gaiety and idlesse. The outward world can never more be to him the whole—for he begins to realise a spiritual source of life and thought above and beyond this mundane world. His universe becomes a homeless one and as such cannot have a centre of repose for him; if he lives solely by impulse, he can find no rest, no peace—for when the ardours of an emotional life die down, nothing remains for him left but weakness, exhaustion and despair; and the poet in despair cannot but seek refuge in the only centre of repose in the world. His attitude towards life and the world is changed accordingly. That such a change was coming into the life of Rabindranath between 1900 and 1907, is evident to all who read his works of those years. The poet who has been primarily and essentially religious throughout his life even from a boy, is yet an aesthete of the highest order; but, he came to realise in his heart of hearts, as has been rightly noticed by Ajitkumar Chakravarty that "the exhaustion which follows on creative activity shows that Art can never take the place of spiritual life".

¹ Rabindranath Tagore—Poet and Dramatist—E. J. Thompson.

Thus it is that the poet who has believed in nothing as in the joy and love that pervade the universe, who wrote "Urvashi", probably the most unalloyed and perfect worship of Beauty which the world's literature contains' found the Puritan in him making itself insistent and creating a change in his spiritual life. Well did Matthew Arnold say,—

Ah, two desires toss about
The poet's feverish blood.
One drives him to the world without,
And one to solitude.

And, we believe that youthful poets with more years and a greater experience of life almost always realise that philosophy, religion and ethics are as much suitable subjects for poetry as things of beauty themselves. Matthew Arnold indicated what should be the ultimate ideal of all, when writing about Wordsworth's poetry he remarked,

Epictetus has a happy figure for things like the play of the senses, a literary form and finish, or argumentative ingenuity, in comparison with 'the best and master thing' for us, as he called it, the concern how to live. . . . But the things might also be overprized, and treated as final when they are not. They bear to life the same relation which inns bear to home. . . . You have an object which is this: to get home, to do your duty to your family, friends and fellow-countrymen, to attain inward freedom, serenity happiness, contentment. . . .

But the time of his greatest change came to Rabindranath in the year of his sorrows—1902. He was separated from his wife for ever; his world became a homeless one—he repaired to Almora in the Himalayas to find a refuge amidst the storms of life. But death followed him even there, for one of his daughters was dying of consumption. And the lonely father in that lone retreat as both father and mother for his children, composed most of the ballads which he latterly published as 'Katha'. He turned to spiritual beings

who by their golden self-sacrifice and royal renunciation have shed imperishable lustre on the days of the Buddha and Buddhism, on the times of the Rajput, Sikh and Marhatta patriots.

The ballads in *Katha* are twenty in number, excepting the opening poem which can be Englished as 'Speak',—an apostrophe to old Time to speak out and help the poet to give expression to themes of heroic renunciation and self-effacement which remain gathered up in the midst of its great silence. These are all new in form and style in Bengali literature. What is probably the most significant fact to be noted about these ballads is that they are all a part, or so to say, a transcript of the poet's soul. The poet emerged from his essentially poetic life into one far more spiritual,—but, into its regeneration entered the idealistic life of ancient India. So it is, that these ballads are not merely of love-sorrows as most of the ballads of European poets are, but are all instinct with a higher spiritual love—a self-abnegation which only a deep sense of religion, righteousness and duty can breed in the soil of the human heart.

The names of the ballads in English are,—The Chief Alms, The Representative, The Brahmin, The Selling of the Head, The Votaress, The Love-tryst, The Repayment, A little Loss, The Receipt of Value, The Presiding Goddess of the City, The Boon of Abuse, The Winning of the Husband, The Philosopher's Stone, The Heroic Prisoner, The Honoured One, The Gift Beyond Hope, The King's Judgment, Guru Govinda, The Last Lesson, The Toy Citadel, The Holi Festival, The Marriage, The Judge and The Keeping of the Vow².

The sources from which Tagore derived his subjects are as follows:—

² The heading of the poem is 'Pan-raksha'; so, it is not 'His Vow' as translated by Sir Jadunath Sarkar in *The Modern Review*, April, 1931.

- (1) Abadanshatak
- (2) Acworth's Ballads of the Marathas—Introduction
- (3) The Chhandyogya Upanishad
- (4) Mahasatwabadan
- (5) Bodhisatwabadan Kalpalata
- (6) Mahabastwabadan
- (7) Dibyabadanmala
- (8) Kalpadrumabadan
- (9) Bhaktamal
- (10) Macgregor's History of the Sikhs, pp. 99-100, (1846)
- (11) History of the Sikhs—Cunningham
- (12) Tod's Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan or the Central and Western Rajpoot States of India. (First Edition—1884.)

In Tagore's book, ballads Nos. 1, 5, 9 are based on the Abadanshatak, Nos. 2 and 23 are from Acworth's Ballads of the Marathas, No. 3 is from the Chhandyogya Upanishad, No. 4 is from the Mahasatwabadan, No. 6 is from the Bodhisatwabadan, No. 7 is from the Mahasatwabadan, No. 8 is from the Dibyabadanmala, No. 10 is from the Kalpadrumabadan, Nos. 11, 12 and 13 are from the Bhaktamal, Nos. 14, 16, 18 and 23 are from either of the Histories of the Sikhs mentioned above; while Nos. 15, 17, 20, 21, 22, 23 and 24 are all from Col. Tod's justly celebrated Annals of Rajasthan.

We give below some extracts from Tod's Rajasthan to show how Tagore came by his subject-matter which by dint of his creative power he transformed into creations of art:—

"Achilgurh, or 'the immovable castle' is the name of the fortress of the Deorah princes of Aboo and Sirohi. On another occasion from the same freedom of speech, he (Nahur Khan—the tiger-lord) incurred the displeasure of the Shahzeda or prince royal, who, with youthful levity, commanded the tiger-lord, to attempt a feat which he deemed inconsistent with his dignity, namely gallop at speed under a horizontal branch of a

tree and cling to it while the steed passed on. This feat, requiring both agility and strength, appears to have been a common amusement, and it is related, in the Annals of Mewar, that the chief of Bunera broke his spine in the attempt; and there were few who did not come off with bruises and falls, in which consisted the sport. When Nahur heard the command, he indignantly replied, 'he was not a monkey'; that 'if the princes wished to see his feats, it must be where his sword has play'; on which he was ordered against Soortan the Deorah prince of Sirohi, for which service he had the whole Rathore contingent at his disposal. The Deorah prince, who could not attempt to cope against it in the field, took to his native hills, but while he deemed himself secure, Mokund, with a chosen band, in the dead of night entered the glen where the Sirohi prince reposed, stabbed the solitary sentinel, bound the prince with his own turban to his pallet, while environing him with his clansmen, he gave the alarm. The Deorahs starting from their rocky beds, collected round their prince, and were preparing for the rescue when Nahur called aloud, "You see his life is in my hands: be assured it is safe if you are wise; but he dies on the least opposition to my determination to convey him to my prince. My sole object in giving the alarm was that you might behold me carry off my prize." He conveyed Soortan to Jeswunt, who said, he must introduce him to the king. The Deorah prince was carried to court, and being led between the proper officers to the palace, he was instructed to perform that profound obeisance, from which none were exempted. But the haughty Deorah replied, "His life was in the king's hands, his honour in his own; he had never bowed the head to mortal man, and he never would." As Jeswunt had pledged himself for his honourable treatment, the officers of the ceremonies endeavoured by stratagem to obtain a constrained obeisance, and instead of introducing him as usual, they shewed him a wicket, knee high, and very low overhead, by which to enter, but putting his feet foremost, his head was the last part to appear. This stubborn ingenuity, his noble bearing and his long protracted resistance, added to Jeswunt's pledge, won the king's favour; and he not only proffered him pardon, but whatever lands he might desire. Though the king did not name the return, Soortan was well aware of the terms but he

boldly and quickly replied, "What can Your Majesty bestow equal to Achigurh? Let me return to it is all I ask." The King had the magnanimity to comply with his request; Soortan was allowed to retire to the castle of Aboo, nor did he nor any of the Deorahs ever rank themselves amongst the vassals of the empire; but they have continued to the present hour a life of almost savage independence.

This is taken from Tod's Annals of Marwar, and supplied Tagore with the subject of his ballad 'Mani' or 'The Honoured One'. The same Annals supplied the poet with the subject-matter of his ballad on 'Panraksha' or 'The Keeping of the Vow'. Tod gives the story as follows,—

Marwar had enjoyed several years of peace when the rapid strides made by the Marathas towards universal rapine, if not conquest, compelled the Rajputs once more to form an union for the defence of their political existence. . . . The battle of Tonga ensued, in which Rathore valour shone forth in all its glory. . . . Despising discipline, they charged through the dense battalions of De Boigne, sabring his artillerymen at their guns and compelling Scindia to abandon not only the field, but all his conquests for a time. Beejoy Singh by this victory redeemed the castle of Ajmere, and declared his tributary alliance null and void. But the genius of Scindia and the talents of De Boigne soon recovered this loss. . . . Ajmere, which had revolted on the short-lived triumph of Tonga, was once more surrendered, and lost for ever to Marwar. When invested by De Boigne, the faithful governor Dumraj, placed in the dilemma of a disgraceful surrender, or disobedience to his prince's summons, swallowed diamond-powder. "Tell the Raja", said the faithful servant, "thus only could I testify my obedience; and over my dead body alone could a Southern enter Ajmere."³

³ The above quotations will show all who know the original that they all contributed to the making of Tagore's ballad; and, therefore Sir Jadunath Sarkar's remark in the Modern Review for April, 1931, that "The incident of 'His Vow' occupies only a line and a half in its source. Tod's Rajasthan" is baseless and therefore, incorrect. Here at least in the ballads, it cannot and need not be said that the imagination of the poet 'owes no allegiance but to the elements'.

The poet has used the above material in an excellent manner: he does not mention the name of De Boigne in the poem, but merely mentions him as a European commander: and the heroic chieftain Dumraj is not depicted as swallowing diamond-powder, but, when the conquering hordes of Scindia and De Boigne approach the main gate of the fort of Ajmere, they find the chieftain lying dead at it. Thus is the unequalled heroism of Dumraj shown forth in a vivid picture of unique and solitary grandeur.

Here is another extract from Tod's Rajasthan which has supplied Tagore with, and inspired him to write his ballad on 'The Toy Citadel' or rather 'The Mock Castle':—

The Rana of Mewar marched with all his vassals to Boondi, and encamped at Neemairo, only a few miles from the city. Five hundred Haras 'the sons of one father' put on the saffron robe, and rallied round their chief, determined to die with him.

Humiliated, disgraced, and enraged at being thus foiled by a handful of men, the Rana reformed his troops under the walls of Cheetore, and swore he would not eat until he was master of Boondi. The rash vow went round; but Boondi was sixty miles distant, and defended by brave hearts. His chiefs expostulated with the Rana on the absolute impossibility of redeeming his vow; but the words of the king are sacred: Boondi must fall, ere the king of the Gehlotes could dine. In this exigence, a childish expedient was proposed to relieve him from hunger and his oath: to erect a mock Boondi, and take it by storm. Instantly the mimic town arose under the walls of Cheetore and that the deception might be complete, the local nomenclature was attended to, and each quarter had its appropriate appellation. A band of Haras of the Pathar were in the service of Cheetore, whose leader Koombo-Bairsi, was returning with his kin from hunting with the deer, when their attention was attracted by this strange bustle. The story was soon told, that his brethren of the Pathar, declaring that even the mock Boondi must be defended. The Rana remained satisfied at this ingenuous arrangement of his counsellors for the keeping of his solemn promise, but the band of Haras heroically

defended the mock Boondi at the cost of their lives.

In Tagore's ballad we find that Koombo, a servant of the Rana of Cheetore, on his return from the deer-hunt, heard of this mimic Boondi, and himself undertook the task of defending his Boondi's honour by challenging the Rana. He sat down on the ground before the mock castle, with his bow and arrows, but was cut to pieces by the soldiers of Mewar. Here I give my rendering of the ballad below,—

THE TOY CITADEL

(*Rajasthan*)

"Water never will I touch,"
The Rana of Chitore—
"Until Bundi fort doth fall".
By all the gods he swore.
"Oh, what a vow!" the ministers say,
"A deed to perform—men's dismay!"
"If that be not possible, now
Well, I will live no more."
The hold of Bundi is far away—
From Chitore it is long.
The heroes of Hara dynasty
They are all proud and strong.
King Hamu by his stronghold
Stands undaunted—overbold:
He has given proof of his strength
In the field with his throng.
The ministers do take counsel,—
"This day and all this night
Build a toy fort even here
And the king in his might
Will come and break it with his hands
The toy citadel that here stands,
And he'll be saved his terrible vow
Which doth so us affright."
So a Bundi fort was reared;

But it met the eyes
 Of Kumbha servant of the Rana
 Returning with surprise
 From the hunt, who spake, "Our house
 Who dares humble? I espouse
 Its cause; I'll keep this fort
 Underneath the skies."
 When the Rana came to break
 The toy fort reared there,
 Kumbha shouted like a thunder,
 "O King, do not dare."
 He took his arrows and his bow,
 And though his head was laid there low
 By the soldiers of the Rana,
 His was valour rare.

We quote the following extract also from the said book to show the source of Tagore's poem 'Rajbichar' or 'The Judgment of the King',—

Rao Rutten left four sons, Gopinath who had Boondi; Madhu Sing who had Kota; Heriji who had Googore; Juggernath, who had no issue; and Gopinath, the heir of Boondi, who had died before his father. The manner of his death affords another trait of Rajpoot character, and merits a place amongst those anecdotes which form the romance of history. Gopinath carried on a secret intrigue with the wife of a Brahmin of the Buldea class, and in the dead of night used to escalate the house to obtain admittance. At length the Brahmin caught him, bound the hands and feet of his treacherous prince and proceeding direct to the palace, told the Rao he had caught a thief in the act of stealing his honour, and asked what punishment was due to such offence. "Death", was the reply. He waited for no other, returned home, and with a hammer beat out the victim's brains, throwing the dead body into the public highway. The tidings flew to Rao Rutten, that the heir of Boondi had been murdered, and his corpse ignominiously exposed; but when he learned the cause, and was reminded of the decree he had unwillingly passed, he submitted in silence.

The above is from the Annals of Haravati in Tod's

Annals of Rajasthan.

The ballad 'Bicharak' or 'The Judge', Tagore, as he says in a foot-note to it, got from the 'Charitmala' or 'Biographical Sketches' by Pundit Shambhuchandra Vidyaratna, where he found it taken from the rendering of a still current Marathi ballad used by Acworth in his 'Ballads of the Marathas'.

The other ballad on a Marathi subject in Tagore's book is 'Pratinidhi' or 'The Representative'. In a foot-note, the poet expressly says that he took it from the introduction to Acworth's ballads. The poem is very beautiful—in it the poet delineates to the full the real character of Sivaji the Great—the saintly character, the worthy disciple of a worthy preceptor, who took upon himself the great responsibility of administering the vast state founded by himself as the representative of Ramdas, and who adopted the 'Bhagoa Zenda' as his state-banner.

The only ballad which Tagore bases on the Upanishads is the one called 'Brahman' or 'The Brahmin'⁴, which he took from the fourth chapter of the fourth part of the Chhand-yogya Upanishad. The poem is interesting in more ways than one. As it comes from the pen of a Brahma who has no caste distinctions, as the caste Hindu, it has come in for much adverse criticism from orthodox Hindu readers. They murmur that he selected as the subject for his ballad this instance of a boy of Non-Aryan extraction gaining recognition and initiation to Brahma-knowledge from Rishi Goutama who accepted Satyakam as his disciple for his rigid truthfulness alone. Nevertheless this ballad is beautiful; it shows one the great regard for truth which prevailed in ancient India and which admitted even a Non-Aryan into the privileges of a high caste Hindu. (To be continued)

⁴ Published for the first time in, and still forming part of the Bengali 'Chitra' (1895).

THE MYSTIC—AN APOLOGIA

By BANKEY BEHARI

[The first of a series of twelve articles, being chapters of the hitherto unpublished Mss. on "Mysticism in Islam". The author has drawn in his work apart from the writings of Rumi, Attar, Sanai, Shabistari and Jami, especially from the *Fiha-ma-Fiha* (The Discourses) of Maulana Rum, a work which has not yet been translated into English. The current views of Levy, Nicholson and Browne and Iqbal have been freely discussed and criticised. Coming from the pen of one who is making a comparative study of the subject Mysticism, it is of especial interest.]

There seems to be an essential human need or longing to know the nature of soul and God. Every thinking man, when he reflects on the fact that he is swept without pause along the great curve of birth to death, the rising flood of life, the ceaseless stream of becoming, which presses ever onward and upward, cannot but ask what is the purpose of it all, as a whole, apart from the little distracting incidents of the way? (Radhakrishnan—Indian Philosophy—Vol. 1, p. 54).

This inquisitiveness to sound the depths of the stream of Eternity, to know the how and why of existence is no peculiarity of a particular nation or period. It is common to all and has engaged the attention of people at all times. With every one of us it is a problem, and sooner or later, in this life or the life to come, one has to seek for oneself the solution of it. It has led men to propound the different systems of philosophies, religious, creeds and cults. And, yet in spite of such earnest attempts to reach at a solution, the eternal riddle seems to have eluded the grasp. Or, if the Great Mystery has revealed itself to anybody, it has rendered him dumb, or made him lose his personality so as to make it impossible for

him to recite his experiences, like the salt-doll that went to take the depth of the ocean but never returned to tell its tale. To others the solace in life has been a life well spent in the "endless quest."

Amongst these thinkers have been a class of aspirants, known as the mystics, who claim to have experienced the divine touch and a personal conscious contact with God. The creed of the mystic has been recognised all the world over. In the West it has been styled as mysticism, in the countries of Islamic origin as Sufism and in India as Vedantism, later as the Bhakti Movement or Vaishnavism. As to the birth of mysticism, it would be difficult to assign any definite date. However, it would not be far too wrong to say that it is 'as old as the human heart.'

Attempts have been made to define mysticism. Although it is doubtful if people have succeeded in giving an exact and comprehensive definition, the reader shall however be able to appreciate the meaning of the term, if he knows the aspirations and ideals of the mystic. Briefly the goal of the mystic is the union of his individual soul with the Universal—"the highest achievement of human consciousness."

To some this assertion may sound as preposterous, bordering on heresy, but the mystic does not profess it in vanity, but states it as a truth that he has realised himself. He claims to show the path to him who is interested in knowing it, provided he is prepared to pay the price for it. God has to speak to man through man, and "these personalities act as receivers and transmitters, to distribute the flashes of the Uncreated Light." The mystic is honest and genuine in his professions for the Divine Beloved, and so much dependent on Him, that the slightest loss will make even the Prince among them lament "Father, why hast Thou forsaken me."

The present day scientist and logician is prone to recognise only that truth which can be tested in the laboratory of the former, or examined by the empirical rules of logic of the other. Such intellectuals forget that there are things ineffable beyond mental comprehension and incapable of expression in words. "Intellect in the sense of mere understanding, working within the limited categories of time, cause and space, is inadequate. Reason also fails, though it takes us beyond understanding, it does not help us to attain Reality, which is not merely an idea but a spirit." When Buddha was put certain questions on God and Ego and allied subjects, he maintained silence. People misunderstood him. Some honestly thought that the Master was an atheist. Buddha, however, explained his silence differently, saying that he had witnessed things which if he related would not be understood by them, and there were other experiences of his, which were incapable of expression in words. He therefore advised his disciples, to follow the 'eightfold path', and await the illumination, which will, in course of time dawn upon them. Mere narration will therefore serve no useful purpose.

Mistake is sometimes made in concluding that what escapes the intellect must be untrue. But this is not looking at the things from the correct point of view. Because reason cannot be assigned to a thing, it does not necessarily follow that it does not exist. We say "'It' rains—while there is no 'it' at all. There is nothing but movement, no doer but deed, nothing else but a becoming." Again, if we try to comprehend God by our senses we shall be untrue to our premise, namely God contains all. The moment we can comprehend Him, we shall be limiting Him, and according to our premise, He is limitless. The Creator of the intellect must be existing from before the intellect He has created, and continue to live on even after intellect has ceased to exist. How can the

intellect then comprehend Him? Also, because the rules that govern Him are different and not necessarily the same as those proclaimed by our science and philosophy. Do we not see the same yellow and white of the egg giving such black shades to the feathers of the crow, and such brilliant hues to the peacock?

That knowledge is true knowledge which aims at solving the riddle and leading us to peace. That knowledge carries in its wake, piety, humility and inspires faith in us. The mystic's knowledge is revelation, intuitive knowledge. How can one, in the circumstances, assert that he knows? For any such assertion is a sign of ignorance. We find in the Upanishads the following words recorded, "It is unknown to those who know, and known to those who do not know (Kena Upanishad II, 3.)". An echo of this we find in the teaching of Socrates in a much later period.

It should not however be understood that the mystic decries intellect or disdains it. He recognises its value. But unsupplemented with intuition, he considers it a futile and a useless guide. Intellect can reveal only a part, lead a short distance. For attaining the full growth and complete knowledge of the Reality, intuition is the sure guide and the solitary path. The point of view is emphasised in the *Gita*, where the Lord Krishna says:

While all devotees are dear to the Lord, the possessor of wisdom is dearest of all.

A charge is sometimes laid at the doors of the mystic that what he asserts as his visions experiences, ecstasies and divine meetings are mere hallucinations and dreams. He has been described at times a maniac, at others a hysteric patient. He has been dealt with by some authors as a pathological case. Of late, however, enough literature has come out which gives a lie to such conclusions. We find Dean Inge, if I understand

him correctly, recently supporting the claim of the reality of mystic experiences. In his "Philosophical Study of Mysticism", we have Mr. Bennett certifying to their genuineness when he says,

your hysterical patient, for example, is literally a patient, at the mercy of his impulses, his transports, his melancholy, his automatisms of one kind or another. The mystic is more like a man wrestling with a problem, than a man wrestling with a disease.

The mystic is all the time conscious of his state during the period the revelations last. Another great point that goes to support the reality of such experiences is that the descriptions of the visions given by the mystics all the world over resemble one another, although the subjects who experienced them had no possibility of intercourse one with the other, being removed by distance and time. Miss Underhill speaking on the subject says:

It is, however, just as uncritical to assume that ecstasy is necessarily a pathological symptom, as it is to assume that it is necessarily a mystic state,

and she has suggested a test to determine their reality. At any rate the above view does not lean against the reality of spiritual visions.

The mystic is also the subject of another charge, that of secrecy. He is accused of living by himself and being jealous of his secret, unwilling to disclose it to others. He is at times condemned as a 'lazy contemplative' averse to society and an enemy of corporate life. These charges are, however, unfounded. As to his love for solitude, it may be stated as a truth that all great thoughts are received in silence. In fact the soul desires to speak in silence. Every artist must withdraw within himself, live by himself during the period preceding his contemplated remarkable and epoch-making production. If then the mystic, a supreme artist, who aims at

capturing the Lord, wants silence, it is but a natural need and a just craving. He does not reject society, in fact he works for its uplift in his own way. He aims at replenishing its wasting spirit, and seldom interests himself with mere form. The French mystic, Elizabeth de la Trinite said,

I want to be all silence, all adoration that I may penetrate more and more deeply into God and become so full of Him that I can give Him to those poor souls still ignorant of His gifts.

Here is the samaritan behind the mystic speaking. The mystic is a martyr that atones for the sins of the world. To the Christian, the Cross should be a sufficient witness of the truth behind the life consecrated.

The charge of lazy contemplative laid against those who have courted the life of privation, misery and night-long vigils waiting for the Bridegroom, deserves to be summarily dismissed as untenable. One has only to look into the biographical accounts to be convinced of the active, alert life that these heroes have lived. Let the reader be reminded of the names of St. Francis of Assisi, St. Catherine of Siena, St. Bernard, St. Hildegard, St. Gertrude, Joan of Arc, St. Anthony of Egypt among the Christian mystics; Al Ghazali, Rumi, Shams Tabriz, Shibli and Abu Bakr amongst the Sufis; Prahlad, Dhruva, Bhart Hari, Kabir, Rai Das and Mira Bai amongst the Indian devotees and examine the accusation in the light of such names. I have purposely omitted the names of Buddha, Christ, Nanak, Moses and Luther and others, who have passed on the torch of Light and Love, to the future struggling generations of devotees. Will you call such pioneers as dregs on society?

It is futile to accuse these people who have sacrificed their all as selfish egoists. They have lived for the Lord. Their self they have destroyed for all times and merged it in the Beloved. Where then is the scope for self-aggrandise-

ment and display? They have only one objective in view, in the words of St. Augustine, "Thou hast made us for Thyself, and our hearts shall find no rest save in Thee." In their quest they shall brook no obstacle, and accept nothing spurious. They are too critical to adopt anything without the closest scrutiny. The cobwebs of logic cannot entangle them. They recognise only that which they have experienced themselves. They are strong individualists, who recognise traditions, ceremonials, formalisms, customs and worship, in so far as they serve as a means to the achievement of his goal. But they are not his soul's supreme content. He has to probe further and dive deeper, till passing through the passage of 'the dark night of the soul' he can say with the Theosophist Seer, Krishnamurti:

.....So gathering my strength,
I delved deep
Into the secret stores of my heart;
For the joy of the discovery
As one beholds the Light,
At the end of a dark passage
So I beheld the end of my search,
The end I have known.....

Such are the martyrs at the altar of Love: and fair is the promise the Lord has given to them:

Merge thy mind in Me, be My devotee, prostrate thyself before Me, thou shalt come even unto Me. I pledge Thee my troth, thou art dear to Me. Abandoning all dharmas, come unto Me alone for shelter; sorrow not. I will liberate thee from all sins.

(*Bhagvad Gita*. Ch. XVIII. ver. 64—66).

EDUCATION AND SOCIAL ORDER

By K. G. SAIYIDAIN

[This is the second part of Principal Saiyidain's article on the above subject. In the following pages he emphasises the need for bringing about a psychological revolution in the minds of the students for the creation of a better social order.]

III

I started with the basic principle that any theory or system of education which fails to take note of the most emphatic forces of the environment is an unreal thing, lacking rootage in the soil and providing, at its best, a mere smattering of superficial culture or training narrowly for certain occupations and professions. It will never become an effective instrument of social reconstruction or a means of producing a better race of men and women. Any attempt, therefore, to define the nature or the scope and functions of education must constantly revert not only to guiding ideals and principles which are, no doubt, pre-eminently important, but also to these urgent, dynamic forces which are re-shaping society. I have indicated in the previous section of the article the educational implications of one of these forces: modern science, in so far as it demands a new intellectual attitude. But it is impossible to discuss in this article all the other important tendencies and forces of the modern age. To make this modern world picture reasonably intelligible, it is necessary, however, to refer briefly to one other set of forces, which, arising out of scientific developments, have surpassed them in their urgency and influence. The development of scientific technology has resulted in the conquest of

space and time; it has made possible quicker and closer intercourse amongst people, nationally and internationally; the application of scientific knowledge to industry has brought in its train the phenomenon of large-scale production linking the world, for good or evil, into an economic unity, and the ease and rapidity of communications, both of men and ideas, has made intellectual interdependence an established fact. The world to-day is one, both intellectually and economically, in a very real and literal sense. But by a conjunction of unfortunate circumstances—political, psychological and educational—this undeniable *fact* of material and cultural interdependence has not yet begun to colour our social, political and ethical ideas and we are still apt to think of the problems of our individual and national conduct in terms that are so narrow, parochial and sectarian as to be tragically unsuited to the conditions of the modern world. As Bertrand Russell points out:

Science has so altered our technique as to make the world one economic unit. But our political institutions and beliefs lag behind our technique and each nation makes itself artificially poor by economic isolation. We invent labour-saving devices and are troubled by unemployment. When we cannot sell our products we cut down wages under the impression, apparently, that the less men earn the more they will spend. All these evils arise from one source, that, while our technique demands co-operation of the whole human race as a single producing and consuming unit, our passions and our political beliefs persist in demanding competition.*

Russel's view could be expressed in more general terms by saying that the development of our material powers and resources has outstripped the growth of our moral and social consciousness and, in the face of a situation which is interna-

*Education and the Social Order.

tional in its scope and comprehensively human and organic in its nature, we still glory in and advocate competitive individualism in all departments of human activity—aggressive imperialism or nationalism in politics, an unjust policy of *laissez-faire* in the domain of economic effort, the acceptance and sanctification of the selfish, profit motive in everyday conduct, the continued division of society into numerous water-tight compartments. Such a priceless collection of practical and psychological stupidities would be disastrous at any time; in our own age it is suicidal. For, this failure to appreciate the fact of human interdependence threatens to destroy the very functions of modern civilization. It holds the constant menace of a devastating war over the heads of a fear and suspicion-ridden world, foolishly loyal to traditions of national sovereignty and exclusiveness; it sanctions the incredible social and economic injustices under which much the greater part of mankind is labouring to-day and thus harbours within each body-politic a festering centre of discontent and revolt; it denies to large masses of people in our country all access to culture and education and even to the bare necessities and amenities of physical existence. Thus as a social order, it has miserably failed to implement that promise of a fuller life for all, which science had seemed to hold out alluringly in the last century. And the failure, it must be stressed, is not that of science which has been as good as its word, laying at our feet the riches of the world and the plenitude of undreamt of powers. The reason for the present impasse lies in the failure of man to use his intelligence for creative rather than destructive ends, in his failure to harness these new powers and resources to the service of social and moral ends and to the task of building up a more just and humane social order. There is obviously a lack of unity and integration in our present day life, a conflict between the

facts of the socio-political and economic situation, on the one hand, and the teachings of religion and morality on the other. This conflict creates a psychological situation which makes even the best of our educative efforts futile. In our own country, for example, where religion and ethics have traditionally exhorted people to fairness, justice, tolerance and co-operation, and have definitely subordinated material to spiritual life, if not altogether condemned the material aspect—in this country, we find all the channels of national activity—social, political and economic—generally stressing in every possible way the material, the competitive and the selfish motives of conduct, and education working on the whole as their subservient hand-maiden. In a very real sense, therefore it is true that we cannot produce any lasting improvements through education unless simultaneously, through the effort of workers in many other fields, the balance of operative forces and motives in our national life is greatly changed, and education is itself inspired by the vision of a new social order which is more just, more progressive, more truly and innately co-operative and, consequently, more educative in its influence over the minds and disposition of its growing and grown-up members.

The alternative that has been favoured by some important schools of thought in our country, e.g., Mahatma Gandhi's, would reject the gifts of science and modern industry as being too dangerous and too closely associated with the terrible consequences which have followed industrial capitalism in the West, and would hearken back, if possible, to a more primitive social and economic organization in which such glaring injustices were not possible and the loom of life hummed peaceful round small-scale industries and cottage crafts and occupations. But that is really a counsel of despair. In the first place, the world is too closely knit together

to-day to allow any one country to put back the clock of time and reproduce the conditions of a different age. Secondly, the progress of humanity has come about, not by rejecting essentially valuable and dynamic ideas and systems because they might prove or have proved dangerous, but by incorporating them in a higher synthesis so that their incidental disadvantages are transcended and they become effective instruments for the realization of worthy human purposes. The misery and suffering which have attended the development of industrial civilization in the western countries—I say *industrial* and not *capitalistic* advisedly—are not necessarily an integral part of the new system; they are the product of human greed and human stupidity. And we, who come after them in point of time in this evolution may, without necessarily laying claim to superior innate wisdom, profit from their mistakes and protect ourselves from the maladjustments and human exploitations to which they have been subjected. That is certainly a more challenging prospect which we should boldly face, for we cannot, even if we will, avoid it by turning our faces backward.

What will be the outstanding characteristics of this new social order which is to be the inspiration of our educational reconstruction? I can only refer to them very sketchily and somewhat dogmatically here. It must be a society which, by exploiting to the fullest measure the resources and possibilities of modern scientific technology, will eliminate most of the avoidable poverty and insecurity which afflict mankind to-day and thus circumscribe the scope of its life to a harassed striving for earning a miserable livelihood. If our improved scientific skill and instruments are wisely utilized to exploit natural resources and to reduce human suffering it is not only possible to do away with many of the evils of our present economic regime but also to usher in "an order of unpre-

cedented security and abundant comfort as the material basis for a higher culture in which all and not merely the few shall share." The existing social system stands irrevocably condemned because it keeps a large majority of mankind in ignorance and poverty, denying them all fullness of life, while securing to a small minority, and mainly an undeserving minority, all the riches and the comforts of a materially advanced civilization. Such a system of social and economic doctrines cannot command our loyalty and allegiance or inspire our highest educational endeavours. The social order that we are trying to visualize must attempt consciously to control the productive activities of scientific industry in the interests of society as a whole, to secure a more real equality of opportunity to individuals and groups and bring about a fairer distribution of the goods of life. It will reject the claims of the acquisitive instinct and the economic incentives to be the only powerful and stable motives of human conduct, for that is essentially an immoral and pathological situation created by an unjust economic system. The educative significance of a better socio-economic order lies in the fact that, by securing to all the possibility of a more abundant life both materially and culturally, it will shift the psychological emphasis from the possessive and the egotistical to the creative and the social motives of conduct which even to-day operate powerfully in all higher scientific, artistic and moral undertakings. At present even those groups which enjoy immunity from the economic pressure are obsessed by the possessive outlook because their position in society is essentially precarious and unjust and, therefore, open to attack. In these circumstances, it is quite understandable why the higher motives of work cannot appeal to them. It is only in a society where equality of opportunity prevails and a sense of reasonable security from want is assured that the sublimation of

motives and urges, through social and educative forces, and the substitution of co-operative pursuits for competitive individualism become possible. Otherwise the motives of fear, hatred, exploitation and revolt are too strong to be ousted from their entrenched positions through an educational approach alone. Again, it is only in such a society, grounded in equitable principles, that we can expect the fullest opportunities for personal development which requires freedom and mobility of social intercourse and rejects rigid divisions of castes and creeds which create de-educative limitations and barriers amongst individuals and groups.

What part can the teachers play in the service of this staggering transformation, this stupendous task of creating a new and a better world? They are some times apt to feel depressed under the stress of their exacting work for they often think that, while their nation is confronted with all kinds of gracing and far-reaching problems, their own lives are being spent in the deadly monotony of teaching immature minds the elements of reading, writing, arithmetic and the like. If and when they really think in these terms, I feel that they have missed the whole point and meaning of their vocation; for, I submit, the present situation of our country contains within itself a challenge powerful enough to stimulate all our courage, intelligence, devotion and good-will, because it demands, at our hands, a veritable educational revolution. They should remember that—if they approach their work in the right spirit—through every aspect of their educational activity they are—or should be—trying to bring about that psychological revolution in the minds and spirits of their pupils which is a necessary condition for the creation of any better social order. By exalting, in all school work, co-operation above competition, creation above acquisitiveness, service above the lust for personal power and

profit, and active intelligence and inquiry above passive assimilation of second-hand opinions—by developing, in short, “an independent yet socially sensitive personality”—they will not only enrich the lives of their pupils but also train disciplined workers and leaders in the cause of that better social order which I have tried, however imperfectly, to portray in this paper.

MASS EDUCATION

By P. GUHA-THAKURTA

[Dr. P. Guha-Thakurta is an author and writer of distinction. In the following article which is the first of a series on the problem of Mass Education, he offers constructive criticism of the existing system of education in India and puts in a strong plea for educational planning for the whole country on national lines.]

Prefatory

Mass education, as it is ordinarily understood, does not exist in India, at least not in the popular forms which are to be found in most educationally advanced countries of the world. The reason is simple. The type of education which has been in vogue in this country since the advent of British rule, is not designed for the educational uplift of the general masses of people of India. It has been, throughout, almost exclusively intended for the classes, and is still so. Consequently, an analysis of the educational methods and practices in modern India will merely reveal the lines of educational progress trod by only an infinitesimal section of the Indian population. According to the last census figures, about 23½ out of nearly 353 million total population of India, are literate, and in British India, about 19 million out of 271½ million inhabitants are literate. This is, of course, a most lamentable state of affairs, but is scarcely surprising, considering the fact that no consistent attempt has ever been made by those responsible for the educational policy in India to impart education to her people *en masse*. Education in the mass has, in fact, never been in their scheme of things; so,

they can no more be blamed than the adverse conditions peculiar to this country.

The pivot on which all education in India still revolves is the University, although higher education of the academic type already stands disgraced, for having failed to stand the increasing economic strain and to satisfy the prevailing needs of the nation's youth. Three years ago, the Auxiliary Committee of the Simon Commission, known as the Hartog Committee, conducted a survey of existing educational organisations and closely examined their record of work. As a result of its investigation the Committee found much to criticise and little to praise in the existing system. But this investigation, like most other official or semi-official investigations, had little or no relation to the appalling problem of illiteracy in India. Instead, the Hartog Committee looked for ahead on the coming political and constitutional changes, speculated serenely on the prospects of a "co-ordination of the entire educational experience" in the future under the controlling hands of the Government of India (which is about to materialise, unluckily for us!) and bewailed over educational stagnation and wastage in the country. The Committee's analysis of the existing deficiencies was perhaps theoretically impeccable; but its practical value was *nil*. The Government of India, after all, could not be expected to deviate from its appointed course of educational policy; the *status quo* would have to be maintained by them at all events, allowing from time to time for slight modifications and insignificant changes here and there. But dispassionately viewed, it is precisely the *status quo* of the Government's educational policy in India which needs first of all to go. Because, in the first place, it does not recognise the educational needs of the broad masses of India; in the second place, it has, within the last 100 years of its practical operation, widened the gulf

between the masses and the classes; in the third place, it has created a false and artificial sense of educational values among the so-called intellectual classes; and lastly, it has removed India from the sphere of possible realisation the fruits of her culture and tradition, secular and material, moral as well as spiritual.

A system of education which had, for all practical purposes, ignored the 90 per cent of the country's people who live in rural areas and follow agricultural avocations, was foredoomed. There is perhaps no parallel in the educational history of any country where such a total disregard of the educational interests of the masses has been shown, as in India—with the inevitable result of a gradually widening cleavage between the large masses and an educated minority. This is admitted even by intelligent British observers. The *Glasgow Herald*, in a leading article, a few years ago, referring to India's "intellectual unemployment" said:

It should be obvious that in the case of a land like India, where the needs of the village population are paramount, a university system that directs men's minds away from and not towards the service of these needs, cannot be giving India what she most urgently requires.

The bankruptcy of the prevalent educational system in India is thus complete. Higher education at one time caught Indian youth like an infection, admittedly because of the better opportunities it offered for making a livelihood. And now there is precious little to scramble for, and they find themselves in a hopeless predicament. The Royal Commission on Agriculture tried to press the claim of rural areas upon the time and interests of India's educated youth, but it failed to denote the channels along which university graduates could profitably apply themselves for the educational uplift of the rural classes. The chapter on rural education in

the Commission's report contains nothing but generalities and pious hopes.

Political reforms in India have come from time to time out of popular demand, but these reforms have merely increased the monetary burdens on the country's uneducated millions. To put it straight-forwardly, the existing system of education in India is undemocratic. And no matter how feverishly we may hanker after democratic political institutions and how strenuously we may fight for them, unless the educational problems of urban and rural India have been properly adjusted, the political or economic problems of India cannot be adjusted. As under dyarchy, so under provincial autonomy. No constitution, autonomous in the provinces now and completely federal in the near future, will have inherent power to democratise, in the fullest sense of the term, Indian education. Educational policy has up to this time been totally contrary to democratic practice. It has been built up like a pyramid on its apex, in which only English is spoken, and in which a small minority, with ostensible advantages derived from English education, and also with a veneer of culture, serve as mere clogs to the wheel of Government's administrative machinery. In other words, education of India on the lines mapped out by Macaulay and blindly followed by Macaulay's followers, was started on the wrong way up. Those who introduced it in the beginning, looked at the vast teeming millions living on India's soil through the wrong end of the telescope. No piece of educational reform, carried out in response to the changing circumstance or environment, had ever in view the alteration of the defective structure laid down in the past; reforms were merely in the nature of extension of the wrong policy which has sought to keep the vital interests of the masses always in the background. But the masses alone have not suffered.

Whereas they have been the indirect victims of conscious neglect shown by the organisers and custodians of the country's educational welfare, the classes had been directly the greatest losers of their national status and character. The masses were powerless to resist the menace of a foolish fashion; the classes, having the power, intelligence, and initiative, have preferred to drift on its uncertain tides. The net result has been equally disastrous for the uneducated majority as well as the educated minority.

Educationists of the traditional type, realising the inadequacy of the present system of higher education, have of late been talking of providing remedies for its deficiencies and wants. Observing the new demands continually made by the scramble for livelihood in India they are now stressing the importance of technology and vocational education in general. But those who are thus clamouring for vocationalising Indian education so as to link it with the economic needs of the country, seem to forget that until illiteracy of rural India has been eliminated, there can be no hope of progress in vocational education, whether of the agricultural or of the industrial type. For, under the existing conditions, the value of expert education in technology or scientific agriculture in the colleges is next to nothing to the country-side. The tiller of the soil is totally unable to take any advantage of it. Naturally, the mere replacement of the academic bias by a vocational or scientific bias in the sphere of higher education cannot materially affect the situation, so far as rural India is concerned. And rural, agricultural India is our main concern. Obviously the system itself is most ill-adapted for the building up of national wealth or culture. The universities may be remodelled or refashioned, but the problem of mass illiteracy in India will remain just the same, unless a well-planned endeavour is made to liquidate it.

Therefore, the reform of university education strikes us to be the least important among the needs of future educational policy of India. Every pice and every ounce of energy will be required, in the first instance, to increase the quantitative output of mass education, not to increase the number of unemployed graduates, but to make it possible for the largest number of Indian adults, youths and children to read and write their own vernaculars. Qualitative experiments, run in the established channels, may wait for another ten or fifteen years. Of scientists, technologists, engineers, agricultural experts, entrepreneurs, in fact every class of technical educational worker we have quite a good few, who may be expected to assist in the task of rationalising higher education, if and when necessary. Democracy of the future in India will be able to exist without the few thousands of graduates (who have no aptitude for anything except quill-driving), turned out by the universities year after year. It cannot, however, endure unless the cultural level of the Indian masses has been raised considerably higher than what exists to-day.

In Government reports on educational matters, causes of India's educational backwardness are usually cited to be geographical isolation of villages, perennial poverty and apathy of the masses, steady migration of rural population and industrial areas, absence of organised corporate village life, etc., etc. On a fair and unbiassed scrutiny of the existing system of education, it will, however, be seen that all these are rather the general effects of education divorced from rural life and environments than contributory causes to educational stagnation. Even assuming for one moment these to be India's real disabilities, they can hardly be regarded as organic or incurable. We should imagine that given the right technique and tempo of educational advancement, the masses

will be able to overcome their faulty mental or social attitude in no time.

Before education appeared as a solvent of man's intellectual defects, nowhere in the world were people in the mass found ready to receive it. There had to be direction and planning to accelerate the process of gradual educational infiltration. And wherever the direction has been commensurate with the needs of the masses, wherever the planning has been harmonious and unified and wherever the entire process has been driven for their own cultural and economic betterment, the result has been permanent and durable. But can the same be said of the educational policy that has been pursued in India up till now?

The defects of the existing system—excess of quantity, poorness of quality, insistence on academic aspects, lack of qualified teachers, particularly in secondary and rural schools—do not owe their origin to external causes; they are, one and all, inherent in the system itself. We might go on dissecting them till eternity, and yet we may not succeed in doing anything to prevent them from operating. Since the system itself nourishes these deficiencies, they will not disappear until the thing that is responsible for them is upturned, root and branch. All this, obviously enough, amounts to a complete reversal of the existing educational practice in the country, and might sound rather drastic. But there is absolutely no help for it. India has to build afresh the foundations of education; a patch here and a patch there will be worse than useless. The cracks will reappear no sooner have we covered them. The tremendous national renaissance through which India has been passing will, through its inexorable logic of events, liberate forces which will compel us to reconstruct our education on national lines, if not now through clear and rational thinking, certainly later on under

pressure of chaos. Some day, we must link education with the tasks which are inseparably bound up with the political and economic advancement of the nation as a whole. Eventually we must clear out of the way all orthodox academic mandarins and to bring into line all those who are still bending under the conservative traditions of the authoritarian system of higher education. In fullness of time, it will be imperative to bridge the gulf that separates urban from rural India. The question is: Shall it be now, or later on? Shall we still drift or begin to plan the foundations on which mass education can be built?

Universal Elementary Education

Obviously, the most vital factor of educational planning for the whole of India on national lines, must be universal elementary education. "We are convinced," says the Royal Commission on Agriculture, "that the progressive adoption of the compulsory system of primary education is the only means by which may be overcome the unwillingness of parents to send their children to school and to keep them there till literacy is obtained." To find out what their "progressive adoption" means, we have only to look at the results achieved by the Primary Education Acts in the different provinces. We had better quote the observations of some of the heads of education departments on the working of primary compulsory education in India. The Director of Public Instruction of Madras records: "While compulsion has been effective in bringing children to school, it has been ineffective in keeping them there." The Director of Public Instruction in the Central Provinces states that "the administration of the Compulsory Education Act leaves much room for improvement. The common defects are careless registration of those liable under the Act, delay in publishing bye-laws and reluct-

ance to prosecute defaulters." In the Punjab, where enrolment has been the highest, prosecutions, we are told, were instituted with utmost severity. Thus the official accounts of the working of even a very restricted system of compulsory education in rural areas show the insufficiency of administrative supervision and experience.

Progress in compulsory education, if progress it can at all be called, is not uniform but palpably scattered and haphazard. In all provincial legislations on the matter, the onus of taking the initiative in establishing a compulsory area, has been placed on local and municipal bodies. This arrangement is neither satisfactory nor wholesome. In one particular taluk in the Madras presidency, we learn that "special persuasion and threats of persuasion have only resulted in the nominal enrolment of pupils who do not mean to attend schools". It is, therefore, apparent that universal primary education for the masses cannot be successfully introduced in the form of an imposition. In fact, tyranny is wholly out of place in any democratic educational practice, and by "compulsory" education we do not certainly mean the forcible conversion of the illiterates into literates.

Really speaking, rural India cannot be opposed to education just as it cannot be opposed to any reform which is ostensibly in its vital interest. So the only explanation of her seeming antipathy to compulsory education in its present forms has to be discovered in its lack of attractiveness. This aspect of the problem of mass education in India has not so far engaged the attention of the legislatures or local bodies, which seem to regard the Primary Education Acts as coercive measures. Ministers of Education of Provincial Governments seem to lack the imagination and also, in many instances, the ability to grasp the potentialities of mass education and are generally afraid of taxing the rich to provide for

the educational uplift of the illiterate poor. This is moving round the same vicious circle, or rather squaring that circle. Circles cannot be squared.

Universal education, having for its aim the extinction of illiteracy, is a comparatively new adventure in human history. It is just over 150 years old, almost as old as democracy itself. Despots and autocracies never wanted to see the people in the mass educated, because it is always easier to extract obedience from illiterates than literates. A large population has had to be kept at a primitive level of culture to serve the needs of a small favoured class. But, whereas in Western countries, the rise of democracy within the space of a century and a half, has more or less liberated the masses from intellectual serfdom, India has been left practically untouched by it. In the West, universal education was found to be necessary to prop up democracy itself, whatever might be its form for the time being; and to-day, while democracy has become an empty word, education is not. Every progressive Western State still continues to give every one of its members an average general education to be followed up by the choice of a calling and differentiated training for the various vocations. The pioneers of universal education in the West held that the average man is much better fitted for manual rather than intellectual labour, and naturally, the universal system of education, as propounded by Bellamy, Paulsen, and others, was primarily directed towards the extinction of mass illiteracy, allowing only a small group destined for higher intellectual and scientific callings, to go on to higher schools, polytechnics and universities. This system, in its essential stratified form, is prevalent practically all over Europe and the United States of America to this day. In India, the process was, indeed, reversed, with the result that we find to-day an enormous gap between the educated

few and the uneducated many. Factors that influenced this reverse process have to be discovered in the peculiar governmental tendencies in political and economic spheres during the last 160 years in India. If the vital interests of India, particularly in those last mentioned two spheres, have not been served by our rulers, it was hardly to be expected that India's cultural welfare would be conscientiously attended to. So it has been throughout an altogether shambling process, through which we have had to satisfy our educational wants as best as we can.

The truth is that the principle of free and compulsory primary education can never be realised in a piecemeal fashion. It has to be essentially the part and parcel of a general levelling up of the social and economic condition of the masses. The village primary schools, as they now are, are mere apologies for schools, the majority of which are single-teacher institutions. Most of the teachers are untrained and only a very few of them can be said to have passed even the middle vernacular standard. No wonder, therefore, pupils leave their schools before having taken the trouble or interest to learn the three R's. The shortness of primary schools life is the direct result of the absence of any useful material in the curricula for pupils to learn at school. Instruction is irregular and unconnected with rural life and pursuits. So, before the enforcement of compulsory school attendance in rural areas can be expected, the provision of an elementary and simple, yet suitable and attractive, curriculum, closely related to the problem of typically Indian agricultural economy, has to be made. It is not finance that stands in the way of realising universal elementary education in India, but the lack of conscious planning and prognostication with an eye to the rudimentary educational needs of the rural population.

Although the only problem which is strictly relevant for purposes of the general promotion of literacy among the rural classes is universal popular education, we ought to mention in this connection the activities of the existing rural secondary schools with an agricultural bias, which have an indirect relation to India's agricultural population. There are two distinct types of such schools, the Bombay type and the Punjab type. The range of both the types is, however, very limited; and it is doubtful if there can be any large popular demand for either of them in any comprehensive scheme of rural education on mass lines. Both types aim at imparting some amount of practical training in elementary agriculture, including learning how to handle agricultural machinery and look after cattle and farm. Particularly with the Punjab type of which more than 60 schools are in existence, theoretical instruction in the class room is supported by actual manual work in the rudimentary processes of small-scale farming. But neither the Bombay nor the Punjab models, self-contained and circumscribed as they both are, can appeal to the large mass of rural population of the country.

The Royal Commission on Agriculture found the Bombay type rather costly and more or less "an artificial addition to the educational system and in no way a natural development of it". As regards the Punjab type, although it has made some little headway in the province, its ultimate utility is practically negligible. The real need of the children of the cultivating or landholding class in rural areas is not the finding of a slightly better form of career in agriculture than is available at present, but of making a decidedly better living out of agriculture. So, even the elementary experience they may gain in model rural schools or farms is largely wasted on them, and therefore, lost to the Indian countryside as a whole. The truth of this can be very well realised from the

fact that most of the students, who complete their course in these schools with an agricultural bias, later do not feel inclined to go back to the land, but prefer to become teachers or village accountants. And this retrograde tendency cannot be checked for the simple reason that agricultural training, given in these schools, is practically out of touch with rural needs and environments. The mere inclusion of elementary agriculture as part of the curricula of rural schools does not, therefore, meet the needs of the day. Undoubtedly, the best method of connecting agricultural training with mass education is by making mass education itself conform strictly to actual rural surroundings and atmosphere.

The solicitude the Government for improving the lot of the illiterate masses of India is, unfortunately, not coeval with the measures they adopt for the purpose. It would be infinitely better to offer the village folk a simple and rudimentary scheme of general education, with adequate facilities for improving their agricultural knowledge, than to compel them, under threat of inquisition, to keep their children at school for four years merely to acquire an indifferent knowledge of the three R's, merely to save them from the odium of illiteracy! Rural illiteracy cannot be treated in the same category as urban illiteracy. The uneducated peasant does not desire to be initiated into the mysteries of superior learning; high school or collegiate education can be the inspiration of only very few among the masses who live on the soil. Compulsory primary education in rural area has, therefore, to be of a predominantly agricultural bias. Classroom routine should be limited only to the acquirement of average primary knowledge; the major portion of the teaching must embody practical instruction in physical, household and farm work. In other words, the pupils should acquire the necessary elementary knowledge through active, useful

work at school. The work may consist of attending to their own needs, such as washing, cleaning, and keeping the places in which they live tidy, taking care of domestic cattle, gardening, cooking, and serving their food. The work may be distributed into consecutive stages for various age-groups, but the system must be throughout uniform and thoroughly regularised. The elementary school can thus be reorganised on the principle of labour, or *learning while working*. It is only under such conditions that the pupils will be prevented from relapsing into illiteracy, and at the same time assisted in a practical manner to grapple their daily problems with sufficient intellectual stamina. It is only by combining elementary academic education with useful agricultural work that the village primary school can be brought into living contact with the interests of the masses. And it is the only way in which India can ever hope to liquidate illiteracy among the vast number of people of active working age.

(To be continued)

PRIMARY EDUCATION IN THE VILLAGES

By SUKUMAR RANJAN DAS

[Of the importance of primary education it is needless to say anything. The merit of this article by Mr. Sukumar Ranjan Das, M.A., Ph.D., lies in the discussion of the practical side of the problem. He makes some very useful suggestions in this direction.]

The expansion of primary education in Bengal with the object of making it universal, has for some time past engaged the serious attention of the Government and the public alike. The most notable contribution to the literature on the subject is contained in the two reports drawn up by Mr. Evan E. Biss, late of the Indian Educational Service. These reports were printed and circulated for the information of the public, but difficulties, mainly financial, stood in the way of any action being taken on the lines indicated in them. However alluring the idea of the spread of the primary education may be to its advocates, it has always been abandoned ultimately on purely financial grounds. Hence the problem reduces itself to the devising of a means which will not be too costly to be adopted in the villages and which will not meet with much opposition from the classes for whose benefit it is intended. An additional education cess has always been disliked and opposed by the people. It is, therefore, necessary to reduce the cost to an absolute minimum.

It will, perhaps, be admitted that in order to be made universal among the masses of any country, education must be made compulsory. No form of compulsion can, however, succeed unless the scheme is made acceptable to the people.

Therefore, the first point to consider in any scheme for the extension of primary education is what the curriculum should consist of, in order that it may help an all-round development of village boys and girls. Generally the curriculum should consist of the following four parts:—

- (a) Physical, for bodily growth, and hand-and-eye training. This should include drill, exercise, domestic crafts, modelling and, if possible, gardening, toy-making, and spinning and weaving.
- (b) Mental, i.e., the ordinary course of studies for intellectual growth—the three R's, history, geography, elementary science and hygiene.
- (c) Cultural, for keeping alive the traditions of the villages which are almost dying. This can be done by means of kirtans, jātrās, kathakatā and recitation of village ballads, etc.
- (d) Spiritual, consisting of regular recitation of prayers, hymns or national songs before the class begins for 15 minutes daily, and moral lessons and lives of saints, great men and prophets, for 15 minutes daily before the class disperses.

The question to be next dealt with is the period of study. As far as the present conditions obtain in the villages, the majority of schools, which are meant for the children of the peasant and other labouring classes, will have to be held either in the morning or in the evening. Hence the period cannot exceed three hours and a half. Leaving out 15 minutes in the beginning, and 15 minutes at the end, for singing, recitation and prayer, the remaining period of three hours may be divided into four periods of 45 minutes each, of which one period may be set apart for the teaching of vernacular, one for arithmetic, one for history and geography on alternate days.

The most vital question to be tackled with regard to the spread of primary education is provision of adequate funds. Financial difficulty seems to be the greatest impediment in

the way of any solution of the problem of primary education. It has been suggested in some quarters that it is not possible to find any solution of this problem unless there is a special tax for primary education. Fresh taxation will be greatly resented by the poor cultivators who are already over-burdened with taxes, abwabs and other impositions. If notwithstanding the opposition that the proposal for levying fresh taxation has aroused, such tax is imposed, this will defeat the very purpose for which the imposition is proposed to be made.

Much ink has been spilt over preparation of schemes and drawing up of plans for establishing in the villages an adequate number of efficient and improved type of schools. But whenever the question of carrying out the plans has come up the problem has been shelved or abandoned on the plea of want of funds. In order to get rid of this difficulty some sort of arrangement should be made at once. It is, therefore, worthwhile to make the following suggestions for the immediate provision of primary education in the villages.

In approaching this question a practical difficulty that has got to be faced is lack of sufficient funds for providing the necessary accommodation. Attempts may be made to avoid expenditure for payment of rents, acquiring land and erecting buildings, by making arrangement with the authorities of existing day schools, clubs, associations, libraries, etc. The village credit society offices,—in cases these are able to accommodate the students and may be spared for the purpose,—Puja mandaps and temple premises, makhtabs in mosques, and private dar-dalans may also be utilised for holding primary classes either in the morning, at noon or in the evening regularly. If energetic efforts are made in this direction, there is no doubt that an adequate number of schools can be started in the villages without running the

expenses of renting houses, etc., for their accommodation.

The next matter to be taken up for consideration is provision of suitable teaching arrangements. Considering that three teachers will be necessary for each school, and calculating their monthly allowance at Rs.20 per month per teacher, on an average, the annual cost on this head may be estimated at Rs.720 for each school. Both boys and girls may be admitted to the same school if funds do not permit of opening separate schools for girls. But at some places separate schools should be started specially for girls. The services of the lantern lecturers already engaged by the Co-operative Societies should be utilised. The lectures should include some study about lives of great men, geography, natural phenomena, co-operative principles and hygiene.

It is thus seen that even if there be no expenditure for the habitation of a school, still about seventy rupees a month would be required for the maintenance of each village school. Where to find that amount? It will be beyond the means of the ordinary Union Board to contribute the whole amount, nor will it be possible for the Government to give any assistance in the present financial position. But the difficulties are not insurmountable. By the co-ordination of the several institutions working in the villages, these difficulties regarding funds may be adequately solved. If the Union Board and the village Co-operative Credit Society co-operate, they can easily find a plausible solution for the difficulties stated above.

It has been urged that the present system of accumulation of reserve funds of village co-operative societies has not been of much practical value to the villagers. The societies with their age grow lifeless for want of any motive force for higher co-operation, which can only be realised through

adequate education, and they ultimately go to liquidation. As soon as the credit question is partially solved, members of the society become callous to its value as they are not able to appreciate the real objects of co-operation in its diverse aspects for want of education. Eventually the society is dissolved or liquidated and the reserve fund is misappropriated.

The reserve fund of a society may be very well utilised in the cause of primary education and that this would ultimately help the cause of co-operation in its real aspects. A village society generally makes a profit of 50 to 60 rupees per annum. This sum may be set apart for the expenses of the school. The members of the society will at once find that their children are being given education from the profits of the society.

This will serve as a great incentive to the villagers to become members of the existing societies as well as to start new societies in villages where there are no societies. The Secretary of the society will be the principal teacher or headmaster of the school. He may, therefore, be expected to take personal interest in the efficient management of the institution. But the aforesaid sum would not be sufficient, as the three teachers, including the secretary-teacher, will have to be paid Rs.60 per month.

Another source may be provided by starting a sale and supply branch of the society catering to the needs of, say, about 50 families on an average in each village, who will get from it their supply of the necessities of life—rice, dal, gur, sugar, oil, kerosene, tobacco, matches, soap, spices and also cloth. Each family will purchase things worth at least Rs.10 from the store. Thus Rs.500 may be taken to be the monthly approximate out-turn of the store; and taking profits at 2 annas per rupee (after deducting the pay of the salesman) the store may be expected to make a monthly profit of

Rs.62-8 of which Rs.50 may be set apart for the pay of the teachers and the balance may be distributed to the members as rebate on their purchase.

Saleable crops of the village may also be dealt with under the system. The Central Banks after paying for their establishment charges etc., will make a profit of at least one anna per rupee. This profit may also be utilised for the promotion of primary education. Thus Rs.5 from the credit society, Rs.50 from the store branch, together with the profit from the saleable crops of the village and contribution from the union board, will be sufficient to meet the salaries of the three teachers viz., Rs.60, and contingency expenses of Rs.5 per month.

The next question is how to recruit teachers. Teachers may be recruited from (a) village matriculates, (b) teachers of existing schools and (c) retired teachers. Rupees twenty a month will certainly attract local unemployed matriculates who will thus be able to earn their living at home. The employment of such teachers will also improve the moral atmosphere of the villages. But before these teachers enter upon their duties, they must be given some training in the line. The training of the teachers must be thorough. Arrangements should be made for providing such training at selected centres within easy reach of groups of villages. Regarding training of teachers one year's course should be prescribed. Some stress should be given to professional subjects, such as child psychology, etc., and half the time should be devoted to an intensive study of academic subjects. The teachers should have a thorough knowledge of the vernacular.

The village primary schools will chiefly be meant for the children of the agricultural, industrial and artisan classes. The Bhadrak class may give any education they choose to

their children. The children of members of a credit society and the store branch will receive free education but the children of non-members will have to pay some fees, for that will induce the non-members to become members of the society. The village matriculates who want to make teaching their profession in life will make a fair living out of this and will be grateful for having found an employment at home. Things can go on very smoothly if only members are conscientiously loyal to the institution and send their boys and girls to the co-operative village school. The success of the scheme will entirely depend on the co-operative spirit and loyalty of the members.

Next comes the question of organisation and control of the school. The policy of centralisation is to be resisted. Each school should have a committee to exercise control over it. The committee should consist of some representatives of the members of the society, a few gentlemen of the village who are willing to assist and the secretary-teacher of the society who will act as honorary secretary of the school. A general board may also be formed with purely advisory functions to assist and guide the committee in the discharge of their administrative control.

Primary education, in order that it may be effective, should be free and compulsory. This is the first step towards making it universal. Every civilised country has arranged to impart free and universal primary education to its children by making it compulsory. The adoption of the principle of compulsion should follow the establishment of a network of primary schools in the villages. Before primary education is made compulsory, it would be necessary to open a sufficient number of schools for accommodating all children of school-going age requiring free primary education. It is also urged that no scheme for the spread of primary education can be

worked out on voluntary basis. A large number of schools may be established all over the country, but students will not be forthcoming if primary education is not made compulsory. Whatever be the difference of opinion regarding this point, it is admitted on all hands that primary schools should be started at once in the villages and vigorous steps should be taken to make primary education in the near future compulsory throughout the country. This is the first step towards the reorganisation and reconstruction of the villages.

RELIGION AND CHARACTER BUILDING

By R. K. SINGH

[Mr. R. K. Singh, Principal of the Balwant Rajput College, Agra, discusses in the following pages the "traditional" role of religion in the growth of civilisation and deals with the psychological aspect of character education.]

Few will deny that religion has played a great part in stabilising our civilization. It has provided us with a body of ethics which, due to its alleged divine origin, has commanded the respect and unquestioning obedience of its followers. The fear of consequences and temptation of reward in life after death acts both as motivating force to good action and an inhibition to evil deeds. Due to the unverifiable nature of its assumptions, emotional reaction, once built up is likely to persist. While Galileo's demonstration of the speed of falling bodies settled that controversy once for all, astronomers and evolutionists have to fight hard to dislodge the theological conception of the world's creation. With these characteristics it has played a very important role in the growth of civilization and has proved an effective instrument for the control of conduct. Our task here is to find out how far religion should be allowed to play its traditional role.

Religion may be regarded as a code of ethics. The trend in modern times is away from authoritarianism not only of the past but also of the present. We want no values so fenced off that they are not proper objects of scrutiny. The function of modern education, in the words of the authors of *Educational Frontier* (Dewey, Bode, Kilpatrick, Hulfish etc.)

radiates from two forces: One is the child and whatever concerns

him the other is educative process and how it can best be directed to help civilization.

Again, real education humanises men. It does so, however, not by moulding into unthinking acceptance of pre-established patterns but by stimulating them to a continuous reconstruction of their outlook.

Thus education is no longer viewed as a process of formation from without, the imposition upon the learner of pre-conceived ideas, attitudes and dispositions which he must passively absorb.

The same objection may be raised against the attempts at codification of morals and desirable rules of conduct such as Hutchin's code, Upton-Chassell scale, Roger's tentative inventory of habits and others. Symonds in his book "The Nature of Conduct" advocates the substitution of religious codes by these. They have the advantage of greater flexibility and less authoritarianism. But, nevertheless they are impositions from without. A scheme to be truly child-centered must not only arise from the child's need, but must also utilise his creative capacity. The child should feel that the rule of conduct he is to follow, is of his own creation and consequently self-imposed. Each child or group of children must have its own 'Franklin's' code. Religious codes and the more modern codes have, no doubt, a useful purpose to serve, not, so much, as a guide for the child as for the teacher. The function of the teacher is akin to that of the leader in modern democracy who knows his own mind and purpose but has the capacity to persuade the masses into the belief that his purpose is theirs. The teacher has to keep in mind the demands of the evolutionary process of civilization and has to lead the child to that path—which is not a narrow one—without making his own personality felt in the process. All codes, religious or modern, might be treated as a body of hypotheses

which should become rules to be observed by the child after they have received his approval.

We may consider the role of religious symbol as drive and as an inhibition. Religious teaching makes an appeal through ideas. The question is how far verbal ideas are effective drives to muscular response. Here we are faced with the whole body of controversial literature regarding 'ideo-motor acts.' William James set the ball in motion by giving expression to a belief which was the implicit basis of all teaching both religious and secular. In his chapter on 'Will' in 'Psychology' he writes that

Every representation of a movement awakens in some degree the actual movement which is its object; and awakens it in a maximum degree whenever it is not kept from so doing by an antagonistic representation present simultaneously to the mind.

His doctrine is that the resemblance between an idea and an act is in itself a cause of the formation of a bond between the two. McDougall and Wundt take a similar view. The opposite view is expressed by Thorndike in his 'Educational Psychology', thus:

Again this orthodox opinion, I contend that the idea of a movement (or of any response whatever) is, in and of itself unable to produce it. I contend that an idea does not tend to provoke the act which it is an idea of, but only that which it connects with as a result of the laws of instinct, exercise and effect. Further, "In at least the majority of connections where the idea of an act does produce the actual movement, the connection can be proved to have been built by the laws of exercise and effect."

It seems that each of the two views has been overstated. James' use of 'every' in the passage quoted above makes his position very shaky. It seems to exclude the necessity of previous S—R bonds as a pre-requisite even for more complex actions. Thorndike, on the other hand, in his attempt to

refute Jame's theory in toto leaves the impression that he does not believe in the force of ideas at all. Closer scrutiny of his position, however, discloses that while he denies the validity of the orthodox view of ideo-motor theory, he concedes a place to ideas in his own scheme. He says in his book that when an idea does produce the movement which it is an idea of, that movement gives us evidence of having been bound to that idea by exercise or effect. His position may be summarised as follows. Instinct is the basis of action. Those who do not want to explain human action in terms of 'instinct' may say that the physiological needs are the bases of human action. Ideas act as stimuli which call forth behaviour leading to the satisfaction of these instincts or physiological needs and thus become clues for the same responses in accordance with the laws of exercise or effect. He is against the assumption that "Ideas have power in and of themselves to create bonds in behaviour". Thus understood simple ideas act as stimuli to simple behaviour and complex ideas co-ordinate and call forth responses to thousands of such simple ideas and sensory situations.

Applied to character education it means that an idea may cause an act when the connection has been formed in actual experience. This is quite inconformity with our everyday experience. We cannot transform a set criminal into a virtuous person by injecting him with socialized ideas. The part religion plays in character education is to exhort the individual towards desirable acts or restrain him from undesirable ones. The generalization is tinged with emotional appeal. Our discussion of ideo-motor behaviour leaves us with the conclusion that if generalizations are to be effective as ideals, we must provide association with these words in one's past experience in acts whose meaning they convey. This presupposes an adequate intelligence in the individual.

There is enough experimental evidence to prove that the power of generalization goes with intelligence. The feeble-minded child must be trained for every specific situation. A generalized situation has little or no meaning to him. Goddard's work with the feeble-minded children gives weight to his statement

a feeble-minded child of a mentality of 7 or 8 steals a handkerchief and gives it to somebody she likes very much. She is caught and corrected, told that it is stealing and is wrong. It is highly probable that she will never steal a handkerchief from that person again; but it is quite possible that she will steal something else from that same person or will steal a handkerchief from somebody else.

It should not, however, be supposed that religious generalization has no value. It does call for previous S—R bonds, marshals them and by associating them with a symbol helps the integration of personality.

They are still more valuable as inhibitions as here no previous bond between idea and behaviour is necessary. "Don't" or, "I must not" come to be associated with withdrawing reaction and unless a strong positive bond to the contrary is already formed, they are effective. All this is good psychology; bad psychology begins with the belief that these powers are associated with religious symbols only. We forget that symbols are learnt reactions. Some people would react to the national flag with greater emotion than to religion or God. Inhibition may be attached as much to the devil as to God. Any symbol based on good psychology may act as drive or inhibition.

Our foregoing discussion should make it clear that mere exhortation, preaching and inculcation of ideas are not likely to prove very effective in building character. The creation of ideas and enthusiasm is not the same thing as the forma-

tion of conduct. In philosophy and theology a good deal of emphasis is laid on purpose. Psychologically purpose is merely the name given to reaction resulting from a co-ordination of external and internal stimulation. The building of purpose is identical with the building of specific habits. These habits are in most cases built up in early childhood—at a time when the child is totally oblivious of the so-called higher powers of religion. Religious abstractions do not mean much to him. Religious symbols too mean very little. The approval or disapproval of the parents is the immediate concern.

It is the element of emotion which gives strength to religion; the function of emotion from the physiological point of view is to reinforce an activity. It does not define activity. The thing which distinguishes religious appeal from any other is the element of emotion. We have seen that various symbols may be emotionalized. In the previous paragraph I added the qualification that religion must be based on 'good psychology'. It must have either a reality to the individual, or at least its unreality must be unprovable. Religion has the advantage of the latter. Emotion is a very valuable instrument for education so long as it is not misused. It loses its utility, the moment it is made to war against reason, though in a conflict between the two it more often comes out victorious. As a handmaid to reason, it serves its best purpose. It is here that religion is the greatest sinner. Religious belief goes with high emotional attachment and once this emotional attachment has been built towards a religious system, the individual, where he does not entirely overthrow religion, loses his power of discrimination and gives evidence of being a 'split up' personality.

The present compartmentalization of knowledge even in highly advanced individuals would be otherwise inexplica-

ble. The state of their mind is not very different from that of the coloured man who said at a prayer meeting, that while he had hens roosted and got drunk and slashed folks with razors, he never, thank God, had lost his religion. In everyday life Christian charity and imperialistic wars, evolution and theological conception of the creation of the world, unemployment relief and *laissez faire* theory, doctrine of specificity and religious worship get along pretty well so long as each is kept in its assigned compartment. Hartshorne in his zeal for God and worship forgets that he is indirectly advocating compartmentalization when he says in his 'Childhood and Character':

An unified source of approval is essential for an unified personality, and this should be, of course, what we mean by the approval of God, and some such unified experience as is typified in the experience of fellowship with over-will, are essential for the achievement of that unity of soul which it is the function of religion to secure.

After having built up an emotional response towards God through his 'Worship' in Sunday school it is no wonder that he should seek the approval of an Over-will as *sine qua non* for the integration of personality. Hartshorne forgets that the religious conception is closely connected with some religious doctrine in the life of every child and that the dogmas of religions do not always harmonize with the modern scientific researches. One is left to wonder if such a conflict will lead to integration or disintegration.

Let us next see if our preceding discussion runs counter to any of the prevalent ideas. First comes McDougall's definition; character to him is the "Harmonized system of moral sentiment." And what is sentiment to him?

And any object of any of these classes or which we have occasion to think again and again with similar emotional stirrings, however rudimentary.

(Outline of Psychology Page 435). And how are sentiments formed?

Such a most simple sentiment is formed through the repeated evocation of some one instinctive response by some one object. (Page 119).

clearly he does not call religion to his aid.

According to Dewey and others of his way of thinking character is an outward expression of an internal disposition. If from internal disposition he means the outcome of the interaction of our organism and external stimuli, the task of character education under his definition is no different from what has been outlined above.

The difference in the points of view of Bagley and Allport is with regard to internal organisation of behaviour to external stimuli. Bagley represents the point of view of 'specificity' school, and Allport of the rival school known as 'Generality'. Bagley's position does not need any elaborate discussion. The following passage from Allport will help to clarify his position.

When specific stimulation occurs, some specific adjustment is called forth, but also the general dispositions are inevitably aroused. The eventual action follows, accordingly, a common path created by specific stimulus the specific determinants, and the generalized determinants.

These two different points of view do not create a serious conflict in the mind of the practical teacher. The starting point of both are specific S—R bonds.

According to the 'Transfer' school it is the identity of elements and prepotent responses which decide subsequent responses. According to 'generality' school it is the generalized traits formed by previous S—R if fitted in a system. It modifies and is modified by the generalized determinants. I fail to see the practical bearing of this academic controversy

on character education. The only other school which requires mention is the Freudian school. The social taboos and religious inhibitions are, according to this school the cause of maladjusted personality. What is the cause cannot be a remedy.

Further religion has no meaning in pathological disturbances of personality. Physical defects specially due to defective glandular secretion strongly influence the personality. Religious education also fails to touch what are called the defective delinquents. They cannot be affected through emotion. Reward and punishment have little meaning to them.

A word must be said to clear a fallacy which exists in many minds who attribute our social imperfections to the disappearance of religion. They confuse correlation with causation. They forget that both of these may be the result of some other cause. It may be that our social system founded on religion has failed to bear the strain of sudden industrial development and growth of scientific knowledge. In order to discover the cause-effect relationship one must have changes in the causes which are connected with changes in effects. Economic and environmental factors and educational facilities are highly correlated with conduct defences.

It is a mistake to suppose that religion is the source of moral ideas. As Huxley in "Science, Religion and Human nature" points out, the case is just the reverse. Progress in moral and ethical ideas is often quite independent of the orthodox religion of the day or of any religious feeling. Intellectual progress in clear thinking and increased knowledge, has even less connection with religion. Yet it has been the changes in man's ethical and intellectual outlook which have chiefly determined the course of religious evolution. Intolerance has survived under this system—sometimes due

to the compartmentalization of which we have talked and at others as a direct result of this teaching. Islam believes in the conversion on the point of sword and the history of Christianity in spite of its emphasis on charity and brotherhood, is replete with persecution and bloodshed. Modern Germany is only a twentieth century modification of medieval Europe. Nothing better could be expected from a system which creates watertight compartments among human beings. It is the natural outcome of the creation of in-groups and out-groups based on such strong emotional attachment. A system which divides humanity into Christians and Heathens or Hindus and untouchables or Muslims and Kafirs could not produce a better result. It has also acted as a strong obstacle to the propagation of ideas. The cry has been "one's own religion good or bad." Conversion and the ceremonies involved in it are too dramatic not to excite opposition from the outer group.

So far, from our discussion, our inference is that religion is not necessary for character education. The question arises, what is going to be the substitute for religions? My reply to it would be that the needs of society and the evolutionary process must fill the void, if any is caused by the unavoidable fundamental collapse of authoritarianism. Symond's conception of 'scientific Religion' is very useful. He says,

First there should be set up the contacts which society conceives to be most desirable and valuable. For each such contact a symbol could be established. This symbol should have objective form for the benefit of those who need the most objective form of appeal. It should have its verbal correlate for those who may be controlled by verbal stimuli. These symbols, once accepted, could be given sanction by society. By being non-sectarian, non-political, they could win the approval of the whole group.

POEMS

MY BELOVED

* * * * *

My love is like a gazelle

For her eyes are black and timid and soft.

Darkening pools where I see mirrored

My hopes and fears, my joys in life to be.

I find myself when I gaze into her eyes,

And lose myself each time she winks.

My love is like a pomegranate blossom,

For her lips are red and smooth and full of wine.

She smiles and a flower bud bursts into bloom—

The bee forsakes the lotus;

I look and I long to taste

I sip and am intoxicated.

My love is like a leaf-bud in spring

For she has slept through her youth undisturbed.

The flame of my love hath not yet kindled her breast

I rouse her from her gentle dreams

Lying tender and dewy in her opening eyes

I awake my beloved with a kiss.

My love is as a reed in the wind,

For her body is slender and sways to my song.

Her skin is brown like ripening wheat,

She breaks the silence with her murmurs.

She laughs when I laugh, sighs when I sigh—

She dances to the music of my making.

PREMLATA MEHTA

RED ROSES

* * * *

Red roses bloom in the garden of my life,
 They are tender and fragrant and wither not.
 My garden is choked with weeds
 But my roses push their way to the light,
 For their stems are strong
 And their roots lie deep buried in my heart.

A red rose is my mother's smile
 When I prattled on her knee,
 And heard spell-bound her songs of Gopal.
 And her voice to me was the flute of Govind.

A red rose is the tear drop in my father's eye
 When I stood on the threshold of new life
 And saw a vista of unknown days before me
 I bid farewell to my childhood days.

A red rose is my love's first kiss,
 When I stood tight clasped in his arms
 And heard his heart beat
 Like a drum against my own.

A dewy and half oped rose-bud,
 Is the dream of my babe to be
 When warm from my glowing womb
 She suckles at my breast.

PREMLATA MEHTA

CORRESPONDENCE

THE ROMAN SCRIPT FOR INDIA

DEAR SIR—My attention has been drawn to a criticism of my article on the ROMAN SCRIPT FOR INDIA in the September number of the *Twentieth Century* and I may be allowed to point out the misunderstandings under which the writer apparently labours.

The Roman Script is advocated for Indian languages, not in the interests of those who know English, but in the interests of the languages themselves. Indian languages will benefit by the reform because it is easier to learn, to teach and to print, and it will save considerable labour in education. The Roman Script and the English language are sufficiently well-established in the world and they do not stand to gain by the adoption of the reform by Indian languages. The advocates of the Roman Script know Indian Scripts as well as the critics and are often even better scholars of some Indian language or other. It is certainly calculated to quicken the pace of the drive against illiteracy, as it simplifies educational work at a stroke, and it is easier to write this script than any other Indian alphabet. The strangeness will be a complication in the beginning, but it will disappear in a short time, as has happened in Turkey.

It is absurd to argue that each script is characteristic of the language and should be preserved. The literatures of France, Spain or Italy have certainly not lost their individuality, for instance, merely because they use the Roman Script like the people of England or Norway or Sweden. It is wrong to confuse such a mechanical thing as script with the genius of a language and its style. The writer does not apparently know that scripts have changed tremendously in India in historic times and most ancient and even some mediaeval Indian Scripts are intelligible to-day only to the scholar and the specialist. It is only meek and ineffective helplessness which is averse to changes for the better.

The use of a common script will undoubtedly not enable people in the various provinces of India immediately to read the literatures of the other Indian languages—nobody put forward such an absurd claim—but it will certainly pave the way to such a consummation.

The differences in languages in India need not be an obstacle at all for the introduction of the Roman Script. The reform has been rendered possible in Turkey not because of uniformity of language, but because of the Dictatorship of Mustapha Kemal Pasha, though he now claims to rule the country with the goodwill of the people.

The advocates of the Roman Script realise that India is even more conservative than Turkey and this is an unfortunate country where even educated people oppose reform. Even if they are not hopeful of the reform being effected immediately, it is their patriotic duty to advocate it in the hope that some day the world

Is wrought
To sympathy with hopes and fears it heeded not.
P. SESHADRI

Government College,
Ajmer, September 24, 1935

The Twentieth Century Library

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU AS A HISTORIAN

By I. D.

Glimpses of World History (Vol. II). By Jawaharlal
Nehru Kitabistan, Allahabad. Price Rs.9.

The writing of history requires more than anything else, leisure—and it was the one thing which Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru could never have bargained for. But an obliging Government gave him the chance, more than once. Taking advantage of the spells of leisure inside the prison walls which have been his normal abode during the last one decade, he embarked on a great enterprise. He wrote to his daughter a series of letters giving her glimpses of the world's history from the very beginning to the present day.

In these letters he presents a general view of history, "shorn of elaborations and complications", from a purely subjective view-point. This naturally affects historical writing. One must therefore be prepared to find such inequalities of treatment as seven centuries of conflict and "England becoming the world's money-lender" occupying about the same space. The reader is sometimes apt to wish that the arrangement of his material were more skilful and treatment less arbitrary.

But Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, one has to bear in mind is a historian, not by trade but by craft. He writes, not a text-book but a book which is essentially "a humanised picture," of world's history. He forsakes the humdrum procedure and routinised method. Again and again he tells us what his plan is or what it is emphatically not. For ins-

tance, he says:

"I have given you sufficient provocation by rushing backwards and forwards in the various corridors of history" (January 21, 1933). . . . "This will give you rather a patchy picture, but then it is not my job in these letters to provide full and detailed pictures of anything." (Feb. 16, 1933).

He puts the premium more on the forces that move history than on events. It is not mere narration of facts that we have but a striking interpretation of causes and effects, and what is more, a succession of interesting glimpses.

The outstanding feature of the book under review—it is the second volume which the public have been awaiting with interest since the publication of the first that had such a blazing reception—is the individuality of the famous author. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's writings, as a rule, have a strong character and reveal a fascinating personality—and the 'Glimpses' certainly deepens the impression.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is perhaps not a very dispassionate student of history. A man of strong convictions and of fiery patriotism, he is rather an actor on the stage in his own limited sphere than a mere passive spectator of the procession of events. In several parts of the book, if not all through it, one is likely to find that the author is too much influenced by his own strong political views—and his likes and dislikes. The reviewer is reminded of the late Mr. Saintsbury's description of Macaulay the historian:—

He had strong prejudices and it is impossible for anyone who reads him with knowledge not to see that the vindication of those prejudices, rather than the exposition and valuation of his subject, was what he had first at heart.

But to compensate these obvious drawbacks, Pandit Jawaharlal too is, as Macaulay was, "too honest a man to be untrustworthy in positive statement". He has produced a

book which is on the whole an excellent example of what may be called "the diffusion of the historic spirit". His narrative is delightful, his outlook fresh, his treatment original, his style powerful, sometimes brilliant, his presentation vivid and interpretation of the psychological forces refreshing and splendid. As a personal and subjective study which alone it claims to be, the "Glimpses" is an unqualified success, and one who does not read it will miss the magnum opus of a mighty man who has already left an indelible impression on the picture of Indian Nationalism and is further attracting, by virtue of his many striking gifts and sterling qualities, international attention.

The publishers deserve praise for their commendable enterprise in bringing out two portly volumes of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's "Glimpses" which every educated Indian, particularly every young man, should love to add to his personal collection of books. The reader can derive from these two volumes not only instruction but also something which historical books seldom offer—inspiration. For, what is history worth if it does not move men to face life as a great adventure and not "a mean and grovelling business"? The illustrious author of the "Glimpses" is unlike the ordinary historian—he is one who not only writes but makes history.

UNHAPPY AUSTRIA

By C. K. C.

Modern Austria. By Cicely Hamilton. (Dent. 7s. 6d.)

This is the fifth of the series of attractive volumes, in which the author has attempted to interpret European countries to the general reader, giving him within small compass and with the aid of excellent photographs, some idea of their

political trends and economic problems, their cultural development and daily life. Previous volumes dealt with Germany, France, Italy and Soviet Russia.

In her survey of the most unfortunate of modern nations—this fragment of a former empire, now reduced to the position of a buffer state and pawn between two powerful neighbours—Miss Hamilton shows the same capacity for keen observation and shrewd judgment that she displayed in her other studies. It is putting the thing in a nutshell to say that Austria

owes her existence as a separate state to the fact that the aims of one national neighbour have so far been jealously opposed to the aims and aspirations of others. . . . Hence she lives precariously, balanced between rivalries and fears.

The sad plight of present-day Vienna, here so vividly described, is only one aspect of the eternal Danubian problem, which constitutes, on the one hand, a standing defiance to the economic realities of the situation, and, on the other, the greatest potential menace to the peace of Europe.

Miss Hamilton touches deftly on a great variety of subjects: the clash of private armies, the achievements of Social Democracy in Vienna and its downfall, the abortive Nazi rising and the tragic death of Dr. Dollfuss, the new "Corporative Constitution," the story of the Hapsburgs, the difference of outlook between the peasant and the industrial worker, education, the attitude of youth, and many other matters. She writes pleasantly and pungently and her account is embellished by a large number of incidents derived from her personal experiences. She is reasonably impartial, considering the nearness of the events, though she is at pains to make clear to us that she is neither pacifist, socialist, nor an unqualified believer in democratic systems. If there is any slight bias, it may be discerned in a tendency to gloss

over the darker side of the present minority regime, on the plea of its exceptional difficulties, and in the occasional implication that it represents the free choice of the Austrian people.

It is perhaps the case that Miss Hamilton is more successful in describing the lighter aspects of the Austrian scene than in her historical summaries. One would get a very inadequate idea from these pages of the train of events that led up to the crushing of the Austrian Socialists in February, 1934 and no idea at all of the part played in the affair by Italian machinations. The chapter on the attempted Nazi rising in the following July, suffers from the author's apparent unwillingness for diplomatic reasons to mention certain facts that were clearly evident to all those who studied the newspaper reports of the trials at the time. In the account of the movement for *Anschluss* there is no mention of such an important fact as the effort to obtain an Austro-German Customs Union in 1931 and its consequences, and there are other similar omissions.

But such criticism is hardly fair as applied to a book, which is rather an instructive and agreeable medley of diverse elements than a serious historical study. One interesting chapter is headed, "Side-lights on the Younger Generation." The whole book is really a series of "side-lights"—many of them of a most illuminating nature—on the state of Austria to-day, and, viewed in that way, it admirably fulfils its purpose.

THE RUSSIAN PANORAMA

By C. K. C.

Russia's Iron Age. By William Henry Chamberlin.
(Duckworth. 15s.)

Playtime in Russia. Edited by Hubert Griffith.
(Methuen. 6s.)

In his earlier book on *Soviet Russia*, Mr. Chamberlin produced a study of high quality, that won the admiration of discriminating critics everywhere. This later book on the period covered by the Five Year Plan, written with a background of even greater experience and with full freedom at the close of his twelve years' service as Moscow Correspondent of the *Christian Science Monitor*, seems likely to rank as a classic on the subject. It is neither an uncritical eulogy nor a prejudiced indictment, but a masterly analysis and interpretation, objective, but far from colourless, based on a wealth of exact observation and informed by a wide knowledge of contemporary events, Russian history and the general philosophy of politics.

The book takes a broad sweep and brings the life of those grim years of intensive effort "to institute a gigantic all-embracing system of centralised state economic planning" vividly before us. Both the lights and the shadows of the vast panorama are impartially presented. Mr. Chamberlin does full justice to the great achievements of the Soviet Government: the immense expansion of industrial production, the extension of education, the development of social welfare, the absence of racial distinctions, the equal status given to women, the opportunities offered to enthusiastic youth. But he shows with the same fidelity the darker side: the pressure exerted upon reluctant peasants to the point of famine in the interests of collectivisation, the cruel treat-

ment of the kulaks, the persecution of scientists and technical experts on fantastic charges or the mere suspicion of unorthodoxy, the employment of huge numbers in forced labour on constructional work, the general policy of governing "by unlimited propaganda plus unlimited repression," the all-pervading espionage. There are paradoxes innumerable and it is true, as the author suggests, that the attitude of every student of the Soviet experiment must be to some extent determined by his individual judgment as to what factors are of most significance and permanent value in human society. He does not conceal his own personal conviction that no material achievement, however grandiose, no distant goal, however idealistic, is worth the cost of ruthlessness and the suppression of liberty, and that "democracy, with all its faults, weaknesses and imperfections, is enormously superior to dictatorship as a method of government, simply from the standpoint of the common man."

When Mr. Chamberlain went to Russia in 1922, he had rather the attitude of a neophyte approaching the shrines of the true faith. Like many other liberal Americans, he expected to find that the Soviet model offered guiding principles of universal application, by the adoption of which Western European countries and America might find social salvation and the world permanent peace. That idea he long ago abandoned. One of his most striking chapters is headed "Old Russia in New Masks," in which he adduces many apt historical parallels to show the continuity of Russian political technique and administrative practice, in spite of the tremendous social and economic transformation: the same absolutism with a different theoretical basis, similar administrative methods, Stalin as a modern Peter the Great. In other words, he now sees the Soviet system as neither a model nor a menace, but as a distinctively Russian creation, as much

the outgrowth of Russian historical development as the regime that preceded it, and shaped in countless ways by the influence of the Russian national temperament. He predicts that in its main features the system will stand, "subject of course to evolutionary modification and change." There have been changes since the book was written and all in the direction foreshadowed by it: changes still further affecting the role played by the Soviet Union in foreign affairs, changes in politics and industry, in education and the arts. The conception of a Messianic mission recedes. The rigid intolerance of the "iron age" is followed for the moment by a more eclectic phase. All this points to the justice of Mr. Chamberlin's conclusion that, whatever our judgment upon it, the Soviet system is not for export, but is only the Russian solution of a world-wide social and economic problem, for which other countries must find their own solutions in their own way.

Playtime in Russia, as its title indicates, deals with the lighter side of Russian life: the Theatre, including the remarkable Children's Theatre movement, the Cinema, Ballet, Music, Sport, etc. Last year a number of British dramatic critics and other experts visited Russia and recorded their impressions in this book. It contains much praise of Russian acting and stage-craft and it is clear that the artistic genius of the Russian people has triumphantly withstood the cramping influence of stage control, especially in the case of ballet and opera which cannot be easily used as a vehicle for the "ideology" of Bolshevism. In the theatre proper, it is impossible to resist the conclusion, even from the account given by these friendly critics, that propaganda plays a dominating part. In a bulletin of plays suitable for Children's Theatres, mentioned by one writer, only three out of twenty-seven were non-propagandist. That may be less true in 1935. The

chapter on Sport is interesting and gives an idea of the facilities for physical training, which the Soviet Union provides for youth—as many as six million athletes in one organisation.

SHORT NOTICES

By C. K. C.

Conservatism and the Future. By Lord Eustace Percy and Others. Edited by E. T. Cook. (Heinemann. 7s. 6d.)

The student of politics will find much of interest in this collection of essays on different aspects of British Conservatism. The authors all belong, in greater or less degree, to the "forward wing" of the party, which has frequently shown independence in urging upon the Government more constructive and resolute action in various directions. They are obviously men who think for themselves, and, since the book was published, the contributor of the first essay, Lord Eustace Percy, has joined the Cabinet, charged with the duty of "thinking out long-term policies" for the Government. This lends additional interest to his brilliantly-written study of Conservative principles, which contains the challenging statement that those of his school of thought "emphatically do not seek to conserve the present social system or the present distribution of wealth."

There are chapters on economics (treated in an almost wholly negative fashion), on recent agricultural policy, and on Foreign Affairs, in which field events have out-dated theories. Lord Iddesleigh, writing on Imperial relations, instances Rabindranath Tagore as an example of a man "who has absorbed and fused the best thought of East and West."

He advocates the encouragement of closer cultural contacts between Britain and India by the establishment of a system of exchange professorships.

In a particularly interesting chapter, Mr. Hugh Molson discusses the future of the British Constitution and suggests a number of reforms as likely to further the smooth and efficient working of the constitutional machinery. That the conditions necessary for the survival of Parliamentary government exist in Great Britain he has no doubt. "It depends for its success upon there being real and deep divisions of political opinion upon methods and measures, and a still more profound sense of unity and solidarity upon great principles." And he concludes: "What separates us as party men is less than what unites us as countrymen."

The Peace Ballot: The Official History. (Gollancz. 2s. 6d.)

The Peace Ballot in the United Kingdom was a remarkable democratic experiment. In this little book, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, the Secretary of the National Declaration Committee, tells briefly the story of the origin, organisation and successful accomplishment of this great enterprise, with its thirty-eight co-operating societies, more than a thousand local committees, half a million devoted voluntary workers, and total of eleven and a half million votes. There follows an interesting statistical survey of the results. In a Conclusion, Viscount Cecil describes the object of the Ballot as having been to show, first, the Government and, secondly, the world, where the British people stood on the question of the League of Nations. No one can doubt that this two-fold object was completely achieved and played an important part in shaping the course of recent history.

The Glories of Hindustan. By Dr. Ernst Alfred Nawrath. (Methuen. 25s.)

Dr. Nawrath, a German author, spent five months in visiting places of natural beauty or historic interest in Northern India—"a treasure-house of jewels," as he describes it. The result of his pilgrimage is this splendid collection of 240 full-page photographs, in which he illustrates the scenery, historic buildings and daily life of India. His subjects are well chosen and he is equally successful in such scenes as "Sunrise on Kangchenjunga" and the exquisite views of Kashmir, as he is in portraying the architectural wonders of palaces and tombs, temples and mosques. The details in sculpture, window tracery and even mosaic are brought out in a most remarkable way. The descriptive comment is wisely reduced to the minimum and the book is left to make its own appeal as a masterpiece of photographic art.

BODLEY HEAD BOOK NOTES

Sex in Human Relationships. By Dr. Magnus Hirschfeld. Translated by John Rodker. Demy 8vo. 8s. 6d. net.

Dr. Hirschfeld's death this year was a great loss to medical science. The Institute he built up in Germany and which was destroyed by the Nazis was of international reputation and his contributions to and his work for sexual science have made his name famous all over the world.

This book represents his views in a compact and all-inclusive manner. Every aspect of sexual behaviour in man both normal and abnormal, receives consideration and Dr. Hirschfeld's wide experience provides a volume which must be of the utmost interest to all who seek guidance for their own and others' lives.

Sex in Prison. By Joseph F. Fishman. With an Introductory Essay on the Sexual Life of Prisoners by Ernst Toller. Demy. 8vo. 12s. 6d. net.

Joseph Fishman has acquired a wider, deeper and more varied practical prison experience than any man in prison work in America. He is a member of the Board of Directors of the American Prison Association, and Chairman of this organisation's Committee of Jails. He is also a member of the Board of Directors of the American League to abolish Capital Punishment. "Sex in Prison", his latest work, answers the questions which are likely to be raised when this problem arises. For instance, what type of prisoner feels sex starvation most keenly? What percentage of prisoners enter as homosexuals, and what percentage leave as sexual misfits? It discusses the difficulties warders come up against in dealing with homosexuality among the prisoners, and offers a number of valuable suggestions for an improvement in present methods.

The Art of Happiness. 6s. net (Demy. 8vo.)

John Cowper Powys is as outstanding as a philosopher and thinker as he is as a novelist. His new book is entitled **THE ART OF HAPPINESS.**

"Life is life and it is the business of the individual to be happy in life itself, not to require perpetual *bonnes bouches* from Fate and gala days from Chance." This briefly is the theme of Mr. Powys's new philosophical study in the art of happiness. And he sets out to tell his readers how to achieve this happiness. There are, he says, three main methods of taking refuge in the life of the spirit, three main avenues of escape, and he labels them and explains them. He also deals at length with happiness from the sex-angle. One chapter

he devotes to the woman who wants to live happily with that extraordinary creature, a man; and another to the man who wants to achieve happiness in spite of the fact that he is living with a woman.

The Story about Ping. By Marjorie Flack. 9¼"×7¼". 2s. 6d. net.

The 'Angus' Books have established the name of Marjorie Flack as one of the popular writers for the children's book market. A new volume by the same author which should rival the 'Angus' Books in popularity is the above.

Ping is a Peking duckling on a houseboat on the Yangtze River. Peking ducks actually do live on houseboats as the pictures show. Marjorie Flack has never been to China, so she got Kurt Wiese, who knows China well, to draw the coloured illustrations. Between them they have created in Ping a most delightful character who cannot fail to win the hearts of all children between the ages, say, of 3 to 8.

The Lively Lady. By Kenneth Roberts. Large Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.

The novels of Kenneth Roberts have been received in America with extraordinary enthusiasm, but so far English readers have not discovered them. They now have the opportunity of doing so. The story in this book describes the fortunes of a certain Richard Nason, captain of an American privateer during the War of 1812-1815, against an adventurous and colourful background of wild sea-fights. After a successful career on the high seas, he is captured by the English and imprisoned in Dartmoor. With the help of an Englishwoman with whom he has fallen in love, he attempts

an escape. Perhaps he succeeds, perhaps not. Kenneth Roberts tells a story so well, never forgetting that "the tale's the thing", that there will be no holding the reader until the last page.

Barren Harvest. By Andre Chamson. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.

Chamson is the author of 'The Fugitive', published here last year, a novel whose story was set in the aftermath of Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo. **BARREN HARVEST**, however, is a novel of the present day and takes place in a group of mines and factories in France. It opens with the arrival at the mines of half-a-dozen German technicians to install Diesel engines. The first antagonism felt by the French workers for the foreigners soon gives way to an understanding of the real unity between them. Eventually Carriere, the central character, falls in love with the sister of one of the Germans and lives with her. The whole situation is changed when Carriere is told off to drive a lorry into Germany to fetch spare parts for the engines, taking with him two of his German friends. Their contact with the newly triumphant Nazi movement has a disastrous effect on the relationships between the French and German workers at the mines. This forms the main theme of the book, naturally and inevitably raising issues of vital importance to the modern world.

New Conjuring without Skill. By Norman Hunter. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.

Mr. Hunter is one of Mr. Maskelyne's Mystery Men, and here reveals the secret and the method of a number of astounding tricks, all of which can be performed with very little

practice and without special skill or sleight-of-hand. "Whatever your interest in conjuring," says Mr. Hunter in his Foreword, "I think I can safely bank on it that you want newish tricks . . . tricks which have not previously been explained in a way that makes them easy to perform. This book is for conjurers who do not want to spend six months learning a trick that is over in a few seconds."

AS YOU LIKE IT

There is a saying in India that people follow their fashion in the matter of food and drink but in the matter of dress, fashions are set by others. That is as it should be. Everyone chooses his own special kinds of edibles and beverages and generally has them prepared and served to his own taste and liking. "As you like it" is the principle which is followed for eating and drinking and it is a principle from which one is not prepared to budge an inch.

Some people like their tea, for instance, weak and some strong; some like it with plenty of sugar and milk, some with milk but without sugar, and yet many others without sugar or milk. There is no other beverage that can satisfy such a wide variety of palates. Make the tea the way you like it, but that does not make the slightest difference to the special quality and wholesomeness of tea as a drink. It is tea that everybody wants, and the rest is only subsidiary. Even though you are used to taking your tea sweet, occasions arise when you probably do not have sugar and milk ready at hand, but that does not deter you from having your very necessary cup of tea at the usual hour.

It is true that to drink tea with milk and sugar is the general practice in India but that is not the only way in which tea can or need be drunk. With the increasing popularity of tea as a drink, people have begun to drink it in many new and interesting ways. If tea is to be drunk for its own merits such as the healthful stimulation it gives to body and mind, neither sugar nor milk seems to be essential for the proper enjoyment of the beverage. A cup of tea, with a piece of fresh lemon to give the brew a little tone, will give you all the satisfaction you want.

Iced tea is an ideal drink for us in this country during the hot weather. It is most simple to make it. For one pint of water take two spoonfuls of tea. Prepare the tea in the proper way and pour the hot tea over ice in a jug. Then add milk and sugar to taste and drink it when it has become absolutely cold.

Drink tea in as many ways as you like, but always drink Indian tea,

for, there is no better and nicer tea to be had than the tea which India produces.

IS THAT SO?

Truth, it is said, is often stranger than fiction, and so it does seem to most people who have had truth revealed to them for the first time. "Is that so?"—the query rises instinctively from our lips. "Yes, it is" comes the answer. We live to learn.

Take the case of a man, healthy, intelligent, and eager to learn who because of circumstances for which he is not directly responsible, has had to remain a stranger to the taste of some wholesome article of food or drink until a kind friend brings it before him. Naturally, he is a bit sceptical to start with. He would like to be convinced before he accepts his friend's tempting offer. Of course, there is a little argument, but it is all to the good because sound convictions should not be hastily formed. So the two get on to the task of thrashing out the matter in its entirety—its pros as well as cons.

The most satisfactory way of ending a discussion on something new to eat or drink is to give it a trial and judge for oneself. At least from what we know about hundreds of new Converts to tea drinking everyday in this country, this happens again and again. A cup of delicious Indian tea is offered to somebody who has probably never heard of tea; he is not unreasonable and is open to conviction. When pressed a little he takes a sip from it. What happens? He drinks it up and even asks for more. Whoever has seen a man leave his cup of tea undrunk even though it is his first cup?

A beverage like tea cannot but be popular and especially in a country like India where people continuously crave for an invigorating drink which is both cheap and pleasant. The popularity of tea as a beverage in this country is a comparatively new phenomenon, but it is the most encouraging one that we have seen for many years.

The knowledge of what Indian tea really is and the position it occupies in the social, moral, and economic well-being of her people is no longer confined to the so-called intelligentsia. It has come as a revelation even to the most simple-minded peasant in the most distant village. For, he has himself found out that there is no better, purer, and cheaper drink for him. By spending one pice he can have five cups of this most excellent beverage which is in every sense his country's own product. That

is how he has learnt to appreciate the value of tea in his daily life.

"Is that so?" Our emphatic answer is: "It is so."

A NECESSITY OF LIFE

Let us not be romantic, even though tea is one of those things which have a romantic past and round which many romantic stories have been woven. Let us descend to the matter of fact.

Now, what is the unvarnished truth about tea as a beverage? It is this: tea is simple necessity of life. One need not dilate here on how it came to be, like water, air or salt, a necessity of life. The fact remains that tea as an everyday beverage, is an indispensable adjunct to our progressive age. Who will deny it?

No matter what the season is, no matter what the hour is, no matter where we are, we seek the Great Refresher even as we seek the company of dear friends. Tea is neither rare nor expensive; simply it is something which we cannot do without. This is the incontrovertible fact about tea.

The progress of tea, as a celebrated English writer once remarked, is like the progress of truth. Suspected at first, resisted as it clamoured for recognition, abused as its fame spread, it triumphed in the end by the slow and resistless efforts of Time and its own Virtues.

The first taste of a cup of well-made tea is something that is unforgettable. How did it happen you did not know before how good it tastes? You ask yourself. How was it ever possible for you to remain unfamiliar with so excellent a drink? You wonder.

We wonder too. Tea grows upon your own soil. It is cultivated and manufactured by your own countrymen. The teas that India produces are daily drunk and admired by millions of men and women in different parts of the world. In fact, it is your gift to others.

We only want you to think of tea as a drink, pure and simple. True, it is a tonic and a pick-me-up; but people do not generally drink it simply for that reason. They drink it because it is such a splendid refresher, because it is an ideal beverage at all seasons and hours, because it invariably puts you in a pleasanter frame of mind. A necessity of life like tea, is a pleasant necessity.

THESE DIE-HARDS

This is the age of Science. We all want facts and figures. We

insist on the verification of even known truths. Of course, knowledge born of experience, however painstaking it may prove, is always preferable to blind faith no matter how fervent it is. This eagerness for knowledge—for the understanding of facts as they are, is a characteristic trait of the people of our generation.

One good thing about tea drinking is that it needs no elaborate thesis for its recommendation. Tea, as a matter of fact, is its own recommendation. This is a point about which any two tea drinkers must think alike. If it were not the case the number of tea drinkers in this country would not have swelled by thousands every year.

The average Indian is at times puzzled by uncharitable remarks made about tea drinking by prejudiced minds. One suspects that none of those critics has ever taken the trouble of finding out for himself what a cup of well-made, good Indian Tea tastes like. Happily, the number of such critics is small, and they are treated as faddists and cranks. How we wish they did try for once a cup of delicious Indian Tea and realise for the first time what a blessing it is to be able to drink this absolutely pure and wholesome beverage!

Ideas often die hard, but when the issue is raised whether the inculcation of tea habit is good for the health of Indian people, one really wonders how such a misconception can still persist in the face of known and attested facts. Can there be any room for two opinions as regards the purity of Indian Tea as a beverage? The boiled water in which tea has to be brewed must obviously be free from all germs. From the health point of view there can be no more agreeable means of taking water into the system in its purest form than by drinking tea at regular intervals during day and night. It is well known that no other agricultural product is treated with such refined methods in its preparation for human consumption than Indian Tea.

These die-hards who malign tea drinking have neither reason nor facts on their side. They are only pitting themselves against the rising tide of tea drinking which is now sweeping through the length and breadth of India, and in vain. Knowledge is always victorious over prejudice and facts will eventually assert themselves.

FOR ALL SEASONS

Each year seasons come in their turn in unbroken regularity. Night follows the day, spring follows winter and thus all the six seasons

of India. Man's whole manner of existence undergoes periodic adjustments with the progress of seasons from year to year.

The Indian almanac sets forth a complete set of regulations as regards what to eat and what to drink at each particular season. There are still many people in India who implicitly obey those injunctions in order to be able to possess healthy bodies and sound minds.

There was a time when tea as a beverage was not so widely appreciated by the people of this country as it is to-day. Those who have learnt to appreciate its value, used to consider it appropriate only for the cold weather, when it felt nice and warm after a cup of hot tea. But in modern times tea drinking is no longer limited to any particular season or hour of the day. In every Indian household that takes tea regularly the tea pot is on duty practically at all hours, from morning till night. Nowadays any time is tea time.

In the hot weather, as a matter of fact, tea is the only drink that can keep one cool. When the heat is intense, cold drinks, although people are apt to crave for them, do not actually help us to keep cool. But if you take two or three cups of well-made, good Indian tea at midday in the very height of summer, you perspire profusely and then feel really cool for the next few hours. There is no substitute for tea as an all-the-year-round and every-hour-of-the-day beverage and there can be none. It is the ideal drink for all seasons.

THE GREAT REFRESHER

"If a stranger say unto thee," said Confucius to his disciples, "that he thirsteth, give unto him a cup of tea without price." What can be a more graceful act of hospitality than offering the cup that cheers and always refreshes to some one who is panting with thirst? The great philosopher, who enjoined on his followers the duty of giving a cup of tea to a thirsty stranger, has won world-wide renown for his essentially humanistic teachings.

This human element is inseparably bound up with the daily ritual of tea drinking wherever it is observed. That is why we have come to associate tea drinking as one of the graces of our social life. Tea is a refresher, first and last. It is something that we not only seek for ourselves but also something that we love to offer to friends and strangers alike. A well-known tea drinker has called it "the precious liquor which chases away the five causes of sorrow". This is not a poetic exaggeration

but a spontaneous and sincere tribute to tea, the Great Refresher.

When the body is weary and the mind not in its proper equilibrium, drink a cup of tea. It is not possible to describe the state of repose you feel as you drink it. All your muscular and mental energy at once revives; you feel both refreshed and restored.

The commonest of misconceptions about tea is that it is an intoxicant, although it contains absolutely no alcoholic property even as a herb or after manufacture. On the contrary, it has often been found to act as a corrective to the desire for intoxicating liquors and drugs. The gradual spread of tea drinking amongst the Indian workers and peasants has undoubtedly had the effect of weaning a large number of them from toddy.

There is plenty of good tea grown and manufactured in India to suit the most slender purse and the most sophisticated taste. At a very small cost Indian tea provides us all with an absolutely harmless and wholesome beverage. It goes without saying that as the tea drinking habit grows, the people of India will not only gain in physical strength and endurance but will also advance their national prosperity.

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It is an excellent production full of interesting and valuable articles.

DR. GEORGE ARUNDALE
President, Theosophical Society

I have had opportunity of reading some numbers of the *Twentieth Century* and have been struck by the high tone of the articles. Of course that was to be expected from the class of writers who have been contributing to it.

BABU RAJENDRA PRASAD
President, Indian National Congress

During the short period of its existence it has acquired for itself a prominent place among Indian periodicals. If it continues to maintain its present high standard it will be able to challenge comparison with some of the best foreign journals.

PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU
President, National Liberal Federation

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

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THE TWENTIETH CENTURY**THE NEW CONSTITUTION OF THE
PHILIPPINES**

By V. SHIVA RAM

[This article by Dr. V. S. Ram, Head of the Department of Political Science, Lucknow University, is of considerable importance in view of the recent proclamation issued by President Roosevelt, terminating the existing Government in Philippines and establishing a commonwealth under a constitutional government. It may, however, be added that the article was written before the President's proclamation.]

The Philippine archipelago consists of approximately 3,000 islands with a total area of 115,026 square miles about the size of the British Isles or Italy or Norway and only a little smaller than Japan itself. The population in 1903 was 7,635,426, while in 1921 it was 10,956,000 or roughly an increase of 3 millions or over 50 per cent during those eighteen years of American rule. To-day it is estimated to be almost 12,000,000. The Philippines were a dependency of various Hindu-Malayan empires in Indo-China, Sumatra and Borneo from about 200 to 1325 A.D. The Indian influence seems to have extended as far as the Philippines during this period. Shortly after 1400, Islam was introduced and to-day almost five lakhs of the population profess Islam, while 90 per cent of the people are Catholic Christians. Before the arrival of the Spaniards, the Philippines had already attained a considerable degree of culture, which though bearing the unmistakable impress of Hindu influence was uniformly Malayan.

On March 16, 1521, the Philippines were discovered by

Magellan in his attempt to reach the Moluccas by a western route. This date is important because it marks the beginning of the Christianization of the Archipelago and of the introduction into the Islands of western culture by the Spanish. From the sixteenth century down to the end of the nineteenth century, the islands were under Spanish rule, and as a result of the Spanish-American war and by the Treaty of Paris in 1898, the Philippine islands were ceded by Spain to the United States. Military rule continued, however, until the September 1, 1900. During this interval the Taft Commission was sent by the United States of America to the island to study conditions and to report upon a system of civil government for the islands and its recommendations became the basis of later actions by the U. S. Congress. In July 1902, the U. S. Congress passed the Philippine Civil Government Act by which the executive power was vested with the consent of the Senate and in the hands of the administrative departments, who were similarly appointed. These administrative officials were also members of the Philippine Commission, which included along with them four other persons nominated by the President of the U. S. A. This commission remained the sole legislative body of the islands until 1907; since that time it has served as the upper chamber of the legislature. The first elective Assembly or House of Representatives was convened in Manila on October 16, 1907, which contained 81 members all of whom were Filipinos elected for a two-year term. This body shared the legislative power with the Philippine Commission, which at that time contained five American and four Filipino members. The Governor-General possessed no veto, and the only check on legislation was found in the power of the U. S. Congress to nullify it. One protection for the U. S. Administration was found in the provision that in case an appropriation

bill failed of passage, the last one would remain in force, the same kind of provision found in the Japanese constitution. This provision had to be put into operation on several occasions when the Assembly refused to accept the appropriations desired by the executive.

In 1916, came the next step when the Jones Act was passed (repealing the Act of 1902) the preamble of which announced in a formal manner the Philippine policy of the U. S. A. instituting a transitional government which should be *autonomous or chiefly in the hands of the Filipinos, and that it shall be preparatory to a complete independence, such independence to be granted "when a stable government can be established in the islands"*. The Act provides for a framework of government for the Philippines, a Bill of Rights, and certain positive powers and prohibitions. The Act is a great improvement on the Act of 1902, due to the liberal policy of G. G. Harrison, as provided for the broad delegation of powers by Congress to the Philippine government. The Philippine government was modelled after the Federal and State government of the U. S. The important features of the Act are as follows:—

- (1) The Governor-General may veto any legislation and any particular item or items of an appropriation bill.
- (2) The President must approve (or disapprove within six months) all acts, relating to the public domain, timber and mining, tariff, immigration, currency and coinage.
- (3) A senate was to be elected which would take the place of the Philippine commission as the upper house of the legislature.
- (4) The suffrage qualifications were modified to include those who could read and write a native language.
- (5) Aside from the Governor-General, Vice-Governor, and members of the Supreme Court, who were to be approved by the President with the approval of the United States Senate, and the auditor and deputy auditor whom the President might himself

appoint, all other officers were to be appointed by the Governor-General with the advice of the Philippine Senate.

Under the Jones Act of 1916, when interpreted by a sympathetic administration in Washington and Manila, the Filipinos practically governed themselves, with very slight American supervision and control. All the municipal officials, almost all the provincial officials, the entire legislature, the heads of five out of six departments, almost all of the provincial and local Judges, and a minority of the Supreme court were natives of the islands. An extra-constitutional body known as the Council of State was created by executive order in 1918, which was composed of the Governor-General, the speaker of the House and President of the Senate, and heads of the six executive departments. While presumably designed to bring about harmony between the executive and legislative departments, it also looked towards the creation of a system of responsible ministries which could only hold office with the approval of the legislature. This is a departure from the American model and traditions and an approximation to the British system of responsible government. With the return to power of the Republican party in 1921, Governor-General Harrison who held office from 1913 to 1921 for eight years and who was responsible for these liberal reforms was recalled and Major-General Leonard Wood replaced him who ruled till his death in August 1927 in a reactionary manner and as a sun-dried bureaucrat.

The Movement for Independence

For the past twenty years the question of Philippine independence has been discussed, the leadership in the agitation having been taken by the Nationalist party, which secured control of the Philippine Assembly even at the first election. The demand for independence is not confined to

anyone party but is supported by all the politically-minded Filipinos who are unanimous in this matter. The ideal of eventual independence has been accepted by American statesmen of both political parties. The strongest recognition of this ideal is found in the preamble of the Act of 1916 which states:

Whereas it is, as it has always been, the purpose of the people of the United States to withdraw their sovereignty over the Philippine lands and to recognise their independence as soon as a stable government established therein.....

Although Governor-General Harrison reported in 1919 that a stable government actually existed in the islands, and President Wilson so reported to Congress, adding "it is now our liberty and our duty to keep our promise to the people of those islands by granting them the independence which they so honourably covet", no action was taken. Later, in April 1927, President Coolidge vetoed a bill passed by the Philippine Legislature providing for a plebiscite on the question of Philippine independence. For the last ten years and more, the Filipinos have asserted "we have set up a stable government and let us have independence as per your promise so clearly and so repeatedly given" to which American imperialists have replied "not according to our interpretation of the term". Meanwhile the independence agitation threatens to pass from words to deeds.

The New Act of 1935

At last the U. S. A. passed the Tydings MacDuffie Act in 1934 and on May 14, the qualified electors in the Philippines accepted by an overwhelming vote the constitution submitted to them as drafted by the Philippine constitutional convention and approved by President Roosevelt as being within the terms of the Tydings MacDuffie Act. For the first time

in the history of the Philippines women were allowed to vote, and it would appear that more than one third of the votes in the plebiscite were cast by women, (though the total vote cast was only 50 per cent of the qualified electors voting, as against 75 per cent who usually vote for the Philippine Assembly elections).

Under the New Act, a period of ten years of commonwealth status was provided for, at the expiration of which full and complete independence is granted. The Philippine constitutional convention elected under the terms of the Act, sat from October 1934 till September 1935, when it adopted a draft which was submitted to President Roosevelt for his approval. A preliminary draft was prepared by a sub-committee of nine between October 9 and 20, 1934, and this was naturally adopted by the convention without substantial change. Its contents are derived, both in substance and in form, in very large measure, from the federal and state constitutions of the U. S. The plan is for a unitary form of the Presidential-congressional type, with a legislative assembly having large powers. The previous bicameral legislature under the Jones Act was abolished and extensive powers were conferred over the Philippine people.

The new Philippine constitution now having been adopted, elections under it are to be held shortly and it is expected that the government of the commonwealth will be inaugurated by January 1, 1936 at the latest. By January 1, 1946 therefore, the Republic of the Philippines will come into existence of a fully independent state. In the meantime, it will have in effect dominion status, fully self-governing, the sole civil representative of the U. S. A. being a Resident High Commissioner, whose duties are to be supervisory rather than executive—mere shadows compared with the present enormous powers of the Governor-General. By those changes

the U. S. A. became the first colonial power to have redeemed its pledges, and grant autonomy to its erstwhile dependency and establish the first independent republic in Asia voluntarily. With regard to foreign affairs, the constitution provides that for the next ten years, foreign affairs are to be under the direct supervision and control of the U. S. A. No loans are to be contracted elsewhere than in the Philippine or in the U. S. without the approval of the latter. All legislative acts affecting currency, coinage, imports, exports and immigration must be approved by the President. All of the military forces of the Philippines may be called into the service of the U. S. which continues to have the right to maintain its military and naval reservations and forces there.

As in the U. S., the president will appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, subject to confirmation by a commission composed of 21 members of the legislative assembly (as there is no senate or upper house under the new constitution). The president, likewise, is to "receive" ambassadors and public ministers. Treaty making is in the hands of the president with the concurrence of a majority of all the members of the national assembly. Following the example of Spain, the Philippine constitution adopts a portion of the Kellog-Briand Pact and renounces war as an instrument of national policy. Likewise, following Spain, as well as Estonia, Latvia, Germany and Austria, the Philippines adopt "the generally accepted principles of internationalism as a part of the law of the nation." Ultimately at the end of the ten-year period, that is, by 1946, the Philippines also contemplates joining the League of Nations.

While the U. S. under the Tydings-MacDuffie Act, may intervene during the commonwealth for the preservation of government under the constitution, no such right analogous to the Platt Amendment will survive with the era of inde-

pendence. Then the United States, so the Act declares, shall "withdraw and surrender all right of possession, supervision, jurisdiction, control or sovereignty" in and over the Philippines. Americans naval stations and reservations are excepted, but no promise is made to the Philippines of their defence. The Tydings-MacDuffie Act requests the President of the U. S. at the earliest practicable date, to enter into negotiations with foreign powers with a view to the conclusions of a treaty for the perpetual neutralization of the Philippine islands if and when independence shall have been achieved. If this be attempted, a complete change in American policy in the Far East may be anticipated. Then the U. S. A. will cease to be a power in Asia and also a lesser Pacific Power and the relations between Japan and the U. S. A. also may noticeably improve.

It is to the credit of America that she is the first and only colonial power in Asia so far to have granted independence to a colony which possesses an alien civilisation and culture. It is in accordance with true American democratic traditions.

Before we conclude let us make a brief survey of the moral and material progress of the Philippines during the last 35 years of American rule. In the sphere of education, the Philippines to-day is the most literate country in Asia (next only to that of Japan) with more than 40 per cent of the school population attending schools. The plan for universal, free and compulsory education had to be abandoned due to paucity of funds. Let us hope the new Philippine government will undertake this as their first task. With regard to Public Health, the Philippine bureau of science has by its researches made the Philippines one of the most sanitary and healthy places in the East, reducing infant mortality, epidemics like malaria, small-pox, cholera, plague etc., and reduc-

ing the death rate to the lowest figure in the whole of Asia except only Japan. American policy in the Philippines stressed education and political participation first and economic development next. The results of the first are that the Philippines is politically and educationally more developed than any other colony in the East and materially she is second to none in the East or any other part of the world. The U. S. has translated the mandate idea into actual practice and all the other colonial powers follow her example. Thus one of the potent causes of suspicion and fear of war between the so-called backward and advanced peoples will have disappeared.

HINDU SOCIETY AND THE DEPRESSED CLASSES

By PRAKASH NARAIN SAPRU

[In the following pages, the Hon. Pandit Prakash Narain Sapru discusses dispassionately the significance and implications of Dr. Ambedkar's revolt against the Hindu Society. This article is a powerful call to the Hindus to revise their code of values and to readjust themselves to the changing times.]

When the Mahatma fasted and the Poona Pact was concluded, it was confidently hoped that it would open a new chapter in the relations between the caste Hindus and the classes which have come to be known as the depressed. For a time it looked as if untouchability would disappear much sooner than most people had imagined and that Hindu society would find itself purged of this evil in no time. The Pact itself gave the depressed classes certain definite advantages. It not only increased the representation which the Prime Minister's award had given them in return for their agreeing to a modified form of joint electorates, but also assured them that this representation would not be disturbed without their agreement.

The recent declarations of Dr. Ambedkar and some other Harijan leaders show that the Pact has not succeeded in modifying the attitude of that section of the depressed classes of which he is the leader, and that indeed Dr. Ambedkar and his followers are more bitter against caste Hindus than ever before. Caste Hindus too, particularly in Bengal, are not happy with that Pact and admittedly it has, in that unfortunate province, added to the complexity of the

communal problem. Few were, however, prepared for an open declaration by a leader of Dr. Ambedkar's standing that hereafter in spite of the solid advantages that the depressed classes have got under the Pact, they must sever connection with the Hindu fold and change their religion. Yet this is what Dr. Ambedkar and his friends and supporters propose to do though whether, on reflection, they will actually carry their intention into effect, is very doubtful. The probabilities are that there will be no conversions, or few conversions. Depressed class leaders, whatever they might say, would not like to cut themselves off from classes, which will hereafter enjoy a guaranteed representation in the legislatures, and these classes are not likely to agree to conversion on any large scale. The forces of Hindu orthodoxy are still strong; the depressed classes themselves are just as caste and priest-ridden, if not actually more, than caste Hindus and Dr. Ambedkar's heroic advice that they should change their religion is not likely to appeal to the vast majority of them. Indeed, Mr. Rajah, with that sanity which has always characterised him, has denounced, in no uncertain terms, this latest move of Dr. Ambedkar and he has shown that in the stand that he is taking he has the support of all the principal leaders of his community.

To those who have followed the controversy in regard to the temple-entry question Dr. Ambedkar's change of front must have come as a surprise. Time was when for him the problem raised by the existence of these classes was not religious at all. His own approach to the problem was entirely secular. He never interested himself in the temple-entry question raised by the Mahatma and he was confident that if his panacea of special representation was accepted, everything would be all right, in course of time. Yet suddenly the truth has dawned on him that religion is vital for man,

that Hinduism as a religion is one which cannot be reformed, that untouchability and Hinduism go together and that the classes, of which he claims to be the leader, must sever their connection with the Hindu fold. It is a tribute to the Mahatma's wisdom that Dr. Ambedkar now realises that the Mahatma was not far wrong when he insisted that the vital issue which the existence of Harijans raises for Hindu society is whether there is going to be spiritual equality in Hinduism.

Dr. Ambedkar is exactly saying with a bitterness which, if it were not accompanied with a certain amount of hysteria, would be understandable what Hindu reformers have been urging all these many years. Why should the depressed classes remain in the Hindu fold when they cannot enter Hindu places of worship on the same terms as the other Hindu castes? Why should they take pride in a culture and civilization which humiliates them in every way and which would only tolerate them on terms galling to any man with self-respect? Why should they continue to profess the Hindu religion when the Hindu religion divides Hindu humanity into twice-born and those who are not twice-born, and when it will not allow them the privileges of its more important sacraments? It is easy to get angry with Dr. Ambedkar and Dr. Ambedkar's logic is not always very easy to understand but it is less easy to answer these questions.

The significance of what Dr. Ambedkar has said is that it shows that political concessions alone cannot reconcile the Harijans to the Hindu fold and unless there is a change of attitude on the part of caste Hindus towards them they will remain, as remain they probably will, in the Hindu fold as dissatisfied members. The fact is that dissatisfaction with the Hindu social system is bound to grow as these classes become more self-conscious unless meanwhile Hindu society

becomes more responsive to what the times need and puts its house in order. It may be that for reasons, which are not hard to understand there will be no conversions, or few conversions, but a society with large sections of dissatisfied people cannot have the vitality necessary for healthy existence in the modern world.

The fundamental institution on which Hindu society remains founded is caste. It is unnecessary to speculate into the origin of this most amazing system, which Hindu India has developed and perfected. It would be equally futile to enter into any historical discussions as to whether caste, as it existed at one time in our history, was defensible. Certain it is that it has eaten into the vitals of Hindu society, degraded man, exalted priesthood and made the priest the dominating factor in the life of the individual and the Hindu community. It hampers to-day and has done so in the past the development of the civic spirit and co-operative capacity needed for working democratic institutions and it is undoubtedly inconsistent with the principle of the fundamental equality of man. For the basic idea underlying it is that what fixes a man's status for ever in life is his birth and that this birth has been determined for him by his actions in a past life. A society founded on an institution, which is based on this rooted belief, cannot be a dynamic force in a changing world—a world which is moving fast towards newer and higher conceptions of social solidarity and social responsibility—for the evils around us.

The mistake so far in the Mahatma's campaign has been to regard untouchability as an isolated phenomenon to be tackled separately from any attack on the basic institution which gives it vitality and keeps it going. The problem of social reconstruction has to be viewed as one whole and the removal of untouchability is but part of a larger movement

the object of which is to renovate and purify society and free the individual from the thralldom of ages. Hindu society, if it is to function as a live force in India, must therefore accept the position that attack on caste and all that caste implies has become urgently necessary. A good many of us will be prepared to admit the theoretical validity of the arguments against caste but when it comes to breaking its bonds in personal life we fail. To imagine that in our attack on caste we shall be able to carry the more orthodox of our friends is to delude ourselves. It is certain that the more conservative sections of Hindu society will not be with us in any organised campaign against caste. But we cannot allow our pace to be dictated by the ultra-orthodox. Who has ever heard of a real reformation in a society emanating from the leaders of the orthodox church itself? Everywhere it is the few who give lead to the life and thought of a people and if the few are clear in their minds in this country then what educated India thinks to-day, uneducated India will begin to think tomorrow. We have to accustom our people, therefore, with the idea that the structure of our society requires fundamental change and that that fundamental change cannot be achieved without a concerted attack on the institution which hampers our progress and arrests our development.

The Mahatma, though in his own life he has shown that he follows none of the rules laid down for caste, has not yet openly associated himself with any direct attack on it. Dr. Ambedkar would have been right therefore in insisting that the time has come for Hindu leaders to take a bolder stand towards this institution and that the attack should be more insistent, more vigorous and more direct. Success in the direction of abolition of caste will not be easy. Where the great reformers of the past failed we are not likely to succeed

without much effort, much sacrifice and much individual suffering. Caste has a wonderful hold over all classes and sections of Hindus. The depressed classes are themselves divided into numerous castes and sub-castes and the Chamar who looks upon the Mehtar as his spiritual inferior, has probably more objection to consorting with him than the high caste Brahmin and would resent his being classed, except for political purposes, with the Mehtar. Now it is exactly this mentality which we have to change and change as rapidly as we can. For this what is necessary is a real and powerful reform movement in Hindu society, a movement which, while preserving the fundamentals of the Hindu heritage, will yet attack and attack directly and vigorously the institutions which devitalise Hindu society and make it inconsistent with justice and reason.

In all ages and at all times there have been great Protestant reformers in India. Buddha, Nanak, Kabir, Ram Mohan Roy, Dayanand Saraswati represent an honoured tradition in Hinduism. They did much useful work in rousing the Hindu conscience to the inequities of the Hindu religious system but they left the great mass of Hindus unaffected, and in spite of them the orthodox church continues to be as strong as ever before. What hope is there that a new reform movement will receive more support than it has done so far? Now, paradoxical as it might seem, our political ideals to-day are the greatest levellers of all social and economic differences. Political democracy and the struggle for democracy in the political world will have their inevitable reactions on our social and economic life. Slowly Hindu society is realising that it cannot lead a sheltered existence and that it must, if it is to survive in the struggle of life, readjust itself to the changing needs of a world which has little use for those who cannot move with the spirit of the age. Our attitude towards

the Harijans is not what it was before, though progress has not been as rapid as one could have wished. Even the orthodox among us realise the injustice and inhumanity of some of our inhibitions and prohibitions. To have roused the conscience of the Hindu community to the injustices of a social system which degrades man is a great achievement and yet this is what the Mahatma has done. Time has come for us to be bolder and more frontal in our attack and for this we need concerted and organised propaganda against the very institution of caste itself. It would be a pity indeed if in our attack on caste we were to get entangled into metaphysical controversies and discussions. We have as Hindus to teach the Hindu what he understands to-day very imperfectly that religion is not metaphysics, that it is something purely personal, and that caste is not an essential part of it. Realising that the integrity of Hindu society is essential to the advancement of this land, that Hindu solidarity is worth having in the larger interests of Indian nationalism itself, we should concentrate our attack as reformers on the most fundamental institution of our society and seek unity among ourselves on this basis.

The plan suggested indeed is not new. It dates back to Mr. Ranade and the strenuous efforts that he made through the Social Conference Movement to renovate Hindu society. The true lines of advance were indicated by him very nearly 50 years back in his masterly addresses to the Conference, and we need to have something of that old spirit to guide us in the troublous times ahead of us. I am not pleading for a new Protestant sect but I am urging that on these social issues, at any rate, whatever our individual attitudes in regard to metaphysical and theological questions might be, we should as Hindus who have a heritage to preserve and enrich, take a decisive line and work wholeheartedly for a

more radical cure than the mere removal of physical untouchability. For until we can do this, there is, it strikes one, little hope for Hindu society, split up as it is into endless castes and sub-castes. It is to be regretted that the Social Conference Movement which promised so much at one time and which in the earlier years of the national movement did much to educate public opinion on vital matters has almost ceased to function. The old Social Conferences which used to accompany our political gatherings were useful for the purposes of stock-taking and it is, indeed, a pity that they have gone out of fashion.

The social problem must be viewed as one whole, and not piecemeal and the untouchability issue cannot be considered apart from the wider problems raised by the existence of caste itself. What gives vitality to caste is not the restrictions against inter-dining which are in practice disappearing but the privileged position of the priest and the sentiment against inter-caste marriage. Fortunately with the emancipation of women accompanied as it is with an intellectual awakening among them, in both directions a change in public sentiment is slowly taking place.

The social problem has assumed a proportion and importance which make it incumbent on us to tackle it in a serious manner. The gulf between the Hindus and depressed classes will go on widening, in spite of the many political concessions we have made, unless we can assure to these classes a position of equality and respect in our social system. What has been accomplished so far is nothing as compared with what has to be accomplished. For what we have to work for is nothing less than a *revolution in the Hindu mind*. The individual has to be freed from the shackles which fetter his free development and society built on a basis which would ensure co-operation between it and the individual. We

have, in truth, to teach our people to revise their values if they wish to live and live purposefully. Has Hindu society the vision and courage to readjust itself to changing times. This is, in short, the question that Dr. Ambedkar has raised. To think that it has not would be to despair of the future of our race and Dr. Ambedkar's solution is no solution, for the mentality which accompanies it is a defeatist one.

CONFLICT OF INTERESTS IN ABYSSINIA

By D. S. GORDON

[Though universal attention is directed to Abyssinia, the conflicting interests around the Abyssinian question are not, however, quite clear. Prof. Gordon of the Mysore University, in the course of this interesting and well-informed article, essays to unravel the tangled knot of the Italo-Abyssinian question.]

During 1914-18 several good people, who had felt the horrors of modern armed conflict in their souls, declared that the World War was a war to end war. And when that War happily gave over, after four long weary years, they heaved a sigh of immense relief and exclaimed "Never Again!" President Wilson came forward and held up the olive branch. He assured everybody that the world was thenceforth to be made safe for democracy. Yet here we are, hardly twenty years from one great conflict, and already in sight of another. Either human memories are extremely short-lived or periodical wars are a normal condition of things in human society, as some anthropologists are trying to make out. However that may be, the world is now asking anxiously, "Are we once more drifting back to 1914? Is Wal Wal going to be another Serajevo?"

To those who have but a superficial knowledge of world politics it may appear that the present dispute between Italy and Abyssinia is one which affects only those two countries. To them it may not be quite clear why the conflict should not be entirely localized, why other nations should at all take a hand in it. The answer is, the modern world is so closely knit together that nothing can happen in any corner

of it without repercussions elsewhere. In the present case, not only England and France but also some of the other nationalities of Europe, are interested in and around Abyssinia in various ways and to varying degrees. Even distant United States and Japan have axes to grind in that quarter, so that if a world conflict is to be avoided it can be done only by extreme caution and forbearance on all sides.

The Italo-Abyssinian question has its roots in the history of European relations with Africa during the past one hundred and fifty years. Prior to this period Europeans took little interest in Africa except for purposes of slave trade. They allowed it to remain a "dark continent." On the other hand, they took far more interest in India and the East, where more or less civilized peoples lived and with whom they had established commercial relations. Here they sold their manufactured goods in exchange for the much-needed spices and other tropical commodities. The African Negro bought little and sold little. Moreover, up to the middle of the eighteenth century the production of goods in Europe was carried on under the so-called "domestic system." Articles were still made by hand, and naturally, in smaller quantities. But with the coming of the Industrial Revolution economic and social conditions underwent a rapid change. New outlets for enormous quantities of factory-made goods had to be found and new contacts for the supply of raw materials had to be established. The result was that territorial possessions abroad became exceedingly desirable; and this especially in the tropics where many of the raw materials could be had, and where cheap factory goods could be absorbed in huge quantities. Side by side with industrial and commercial expansion the population of Europe also grew, so that new homes over the cooler parts of the earth had to be found. Thus by the beginning of the nineteenth

century the mere possession of land, even worthless land, came to be considered desirable. Land-grabbing became a mania with the European nations.

England and France were among the first and most successful competitors in this race for territorial acquisition. The French began their drive in Africa from the sea-coast in the west and penetrated right into the heart of the Sahara Desert. The British, on the other hand, starting from the southern extremity, at the Cape of Good Hope Colony, which they had purchased from the Dutch, they advanced into the interior along well-watered river-basins and huge lakes. The Boer War yielded them the Orange River State and Transvaal and opened up the way to the unknown lands beyond, whose wonders had been partly revealed by explorers, adventurers, slave-traders, elephant-hunters and missionaries. In the meanwhile, the construction of the Suez Canal made it desirable that Britain should establish her sphere of influence in the neighbourhood of this important waterway. Accordingly, when international politics in Europe, and internal troubles in Egypt, gave the opportunity, the British acquired a more or less firm hold upon the delta of the Nile. They now proceeded hundreds of miles along the valley of the river and established their power in the Soudan. It became possible thenceforward to push on the British conquest from both ends, from the north as well as from the south. The dream of British statesmen at this period was an unbroken stretch of red-coloured territory from Cape to Cairo. This dream has since been realised when, after the Great War, Britain secured the mandate for the former German possessions in East Africa, which had butted in and delayed the carrying out of the British plan for a decade or two.

When the race for land-grabbing in Africa started, Italy unfortunately did not step in at the right moment.

She came at least half a century too late. Under ordinary circumstances one would expect that Italy and Spain, the two nearest European neighbours to Africa, would have secured the lion's share of the booty; but as a matter of fact, it is France that has gained almost all the desirable spots on the northern littoral of the dark continent. The reason for this circumstance is not far to seek. Italy was not Italy up to almost the end of the past century. Her political unification was achieved late, and she was too much engrossed in domestic politics to think about colonial expansion. As regards Spain the explanation is not so easy. She was probably absent-minded when the general distribution of African territory was going on at her very door. Or, she had perhaps exhausted her colonising capacity in the New World. She had lost a magnificent empire in America but could not redress the balance by founding another nearer home. Whatever the cause may be, we now find that out of a total area of eleven and a half square miles, which is Africa, Great Britain and France between them have control over nearly nine million square miles. Even little Belgium and Portugal have territories in that continent several times bigger than their own size.

When Italy at last entered upon the scene, in the last decades of the nineteenth century, she found that all the more desirable portions of Africa had already been appropriated by one European power or another. Only half a million square miles of desert and scrub land were available; and these Italy gradually acquired, forming them into the provinces now known as Libya, Eritrea and Italian Somaliland. For the most part these lands are unfit for colonisation by white men; nor are their natural resources anything worth mention. Nature seems to have marked out this region only for the manufacture of salt.

But in order to secure possession of even this inhospitable soil Italy had to put forth an inordinate amount of effort. She fought against Turkey in 1911 and got Libya. Eritrea began its existence in 1882, with its nucleus at Massawa, which had been purchased by the Italian colonisation company from a local chief. After various vicissitudes, which threatened to ruin the venture, the government took control and developed the colony. About the same period the foundations of Italian Somaliland were also laid. It is near the undemarcated frontier in this region that the now-famous Wal Wal is situated.

There is little doubt that fate has dealt unkindly with Italians in their attempts at colonial expansion. The dissatisfaction is aggravated by the fact that for some years now Italy has been feeling that she is no longer a second-rate power. Her population has increased by leaps and bounds; her industries have already expanded to the limit set by her national resources. Any further development would depend upon the availability of more raw materials. In the meanwhile, during the World War, Italy made the discovery that for certain essentials of national safety she had to rely upon foreign imports. Thus, for instance, Italy has very little coal and iron, and no petroleum for her aeroplanes and motor transport. She feels both humiliated and alarmed by the fact that year after year thousands of her nationals are seeking new homes under foreign flags and are thus lost to the mother country. To add to her difficulties, the United States, which until recently, had welcomed Italians along with other Europeans, has now shown a predilection for the "nordic" races of the north.

The situation would probably have been eased if Italy had been allowed to possess Tunisia in north-west Africa. For several decades, thousands of Italians had emigrated to

this fertile and temperate land, not more than a hundred miles from Sicily. Here they had settled down under the then Mohammadan Bey, establishing their industries and cultivating the land. It was the hope of Italy one day to annex this territory. But France, who knew the intentions of Italy in this quarter, forestalled her and established a protectorate over it in 1882. This action is not yet forgotten in Italy; but now, since France is anxious to secure Italy's good-will, she has gone a long way towards removing causes of misunderstanding. In Tunisia she has agreed, by a recent treaty, that Italians may retain their citizenship for another thirty years, and that their children may continue to be educated in their own mother tongue. In addition, she has "rectified" the frontier between Eritrea and French Somaliland, and also handed over 25,000 shares to her in the French-owned Abyssinian railway between Jibouti and Addis Ababa.

All these concessions however, do not solve the problems of Italy. She still needs an outlet for her growing population and raw-material for her expanding industries. In the World War of 1914-18 she lost 600,000 men, and her finances were ruined. In return for this sacrifice she no doubt gained the much-coveted *Italia Irredenta* at the head of the Adriatic Sea, but compared to the vast territorial gains of Great Britain and France, this is insignificant. Moreover, it is said that at the Secret Treaty of London, in 1915, when the Allies were in a bad way, they had made lavish promises which Italy understood to include a free hand in Abyssinia. Whatever the truth may be, it is clear that one of the causes for dissatisfaction in Italy is the inequitable distribution of spoils after the Great War. In view of such a confession it seems strange that certain people should have attempted to prove that in modern times war is an unprofitable affair, or that

the Allies fought for ideals higher than mere material gain. Sir Norman Angell, for instance, in his famous book "The Great Illusion," which created an enormous sensation at the time of its publication, claims that modern war does not pay, that it ruins the victor as well as the vanquished. And yet at the end of the War in 1918, the British and French dominions in Asia and Africa received an accession of territory to the extent of several thousand square miles, while the grip of these powers over the Near East has been greatly tightened.

It was not unnatural that these transactions should have induced Italy to look about for lands which could be occupied without much risk of serious opposition. She pitched upon Abyssinia, partly because it is the only bit of independent territory left in Africa and partly because she had previously attempted the subjugation of that country without success. It was about 1885 that the Italians, after rapidly consolidating their position in Eritrea, opened negotiations with the Negus of Abyssinia and concluded with him a "treaty of friendship." This was followed up by further intercourse which resulted, in less than a decade, in the declaration of a protectorate over the land. But in 1895 Menelik of Shoa, the new emperor, repudiated the treaty on the ground that there was a discrepancy between the Italian and Amharic (language of northern Abyssinia) versions, and that there never was any intention of accepting an Italian protectorate at any time. War followed. Italian troops invaded Abyssinia, but after some initial success, were utterly annihilated at the battle of Adowa in 1896. Over 4,000 Italians died on the field and several hundreds more were cruelly tortured and put to death. The memory of this tragedy is still green in the minds of Italians, and it was to these men who had fallen there forty years ago, that a

monument was erected the other day when the Italian army occupied Adowa.

From the Abyssinian point of view the battle of Adowa is a great landmark in the history of that country. It was the first occasion on which a coloured nation had triumphed over a white one. Japan was to perform the same feat on a much grander scale some years later. But now, Abyssinia suddenly became a centre of international interest; and soon it was clear that unless the relations of the European powers were regulated by treaty a conflict might result. So England, France and Italy, the three chief powers interested in Abyssinia, concluded the Tripartite Treaty of 1906, according to which they agreed not to act independently in regard to Abyssinia. Two years later, the boundary between Italian Somaliland and Abyssinia was fixed by another treaty, at a distance of 180 miles from the sea. It was under the provisions of this treaty that the Anglo-Abyssinian Boundary Commission commenced the work of actually marking the frontier on the land, in December 1934. This was opposed by the Italian authorities at Wal Wal, with what consequences we are getting to know.

In the meanwhile certain other developments had taken place. In 1923 Abyssinia became a member of the League of Nations. In 1924 her emperor Ras Tafari Haile Selassie made a grand tour of Europe, and on his return, reorganised his administration. He modernised his army to some extent, reformed his law courts, improved his hospitals and spread education. But he could not have done much, for present day accounts of Abyssinia make it quite clear that the vast majority of the people are still in a primitive state. Nor do they seem to have been thoroughly welded into a nation, so that it is difficult to determine how much truth there is in the patriotic feelings attributed to them at the present time,

Italians have stated that Abyssinia is an uncivilized, unprogressive, disorderly country, a danger to her neighbours and an anomaly in the League of Nations. She has not yet abolished slavery within her borders, nor constructed roads according to agreement. She is unfit for self-government and would really be better off under a European power. All these accusations of course, have got to be taken with some discount; nor do they give Italy the right to occupy that country by force of arms.

On the other hand, the real argument of Italy seems to be much more simple. It is, "I need Abyssinia." It is a case of the Wolf and the Lamb. But even so, Italy asks, "Why should the other European nations be so anxious to prevent the conquest of Abyssinia?" It cannot be because they stand for justice and fairplay, for not long ago they themselves had indulged in the same game that Italy is trying to play now. Indeed, the League of Nations is largely made up of members who were erstwhile robbers of other people's countries; and no nation has less clean hands in this matter than the two leading members of the League—England and France. It is of course possible that they have repented of their past and want to set a new example. If so, why did they not act in a similar manner when recently Japan swallowed up Manchukuo? Again, it is a well known fact that the coloured peoples of the earth are a legitimate prey for the white. It has always been so. The ordinary laws of international ethics do not come in here. Hence the League, which consists mainly of white nations, has no reason to act in the manner it is doing now.

Why then should there be so much concern about the fate of barbarous Abyssinia? The suspicion is that Great Britain is largely responsible for it, that but for her the present opposition to the occupation of Abyssinia would not

exist. Even in England the opinion is held that Mr. Anthony Eden, the Minister for League Affairs, has probably acted more vigorously than the country desired. However that may be, Italian statesmen and the Italian press have made no secret of their attitude; they have, since the beginning of this conflict, singled out Great Britain for their hatred and invective. They suspect also that the British are leading the League of Nations by the nose and making use of it in order to pull their own chestnuts out of the fire. Whatever the truth may be, there is no doubt that the British have vital interests in and around Abyssinia. If this unfortunate country had been situated, like Manchukuo, in some remote part of the globe, it is very unlikely that the British would have acted as they are doing at present. But under the existing circumstances the question for them is not whether Italy shall or shall not have Abyssinia, but whether the growth of a first-rate naval and military power can be permitted in the Mediterranean region which is, as it were, the backbone of the British Empire.

The French attitude in regard to the Abyssinian tangle is easily explained. France is anxious to be on the good side of Italy in order to safeguard her interests in Central Europe. She loses little by permitting the Italians to have their own way in Abyssinia: an amicable settlement can be arranged as regards the Jibouti-Addis Ababa railway. But about British friendship in case of an emergency, France feels that she could not be sure. Recent developments in British diplomacy, ending with the conclusion of the naval treaty with Germany, seem to have affected previous cordial relations. Thus, in the matter of sanctions against Italy, it will be noticed that France would not let the League go beyond purely economic and financial measures; and when a British note enquired what military support might be forthcoming

from France in case of hitch with Italy in the carrying out of these measures, the French reply did not at all prove reassuring.

Such are the conflicting interests around the Abyssinian question. It is now clear that the real issue is not between the two countries now engaged in the field of battle; it is much wider. The chief consideration is not how to do justice as between Italy and Abyssinia, for the latter country is but a pawn in the game. The League of Nations, however, has lifted up the whole matter on to the moral plane. By the very nature and object of its existence it could not do otherwise. It has to work for the establishment of a new order of international ethics under which diplomacy and cunning might not succeed best, and mere might would not triumph over right. But such a profound change cannot be brought about without difficulty. Even now perhaps a settlement can be reached only by an Anglo-French agreement which the League will be asked to ratify later on. But whatever may be the end of the present quarrel, the League would not have existed in vain; for it has for the first time in the history of mankind, succeeded in rousing the moral sensibilities of the world.

WHAT SHALL WE READ?

By DIWAN CHAND SHARMA

[According to Holmes, it took three generations of sprawling in a library to create a reading man. In India it takes a longer time still. And what is more important, the average reader here hardly knows what books to read. In Prof. Diwan Chand Sharma, who is a well-known scholar and discerning lover of books, the reader will find a true guide.]

Recently a writer wrote in one of the London weeklies that on an average forty-nine books were published per day in England. Though a few of these books are of professional interest, most of them, I am sure, are meant for the general reader. And when we think of the general reader, we always conclude that he is interested in what is called light literature. He loves to read light fiction such as thrillers, murder stories, detective stories, books of memoirs, and biographies. But mostly, it should be remembered, he reads light fiction, which means novels that are trivial and trashy; the sort of novels that are much in demand in circulating libraries. These novels, it should be borne in mind, are a peculiar product of this machine age of ours. They are built up on a very simple plan, and mostly they have to deal with the eternal triangle. The novelist first of all thinks of a hero and a heroine, and then he devises certain obstacles, which they must overcome before they are mated. These obstacles might arise from environment, heredity, social differences, temperamental diversities or other things. But they are there in one form or another, and it is these which make the story exciting and dramatic and interesting. If one were to analyse the plots

of most of the novels that are published these days, one will find that mostly they conform to this kind of pattern.

But these novels have no enduring vitality. Most of them have a shorter life than one can imagine. They are like journalism of a very ephemeral kind. They have no value as literature, but probably they have some interest for us as a social phenomenon.

To be sure they are the peculiar products of the age, in which we live. The man of to-day dreads nothing so much as boredom. He is therefore always ready to seek some kind of escape from it. Cheap fiction provides an easy escape, and so he welcomes it. He thus puts it on the same level as talkies. He does not go to it to learn anything new, but he goes to it to forget himself, to get, as it were, out of his skin, to live so to say, not his own life, but to re-live in his imagination the life of someone else whom he admires or likes. Such books are therefore for him a kind of warrant of release from the prison house of his daily life, and he is glad of them.

But as is well known, books should not suggest a kind of escape from life. They should deepen and enlarge our experience of it. They should enable us to lead life at a higher level of thinking, feeling and doing. In other words, they should enlarge the scope of our thoughts, deepen our feelings, and give us a firmer grip on the problems that face us. All this we should learn from them unconsciously, as it were, and they should make us better men. This does not merely apply to books of fiction, but to all kinds of books; to poetry, biography, essays, books of criticism, history and science. It should not, however, be thought that what I have said above applies only to the reader of England and other countries in the west. It holds true, I believe, in the case of Indian readers as well. In reading, as in other matters, Indians ape the west. They generally acquire those tastes

which their contemporaries in other countries practise. They feed themselves as much on cheap fiction as an English reader. They generally read the same kind of magazines and papers, which the men of the West do, and especially as Englishmen do. By saying this I do not mean to discourage the study of English literature on the part of Indians, but I wish to raise my feeble voice of protest against having our reading determined solely by what is being read and discussed in England at a particular time; that is to say, by reading and admiring exclusively those books which English readers show fondness for.

I said exclusively, and this is what requires to be explained. Good books know no geographical or political or racial barriers. Though they might be produced in one country, very soon they become the intellectual property of intelligent men all over the world. It will be futile to say that Russian fiction should be read only by Russians, and English poetry only by the English, nor is it proper to say that Ibsen and Brieux should be read only by their countrymen. Great writers, who write as it were in an international idiom and describe experiences, feelings and situations that are not provincial in their content, will be and should be read by Indians as well as others. But we should cease to be dominated entirely by cheap English fiction that is the rage of so-called educated Indians at present.

What shall we read then? I believe in this matter as in several others, we should draw upon both the East and West or, to put the same thing a little more obviously, upon India as well as other countries. India is struggling at this time towards self-expression, and Indian writers are doing their best to reveal the soul of India in their writings. Most of them are trying their best to describe India as they see it in the pages of their books. Will it therefore not become us to read such

books whether they are done in the vernaculars or in English! Only by doing so can we give the necessary stimulus and encouragement to these writers, and unless we do this, we cannot expect any development and expression of our national consciousness in our literature. We must give the Indian writers a chance if we want to have a national literature, which reflects our conditions and seeks to face and express those problems which confront us. But this is probably something very difficult to do. How can we put aside our beloved writers of cheap English fiction?

But this has to be done sooner or later. We have not merely to read the books written by Indian writers, but also to buy those books. I wonder how many readers of this Magazine have cared to read Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru's *History of the World*. If Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru had been born in any other country, and had written a book like that, he would have made a fortune out of it. But here in India I am not sure if the publishers have been able to recover their cost so far. Recently the Parbasi Press published two books "*Eminent Americans whom Indians should know*" and "*Science and Religion*" by Dr. J. T. Sunderland. It is true these books are by an American, but I believe the Doctor is as much interested in the welfare of Indians as anyone of us. He is one of those men who has not only tried to serve India throughout his long life, but has also suffered and fought for it. But I wonder if many educated Indians have cared to read these books, which are full of priceless lessons for us. In the same way, I am not sure if many Indians have cared to read Dr. Beni Pershad's "*Democratic Process*". The publishers of this book confessed to me rather sadly that the book had had better sales outside India than in this country. I have singled out these instances at random. There are many eminent Indians writing at present on all kinds of subjects,

and their books compare favourably with the best books of the type produced elsewhere, but I am not sure if the educated men in India ever bother about them. How can they, when they are bent upon devoting all their leisure to cheap fiction and wish to invest a considerable part of their savings in trashy novels.

It should not, however, be thought that these are the only books by Indian writers in English that deserve our attention. It will be idle to take the readers of this journal very far back, so I will be content with referring only to the works of men of established reputation not only in India, but also abroad; I mean poets like Tagore, Mrs. Naidu, Sir Aurobindo and Sir Mohd. Iqbal, philosophers like Radhakrishnan, and politicians like Mahatma Gandhi. But there is no harm in drawing the attention of the readers to other writers who have done memorable work in the various departments of literature, History, Philosophy, Politics and Arts. One note of caution may, however, be sounded here. The list of authors mentioned is in no way exhaustive, for the sole determining factor in getting together these names is the memory of the writer—a memory which has never been known to be either very strong or extremely ready. So the omissions, unfortunate as they might be, should not rankle in anyone's mind. I wonder how many of us are familiar with the poetry of the late Prof. Manomohan Ghose who, besides his sensitiveness to beauty, was the master of an incomparable diction. Nor is the work of Prof. Seshadri less worthy of note in this direction. He has a mastery of the sonnet which is enviable and he has shown a fine command of simple diction. In the realm of fiction one cannot but admire the work of Mr. K. S. Venkataramani, the author of "Murugan, The Tiller" who has given such fine studies of character and such intimate picture of the life in the south

of India. Misses Sita and Shanta Chatterjis' short stories are always readable for they give such vivid impressions of the life around them. Mr. Mulak Raj Anand's novel dealing with the life of Harijans is full of topical interest and his books on the Art, Poetry and Philosophy of India make very stimulating reading. The pen-portraits of the eminent persons of the day as given by Mr. G. S. Raghavan will be a source of great stimulus to the readers of the history of contemporary India while the essays by Mr. Iswara Dutt (I hope the readers will excuse me for this reference to the Editor of the journal for which I have written this article) which are in the best tradition of the essay will be a source of genuine pleasure. Thoughtful studies of India's problems, social, religious and metaphysical, by that eminent savant, Dr. Bhagawan Das are always full of interest while the writings of Mr. Subas Chandra Bose and Dr. Pattabhi afford plenty of food for thought. Sir P. C. Ray's autobiography is a mine of information, and the writings of Major Basu throw a flood of light on historical, economic and sociological aspects of the early British rule in India. Prof. Siddhanta's study of the heroic age in ancient Indian history is illuminating while Prof. A. N. Jha's essays in literary criticism are remarkable for their lucidity and critical insight. There are many other writers like Sir Jadunath Sirkar and Prof. Benoy Kumar Sirkar whose studies of Indian history and economics have proved extremely valuable, but the great pity is that most of these writers are generally unknown to or neglected by their own countrymen.

MASS EDUCATION IN INDIA

By P. GUHA-THAKURTA

[In this part of his valuable treatise on Mass Education in India, Dr. Guha-Thakurta proceeds to discuss the problem in relation to Rural uplift, Female Illiteracy and the Depressed classes.]

Planned Economy

For projecting the type of universal mass education for India that has been envisaged in the foregoing pages, a general reconstruction of Indian village life is a prime necessity. The popular movement to liquidate illiteracy must be assisted throughout by a national drive to remove the immediate causes of the economic stagnation of the great masses of the people of India. Social organisations, engaged in cultural uplift work, may do all they possibly can to conduct a regular crusade to eliminate general ignorance and intellectual backwardness; but that in itself is insufficient to enable the masses to share in the cultural and scientific achievements of mankind. This is not a task, frankly speaking, for bourgeois reformers, co-operative agents, private philanthropic institutions or fossilised university professors. All fragmentary methods of the traditional social service workers will have to be eschewed in future. The problem of rural reconstruction is, in our estimation, not one of merely theoretical sympathy for the poverty-stricken masses, but of a substantial change of outlook in the intellectual people of the country as regards the real nature and meaning of the problem itself. Rural conferences are apt to pass resolutions, urging that rural industries must be promoted, rural credit democratised, rural indebtedness redeemed. All this may be true; but the peasant

masses of India remain just as ignorant as before of how to achieve those laudable objects, or even, how to utilise the available resources of Nature and Science. If the future work of rural uplift is to proceed on the usual recognised channels, the rate of progress cannot but be as slow as heretofore.

The broad masses of poor, uneducated, rural population still groan under the burden of feudalism and monopolistic capitalism, in spite of "mass movements", new "ideologies" and sloganised nationalism of our time. The fact is that it is nothing but inveterate bourgeois prejudice which sees in the sharper tones taken by the agrarian trouble lately in India, the evidences of class antagonism. In this country, no plan of rural uplift can succeed either by exploiting the disruptive tendencies of class resistance; or making them seem as if they do not matter in the least. Neither the left-wing Congressman nor the hide-bound university professor knows much about the masses and what they need; they only talk. Rural India can be revived only through a perfectly normal and human scheme of reconstruction, neither imposed from outside nor forced upon the people by nationalism-faddists. It must be national in the transparent honesty and sincerity of its intentions and political and rational in practice. The task is both delicate and vast; but it has to be put in the very centre of the nation's drive on the cultural front, and the methods applied to its solution must be free from doctrinairism and effusive philanthropy on the one hand and on the other, foolish faith in "miracles" revealed only to one individual through his "inner voice".

Briefly, we would suggest that the reconstruction should be strictly on the lines of planned economy. Agricultural production must be restored to the level our land is capable of. That would necessarily imply the introduction of up-to-date

agricultural machinery, the adoption of better methods of cultivation, the development of rational methods of land organisation, the growth of co-operative marketing of agricultural produce, and above all, the increasing application of scientific methods in farming. If we can initiate a scheme of planned rural economy on some such lines, we will have truly begun the reorganisation of Indian peasant life and with it, we will have been in a much better position to lead India's rural community to a fuller and richer cultural life.

Female Illiteracy

The disparity in literacy, or illiteracy, to be more precise, between men and women of India in the mass, compels us to treat the problem of female education separately. If the state of mass illiteracy among men is appalling, the state of mass illiteracy among women is shameful and shocking. Out of 170 million women in the country, only over four million may be described as barely literate. Statistics may be dull, but they can be very devastating at times. So far, we have purposely refrained from traversing the wastes of figures, because our object is not to limit ourselves to a depressing condemnation of the existing mode of education which, in our opinion, stands self-convicted. To think that just over two per cent of the entire female population of the country is literate, is depressing enough. This percentage, let us add, covers both urban and rural areas; so, when the statistician sifts the figures for the villages where more than 90 per cent of Indian women live, he will not have much of literacy to show for the general mass of Indian women. Coming specifically to the question of primary education, provided to-day for girls in both rural and urban areas, we notice that 15 per cent is about the maximum of the total number of girls of school-going age. This works to little less than 2 per cent of

girls under primary education to the entire female population of the land. Out of this 15 per cent again, 10 per cent drop out before they complete the primary school course. To put it in terms of figures, it takes about 50 schools to produce five literate girls.

That, in brief, is the quantitative output of female education in India at present. The less said about the quality, the better. If one were to go into the causes of this state of affairs, one will merely be led into unprofitable controversies, and the controversies will probably seem as complicated as the causes themselves. The Government and local bodies will come for their due share of blame and the people will also share the proportionate measure of reproach for orthodoxy, conservatism, social habits and customs such as the practice of purdah, early marriage, etc. All this will lead us absolutely nowhere.

Let us begin at the beginning. The problem of the uneducated mother is, no doubt, somewhat different from that of the young uneducated daughter, and that we will discuss in its proper place. The girl of school-going age will, as a matter of course, automatically come under the general scheme of universal elementary education precisely in the same manner as the average boy of school-going age. Nevertheless, a much greater amount of spade-work will have to be done to popularise the system of universal education, particularly to the female population of India. And almost the entire responsibility for work in this direction will fall on the shoulders of the few educated women in the country. In a small report on the condition of primary education for girls in India, prepared for the All-India Women's Conference a few years ago, we are glad to find this recognition of this need. The pity is that the research is not being carried on consistently from year to year. The report says:

Revolutions are not made with rose-water, and resolutions will not bring in the educational millennium. The limit is reached when we visit a wretched school or two in the course of a year to learn at first hand the condition of our girls' primary schools and report on them to our local committee. Most of our women who do work of this kind, belong to the urban upper classes, and do it from inverted snobbery and maudlin sentimentality. No, we want a thousand times harder work and continuous work and sacrificing work before we can reach the promised land.

The indignation is righteous, the spirit behind it is well-intentioned, but the unfortunate part of it is that educated women also, like the men, talk more than they do.

All this useful energy only waits to be harnessed to the single-minded pursuit of the ideal we have in view, viz., elevating the standard of literacy among the general mass of Indian women, simultaneously with that of the general mass of Indian men. The awakening among Indian women to the need for intellectual and cultural improvement is as yet a vague and intangible longing; it needs to be crystallised into shape and focussed to our immediate objective. The gulf between women graduates in the city and their uneducated sisters in the village is as yet probably not so great as that which exists between the town-bred educated unemployed and the uneducated peasant in the village, but that makes things in no way easier for educated women to re-establish contact with their culturally inferior sisters living in the rural areas. Where local governments or municipalities have failed to extend the principle of compulsion to girls, even within their very modest and restricted limits, certainly there is ample chance for educated women workers, dedicated to the cause of universal popular education, to succeed. But does the All-Indian Women's Conference or any of its provincial constituents think along those lines? If Indian women had to scramble for livelihood in the same way as the man

they would be compelled to think.

The Royal Commission on Agriculture, incidentally, made a rather romantic suggestion for "demonstrating in a striking fashion" to the rural community in general, the value of the education of its women, specially in its direct influence on the spread of lasting literacy among its young.

Steps to this end, [observed the Commission] might be taken fully by recording the educational history and subsequent development of children of typical cultivating families in which the mother is literate, while like particulars in the same neighbourhood and conditions of life should be tabulated for the purpose of comparison with their more fortunate neighbours. It is essential, however, that the families chosen should be of entirely rural condition, and not urban. Where no literate homes of the cultivating classes are available, we think a definite effort should be made to impart literacy to a certain number of young mothers selected where conditions are most suitable and where no similar experiment has been tried before. We have little doubt that the result of this comparison will show a markedly stronger tendency on the part of the literate parents both to send the children to school and to keep them there till literacy, which the mother has come to value, has been fairly achieved.

Directors of Public Instruction, please note!

The suggestion would certainly be worth exploring provided India could afford the time and expense for fragmentary educational experiments, exclusively for any particular community or section of the people. While female illiteracy is a problem serious enough in its implications, it should not be looked at through sentimental eye-glasses. At any rate, those who are actively working for raising the intellectual level of the women masses, will find their labours amply repaid if they would, for sometime at least, concentrate entirely on the collection of accurate indices of female illiteracy in India, experimenting simultaneously, whenever

and wherever it is found to be feasible, with the comparative method of spreading elementary knowledge among illiterate mothers in the villages. The work will fall into the category of educational research on scientific lines which is bound to be a long and laborious process. But it will be not only novel and interesting but an entirely valuable work as well. Moreover, it will have a propaganda value of its own in the general task of reorganisation of the educational system. It will demonstrate the true relation between female illiteracy and general illiteracy in India. We emphasise the value of this comparative method of experimentation in order that the difficulties in the way of realising the plan of universal education based on democratic principles, may be fully appreciated by the educated women in India.

Depressed Classes

The problem of the Depressed Classes, as a whole, is peculiar to India, because like other sections of the general masses of the people the cultural backwardness of the Depressed Classes has not been entirely due to the lack of educational opportunity. For years they have had to suffer from numerous other disabilities of altogether different nature, political, social, and economic. Untouchability is a curse, and no cure will be effective unless the curse has been thoroughly purged by remedies much more efficacious than anything purely educational or cultural. The immediate problem is to consider whether the tremendous mass enthusiasm which has been worked by Mahatma Gandhi's efforts is of a durable nature or not. The crusade against the removal of untouchability in India, in spite of the vigour with which it is pursued, is showing the usual tendency of becoming "organised." Where conviction lacks sincerity, it naturally runs the risk of not carrying others with it. That is the danger of all "mass

movements." A national drive on the cultural front to liquidate illiteracy by means of universal education, ought to be strengthened by any endeavour that seeks the rehabilitation of social justice and fairplay. Unfortunately, we are easily enslaved by catchwords and conundrums; to remove one form of mental inertia we fall into another. False and meaningless orthodoxy, out-worn Shastric precepts, irrational caste vanity are just as contradictory to the democratic evolution as to the social and educational, of a race. From the confused mass of ideas which now prevail in the anti-untouchability movement in India, it is not easy to extricate the exact quantum of sincere feeling and unqualified response to the appeal to the higher Indian man or woman. Under the new charter of purified nationalism, the general movements to eliminate illiteracy cannot be either on the side of orthodoxy and heresy-hunting nor that of indeterminate desire to glorify the illusion of caste supremacy.

It is in the light of these implications that the problem of Depressed Class illiteracy should be faced. Since Hinduism itself has been able to resist successfully social disruption and political fragmentation of the community, it ought to be within our competency to do away with the existing practice of educational segregation of the Depressed Classes. The leaders of Harijan movement have not yet declared themselves against educational segregation of Harijans; on the contrary, they are quite satisfied to have separate schools started for them. As a matter of fact, this system of separate schools for Harijans has been, to a large extent, responsible for accentuating caste restrictions. The Hartog Committee was emphatic in its opinion that the segregate system was harmful and should be replaced by the system of mixed education, which alone can be the safest guarantee for equal status and treatment to the children of the Depressed Classes. Expe-

rience shows that even Government orders to admit Harijan children on equal terms into ordinary schools have been scrupulously disregarded by school authorities. The Hartog Committee observes:

We desire to point out in conclusion, that it will not be sufficient for Government merely to insist on the admission of children of the depressed classes to the ordinary schools. It will be necessary to see that the regulations are carried *in the spirit as well as in the letter*, and that the children are treated *on equal terms in all respects*, with the children of other communities. (Italics ours). The Indian Statutory Commission says: "Our Committee has no doubt that the policy of admission to the 'common school' is preferable to that of the 'segregate school', but in Madras where the caste system is most rigid, there are over 10,000 special schools for the Depressed Classes and only 16,000 out of 228,000 Depressed Class peoples are reading in the ordinary schools.

So, it is imperative that the existence of this segregate system must be subjected to a searching enquiry, and the steps will have to be taken for the immediate abolition of all such schools under the system. To make elementary education generally available to Depressed Classes, it will further be necessary, at least in the early stages, to grant liberal concessions to the Depressed Class pupils, such as free supply of text books and clothes, and the grant of free studentship and special scholarships in the secondary rural schools. Some such special concessions for Harijans are necessary under the existing conditions. The caste prejudice has been long-standing and persistent; therefore, it will not be enough merely to declare that no primary school in the land under the compulsory system will be permitted to exclude any pupil on the ground of the caste, but also to carry on convincing propaganda in such visible ways as the rural population can easily appreciate and value, with a view to bring about the end of

segregational schools for Harijans.

As regards female illiteracy among the Depressed Classes, the position is almost heart-breaking. Only one girl out of every 30,000 or thereabouts of the entire female depressed class population, ever advances beyond the primary stage. The task of liquidating female illiteracy among Harijans will not, therefore, be an easy one, but it will have to be faced with courage and earnestness. The whole problem of Harijan illiteracy has to be reviewed in the light of existing facts and realities, eschewing all "sloganised" doctrines and facile philanthropy. Government reports are apt to speak with a certain amount of gusto over the rate of advance in the enrolment of Harijan pupils in ordinary schools.

For, did not enrolment figures between 1920 to 1927 for Harijan pupils under instruction in all provinces except Assam increase from 377,000 to 802,000? Did not these figures still further advance to 1,048,653 between 1929-30? Figures are, as usual, deceptive. Take, for instance, the province of Madras where at the end of the official year 1930, 342,000 Depressed Class pupils were on the rolls. These however, represent only about 3.5 per cent as compared with 5.8 per cent of the total population receiving instruction.

So the pace at which primary or secondary education among the Depressed Classes has proceeded is really not any faster than the pace at which the system itself has moved throughout the country.

In the matter of education, the Depressed Classes get all that they deserve, for their poverty and backwardness, no more or less than what other communities get according to their deserts. The educational needs of the Depressed Classes are great, but no greater than those of any other section of the vast human mass in India, whose extent of illiteracy is probably without a parallel on the earth and is the despair of men. Indeed, India has as much reason to be alarmed at the

cultural backwardness of the so-called "caste" classes as that of the classes repressed by caste. Probably, the only hopeful outlook is that social and political disabilities of the Depressed Classes are now in the process of being gradually equalised, so that in future it will be a much simpler task to integrate their educational demands into the nation-wide effort to remove mass illiteracy in India.

HALI, THE REFORMER

By MAZHAR AZIZ

[On Hali's abiding contribution to Urdu literature, several articles appeared in the Indian Press last month on the occasion of his centenary (October 26, 1935). But his great achievements were not confined to letters: he was essentially a reformer. It is with this important aspect of his life that Mr. Mazhar Aziz deals here.]

Modern! That beautifully vague and sweet word. Somewhere Mr. T. S. Elliot has written some lines:

Miss Nancy Ellicott smoked cigarettes
And danced all sorts of modern dances
And her aunts were not quite sure how they felt about it
But they knew that it was modern.

In the chaos of modern life one is conscious of only one thing, namely, Modernism. So long as you are modern, you can get along. The moment you cease to be that, you become a savage barbarian, an outcast without any right to exist.

And like the aunts of Miss Nancy Ellicott some of our modern educated Indian Mussalmans too are content with being only modern and nothing else. They are educated, they are cultured, they are well-dressed, they are well-fed; but like the typical "Modern" they are not sure of themselves,—of anything for that matter! Maybe the conditions of present-day life have got something to do with this state of mind. The age of machine perhaps does not let them grow except in the way of modernity. The conditions in the West are, at last, being rapidly transferred and transplanted to the once "Unchanging East" through agencies which cannot be resisted—The Press, The Aeroplane, The Radio!

But somewhere some crazy fellow may ask: "To what end? How it came about, this modernism? How have we drifted to this state? Have we always been the same?" And so on.

The modern man has no time to pause and think out the answers. According to him a survey of the past must be left to the Research Scholars. "Bury the dead past", they would say, "Think no more of it. It seems so remote from our lives!" But there are others who, though pre-occupied with the burdens of modern life, believe that the Past is not wholly dead and is still living with us, that the Present is born of the Past, and that in order to have a correct understanding of modern life the study of the conditions that prevailed in the Past is absolutely necessary. It is for these latter that the present article is meant. Queer though it may seem, its subject is one who, though born in the Nineteenth Century, called himself "Modern"—Háli.

Let us begin with a short account of the social life of the Mussalmans in the days when Háli lived. For is it not worth while in our march of progress to pause a bit and survey the work done so far and appreciate some of our pioneer workers that are now no more? Not sure of the Present or of the Future, we can at least be sure of the Past.

The middle of the last century saw the end of the Muslim rule in India. Bereft of power and wealth the Muslim community presented a pathetic spectacle of which there are few parallels in the history of the world. Not only politically, but even socially and morally, they had degenerated. Their sketches by Dr. Nazir Ahmad of Delhi and Ratan Nath Sarshar of Lucknow read like imaginary tales to-day: yet they were absolutely true, pictures drawn from real life. The modern westernised generation find it difficult to believe that their immediate ancestors were like that,

but the sad fact remains that they were so. For centuries they had ruled India. Power had brought wealth and luxury, and all the evils that follow in their wake. The enervating climate of the country and the luxurious ease of an indolent life sapped and undermined their pristine vigour and energy. They had become so disabled that they could not even run and preserve their government. And what was worse still, they had departed from their religious and national traditions and characteristics. The purity of Islam was defiled. Ignorance and superstition ran rampant, exploited, of course, by priesthood in its own interest. The religious and social spirit of the Hindu community among whom they had lived so long overshadowed their national consciousness. They had adopted some of the Hindu customs and practices. Many of the evils are still eating into the very vitals of the social life of the Muslims and against which reformers are fighting day and night date back to those days. In imitation of the Rajputs they introduced the odious Purda system among their womenfolk, shutting them inside the prison-walls of the *zenana*, thus making them physical and intellectual imbeciles. They began to patronize the class of courtesans, who had a recognised place in the Hindu society. Human equality so zealously preached by Islam, gave place to an hierarchical conception of society. All the features of a degenerate society were there. They forsook all the manly games and sports and indulged in such pastimes as cock, partridge and quail fighting, pigeon-training and kite-flying. (Some types of the past, though fast disappearing, are still to be found in some quarters of Lucknow—who stubbornly refuse to adapt themselves to modern conditions of life, and do still carry on the pursuits of their fathers and grandfathers during the good old days of *Ján Alam Piya*.) The pursuits of trade and industry were beneath their dignity.

Islam, a religion that was both spiritual and practical, which had awakened nations from age-long stupor and vitalized and energised them, a religion which advocated and preached rationalism and progress, ceased to be the inspiring and ennobling influence in life. The form was kept, the spirit lost. There was no living principle to help them in sustaining themselves in any sphere.

The literature of these people also was what it ought to have been—uninspiring and lifeless. There was nothing in the life and training of the literary class to help them to rise above their environment and hold out to those around them a standard of thought and feeling which would have sustained them in their misfortunes and contributed to their moral and social regeneration.

Where would the Muslims be if they had continued to be the same? They had a providential escape from their doom, thanks to the tireless efforts of a band of selfless, enthusiastic workers—men like Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, Khwaja Altáf Husain Hálí and others who, in spite of severe opposition, compelled their co-religionists to open their eyes and face the facts as they stared them in their faces, and to adapt themselves to the demands of modern life, for refusal to do so was evidently going to their doom.

How these people rose above their environments is a miracle. How did they break away from their age-long traditions which enmeshed and throttled both thought and action? Brave souls they were indeed! All honour to them!

And now; Hálí!

Of the past as well as of the present, Hálí to-day appears to be an enigma. We do not understand how one who was not versed in English or any other Western literature and

whose formative period of life was spent purely in Eastern surroundings and in pursuits of Eastern knowledge and who came under English influence only in his middle or advanced age could have caught the spirit so fully and so easily as Hálí.

To-day he is generally known as a poet. But to us he was essentially a reformer. We admit his excellence in poetry, but here too he asserts his claim upon our admiration and esteem only as a Reformer. He set himself to the task of regenerating the life of his co-religionists, and that spirit pervades through all his works, literary and otherwise. He chose as his *nom-de-plume* "Hálí", (which means modern), but the fact is that he did not belong to his times: he was far ahead of them. He was a great seer. His insight penetrated deep into the future and he realised together with his great co-worker, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, that the Muslims were threatened with extinction if they did not change their life and thought. These great workers gave a new orientation not only to our life but to our literature as well.

At an early age Hálí had come under the influence of Ghalib—the greatest and the most original of all Urdu poets. The age of Ghalib was still the age of convention and nobody could easily dispense with the conventional style, yet there is a certain amount of conscious attempt in the poems of Ghalib's maturer years and the early writings of Hálí to subordinate it to their thought and feeling. Hálí later on avowed that even in his early days of youth he keenly felt the shackles of the stereotyped diction, but had not the necessary boldness then, nor the force of example, nor any encouragement to break them and give the heart a loose rein.

Till about the middle of the last century Urdu poetry had more and more approximated in form and content to the Persian poetry, with its 16th century ideal. The ideal

meant the technically perfected, kaleidoscopic expression in set high-brow diction in stereotyped, patented phraseology, in fixed wooden metres, with the help of numbered, eternally recurrent rhymes as keystones of thought, of stock emotions connected with the love of a real or imaginary boy-beloved—and its comical and melodramatic concomitants—and with the conventional Súfí love of God and further, the expression of sentiments connected with some great military, religious and political personage. The practice of this ideal resulted in unnaturalness of love, and the artificiality of sentiment, mechanicality and unpliability of the lyric form and unreality, exaggeration and overloading of description.

Such was the condition of Urdu poetry when Hálí took to it. He did not introduce any change in the form. But he did introduce into his poems, as far as he could, two chief elements which characterise English writings, viz., "unity of idea" which implied an uninterrupted flow and freedom of expression, and "a diction free from convention". He energised a dying literature and poetry by infusing into it fresh ideas from the West and by introducing new subjects which were hitherto untouched by the orthodox. None of his principal writings, on which his reputation as a poet rests, is in either of the abused artificial forms—Ghazal and Qasída. His studied indifference to these two popular forms was a great and bold step forward. It was a great attempt to break away and free himself from the restrictions which had clogged the freedom of expression and introduced the element of artificiality not only in the works of his predecessors but in his own early writings. He searched for other forms from the existing list such as allowed any measure of freedom to the flow of thought and feeling. And it must be said to his credit that he it was who first re-discovered the Musaddas and the Mathnaví. It was the reformer in him that selected these

forms to be the media of his best thoughts which he has given us.

The special feature of his *Musaddas*—The Flow and Ebb of Islam—the longest and the best of his poems in this form—is the ease with which it lends itself to the expression of the elegiac or reflective mood. The feeling rises to a climax at the end of the fourth line and subsides in the last two. It gave him on the one hand adequate freedom from the restriction of rhyme and, on the other, by virtue of its structural peculiarity of letting one stanza anticipate another, a powerful aid and motive power to the development and expression of his theme. He seems to have fully realised the value of this stanza. It is his own stanza. And the part played by the *Musaddas* in bringing to the Muslims their forgotten national consciousness can scarcely be exaggerated.

Mathnaví is another of Hálí's favourite forms. It also facilitates freedom of thought and expression. It is a distich very much like the heroic couplet of Pope and Dryden. It lends itself to several metrical variations, and for that reason possesses a flexibility which renders it such a convenient and valuable vehicle of expression of every mood. Some of his best poems e.g., *The Widow's Complaint*, *The Love of the Mother-land*, *The Rainy Season* are written in this form. All exaggeration, superfluity, and bombast are strictly discarded. The expression is the most natural. Hence he was called a "Natural Poet".

He it was who first sang in his *Chup kí Dád* the rights of women and impelled them to fight for their lost status. Nowhere can we separate Hálí the reformer from Hálí the writer. He was a reformer first and everything else afterwards.

And in prose too he was behind none as a stylist. Like his poetry his prose too is simple and straightforward, shorn

of all bombast and circumlocution and ornament. He it was who first introduced the art of writing biographies in Urdu on the most scientific lines. His *Hayât-i-Jáwíd* (Life of Sir Syed Ahmad) can be compared to any good biography written in English. Besides these, he has three other biographies to his credit—*Hayât-i-Saádi*, *Yádgár-i-Ghálíb* and *Sawánih-Umrí Hákim Násir Khusro*, all very entertaining reading. Some of his essays are prescribed for study in schools. They are also written in pure, simple style. But the most important prose work from his pen is his *Preface to his Poetical Works*, which like Wordsworth's *Preface to Lyrical Ballads* is a monumental work in criticism. Urdu literature and especially poetry possessed no tenets of criticism so far. It was difficult to know the good from bad. Hálí felt the need of criticism in Urdu. From whatever smattering of English he had and from the study of Arabic and Persian literatures, he evolved certain canons of criticism for evaluating poetry. In the light of those very rules of criticism Urdu poetry has come out of its degraded position and can now be claimed to be the poetry of a living literature.

These were the achievements of none but a reformer, which Hálí essentially was. Others also joined him in this great work of reform, but his claim is pre-eminent.

THE PROBLEM BEFORE THE CONGRESS

By AN INQUIRER

[The Congress has its critics on all sides. The writer of this article, a young socialist of the academic type, freely discusses in the following pages the trend of the Congress movement as well as the strong and weak points in its armoury, and puts in a plea for the reorientation of Congress policy and revision of its ideology.]

I

The true force behind the rejuvenation of any nation or fight for justice and freedom, the impetus behind all great movements, is the Emotion of the Ideal. All great sacrifices that are made for a cause, all noble qualities that sustain the greatness of a nation or a race, spring from this emotion and this emotion only. During the days when the Congress embarked on a new venture, when a comprehensive unity of both thought and action was demanded, certainly there was the expected response. No proposals of moderation could be thought of nor were proposed. The soul of the nation was stirred to its very depths and its youthfulness had returned to it with a freshness and new extremism. We all felt that those great voluntary non-violent soldiers who exposed their lives to the severest hardships were lifting our country to a lofty pedestal. They were honoured and hailed by the most refined men living to-day while the greatest scholars felt that the backbone of history was at last being set right. All lovers of peace were animated by the hope that a new power began to manifest itself before which all military forces were bound to quail and disappear. New avenues

were opened for the unarmed "rebels" and a new and invincible technique of war was discovered.

II

But all this was the art of one man; he was the creator of all this awakening, the inspirer of all this hope. Without him we are all where we were long ago. Specially those who followed him had the instinctive faith that wherever this selfless man led, there must be freedom. His march itself was the ideal for them and his messages revealed a dreamland in themselves. But the moment he left them, the dream, like the dream of Kubla Khan, passed away for ever and they were all in entire darkness as to the future. The emotion that moved those people all along was not the Emotion of the Ideal but it was purely and entirely the Emotion of the Personality. And with retirement of that Personality, the emotion also receded into the background; and the ideal which was so far vaguely known happened to be forgotten altogether. And in its place appeared the intellect which was all along under suppression. This absence of selfless emotion and the predominance of practical and unidealised intellect are, indeed, sure signs of national degeneration.

Am I arguing that the movement of freedom should be devoid of the influence of any great personality? No, far from it. Every organisation needs a leader, and the leader of the organisation of a movement of freedom certainly needs a personality. But the chief force that should inspire the heart of all people should be the Ideal of Freedom, and the great leader should be the channel through which that inspiration flows. History tells us that each great ideal had its great leader and as the "*Bhagavadgita*" says human heart is not barren. Whenever there was the occasion, there appeared the great man. But his success depended upon how

far he was capable of *spiritually* inspiring the people towards an aspiration for the complete guarantee of their undermined soul and of *intellectually* convincing them of the goodness and happiness of the life they were going to lead in the future. Alike a spiritual impulse and an intellectual grasp or understanding of the ideal are a condition necessary for the onward march. An emotion that inspires men to reach the heights of spiritual glory, which Freedom alone can confer upon them, honour and greatness, and a clear intellectual presentation of the true picture of the realities of life to be experienced, are the food and water of a movement.

III

The leadership of Mahatma Gandhi has fulfilled the first condition admirably. It has lifted us into a trance. We have realised that we are slaves now and that in a free life we shall certainly be happier. But the second condition has not been fulfilled even partially. Mahatma Gandhi has not still defined Purna Swaraj or complete independence or that glorious "Ramrajya" of which he is fond.

Now, what is Purna Swaraj? Is it the political freedom from foreign domination merely or is it the complete independence of the nation as a whole from all sorts of environmental slavery of which even political freedom is but a part? Everyone is explaining and defining it according to his own personal predilections or prejudices and the particular political or social ideology he follows. And much depends upon the outlook on life one has. There are people whose training in life does not enable them to realise the misery of their own slavish condition. It has become a habit with us to think that we are fit for nothing better while our education has hardly helped us to realise our own intrinsic worth. The intellectual politician says that we shall be nowhere in the

world if the British withdraw their military forces. The emotional No-changer says that he prefers anarchy to foreign domination. The Liberal, due to his over-emphasis on practicalities has developed a sort of cynicism, which is likely to end in suicidal self-hatred while the No-changer, due to his over-enthusiasm for the redemption of the country from alien rule, has developed a vague mysticism which might satisfy the craving of our hearts but not the hunger of our stomachs. One is too much of a realist; the other too much of an idealist. The achievement of freedom lies in the blending of this realism and idealism, in the emotion utilising the intellect and coming down from piloting in the heavens, to establish itself on this bleak earth.

There is now a demand from the youth of the country to rejuvenate the spirit of the ideal by clearly telling the country what they have to fight for and risk even their lives for and what returns of future happiness their sacrifices would bring. In other words, what is the nature of the new life they are going to live, what kind of food they would have, what organic facilities they would command? Even the cry of the Socialist group is a part of this demand. Unless you definitely tell the suffering millions in concrete terms what is that you are going to give them, why should they have any attraction for your cause or make any response to your call? If they have to drag their lives in dirt and in unventilated mud-rooms with a kind of food even the animals may not like to have, what attraction has your Swaraj for them? Mahatma Gandhi says that political freedom is only the beginning of true freedom. But he does not show even by theory that the future will have entire control over itself and that the whole country, taking advantage of the political redemption it would achieve, would go forward and thoroughly reorganise itself towards complete freedom.

The Liberals threaten that they are always there to take charge of affairs when the recalcitrants of the Congress bring Swaraj. If it happens so it would be a great calamity. For the Liberals conspicuously lack the warmth of the human heart which society demands. If not the Liberals, who would do it? The Congressmen? But how are they different from the Liberals? Theirs is a brain unmoved and unmoralised by the heart. And the emotion that moved the Congress for a long number of years to act heroically, we must bear in mind, was personally Gandhiji himself.

IV

Now, the problem before the Congress is the problem of recreating the ideal. It should state clearly in concrete terms what that ideal means for the suffering masses and should chalk out a constructive as well as a fighting programme in full accordance with their ultimate aim. Leaders and personalities come and go, but the ideal of freedom should be set before the eyes of the people, fixed like a pole star. Otherwise, when that ideal is not clear and when it is even blurred, all great qualities that are associated with that ideal, and the heroism it ignites, would sink down giving place to low manœuvring and apprehensions of the new order. On the other hand, the greater the clarity with which that ideal is kept before the youth of the country, the nearer we are to "Purna Swaraj", whatever that may mean.

The features of complete independence are the features of the completely independent life of a society—freedom in every walk of life, in thought, word and deed, and for every individual, of every age. For, "the state suffers even in one individual."

While the conditions of our life are unemployed brains, unemployed hands, unemployed money and unemployed

raw material on the one hand and on the other, apathy, fear and moral degradation, the establishment of complete independence cannot but imply a thorough reorganisation of the whole system, economic, educational and organic. Will the Congress promise this? Then the whole country will be with it. Otherwise, it will prefer to follow a new organisation. There is no other alternative.

The state which the Congress is out to establish must be an ideal state worth having and worth fighting for. If Swaraj means relieving the country of foreign domination, it is merely establishing the negative side of Swaraj. It is only relieving the country from what it does not want and not giving what it is in need of. The future system should be infinitely superior to the system which is existing now. The type of the government it would have, the kind of economic organisation it would imply, the ethical system it would introduce, must amount to perfection if freedom is to be complete. It is high time that a fearless declaration has been made to the people and to the world as to what we want and what we are going to have. The declaration should be unambiguous as well as comprehensive, giving a clear idea of the future life. Ambiguity always incites suspicion and kills emotion. The more the orthodox school in the Congress resents the emotion of the youth and denies them the freedom they deserve to approach their countrymen and acquaint them with their ideas of freedom; the more it tries to live on cleverness and defensive tactics; the less it keeps its position as a great organisation, secure. It should itself grow younger or give place to the youth. There is no other go. Monopoly in any form is an anachronism.

It has become a habit with the legal brains that dominate the congress sessions to think of Swaraj in terms of the political institutions that are already developed by the British

Government. By doing so they are bringing that ideal down to the level of departmental manipulations and political exigencies. The ideal life of the society as a whole which it connotes is ignored completely. It is quite evident that they are all wanting in a complete scientific vision of the nation as a whole, of its internal life, of its organic structure and psychological relationship. That is why the partially political freedom they want could be eternally delayed by such departmental methods as Round Table Conferences and Constituent Assemblies. True freedom is social and not political; therefore, any assemblage which does not possess the sanction of the society cannot thrash out problems which concern that society. But when that society is capable of giving the sanction, it would also be in a position to strengthen that sanction with a moral force.

Politics by itself cannot develop any ideals. The ideals are always social; they belong to the craving of the eternal human heart. Revolutions always originate from the restless and dissatisfied life of the society and not from political organisations. When the political institutions which move always on the surface change, it is a sign that the whole society is changing. Politicians are seldom leaders of humanity although leaders are sometimes forced to enter politics. On the other hand, true leaders rise to defend the rights of society against the outrages of politics. Politicians, indigenous or alien, always take advantage of the ignorance and helplessness of the society and are known to use the people in pursuit of their fancies and ideas, or even for their own personal aggrandisement. They limit their mischievous tendencies to the extent to which society is conscious of them and beyond that they are free to do whatever they like. History is a record of their tactics and betrayals.

To achieve true success, the Congress should rise above the influence of these mischievous politicians and become a true social organisation. With a constructive programme, true to the ideal it cherishes and would cherish hereafter, it should strengthen the social organisation to such an extent that slavery in any form would have no place in it. Work is the greatest hope and laziness the greatest despair. The only thing that can bring all the different sections together is a programme of constructive work which is comprehensive and of common benefit. The edifice of freedom ought to be built brick by brick, with a sincere energy. If the Congress really aspires to be the future receiver of this great nation and a more efficient one, it must strive harder and work on more well-defined lines. Carrying the whole society with it, it should undertake new tasks. The same power with which it intends to fight for Swaraj, *viz.*, the non-violent power of the people, can be utilised even for asserting itself constructively. The realisation of the potentialities of this power which are quite different from those of the political power that most of our politicians aim at, is the first step towards true Swaraj, —Swaraj, not of the statesmen but of the people. Mahatma Gandhi is so confident of bringing Swaraj, even if he is left alone. It is quite possible to achieve the end he has in view, by creating a nation-wide emotion of victory through spiritual means. And there is nothing that is impossible for the power of *Tapasya*. But to bring and leave that boon of freedom in the hands of an emaciated people is risking that very boon amidst party strifes and communal aggressions. All other schools of thought and parties desire to have political power in their hands in order to bring in the people into their fold, and modes of life by sheer physical force. This may be good or bad but even if it is good, there is a better way. You can bring the people round to your

way of thinking, by *persuasion*, by *education* and by *organisation*, if there is really honesty in it. Leave military power to those who have no belief and could have none, in their teaching. To the fact that militarism is the greatest danger to human civilisation, history bears ample evidence.

If the Congress desires to offer to India the great good its people are longing to acquire, the great good of "Purna Swaraj", it should have a clear conception of what it is and it should also move towards it even from now. The "leaders" should begin to identify themselves with the people in a real sense. Such democracy as is established when the people are still ignorant and poor, can be changed into autocracy by any blooming personality that can come on the scene. People when they are blindly led can also be cheated and we cannot say that the great men who are with us will be with us for ever. Democracies based on mob organisation are uncertain things; they are as uncertain as benevolent monarchies under good rulers. The Congress will do greater good by training the people to be fit to enjoy the complete independence it brings to them, fit in every way.

V

The Congress had enough dreams, had enough experiences and tests in life. It has, however, survived them all. Now it should begin to act. The same people with whose aid it desires to become a power in the country would be the source of all its strength and all its constructive activities. Till now except some sort of political education it has given to the people, what has it actually done to the people to enable them to share its desires either actively or passively? It has preached the Gospel of Khaddar. Truly, Khaddar has drawn the attention of all classes for the poor and the suffering. But unfortunately it is a theory based on sentiment and

not on science. As even Gandhiji has said in his memorable letter to Dr. Tagore "It is the law of to-day" and not of to-morrow. It might at best increase the meagre incomes of certain people by a small percentage but that paltry gain cannot drive away poverty from the country.

From the youth who are morally, intellectually and physically underfed, and from the disease-stricken peasants, the Congress cannot expect anything more than mere observation of its movements on paved roads and in verdure parks. What has the Congress done for the cause of education? Has it established new Universities of its own and turned out perfectly educated students to do real intellectual service to the country? What has it done for its economic liberty? Instead of Charkha factories which have only widened the market of the indigenous mills in the hands of the capitalist, indirectly by creating a sentiment in favour of Swadeshi in the hearts of the people, why not itself open cloth mills on modern lines and put an end to the so-called exploitation? Why mills alone? Many a thing it can do. It can take upon itself all the economic activities of the country and distribute the benefits with impartial hands amongst all its citizens equally. If with the people of this great country as its chief resource, it will with a real business acumen and economic genius go forward and expand its influence into every market of India, it can easily and very soon become the main possessor of India's wealth. And when once it arrives at that stage it can reshape the country into a new statuesque beauty much more glorious than what was seen in the golden age of the past. While ancient times gave us emotion, modern times have given us science. The social salvation of the future lies in the harmonious blending of these two forces.

VI

It is not right that Congress should arbitrarily choose the ideal for the country. In formulating an ideal it has to study the human nature and follow the principles of human evolution. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru advised the country to draw the line of its goal somewhere between Communism and Fascism, but personally he said he is inclined more towards Communism than Fascism. The learned Pandit is a born dreamer though he has recently shown a tendency to develop into a scientific realist. He studied history and his background is human experience. Certainly one can learn lessons from the events of the past but one cannot draw ideals from them. Ideal is something which leans towards perfection and Communism, as based on the materialistic Marxian principles and the economic conception of history, is only one side of the human Utopia, and by itself, is intrinsically opposed to the social evolution of man which is predominantly religious. You may say that even the communist's feelings for humanity are religious. That is bound to be. Whether one is willing or not, Nature is the ultimate conqueror, and all movements, however artificial and prosaic their beginnings might be, in the end they are bound to merge in her heart and her universal aspirations. Communism that aims at the purely economic or materialistic liberation of mankind ignores the fact that, along with the demand for freedom, there must always accompany a demand for the moral, intellectual and spiritual potency for the society to be able to enjoy that freedom. Society itself ought to become more progressive so that the life it would live might be of angelic beauty.

A communist form of society where freedom of thought and expression is denied to individuals, where spirituality and

sentiment are discouraged, and where moral behaviour of the individuals is governed according to state regulations, is wanting in the very fundamentals of an ideal type of society. If economic poverty is bad, intellectual poverty is worse, and a society which is intellectually dependent or enslaved, is entirely in the hands of those who happen to be at the helm of affairs. Economic equality is but one of the varied features of a pure socialist society; and a society which has to assume the responsibilities of the infinite future and which aims at offering an ideal life for every one of its members, must not be satisfied with merely possessing everything what different individuals possessed, but must acquire that knowledge and moral integrity which the individuals in power hitherto lacked. That is why the communist form of society is accepted by only those who attach more importance to the economic liberation than to any other and derided by those to whom character and education are more important than food and raiment. But certainly the ideal form of society is a combination of these two. And we can safely dismiss Fascism altogether from the argument as it does not connote even the economic equality or liberation of the peoples as a whole. A rule that is based on the pressure of one man who is not responsible to any moral code of the society is bound to end in disorganisation. Dictatorship is much worshipped but seldom analysed. The plan of a dictator always comes with a newness upon the wearied people and catches them by a storm; so that for want of time to think and meditate on the future repercussions, people dance at the strokes of adventure of that strange man and gather round him whether he is fit to be their leader or not. We are carried away by his eagle look or laconic voice and when at the end of his career we look back and try to see what we have

achieved through him, we become desperately disappointed. For by then we will have discovered that our dictator possessed every virtue to rule the mankind and champion our cause but lacked one important thing, namely wisdom, the impersonal outlook on things from all points of view. As Emerson opines, the wise man is the only one fit to undertake the responsibilities of mankind, and wisdom is a spiritual asset.

VII

Now, as the recent history of the Congress was nothing but the story of Mahatma Gandhi, even his temporary retirement has become a problem to its workers and their hope lay in the possibility of his return to active politics. While the failure of the Congress lies in its indefinite attitude towards its own ideal, the failure of Mahatma Gandhi lies in his attempts to impose his own personal ideals on the members of the Congress. If such a desire of his is to be fulfilled, most of the sincerest workers in it would be forced to walk out and it would be fast converted into an ashram of limited activities. It would cease to represent the country. But such a thing will not happen. It may be possible for the Congress to win freedom through strict adherence to the principle of non-violence but it is a mere dream to suppose that all its members would become equally religious-minded and evolve such faith in the doctrine of Ahimsa and Universal Love. The only possible regulation in this affair would be to allow the members to have their own faiths but as members of the Congress and as representatives of the people of a nation, they should adhere to the principle of non-violence. Faith is a thing which belongs to the heart and heart is the last thing that will yield to the exigencies of time.

One has a right to try to inspire in others the same faith which has grown strong in his dear heart but others have got an equal right to refuse to follow it. Who does not love to be free in these matters?

VIII

The Congress should therefore lay more emphasis on the principles which its own collective mind should follow than on those which its individual members should assimilate. It should describe its own ideology in clear terms and organise the country on that basis. The cause of the failure of the Congress lies, not only in the ambiguity of its ideal but also in its defective organisation. As long as its organisation does not include the masses, as long as it fails to create a new haven, a brighter future in their hearts, so long it fails to conduct a mass movement. And the most inspired of its movements without the backing of the masses is bound to be a failure. Its bulletins should reach each village and its programme must be explained to the poorest amongst its members. Its ideals should become the object of worship in every nook and corner of India. Inspiring the country's heart towards an ideal life, it should begin in right earnest to build up the golden future. It can bring true success or true swaraj to the people only when it enables them to rule themselves. For this purpose it is not enough if it awakens in them political consciousness but it is social consciousness that must be evoked. They should come to know they are one society and that they can stand on their own legs. Unto this end the country must be educated first. If the Congress fails to do that, it cannot bring Swaraj.

The people of India are in great need of such a nationwide organisation through which they can think and act.

The Congress should bring into the march towards freedom all the members of the society which it claims to represent and place before them an ideal and a programme which their brains can understand and hearts would not refuse.

THE AGE OF MYSTIC POETRY IN PERSIA

By BANKEY BEHARI

[This is the second chapter from the author's forthcoming book entitled "Mysticism in Islam". The reader is advised to follow carefully this very interesting series of articles.]

From poesy I have raised a tower high,
Which neither wind nor rain can harm,
Over this work the years shall come and go,
And he that wisdom hath shall learn its charm.

(Firdausi on his Shahnama.)

The beginning of poetry in the Land of Avesta is lost in the mists of antiquity. However, ample testimony is forthcoming that the musical chord was struck in Ancient Iran, at any rate, earlier than 3000 B.C. In the engravings on the plates discovered in the ruins of Babylonia, Boscawen reads highly developed musical strains of a period admittedly before 2500 B.C. The Avesta, of which the date is uncertain, but which is generally accepted to belong to a period earlier than 1000 B.C., abounds with high class mystic poetry. In the accounts of a later period we notice that the people who accompanied Alexander in his train, observed the "Barbarians" (i.e., Persians) sing lucid poems and songs.

The earliest form of poetry that found expression in the ballads and constitutes the epics is principally heroic poetry. The reader does notice in these early poetic strains communings with the gods. These early bards, the repositories of the poetic literature, and the minstrels and the priests either invoked the goddesses or the martial spirit in men. It is at a much later period that the element of love was infused in

poesy, and side by side "with the voices of the theologian and the schoolmen" was heard "the lover's sigh and the nightingale's lament." With the dawn of this new era "the poet saw himself ushered into the fairyland, as if under a magic spell". Dreaming a dream

we watch him move in the enchanted land full of blooming roses
and singing birds and beauties fair beyond all telling and trans-
figuring things by his imagination and enveloping shadow with
radiant imagery.

The birth of love poetry, Daulatshah fixes in the time of Bahram Gaur, the great hunter (420 A.D.) and this view finds favour with scholars like Professor Browne and Professor Jackson. The cause was taken up by his successors, who continued their patronage to it. We notice after Bahram, King Khusru taking a keen interest in the subject. Daulatshah attributes to this king, a melancholy distich addressed by him to his beloved Shirin:

Ah beauteous one! upon this earth
happy for aye do live!
Since to the world by mere glance
such joyance thou dost give.

(Translation by Prof. Jackson).

The second stage in the development of poetry was the infusion of the mystic element in it. This lofty poetry is the result of the inquisitive soul to solve the mystery of creation. Here the lament of the lover for his beloved in human flesh gave place to a lament that soared higher into the ethereal regions, where God was the Beloved and the human soul the lover. This melancholy had a peculiar pessimistic strain and gilded in imagery it recited with pathos, the tale of reality that lay behind the passing shadows of the world.

The introduction of the element of mysticism in Persian poetry is attributed to Alghazali (born 1058 A.D.). It was this theologian, says Professor Browne,

who did more than anyone else to bring to an end the reign of Philosophy in Islam and set up in its stead a devotional mysticism is at once the highest expression and the dearest limitation of the orthodox Muhammadan doctrine.

Dr. T. J. De Boer supports the view when he says,

ever since his (Alghazali's) time mysticism both sustains and crowns the temple of learning in Islam.

How it came about is expressed by Ghazali himself:

For a thirst to comprehend the essences of all things, was from my earliest and the prime of my life, my characteristic idiosyncrasy, a natural gift of God, and a disposition which He had implanted in my nature by no choice or devising of my own, until there was loosed for me, the bond of confirmity, and my inherited beliefs were broken down when I was yet little more than a lad.

Sir Muhammad Iqbal speaking of the experiences and contributions of Ghazali says:

Ghazali finding no hope in analytic thought moved to mystic experience, and there found an independent content for religion. In this way he succeeded in securing for religion the right to exist independently of science and metaphysics. But the revelation of the total infinite in mystic experience convinced him of the finitude and inconclusiveness of thought and drove him to draw a line of cleavage between thought and intuition.

(Six Lectures on the Reconstruction of Islam—IQBAL, p. 7).

It cannot therefore be denied that it was Ghazali who was responsible for the introduction of the mystical element in "Persian" poetry—if by Persian we mean the script and language introduced in Persia following the Moslem domination in that country. It is true that this mystic element owed much to the Arabic literature. But to assign the mystical thought to be found in the book to it, would be a mistake. At times Alghazali borrowed from Avicenna, there can be no doubt about it. But the mysticism of Alghazali was nothing else but a record of his personal experiences and

thoughts. This prince among thinkers has very aptly been described in glowing terms by As-Sayuti:

Could there have been a Prophet after Muhammad, it would assuredly have been Alghazali.

In fact the truth would be nearer home if we were to say mysticism had been a part of his life. For it he had thrown away the shackles of a rich employment that brought him power and recognition apart from a princely income without much effort on his part. He donned the blanket and drank from the springs of mysticism. It is true that this experience although starting at an early period took definite shape at a late stage of his life, when he found the wells of philosophy, wherefrom he had drawn so long with effort, insipid and unsatiating. Maulana Shibli describes this aspect of Persian poetry in the lines following:

The predominant feature of the advent of Ghazali was the introduction of the mystic element in Persian poetry. Till then the main quality of poesy, the expression of genuine human emotions, was wanting in Persian literature. That poetry was therefore a sound that did not penetrate the heart. Of course 'Ghazals' were written from before, but their main object was to praise the patrons and never to make it a vehicle for the expression of the feelings that rose in man. When Imam Ghazali made Persian Poetry familiar with mystic thoughts, its literature soon absorbed them, and since then Persian poetry evolved into something that strangely interpreted the questionings of the heart and answered them.

Khwaja Farid-ud-din Attar (513 A.H.) was a pioneer in expressing mystical thoughts in simple language. The great Maulana Rum was responsible for giving the sparks of life to this newly born mystical child. Hafiz and Sadi followed in the wake and made this wine still strong to drink, and the mystic got so drunk as to forget his head and the head-dress thereon. This reaction in the Persian literature was the direct result of the introduction of the mystical element.

(Imam Ghazali—by Shibli, p. 125).

Dr. Ethe too puts the age of Persian mystic poetry in the 11th century. He, however, gives credit to a great extent to Abu Sayyad Bin Abil Khayr (b. 1049 A.D.). He describes him

- as the first master of the theosophic verse, the first to popularise the quatrain as a vehicle of religious, mystic and philosophic thought, and to make it the focus of all mystic pantheistic irradiations and the first to give to the presentations and forms of the
- Sufi doctrine, those fantastic and gorgeous hues which thenceforth remained typical of this kind of poetry.

The *ratio decidendi*, therefore, is that the balance of authority fixes the infusion of the mystic element in the Persian Poetry to a period about 1050 A.D. and gives the credit to Alghazali, as being the precursor and responsible for this introduction.

What led to this change in the outlook of Imam Ghazali and indirectly to such a rich contribution in Persian literature deserves a moment's pause. The attractions of the world and the joy of revelling in intellectual pursuits were suddenly sacrificed by this great thinker. Simple incidents have often changed the courses of the lives of many great people and that which led Ghazali to turn a Dervish and learn the practical knowledge of the mystic was but a simple affair. The Maulana was returning home from his University with a large number of rare manuscripts and the notes he had compiled after years' hard research. On his way home, he met a band of robbers who relieved him of his goods that he carried. The spoils that the robbers carried contained these valuable books and manuscripts. Ghazali was much grieved over the affair, and begged of the leader of the gang to part at least with his papers which were so valuable to him and were his life's work, while to him they would fetch no more than a

few pence. The robber gave them to him, but while doing so observed:

Oh traveller, how hast thou learnt thy book that thou art left ignorant if these have been taken away from thee.

Ghazali read the meaning behind the words and thenceforth started in search of the knowledge that did not require papers to be recorded upon, nor could be stolen away by thieves.

Ghazali lived at a period when learning was at its acme and Persia boasted of great Universities at Baghdad and Nishapur and other places, where daily harangues took place on religious and philosophical subjects. These discussions now lost all their charm for Ghazali who sought his solace in direct perception and actual experience. It is thus that he records the experiences of his life himself;

From my youth I was dissecting and critically examining things for myself. This naturally led me to break through the conventions and ideals that had been implanted in my younger days and possessed me. I argued within myself that all these ideas were as common to the Christian as to the Jew. True knowledge, I felt, however consisted in that which left no room for doubt. To illustrate my point, I said, I know that ten is more than three. If now a person would come to me and say, take it on my authority that you are wrong and three is greater than ten, because I can prove that by turning this stick into a snake. (Refers to the miracle performed by Moses); and were to perform that miracle before me, then I would say I am surprised at your powers, yet I am not convinced that three is greater than ten. I hold to my view.

(Alghazali by Shibli—My translation)

Philosophy and religion could not convince him, he says. He therefore first studied mysticism from books, but soon discovered that this knowledge could not be attained through books and had incidents of acquisition peculiar to itself. He therefore went in search of one who was initiated in the

mysteries of the Sufi's Path, and found him in Sheikh Abu Ali Farmidi. He took instructions from him, and carried on the mystic practices in a cell. He was soon convinced of the reality of those experiences. Following the ways of the mystics he started on holy pilgrimages. Reaching the tomb of Hazrat Ibrahim he decided that in future he will never attend the court of any king: he will never accept any present from any ruler and shall never take part in religious wrangles. This was in 491 A.H. and Ghazali at the time was slowly but vigorously imbibing the Sufi principles and translating them into practice. In 505 A.H. he died. It is recorded by authorities that on the day on which he died he got up early in the morning, and after prayers sent for his coffin. He then pressed it to his bosom and said, "With my heart and soul, My Master, I obey thy orders" laid himself on the ground and expired.

Ghazali has a large number of books on rhetoric, logic, philosophy and mysticism to his credit, both in the Arabic and the Persian languages. Of these the *Ahya-ul-Ulum*, an Arabic treatise is considered to be a standard work on ethics and morals. It admirably reconciles religion with practical life. Of this book, one of his reputed contemporaries Sheikh Abu Muhammad Karzuni once said, "you burn all the knowledge of the world and I promise you I shall revive them with the *Ahya-ul-Ulum*." Monseur Hatzig has made short comments on the various passages of this book. Other European writers have also made valuable contributions on the study of the other works of Ghazali. Those interested in the subject can refer with profit to the Literary History of Persia where Prof. Browne has devoted some space to this Master; and to the admirable work of Maulana Shibli on the subject. The latter is available in Urdu but some knowledge of Persian is necessary to derive full advantage from the treatise.

Imam Ghazali greatly influenced his contemporaries and successors. Maulana Shibli has made a comparative study of the poetical contributions of Ghazali and has compared the compositions of Umar Khayyam, Avicenna, Farabi with those of Ghazali. I quote some of the passages to show the influence that this master-mind exerted on these great authors. (The translation is mine).

The lines of Ghazali are:

O mine of Immortality, which is that immortality that in thee does not exist,
Thou cannot be confined to space, yet where is the place that is without Thee.
Thou who art above all personality and above all space,
After all where art Thou? and yet I know no place where Thou doth not exist.

Socrates had said "I know only this much that I know nothing". Farabi however expressed the same idea in the following lines:

The mystery of creation is yet a sealed chapter and unknown,
Like a pearl that is priceless I cannot pierce through it.
Whatever is said, is by way of guess,
The real mystery for ever remains dumb.

and Avicenna thus describes the same matter:

Although this heart wandered a lot in this wilderness, yet
It could learn not a jot after it had examined everything critically,
And thousand suns shone within to find it out,
Yet not a particle of the mystery was revealed.

Here again is a "*rubai*" (quintet) by Imam Ghazali; protesting against disclosing his love for the Lord before everybody, and advising its nourishing secretly and suffering silently:

I asked my heart, why art thou so restless?
And advised it to pray to the Divine Physician to cure it.
It replied "a physician has told me,

Put a thousand seals on thy lips if thou suffereth for love of the Lord."

This then is Ghazali, a mystic silently suffering for his Divine Beloved muttering not a word of protest. This was in fact the religion of the mystic which Ghazali had accepted with joy and advised others to follow his lead.

His eloquent interpretation of the Quran and the esoteric explanations of the traditions have won for Ghazali an enviable position for all times. It is true that the chord struck by Ghazali found better and staunch exponents in Rumi, Attar and Sanai, yet such critical expositions as this great thinker gave have created for him an unique position. While other mystics are more popular because their sayings and explanations are found mainly in their poetry, Ghazali's works are both in prose and poetry and are of equal merit. Later mystic poetry contributed largely to the spread of mystic doctrines, but the first scientific and logical explanations came from Ghazali, and hence the importance of his works cannot be deprecated and he cannot be denied the unique honour of having struck a new chord that has been taken up by the great singers of Iran, and contributed to the solace of so many strugglers on the thorny path that leads to the Beloved. Not with a blush, nor with a tear did he cross this Path, but gaily showing the torch to others that may follow. Well may he have had on his lips the words, which in a different clime were sung by a mystic:

Love! if thy destined sacrifice am I,
Come, slay thy victim, and prepare thy fires;
Plunged in thy depths of mercy let me die,
The death which every soul that lives desires.

—Madame Guyon

POLITICS AND PEDAGOGY

By DIP CHAND VARMA

[In this interesting article, Mr. Dip Chand Varma asserts that politics need a touch of pedagogy with a professor's partiality for the latter. It is for the politicians to state their views on the subject.]

The world to-day is passing through the phase of its development which the Historians have called the "Industrial" stage in the growth of human civilization. Undoubtedly we are living in an unprecedented age—the age which crowns our achievements in the evolution of the human race. None of the earlier civilizations recorded in history ever developed to the pitch now achieved by the modern era. Humanity is on march and the goal lies still untraced, still shrouded in the mysterious bosom of future. Speaking teleologically, the goal ahead us must be a glorious one—the culmination in the struggle of Man versus Nature, symbolising the triumph of the former over the latter.

With this ready made hypothesis and standing on the scholastic ground of Hegelism, Karl Marx proceeded with his economic interpretation of History and explained all the antecedents to the modern era as mere rehearsals leading to the Proletariat Revolution. Other "isms" have cropped up, some merely different versions of Marxism, others with slight differences, but all with the common *apriori* method, explaining the past with the present and forecasting the future on the strength of the present.

Modern problems are political or rather economic and their solutions lie in adjusting the politico-economic machi-

nery with the increasing needs of society. Political power is the key that opens all social locks, it is the lever that moves this whole leviathan of society. Our conceptions of political power have changed with time, and now it is possible to see reflected there in the contributions made by History, Economics, Jurisprudence, Biology and presently Psychology. One science—and that the greatest—still remains with its connection untraced to the political ideology. That is the science—or may be the art—of Pedagogy.

As a matter of fact Politics has always been the handmaid of Pedagogy. Theoretically however that claim has still to be asserted and made good.

The sophists who taught novel things and Socrates who opposed the sophists were all great educationists. It is quite easy to understand the great connection that subsisted between educational theories and political practices in the then world of Greece. The teachings of Socrates were taken up and popularised by Plato and Xenophon, both disciples of Socrates, and by Aristotle, in a way the disciple of Plato.

In his immortal work "THE REPUBLIC", Plato envisaged an ideal polity based upon an ideal system of education. The Sophists pretended to be great educationists as well as politicians but not being the former they could not be the latter and Plato has much ridiculed them for their pretensions. Politics could not be the work of an amateur. Being the highest art it needed the greatest experts. Hence Plato's emphasis on the training of the youth, hence his reiteration on the philosopher-king. Aristotle retaining the substance of Plato's teaching, established a relation between ethics and politics and agreed that an expert was needed to steer the state ship.

During the mediaeval times, the church represented the ethical or educational influence upon politics. Christianity

served like a Noah's ark in which civilization has travelled to modern times.

With the coming of the Renaissance and the Reformation, the modern state rose to its full majestic height. By way of reaction it rejected all for which the mediaeval system stood. It drew inspiration direct from ancient Greece and reshuffled Athenian trappings to befit the new structure. Secularism—the antithesis of mediaeval religionism, became the slogan with which the new order was heralded. Platonic influence was however restored by the writings of Rousseau during the 18th century who founded his political speculations on his educational theories, discussed in his two respective works, "The Social Contract" and "The Emile". Rousseau also sounded the first note of dissent against the national state for his mind ran whole-heartedly to the ancient city-state. Needless to say that his writings had a tremendous influence upon contemporary Politics and led to the French Revolution.

Rousseau's teachings were *en masse* adopted by the German idealists—Kant, Hegel, Fichte and others. Most of these thinkers were great educationists and their share in the making of modern Germany has been very substantial. Hegel borrowed from Plato as well as Rousseau and recast the whole theory to sponsor the cause of German nationalism—which now under Hitler's Nazism is a baffling challenge to present-day Europe.

The German idealists were followed by the English thinkers of the same school—Green, Bradley and Bosanquet. The English idealists, like the German ones, were famous educationists, and their influence upon the development of modern political thought has been immense.

In present-day Russia, Tolstoy anticipated and preached most of the doctrines now turned to practical politics by the successors of Lenin. Tolstoy the philosopher preceded Lenin

the man of action except the class violence which the latter borrowed from Marx. In France, Romain Rolland—a great thinker and a man of letters, has inspired the French people with a new political ideology. Gandhi in India has combined the roles of a man of thought and a man of action and along with the poet Tagore has brought about a new consciousness in the down-trodden people of this country.

But in spite of the contribution of such eminent thinkers and educationists the immediate and fundamental connection between Politics and Pedagogy still remains unrealised. Plato's teaching that philosophers should be kings and kings philosophers is flatly contradicted by modern politicians.

Take for instance the important names that occupy the head lines of newspapers every morning. Stalin in Russia, Mussolini in Italy, Churchill in England, Kemal in Turkey, Hitler in Germany—are these the great ideals which the divine Plato placed before the youth in his great work? Politics, the noblest art, ought to have been entrusted to the most cultured and cultivated minds. The average politician is often a bully rising to power by no means wholly creditable.

Politics has in fact no place for a really refined and cultured mind. Even as these lines are being written, Trotsky, the real inspirer of the Russian Revolution, the greatest man of thought in Russia and second only to Lenin as a man of action, that scholarly mind is now passing his precious life as an itinerant journalist while a second-rate philistine, a man of few ideas and no imagination, holds the highest place in the state. Need you then worry, why men of thought are not at the same time men of power, who can do good to humanity with their gifted faculties.

Everywhere it is the mediocre, sometimes even a dullard that has out-stripped the man of genius. Because politics

requires something to which a man of culture can never stoop, he leaves the way clear for the aggressors and conspirators and himself retires to some less exacting field. He does make his mite to human progress often leaving abiding contribution as a teacher, a lawyer or a journalist but he would have given more to the world as a politician.

This is the great task which modern education has before it—the task of clearing the political amphitheatre from its corruptions and degradations which allow often unscrupulous people to thrive, driving the conscientious ones to the corner.

Public opinion that chooses politicians has first to be educated. Politics has been so vulgarised that it frightens a really polished man just as a red flag frightens a bull. The only hope of a better political future lies in “educating our masters” as a great thinker remarked long ago.

I do not mean that intellectual fitness is the only thing that we should look for in a politician. This is only one qualification but it is so essential that without it nothing else will do. Other things are just as urgent. A habit of self-sacrifice, painstaking, the spirit of public-service—all these are indispensable in a public worker.

Politics would certainly serve a far more successful purpose if the influence of pedagogy were brought to improve the general tone of public life on the lines above suggested. This can only be done if from the very beginning the would-be-citizens are made to understand the true meaning of citizenship and their responsibilities with regard to the same. Students in schools, colleges, and universities, should be made to feel that they are the part and parcel of the great human society and the burden of making things better lies exclusively on their shoulders. They should not lead lives of nuns and monks, detached and unconcerned with the social drama staged before them. The only hope of mankind lies there-

fore in producing a better generation of citizens fully equipped to face the intricate problems of modern life. Then alone it would be possible to settle matters dispassionately and calmly, with an altruistic spirit animating our thought and action.

Our only concern should be the future progress and happiness of mankind. This can be really possible when the fundamental relation between education and politics is fully grasped as enunciated long ago by the great Plato and brought to bear upon modern problems.

TAGORE AS A BALLAD-WRITER

By KALIPADA MUKHERJEE

[In the following pages, Mr. Mukherjee refers to some more ballads of Dr. Tagore and gives his estimate of the Poet as a writer of ballads.]

As many as eight ballads as previously enumerated, in a collection of twenty-four, have come from Buddhist sources. These are as beautiful as any poet of power could make them. The collection itself begins with a ballad drawn from the *Abadanshatak*. It tells us how one day one of the chief disciples of the Buddha, Anathpindatha, went out begging alms for his master, through the streets of Srabastipur. The King came out to give alms, all citizens, all merchants and merchant-princes, rich ladies and young women,—but their doles of diamonds and gold were declined with thanks by the disciple. Nobody could give him such alms as would be to his liking. All return with melancholy; and the disciple goes shouting out of the city streets, "O citizens, know ye that Lord Buddha is the chief of beggars; ye are to give him with due regard only the chief treasure possessed by ye." But all return with heads bowed down with shame. The saintly disciple went on to the outskirts of the city, entered into a forest begging alms as before, when a poor woman lying on bare ground bowed down at his feet, and remaining somehow hidden behind the forest-trees, put off the only cloth she had on, and threw it on the way of Anathpindatha who said, "Glory to thee Mother, thou hast in an instant satisfied the yearning for alms of my begging master." Then, he proceeded with great joy to place the sacred cloth at the feet of

his august Lord.

The next ballad is 'Mastak-bikraya' or 'The Selling of the Head' which is from the Mahasatwabadan. The ballad deals with the story of how a King of Kosala was famous throughout the length and breadth of India for his manifold virtues. The neighbouring King of Kasi (modern Benares) was smitten with jealousy; so much so, that he went to war with him and defeated him with the result that the defeated King of Kosala renounced the world and retired to the forest. Yet, the subjects of the King of Kasi bewailed universally the lot of the King of Kosala. And he, to put an end to everything, set a large price on the head of the King of Kosala. While in the forest, the King of Kosala who had heard everything, came across a poor man who said that he was going to the King of Kosala as he had heard his great name for charity ringing throughout the land. The King sighed: and took him to the King of Kasi so that his poverty might be removed for ever.

He gained in his guise audience, declared that he was the defeated King of Kosala and said, "Your Majesty, be pleased to grant to this beggar the price which you have set on my head." At this all shuddered; the King surprised beyond measure and clothed with shame said, "O great King, do you mean to conquer me in your death? But, I will conquer you to-day. I will not only give you back your kingdom but my heart with it." The King of Kasi set his rival on his own throne and placed a crown on his head amidst the loud shouts and applause of all.

"The Votaress" deals with another Buddhist story that of Srimati, the chamber-maid of King Ajatsatru. It has historical setting, it deals with the days of Bimbisar and Ajatsatru, Kings of Magadha. Bimbisar who had his capital at Rajagriha (modern Rajgir), reigned from 537 to 485 B.C. When the Buddha came to him he embraced Buddhism. But he was murdered by his son Ajatsatru, who after usurping

the throne of his father, tried to exterminate Buddhism from his kingdom. The ballad shows us how, during the first year of his reign, his chamber-maid, in defiance of all royal ordinances, dared out to light lamps at the stupa erected to the Buddha, when no princess, not the Queen even, dared to accompany her; and thus gave up her life, all undaunted, for the sake of her religion. The ballad shows the wonderful spirit of self-sacrifice and veneration for religion which permeated the soul of even a maid-servant.

'Parisodh' or 'Repayment' deals with the story of a merchant Bajrasen who had come to sell his horses at Kasi (Benares), but was returning home destitute and forlorn, as he had lost his all at the hands of dacoits. At that time, a theft had been committed at the royal treasury and the guards took him captive on suspicion and bound him hand and foot. But he captivated the chief beauty of the city Shyama who was sitting at the time at the window of her house and looking at the concourse of people passing along the streets. The city guard readily took him to Shyama on being asked to do so, and she complimented him on his great beauty and asked the guard if he could release him on her paying him all her possessions. But the guard could not consent. The infatuation of Shyama went to the length of making her ask one of her disappointed lovers to lay down his life for her sake, in place of the merchant. This he was too glad to do. When Bajrasen knew everything, his heart broke, and in great repugnance, he left the beauty, who took a last farewell, and like a dream vanished into the darkness which pervaded the banks of the river where her lover stood.

Three other ballads, 'Samanya Kshati' (A Little Harm), 'Mulyaprapti' (The Receipt of Value), and 'Nagar Lakshmi' (The Presiding Goddess of the City) are from Buddhist sources. The poet in these recognises suffering as a great

purifying element in human life. The first one is about a Queen of Kasi who, going to bathe in the Baruna with her companions and maids, set fire to, and burnt the few cottages which stood on the river, but which had been deserted by their inhabitants as the Queen herself was coming to bathe. Such oppressiveness of his Queen infuriated the King and he ordered her to leave the palace and go begging till she could raise another hamlet on the Baruna. 'Mulyaprapti' deals with a story of how Sudas the gardener went to sell the only lotus at the city, and sat at the palace-gate when a merchant prince offered to purchase it for a 'masha' of gold, to place it at the foot of the Buddha who had come to the city. King Prasenjit who also could get no flower, vied with the merchant in settling the price of the lotus, thus raising its value beyond the wildest dreams of the gardener who wondered and thought how great must be the Lord for whom they were purchasing a flower at such a high price. He refused to sell it to any; and ran forthwith to the Buddha and placed it at his lotus feet. The Buddha asked him, "What do you want my child?" "Nothing, my Lord," said Sudas, "but only a grain of sand from beneath thy feet." 'Nagar Lakshmi' deals with the story of a great famine that was ravaging Shrabastipur. Nobody dared to undertake the charge of mitigating the sufferings of the famine-stricken people, while the eyes of the Buddha, full of tender mercy, looked on the helpless city. No rich man could take the responsibility as desired by the Lord; all remained silent; but, Supriya the daughter of Anathpindatha, with tears in her eyes, broke the silence and said, "Lord, I bow my head to thy behest, though I am one of the most insignificant of thy disciples." All wondered; but she said,

I am poor; and it is therefore that I can expect the kindness of all of you. The store from which I shall sustain the earth is in the houses of you all.

One of the most beautiful ballads in the whole collection has come from Buddhist sources. It has been named 'Abhisar' or 'The Tryst'. It is so beautiful in its artistry that I can not but compare it with The Lady of Shalott of Lord Tennyson. I think that its metre may have been suggested by that of the latter poem:

Willows whiten, aspens quiver,
Little breezes dusk and shiver
Through the wave that runs for ever
By the island in the river
Flowing down the Camelot.
Four gray walls, and four gray towers,
Overlook a space of flowers,
And the silent isle embowers
The Lady of Shalott.

The ballad takes us to a rainy night of the Bengali month of Shrabon, when Basabadatta, dressed in blue and in jewels, goes forth to keep tryst out of the city of Mathura (Muttra). At midnight, Upagupta the Sannyasi was lying asleep under the walls of the city. The feet of Basabadatta touched his body and awakened him. She stopped short to see the youthful appearance of the Sannyasi with the light of her lamp. She begged to be forgiven, and requested him to go with her to her house, as that hard ground was ill-fitted for so soft and graceful a body. Upagupta said, "Go to your destination to-night. It is not yet time for me to go with you. But a time will come when of my own accord I will go with you."

Then comes a scene of an odorous spring evening tuneful with the sound of a distant lute. The Sannyasi in glad surmise thinks whether that was his long-awaited trysting night and goes out of the city and stops out of the trenches where before his feet lay the diseased body of a woman. He took up on his lap the benumbed head of the woman, poured out water on her parched lips,

recited hymns on her head and besmeared her body with white sandal paste. Cuckoos cooed, blossoms showered down, and 'the night was beside herself with moonlight'. The woman said, "Who art thou O merciful?" Upagupta said, "This is the night of which I said to you on our first meeting; and I am come Basabadatta."

This is probably the most artistic of all the ballads. It has a beauty and moral grandeur, all its own. The pure in heart wait for moments like that shown above, when they can act as purifying elements in the life of the sinful. The once adored beautiful darling of society after years of vice is ultimately thrust away from the world. The fallen beauty then goes through a period of mental and physical suffering, becomes the woman-penitent to attain salvation through the grace of the hermit. It is, as if, after the darkest of nights, the light of God breaks forth as the morning.

Ballads having their sources in Sikh history are 'Prarthanatitadan,' 'Bandibeer,' 'Guru Govinda,' and 'Sesh Siksha'.¹

¹ The story of the ballad 'Sesh Siksha' (The last Lesson) is like this: Guru Govinda highly provoked by insults, killed a Pathan horse-dealer whom he had to pay but whom he asked to wait for a day for payment. After this the Sikh Guru became repentant: nothing could give him peace of mind; he resolved on amendment of life. He took upon himself the tasks of training and bringing up the son left by the Pathan. When the boy grew up, once he took him to a secluded place, told him of the incident that had led to the death of his father, and asked the son to avenge the father. In an instant the Pathan youth grew restless; but the next moment he fell down at the feet of the man whom he had so long regarded as his father and preceptor. But the Sikh Guru remained on the look out for further opportunities, and the time when the Pathan could be incited to wreak vengeance. So once at a game of chess, Guru Govinda suddenly struck the Pathan with a piece, and reminded him of the blood of his father. On the spur of the moment, the youth grew furious, and plunged his knife into the bosom of Guru Govinda. Thus died the Sikh Guru, with peace in mind; and blessed the act of vengeance of Mahmud the Pathan youth.

The following press report on the ballad dated Lahore, February 18, is interesting;—

The poem was based on what Dr. Tagore believed to be the true historical version of the incident in the life of Guru Govinda Singh, the tenth and last Sikh Guru, and was written forty years ago. But some

The last two deal with episodes in the life of Guru Govinda and are full of fire and spirit; and the first one deals with Toru Singha. Bandi Beer (The Captive Hero) is very powerful; and deals with the defiance hurled by the Sikh hero Banda at the Mogul Emperor. He, with terrible barbarity, avenged the wrongs done to Guru Govinda, overran the whole tract between Lahore and Delhi, defeated the Governor of Sirhind, until Bahadur Shah proceeded against him and drove him to the hills. Again during the days of Farok Shih, Banda came out of his retreat, and ravaged and plundered Mogul territory. But at the fort of Gurudaspur, Banda was finally defeated by the imperial troops, taken prisoner and sent to Delhi, with over seven hundred of his followers. The ballad deals in some detail with what followed.

They were beheaded on seven successive days disdaining every offer to save their lives by giving up their religion; their chief being reserved for a more cruel death. The heads of his followers were placed around him.

He had to kill his own child in his arms; and he was at last torn to pieces with hot pincers, dying with unshaken constancy, and glorying to the last on the sacredness of his mission².

time after the reproduction of the poem in a Punjabi paper there was furious agitation against the poem and its writer among the Sikhs all over India and demands were made in meetings and Gurudwaras for an apology by Dr. Tagore and recalling of the poem and governmental action was also urged. The following statement on behalf of Dr. Tagore was published through the Akali Patrika, the Sikh organ:—"I am told that the story of the death of Guru Govinda as related in the history of the Sikhs by Cunningham and other English writers of the 19th century is not true. But even in that story I was deeply struck by the noble sentiment of making expiation with his own life for a mistake of a moment and inspired by this feeling I wrote the poem more than 40 years ago. I am sorry if the whole basis of the story is wrong and I cannot be held responsible for it, if it has wounded the feeling of my Sikh brethren for nothing could be further from my mind".

² A Brief History of India—R. C. Dutt.

It remains to be added that in only one of his ballads in 'Sparshamani'³ (Philosopher's Stone) Rabindranath deals with a purely Bengali theme. Readers of Prof. Thompson's 'Rabindranath Tagore' have read, "The race (the Bengali race) has no great traditions, and when it would talk of history must adopt those of other Indian races." But, he added in a foot-note, "It is discovering them now." The truth is that the Bengali race yields to none in the world in the past as well as in the present in heroism displayed whether on the battlefield, or for their religion and country. These traditions date from at least the time of Vijay Sinha, who conquered and colonized Ceylon contemporaneously with the Buddha who lived as early as the 6th century B.C.

The ruin of Tamluk as a seat of maritime commerce affords an explanation of how Bengali ceased to be a sea-going people. In the Buddhist era they sent warlike fleets to the east and the west and colonised the islands of the archipelago⁴.

Without proceeding further, I shall deal with two ballads 'Swamilabh' and 'Sparshamani' both of which have been taken from the book of saints 'Bhaktamal' or 'The Garland of Saints' a Hindi book by Navoji, translated into Gouriya bakya (Bengali), according to some, by Krishnadas, while according to others, by Laldas.

In the first, Tulasidas, the celebrated saint, advises a young widow not to lay down her life on the funeral pyre of her husband. He asks her to return home, for, he said, he would help her to regain her lord. The woman returns, is initiated by Tulasidas with sacred rituals. Then after a month she said she could meet her husband always in her inmost heart.

³ This is very popular: it has almost always been included in Bengali text-books used in our schools.

⁴ W. W. Hunter's "Orissa."

No less beautiful is the second ballad which deals with the spiritual regeneration of Jiban a Brahman of Mankar in Burdwan, who, as ordained in a dream by the god Siva, went to Sanatan Goswami of Brindaban to learn from him the clue to untold wealth. Sanatan hardly remembered that he had hidden in the sand on the Jumna a philosopher's stone in view of its proving useful to some one in future. He told him of it, and Jiban, when he touched anything with it, was astounded to find that it had the virtue of turning everything into gold. He lost himself in thought for a while and then said, "Give me a portion of that wealth which has made you regardless of such untold treasure." And, he threw away the stone into the waters of the fast-flowing river.

Before we conclude, we should take note of the fact that the ballad has probably been the first form of poetry among the nations of the world and that even the earliest epics like the Homeric epics, the Spanish Cid and the German Nibelungen grew out of the earliest ballad poetry. Such ancient ballads are even now extant in some literatures, and even in Bengali we find that ballads of supreme literary interest existed in the country, some of which have now been unearthed and published as "Maimansinha Geetika" or "Eastern Bengal Ballads—Mymensingh," by the reputed Bengali scholar, Dr. D. C. Sen. These ballads are quite unique in their character and are of absorbing interest to the philologist and the historian alike as these give an insight into the inner thoughts and feelings of the village folk of Bengal.

The above are of the class of natural ballads to which belong the Alha ballads of the Rajputs and the Marathi ballads translated into English in Acworth's book of Marathi ballads. In English also there are many such. But the artificial development of the ballad was due primarily to the Germans by whom the artificial form has been most

cultivated. Bürger, a German, has thus been reputed to be the maker of the modern ballad.

To this class of the artificial ballad belong the ballads of Tagore. He, I venture to suppose, is acquainted with English and Scotch ballad poetry; the Rajput and the Marathi ballads he studied in translations, and he imbibed their spirit. He, however, does not use the popular English ballad form which is as follows,—

Art thou asleep, Matilda dear?
Awake, my love, awake;
Thy luckless lover on thee calls,
A long farewell to take.

He may have been guided in the construction of his forms by Tennyson, Macaulay and Scott probably⁵. All of the twenty-four ballads in his book have different metres of their own; and this testifies to the high metrical ingenuity of the poet. The stories of his ballads he all got from the books mentioned already; but like Bürger, he gave each original story a wider extent, embellished some of his narratives with fine descriptions of scenery and other literary ornaments; and to most, by means of dialogue, he imparted the liveliness of the drama.

The influence of Tagore as a ballad-writer has been very great. These ballads of Tagore, though belonging to the artificial class, have become very popular in Bengal, and have become classical in our language. With some these are of more value than many of his other books of poems; and it requires no argument to prove their influence over the thoughts and feelings of some classes of his readers. It was a ballad, sung by the 'blinde crowder', who 'with no rougher voice than rude style' stirred the great heart of Sidney,

⁵ Tagore could adopt some forms quoted in Tod's Annals, but he did not use any.

'more than with a trumpet'. Moreover, as in British ballads the moral character of the Great Britain, even so in these ballads of Tagore, the primarily moral character of our people, their great mercifulness, their gallantry, their heroism, their noble self-denial and self-sacrifice and their great love of country are all enshrined as in a book of gold. We already see signs that these songs of virtue and justice, of the beauty which is above the senses, and of love which is whiter far than the snow that is on the top of great mountains, will in all ages to come be among the chief darlings of the people of Bengal.

POEMS

"SO HA MASMI"

By V. N. BHUSHAN

My pilgrimage shall be a scented flame on earth
To kindle the beacon-fires of Goodness, Beauty and
Truth—

My deeds and dreams like a passion-pulsed song
Shall echo through the corridors of Time for long!

Insulated from faults and fetters, and snares and sins,
And the terrene meshes that drag man to dismal depths,
My love-fringed life shall be a symbol of immensity,
A trophy of triumphal light and a lyre of liberty.

My life shall never be as barren as death,
But full with the hues and harmonies of morning breath,
A sanguine-hearted venture into higher spheres
To reap a harvest of stars in heaven's meadows!

Burns through me the inextinguishable fire of faith,
Faith in myself and my star-impelled destiny—
And in me is the essence of the heritage of all mankind,
The unheard melody, the hidden beauty and the burn-
ing hope!

My sun-kissed spirit is stronger far than my flesh,
O, no slave am I to the sense's leaden clutch—
My soul leaps like wonder into wide unhorizoned skies,
And my body is a proscenium for deathless delight!

O, I shall a shaper be of my times and tendencies,
Of darling dreams and daring deeds—
And, may be, alone but undaunted I shall the charioteer
be
Of the Juggernaut car of vital spirit and vernal song!

THE TEAR DROP

By SHRIMATI MAHADEVI VERMA

[Shrimati Verma, Principal of Prayag Mahila Vidyapith, is
recognised as the premier Hindi mystic poetess. Here is a poem
of her own translated by herself.]

Dear, the impatient tears of my eyes flow on for ever,
now limpid with sorrow, nor turbid with pleasure, but always
adrift with a myriad bubbles like idle dreams.

They soften and saturate the unfooted ruggedness of
Life's cruel way with their depth of current, and slake the
agelong thirst of sultry banks.

In the waters of my tears takes root a dream-white lotus,
soft like dew and shy like a young bride. A soul agony
hovers upon it like a cloud of incense.

No mud taints its virginal purity; not a liquid drop
lingers within its chalice, nor do the *brahamara*—clouds
awaken it with song.

Let, O dearest, the dew of thy love steal into its bosom.
Let it bloom in the lustrous wooing of thy glances with the
caress of thy breath like breezes upon it.

TO SEE MY FRIEND

(1)

Often I like to think and long that I
 Could be a bird with fine wings in the sky
 To see my friend rapidly I may fly.

(2)

Whatever way the gentle breeze may blow
 Could it grant me swiftly its speed to go
 Into the home of my darling I knew?

(3)

The whirling rays of early morning gay
 Can I follow with a wish to convey—
 Until at last I kiss my friend to-day?

—VAMAN H. PANDIT

THE YOUNG BUTTERFLY

Translated from the original Hindi Poem

This young charming butterfly—an artistically painted
 damsel—is roaming about in the garden making merry with
 the flowers.

Pointing out the paths to the city of elegance, she puts
 a stop to our cravings, fills our eyes with tears and rains the
 nectar of delight.

Being maddened by the drougths of honey and wholly
 immersed in playful dance she makes mad the lookers-on
 drowning them deep in the sea of fresh mirth.

She mutely sings sweet songs and offers pleasure to the
 waiting hearts. In exchange the spring bestows the wine of
 flowers!

—CHANDRA BHANU SINGH

The Twentieth Century Library

EXPERIMENTS IN THE THEATRE

By T. RAGHAVA

The Theatre. By Theodore Komisarjevsky. (Twentieth
 Century Library) John Lane The Bodley Head Limited.
 Vigo Street London W1. Price 3s. 6d. net.

Mr. Theodore Komisarjevsky's "Theatre" is a very interesting book. It leads a true artist to awaken to the magnitude of his soul-force; to realize how Art alone can make the soul sing and attune itself to harmonize with the blissful music of the Infinite. The author has given a copious and illustrative analysis of the development of Art in Europe from the sixteenth century; though the chronological arrangement of the history may be improved. In dealing with the progress of the Theatre in the several countries of Europe, the author has not succeeded in avoiding repetitions. However his success and masterly touch lie in his having dwelt upon the subjective value of the Histrionic Art. I wish the author had made a more serious study of the Philosophy of the Indian Art, when his exposition of the "subjective value of the Histrionic Art" would have been sublime. I am tempted to make this remark as the author's brief, one page, reference to Indian dramatists like Kalidas; his reference to Mahatma Gandhi whom he calls an Indian Revolutionary; and his grasp of the differences between the European and Indian principles of progress, make me believe that he could easily realize the transcendental achievements of Indian Art. Indian Art is founded on the Indian Philosopher's realization that Life should always *give* more than it *takes*; and the aspiration of the Indian Artist is self-discovery and self-effacement. The

Russian author has certainly sensed this truth. When I had the rare privilege of obtaining an interview with the great G. B. S. (George Bernard Shaw) I casually mentioned to him about the subjective value of acting. He smiled at me in his queer way and said that most of the actors (of name and fame) acted for £s.d. and would not know anything about the subjective value of Art.

Mr. T. K's book clearly discovers the fundamental basic principle of the Dramatic Art and brings into light the inseparable connection between Dramatic Art and the glory of Life.

Sometime ago I read a short account of an interview between a famous actor John Barrymore and a reporter. When asked if he loved acting, the famous actor is reported to have scowled and exclaimed "Acting. Hell! No. I am a fisherman". Perhaps it was meant to be a joke. Mr. T. K. if he was asked the same question would probably say "Acting! it is "Life" my boy and the Guide to Life."

The author starts by saying:

It is absurd to assert as some do that the art of the Theatre is a purely aesthetic function and has nothing to do with propaganda either moral, religious or political. The Theatre has everything to do with all that concerns the life of mankind, whether rational or irrational. It is the spiritual and the ideological content of the performances which matter most to the artist and not its incidental side.

As thought and feeling are the most important things in the creation of his work of Art, the form or how the work is done is of much greater significance and interest to the man who understands the Art, than the mere material which the artist has used. It is wrong to disregard the form and primarily consider the story, the rationalistic psychology and the obvious characteristics of the people in a play. This would form the enjoyment of a very inferior form of Art.

I entirely agree with the author. The purpose of Drama

is grossly misunderstood by many. To consider the Drama as a mere piece of entertainment is wrong. To place it in the "History Shelf" is worse still. Between the wooden-headed Pundit and the light-headed Philistine, the Theatre is placed in an unwholesome and non-creative corner. The real Theatre should be erected in a central place of Life's-Glorious Maidan. It should be given a more prominent place than the school or the temple and all facilities provided for the Theatre to illuminate Life's Glories. The author quotes the French Historian Nichelet who defines:—

Theatre is the place where people understand *themselves* and try to share their griefs and joys with others; where they are *people* as a *people* and not as a crowd of solitary entities.

Compare this with an Indian definition of a Theatre.

A Rangasthala to him is a Dhyana Mandira. Ordinarily, for a Dhyana, a secluded spot, a bath, a silence and clean clothes are necessary. For the Dhyana of the Artist on the stage much more help is necessary. In fact the help of the entire Bevy of the Goddesses of Fine Arts is essential. The reason is that the Artist's Dhyana is not confined to himself. It is the Dhyana of a big joint family of seekers after truth consisting of the actors as well as audience. It is a congregational dhyana and the congregation is composed of the high and the low, the lettered and the unlettered, the cultured and the uncultured, the ignorant as well as the knowing.

The author gives a vivid description of the Classic Theatre that existed before the great David Garick, who he says should be considered as the First Actor in Tragedy who tried to impersonate human individuals and treat them characteristically. The classic school of acting may be described as the purely conventional and orthodox style of acting which is even now, so much appreciated on the South Indian Stage. The difference between the Classic School and the Romantic School, its successor, is so vividly described by the

author in the following story:

In fact when a certain French Actor actually ran across the stage to save her son from death instead of approaching him as was the custom with all the majesty of a Roman Empress, it created a sensation. She was a great actor. However, it is unfortunate to notice that as applied to actors the word "great" has become synonymous and trivial absurdity. Nearly all Cinema Stars, and stage actors and actresses without any artistic justification are labelled as great actors now-a-days.

According to the author the classic actor could not express his emotion in his face. The author has given us a well-defined summary of the ideals of the classic and romantic school. He says that classicism took its stand on decoration, gestures and recitation, whereas Romanticism took its origin in freedom and simplicity prompted by a natural feeling. Students of History who have watched the progress of political conditions in Europe during the 17th and 18th centuries will be astonished at the similarity of the same changes on the stage and in the Theatre. That is the author's master-stroke. He has given us a clear insight into the inter-dependence of Politics, Art and even Religion during progress of society. Then when he comes to deal with the condition of the stage during the 19th century, his utterances are remarkable. He cries out against the divorce between the stage and idealism.

Idealism began to desert the stage during the 19th century through the pseudo-romantic when society plays and entertaining comedies crept on to the stage. They were detached from any problems of spiritual life. Liberalism and anarchism gave birth to the anarchistic romanticism on the stage of the 19th century. Stress was laid on the performances of single individuals to the detriment of the whole. Gradually democratic socialism founded on materialistic ideas took the place of liberalism and socialistic ideas, aiming at the levelling of individuals and a new form of anarchy appeared on the stage. There was a distinct disinclination to be subordinated to the "ensemble." Plays of holiness, heroism

and actions influenced by no material motives, were derided. The socialistic democratic levelling of people resulted in the degeneration of individuals of those valuable specimens of humanity who alone led the art; and in the debasement of humanity. A communal management either of a theatre or of a country is never a good one. The interpretation of a play on the stage is the collective work of individuals.

The degeneration of the romantic school, by the wave of commercialism is so pathetically described by the author. The picture drawn by the author is absolutely like the picture of the present-day South Indian Theatre. He says:

After some time, there was degeneration; and the average actor lacking talent, temperament and intelligence slipped down into pseudo-romantic acting. He simply let himself go in a part. Effective entrances or exits became essential for him. The degeneration was hastened and accentuated in the thirties of the 19th century, when theatres became commercialised as a result of the new Kuckster like outlook on things in general. Profits became the motto of all the theatres. Even the critics degenerated. Their main ambition was to create a name for some; to make money by building up or annihilating stage reputation of actors or by intimidating them and above all to entertain their readers at any price. To win over the critics, invitations to meals, promises of ready money, gifts, bribes were some of the means employed. Necessarily actors become megalomaniacs. "Claques" were employed. These stage actors found it beneath their dignity to act merely for the sake of a play. They wanted to show themselves off on the stage. It was a case of self-exhibitionism. They followed the Star system. This contributed powerfully to the decadence of the stage in the 19th century. One other source of decadence was the so-called society plays which were exclusively written to pander to the tastes of the middle classes. They did not represent tragedies of private lives in an idealistic aspect, but they concerned themselves in their plays with a few momentary problems of domestic and social life, and with reckless phraseology. To them the stage was neither a national mission, nor a social mission nor a human mission.

The author describes the next period when out of the undesirable conditions above mentioned glimpses of the Naturalistic movement began to flash:

When the naturalistic era dawned, a creative actor began to realise that an actor's work consisted in interpreting the play by means of imagination and not only by repeating the play-wright's words and going through his situations in such a way as merely to exhibit his own personality and mannerism. This movement tried to give even music its proper place on the stage. Music is essential in the real drama as well as in the opera. Only it is within the theatrical art emphasis is laid on the spoken dialogue; and in the other the emphasis is laid on the song. The other emphasis on the value of words in the drama; produced the theatre of literature and the other emphasis of the value of pure music resulted in a concert.

Have we reached this stage in India? I hope I see a faint silver lining trying to extricate itself and appear above the dark clouds.

To proceed further the author informs us how during the Naturalistic Movement a striving for Historical accuracy drew a line of red-herring across and attempted to distort the progressive march. The craving for a true reflection of Life and History overlooked the necessity for artistic formality on the stage. The staunch advocates of the so-called historic and intensely realistic school, forgot that people and things cannot appear real on the stage unless they formed an artistic fictional unity. We are reminded of the attitude taken up by some of the present-day critics of the South Indian Stage who are obsessed with historical accuracy and an absurd demand for intense realism, without even realising the importance of the artistic and imaginative elements of the Art. Mr. T. K. then goes on to explain how the political and social conditions of a country are inseparably connected with its theatrical development. He describes graphically

the part played by ideas of Liberalism and Socialism in shaping the European Theatre in the beginning of the 19th century. An Indian is reminded of the birth of the great Indian National Congress in the Eighties and the birth of the Social Reform Movement in India about the same time with the genesis of the so-called modern Indian stage in South India.

When the author describes the origin and growth of the Moscow Art Theatre, he defines good acting and says that good actors can act sincerely and imbued in themselves the characters in them, when they use their imagination which includes the work of the conscious as well as the sub-conscious mind *the latter being very important in the work*. I have italicised the words as indicating the author's realization of the sublime part played by the Histrionic Art in Life's progress. There is a call for acting which is enshrined in the great depths of the human sub-conscious mind, which must grow stronger day by day till the words of the Great Bard come home to us crying out "All the world is a stage". Verily, the triumph of all knowledge is the discovery that we are all actors in different parts placed on this huge stage by the Great Producer.

The author goes on to say that acting is a result of the processes of creative assimilation and not of ordinary associations. Only penetration into the artistic form of the play and the part can make the actor's imagination work in the right direction and assist him in the embodiment of the character.

Then the author takes up the 20th century theatre. He begins by describing the activities of "Granville Barker" from 1904 and the apathy, nay antipathy, of the public then. He says "The rich are fond of the Theatre as to most of them a play is a form of hospitality. They do not dislike what

is good but they enjoy what is inferior as much. Does a performance distract? If so, they are satisfied". The general attitude of the rich to the Theatre then and even now in South India, is so succinctly described.

The author then goes on to describe how the work of symbolists' school, at the time, enabled the European Theatre to emerge from the crude and overloaded naturalistic productions and the untalented failures of the reformers. In pointing out the difference between the naturalistic and realistic school on the one hand and the symbolists on the other, the author once again gives us a twinkling vision of the true value of the Histrionic Art which lies in discovering the treasures of one's sub-conscious mind. He says:—

Symbolists wanted actors and stage settings to be visible signs of ideas. Their opinion was that an idealistic play cannot be interpreted by life-like acting and does not fit into life-like settings. According to them naturalism is really the exact opposite to the true sense of the Theatre. Every dramatic work is above all a synthesis. Tragic characters are all human beings in which certain passions are incarnated with an extraordinary intensity. The poet has animated them with abnormal inspiration, has created them by the power of words. Let them wear old frock-coats and they will remain kings and the purple which is absent from their shoulders will no longer be among them when they speak their lines. The spoken word creates the actor. It is enough that the settings do not disturb.

Then the author speaks of the disastrous effects caused by the Great War. He says that War ruined the Theatre in the belligerent countries and also in other countries and that the commercial Theatre, which at present devastates all art was born during the Great War.

The great masses of soldiers on leave [he writes] sought oblivion from the hardships and macabre bestialities of the battle-fields. To the intelligent, leave gave a chance to relax and to think independently and to realise the monstrous nature and injustice of

the social conditions which had led to the War and which the War produced. From the thoughts of these fighters—Mussolini, Kamal, Hitler—grew the various revolutionary post-War movements. But they were in the minority. The majority needed soporifics, good eats, plenty of drinks, inane jokes, naked legs, cut sounds etc. Commercially-minded managers who previously had nothing whatever to do with the Theatres began to put on plays in sheer *hype* for big profits. The greediness of the managers served as an example to leading actors and actresses and to other people connected financially with the theatres. It became necessary to have the house quite full. Publicity methods became extravagant and even vulgar. Any play which was not considered as making an appeal to everybody was promptly excluded. The plays selected were indifferent to social problems, disliked personally, life's introspection, were stupidly sardonic to everything serious, were full of lust for light amusement and for being entertained, and above all they never paid any thought to one's inner self about life in general. Unthinking masses formed the audience of those commercial theatres. Actors and Managers began to exploit the low taste of their patrons, nay they went further and did their utmost to develop and pander to it.

The picture drawn by him so correctly represents the present-day Tamil and Telugu stages of South India. I have deliberately omitted to mention the Karnatak stage, which in my mind combines a love of art with a love of profit. The Kannada stage has not yet descended to the debased aggressiveness of the Tamil Theatre, which revels in hundreds of song-hits (the audience craving for more); nor has it imitated the fraud committed on the public by the wandering Telugu stars with their Railway Platform groupings. Then the author tells us that at present the English Theatre is struggling to free itself from the clutches of the commercial manager. He lets himself go at the Commercial Cinema. His words are noteworthy by the present-day South Indian Tamil and Telugu Film Producers and Film distributors. He says:—

The Commercial Cinema is an entertainment of pastime for illiterate slaves of an up-to-date "business civilization" founded on Mammon. The sham naturalism, the treacly romanticism, the sentimentality on the one hand with its psychological complement—brutality—on the other, the tinned literature and language and music of the Cinema have had their big share in the debasement of the idealistic significance of theatrical performances and workmanship. The Commercial Cinema helped theatrical profiteers to spread those commercial productions which aim at supplying "what the public wants". To put it plainly the attitude of these gentlemen is a complete reversal of Cromwell's famous saying—"Not what they want, but what is good for them"—which as their slogan should read:—"Not what is good for them, but what we think they want". Or, to put it more exactly—What the capitalists of the theatre think, the slaves of their civilization need—in order to remain slaves.

Finally the author's forecast of the progress of the Theatre, is superb. Let us hear him:

The Theatre cannot become healthy unless people themselves and the world at large recover from the faults and fallacies which lead to wars and revolutions and from the effects of war crimes, violation and profiteering. When people once understand what culture, civilisation and social life really are, what the meaning of the word "People", and what the meaning of the word "individual" is, when life is considered as a struggle for elevation and spiritual conquest and not as play or a mere money-making proposition; and when work becomes a social duty and a medium of individual and general perfection then and only then, will theatrical buildings become theatres inseparable from the idealistic lives of nations and not mere places of diversion for persons whose personalities are actually concentrated below their waists and are more or less dead from the waist upwards. It is true, there always will be enough weak-minded people to enjoy sensualities and amusements. But I hope for a time when the theatres which supply such rubbish will be known by a name more suitable to the fare they provide and will not affect the real theatre.

The Principles and Problems of Federal Finance. By B. P. Adarkar (P. S. King and Son Ltd.). 12s. 6d.

Prof. Adarkar has filled "with conspicuous success" a distinct gap in the literature of public finance. These are the words of Sir C. H. Kisch contained in the Foreword to the book and surely they constitute a well-deserved compliment. Prof. Adarkar has broken new ground in the book under review and done so too with very great care and courage. One fact which is clearly brought out herein is the interdependence between the system of public finance and the system of government obtaining in a given society. The financial system of an autocratic state is necessarily different from that in a bureaucracy which again differs from that in a democracy. Prof. Adarkar's task has been to go into further details and to describe financial arrangements under one form of democracy, namely, federation. And they are not uniform either, any more than the federations are in which they obtain. But underlying the various federal financial arrangements are some constitutional principles common to them all and colouring their nature and functioning in differing degrees. These are all dealt with in the first part of the present book while the second consists of short and succinct descriptions of federal financial systems at work in the U. S. A., Germany, Switzerland etc. A short chapter is devoted in this connection to the federal system of public finance shortly to be inaugurated in this country.

In many respects, the third part is about the most interesting as it attempts at deducing first principles from the facts described in the previous part. It is difficult to say how many people would agree with the learned professor in taking a socio-political view of public finance as a means of redressing inequalities of income and of wealth. But no socialist need quarrel with the view. In any case, there can

be no question that in a federal state, apart from any set policy designed by the Government, the actual working of the financial machinery will mean that poor states benefit at the expense of the rich. The cases of Sindh, Orissa and North-Western Frontier Province at once rush to the mind of the Indian to-day in this connection. But they are not peculiar features of the Indian federation: exact parallels can be quoted from other federations too. This is a fact well brought out in the book.

Two other facts may be also referred to in addition. The essence of federation is said to be divided sovereignty between the Centre and the states. And similarly it may be stated that the essence of federal finance is to equate, as far as may be, the resources of the various units and of the centre with their needs. Political theory has its own notions as to what the states and the Federal Government should respectively do but it takes little account of financial considerations. Thus the centre is assigned usually the onerous duty of defence against external aggression but its resources are too often made to be inelastic and meagre. And hence the other feature of federal finance which relates to the adjustments designed to enable each Government to balance its budget. Prof. Adarkar classifies them under five heads, their guiding features being transfers of income from the centre to the units or *vice versa* and the levy of additional taxation by the power other than the usual taxing authority. There are also informing chapters on Local Finance in a Federal State and Public Debt in a Federal State.

Especially in India to-day, a book like the present one is bound to be very useful. Political problems are gradually yielding place in respect of urgency to economic and social ones at the root of both of which are financial considerations. The authorities that raise revenue and spend it being more in

number in a federal state than in a unitary one, problems of federal finance need all the attention that the public can bestow on them. To those who are interested in them, Prof. Adarkar should prove a very valuable guide.

BODLEY HEAD BOOK NOTES

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The following books are now ready:—

"Ariel" By André Maurois, "A Farewell to Arms" By Ernest Hemingway, "Poet's Pub" By Eric Linklater, "Madame Claire" By Susan Ertz, "The Unpleasantness at the Bellona Club" By Dorothy L. Sayers, "The Mysterious Affair at Styles" By Agatha Christie, "Twenty-five" By Beverley Nichols, "William" By E. H. Young, "Gone to Earth" By Mary Webb, "Carnival" By Compton Mackenzie, "South Wind" By Norman Douglas, "The Purple Land" By W. H. Hudson, "Patrol" By Philip MacDonald, "The Thin Man" By Dashiell Hammett, "Four Frightened People" By E. Arnot Robertson, "The Edwardians" By V. Sacville-West, "The Informer" By Liam O'Flaherty, "Debonair" By G. B. Stern, "The Strange Case of Miss Annie Spragg" By Louis Bromfield and "Erewhon" By Samuel Butler.

The following are in active preparation:—

"Our Mr. Wrenn" By Sinclair Lewis, "Dr. Scroocold" By Helen Ashton, "Esther Waters" By George Moore, "Hangman's House" By Donh Byrne, "Naval Occasions" By Bartimeus, "Odd Craft" By W. W. Jacobs, "My Man Jeeves" By P. G. Wodehouse, "The Owls' House" By Cropsbie Garstin and The Autobiography of Margot Asquith—Vols. 1 and 2.

The literary world has lost an important figure in Henri Barbusse. His war book "Le Feu" was one of the first to appear and at once established his reputation. His political sympathies have always been towards the Left and of later years he made a prolonged stay in Russia and had many friends among the leaders of the U. S. S. R. His new book, *STALIN* translated by Vyvyan Holland, is bound to command serious attention.

It is not a biography of Stalin so much as an account of a new world seen through one man. It shows that, although the Russian revolution might have taken place without Stalin, his indomitable energy has been the main factor in its success and survival.

Monsieur Barbusse was completely free in his movements in Russia and had access to records and documents which only a few people at the head of the Government have ever seen. Consequently, his book will be recognised as a serious and valuable contribution to the history of present-day conditions as they are affected by the U. S. S. R.

Demy 8vo. 12s. 6d. net.

The Seva Samiti Annual Report—The Seva Samiti Central Head Office, Allahabad.

A perusal of the Seva Samiti's Annual Report for the year 1934-1935 reveals the admirable fact that having realised the necessity of active work this organisation has

successfully carried it through its various educational, industrial and social schemes. It has a record of manifold activities covering a wide range and its members have not spared themselves the strenuous labour required to work them and much more to organise them on a stable basis. The detailed report of the Night Schools of an upper primary standard for the Depressed classes in the City and District of Allahabad and the Vidya Mandir High School owned by the Seva Samiti, is another proof of the organisers' capacity to move with the needs of the times and they are to be sincerely congratulated on their method of work. The outstanding feature of this organisation is that the spirit of service remains unquestioned; it is this that provides the common ground. Further, national service is made the profession of its workers and in this lies its amazing success and contribution to Indian public life. To work in accordance with one's conviction is the primary concern of the members, rather than making it only a recreation. It is little wonder that in spite of the hindrances common to all voluntary organisations, the Seva Samiti has established its unquestioned sincerity and genuineness.

—PURNIMA BANERJI

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THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

AN UNPUBLISHED TESTAMENT OF BABAR

A Unique Plea for Tolerance

By N. C. MEHTA

[This is a historical document of unique importance. We are
thankful to the distinguished author of the article, Mr. N. C.
Mehta, I.C.S., for having kindly offered it to the *Twentieth
Century* for publication.]

I spent three very pleasant days in Bhopal last October.
Apart from the unforgettable experience of a visit to Sanchi
—one of the great legacies of ancient India and scrupulously
treasured by the Bhopal State, my stay there was unexpect-
tedly fruitful in another direction. His Highness the
Nawab is a graduate of the Allahabad University and he is
due to deliver the Convocation Address at his old University
this year. It was therefore in the fitness of things that at a
dinner party the conversation should drift not only in
matters of agriculture of the immediate present but also of
the great past. Talking about the tolerance of the Moghul
Princes and the number of Imperial *farmans* granted from
the time of Hamida Begum, the mother of Akbar, His High-
ness told me that he possessed one given by Babar, the founder
of the dynasty itself. This *farman* was shown to me the
following day in the Hamida Public Library. It is a docu-
ment of unique importance for the history of India and it
is reproduced here with the original Persian and a literal
translation.

AL HAMD-O-LILLĀH

Sealed:—

933 H
Zahīr-ud-Dīn Muhammad
Bābar Bādshāh Bahādur
Ghāzī

Wasiyyat nāma makhfi Zahīr-ud-Dīn Muhammad Bābar Bādshāh Ghāzī ba Shāhzāda Nasīr-ud-Dīn Muhammad Humāyūn tūl allāh 'Umrhū.

Ba istihkām saltanat nawishta shud. Ai farzand momlikat-i Hindustān az mazāhab mukhtalifa māmūr ast. Ba hamd allāh kih Haqq Sughān hū T'aālā bādshāhī ān ba to karāmat farmūd. Bāyad kih t'assubāt-i-mazhabī rā az lauh-i-dil pāk namūda muwāfiq tariq-i-har millat m'adlat kun. Khasūsan az qurbānī gāo ba parhēz kih taskhīr-i-qalūb-i-ahl-i-Hindustān ast. Wa r'aiyyat īn walāyat ba ihsānāt-i-bādshāhī wābasta shawad. Wa manādir wa m'abudgāh har qaum-i-kih zēr farmān bādshāhī ast kharāb makun. Chunān 'adl gustarī ikhtiyār kun kih shāh az r'aiyyat wa r'aiyyat az bādshāh āsūda shawad. Taraqi-i-Islām az tēgh-i-ihsān bihtar ast na az tēgh-i-zulm. Az Munāqishāt-i-ahl-i-sunnat wa sh'iā chashm poshī kun wa illa z'fu-i-Islām maujūd ast. Wa r'aiyyat-i-mukhtaliful qulūb rā ba hukm-i-arb'i 'ināsar qāim kun kih jism-i-saltanat az imrāz-i-mukhtalifa aiman bāshad. Wa kārnāma-i-hazrat Taimūr Sahib-qirānī pesh-i-nazr bāyad dāsht kih ba 'umūr-i-Shahryārī pukhta shawad.

Wa ma 'ilainā il-al-balāgh

Yakm Jamādī-ul-awwal 935 H.

GOD BE PRAISED

"Secret testament of Zahir-ud-Din Muhammad Babar Badshah Ghazi to Prince Nasir-ud-Din Muhammad Humayun. May God prolong his life.

For the stability of the Empire this is written. O my son! The realm of Hindustan is full of diverse creeds. Praise be to God, the Righteous, the Glorious, the Highest, that he hath granted unto thee the Empire of it. It is but

proper that thou, with heart cleansed of all religious bigotry should dispense justice according to the tenets of each community. And in particular refrain from the sacrifice of cow, for that way lies the conquest of the hearts of the people of Hindustan; and the subjects of the realm will through royal favour be devoted to thee. And the temples and abodes of worship of every community under the Imperial sway, you should not damage. Dispense justice so that the sovereign may be happy with the subjects and likewise the subjects with their sovereign. The progress of Islam is better by the sword of kindness, not by the sword of oppression.

Ignore the disputations of Shias and Sunnies; for therein is the weakness of Islam. And bring together the subjects with different beliefs in the manner of the Four Elements, so that the body politic may be immune from the various ailments. And remember the deeds of Hazrat Taimur Sahib-qirani (Lord of the conjunction) so that you may become mature in matters of Government.

And on us is but the duty to advise.

First Jamādī-ul-Awwal 935 H.

=11th January 1529."

Such is the secret testament of Babar to his twenty years' old son and successor. It was not till 1526 that the transborder adventurer—Zahir-ud-Din Muhammad Babar was firmly seated on the throne of Delhi. The *wasiyat*, as he calls it, was written, while he was camping in the Lotus garden at Dholpur near Agra (Jan. 9—20, 1529) actively planning improvements, designing baths and reservoirs, for wherever he went he longed to have running water, flowing channels and brimming reservoirs, the absence of which he felt so keenly in Hindustan, the land of his glory and also his regrets. His daughter Gulbadan Begum—also a writer

of exquisite biographies like others of her family—noted that Babar was at this period feeling weary of his sovereignty. Writing to his son Humayun on November 27, 1528 congratulating him on the birth of a son he wrote.

No bondage equals that of sovereignty; retirement matches not with rule

and quoted Sheikh Sadi to make the point:—

If thy foot be fettered,
choose to be resigned;
If thou ride alone,
take thou thine own head.

A few of the remarks in this letter will bear repetition.

Thank God! now is your time to risk life and slash swords.
Neglect not the work chance has brought; slothful life in retirement befits not sovereign rule.

Babar and his brother Kamran had not yet displayed the mettle of their father in any of the ventures entrusted to them. Hence the injunction: Move on Hisar, Samarkand, Heri or to whatever side favours fortune.

Six weeks later the present document embossed with an earlier Royal seal dated 933 Hijri was written on a thin gold-sprinkled hand-made paper in a small but beautiful handwriting. The message consists of but five lines of simple but elegant and direct Persian with the concluding line—a quotation from the Koran. The document has been one of the heirlooms of the Bhopal State. How and through what stages it came to be where it is, is unknown. What is more curious, however, is that its existence and the contents of it should have been so long unknown. It is my happy privilege to publish this remarkable document with the courtesy of His Highness the Nawab Sahib of Bhopal.

The testament of Babar needs no elaborate commentary

not even in these days of unrest, intolerance and general malaise. He preaches justice and amity and wants all communities to be brought together even as the Four Elements. *The rulers and ruled he would tie with the silken knots of affection and common interest. To his co-religionists—the virile community of Muslims—he says in unforgettable words reminiscent of the Prophet's own message:*

Taraqqi-i-Islām az tegh-i-ihsān
bihtar ast na az tegh-i-zulm.

: kindness and not tyranny or intolerance is the key to the glory of Islam.

He commends to his son to eschew and ignore sectarian differences. The words that Babar wrote in the pleasance of Dholpur come back to us, echoing through the momentous epochs of time. More than four centuries have passed since the founder of the Timurid dynasty gave his message for the stability of his dominions. Time has during that period changed the face of the world more completely than ever before, but the wisdom of his words remains unchallenged, for he enunciated what is the condition precedent to the continued existence of Hindustan as a member of the civilised community.

It should perhaps be noted that Babar's message is only one of the series of Imperial rescripts which were issued from time to time by the Princes of the Moghul Dynasty. Some of these have been published by the Goswamis of the Nathdwara. Hamida Banu, the mother of Akbar, had granted free rights of grazing to the cows of the Goswamis within the Brajmandal, a part of the present district of Mathura. Akbar and Jahangir went as far as to prohibit the slaughter of animals on certain days during the week. The policy of tolerance was continued during the time of Shahjahan. In other words, the glory of the Moghul Empire coincided with

the policy of tolerance and goodwill towards all the subjects of the Empire irrespective of religious differences. As Akbar was shrewd enough to point out, tolerance was the condition precedent to the stability of the Empire and it speaks a great deal for his prescience that he should have diagnosed the situation at such an early age when religious passions had not yet subsided and when the use of political power in furthering the cause of a particular creed was not regarded as unusual. The abandonment of the policy of Babar towards the end of the 17th century undoubtedly laid the train which ultimately destroyed the fabric of the Moghul Empire and left India a prey to the anarchy which more or less continued till the central administration was again stabilised under Pax Britannica.

A word may perhaps be said about the genuineness of the document. The nature of the document—the fine paper, the careful handwriting, the Royal Seal and the present custody of the document, all go to establish the genuineness of this very important historical document.

ERDENI MORI (Mongolian Epics)

By NICHOLAS ROERICH

[The great Russian artist and philosopher and the recognised authority on Asia, Prof. Nicholas de Roerich has just returned from an extensive expedition in Mongolia. The *Twentieth Century* is privileged to publish these Diary Leaves, (chronicled in Timur Khada), which have such an exclusive significance to-day.]

I

In folk-lore and sagas we meet with the white steeds of heroes. We know of the white steed of St. George. We know of the white horses of St. Flora and St. Laurus. We have also met with the white fiery Pegasus.

We have seen the white horses of the Lithuanian ancient god Svetovit. And the Germanic Valkyries also were riding on white steeds.

We have heard of the white horse of Isphagan in ancient Iran. We have seen the huge steeds of Arjuna, the guardians of the Temple.

We have heard of the steed of Ghessar-Khan, the great hero of ancient Asia and we have seen the trails of its hooves on the rocks in Tibet. We knew of the steeds from Himavat with the blessed treasure Chintamani.

Erdeni Mori—the white steed—is the Mongolian carrier of the same treasure of happiness.

On Chinese paintings the white deer carries the same fiery sacred sign on its horns, as if like the deer of St. Hubertus. And the trail of the white horse marks the

boundary of the Wall of China. All heroes are on white steeds. And also in Mongolia Tzagan Mori—Erdeni Mori is the white steed, venerated in all legends. The Ruler of Shambala, Rigden Japo, also is seen riding on it and the steed appears in a wondrous flame. And when the people await the future, then the great Ruler directs the waiting ones towards the predestined.

Verily the white steeds in all folk-lore belong to the hero. But sometimes the wise white horse brings alone the great message.

On Scythian bronzes the predominant place is given to the horse. They of course carry the traditions. And in fairy tales most prophetic qualities are attributed to the white steed. The hero enters into one ear of the horse and comes out wise from the other ear. In sagas the horse warns the warrior of danger. The steed never survives its master. And in burial mounds the bones of the horse are always inseparably with those of the hero.

* * *

To-day Mongolia is on everyone's tongue.

Let us listen to some Mongolian prophecies.

Listen to the prophecies of the wise Mongolian seer Molon Baksha, as written down by his grandson Sangey Zibikoff and translated by the Mongol Shagdoroff and Shagdor Dabayev.

In the year of the cycle of the pig, there will be an earthquake. In the year of the dog there will be confusion amongst those who have power. A great hero will be born in a little hut. And a great Khan will pass by, attracting no one's attention. Near the house troops will pass. People who have no claim to nobility will become rulers and will govern the people. Honest people will withdraw and will take a place near the threshold; whereas liars will take possession of homes.

There shall come a time when truth will be overpowered by

hypocrisy. The spotted serpent will eat its own head, and the red-spotted serpent will devour the flesh of his own body. The horse eating its body shall also consume its head. Hence a chief who embezzled the people's property, shall pay with his head.

And there will come a time when a wooden cart will cost as much as a horse. For the bad horse the road is long and for a miser a friend is far. As the dead one has no title, so the poor one has no property.

You will fell timber with an axe which has no handle.

An iron serpent will obscure the earthly light—and the whole world is a fiery serpent.

In 1904 there will be a great event.

In the year of the ox there will again be a great occurrence. In the year of the tiger there will be destruction. The year of the hare will be the year of patience and endurance.

On the eastern boundary there will be robbery, because the chiefs will let the wolf upon a herd of sheep enclosed in a yard.

There will come a time that will be called: "neither mine nor yours", a travelling brass kettle and a leather yagtan will be needed.

The fiery serpent will dominate everywhere during the time of migrations.

From the side where the sun rises will appear a miraculous white stone with an inscription. If you try to obliterate the inscription with an axe, it will appear again.

Beyond this stone will be the desert, which you will reach. Those who can reach this region will again become human, and the animals will again turn into animals. It will be hard for the senile ones and for children. Loads will be carried even on oxen, cows and horses. Images and books you will have to carry yourselves. For the old ones you will have dry meat and fry barley. To drink black tea is nourishing.

And further Molon Baksha foretold that later there will come two—four men who will subdue unrest and will construct a religious righteous state.

Molon Baksha died at the age of eighty in the year of the ox. His song was:

Why does the reed wave
 On the right side of the Selenga?
 Why does the reed wave
 On yonder side of the Kudara?
 And foreseeing sufferings in life
 Why do I already feel sorrow?
 When singing this song he used to cry.

* * *

And there is another prophecy:

The great people of Kidan will not perish. They will meet the people of Shambala. They will carry most reverently the sacred images and will honour the country's laws.

On the white stone they will read and will call for the great Teacher to reveal the word of truth.

From great bonfires the inscription on the stone will shine. What is coming? Why does the steppe grass move? Who is coming?

Erdeni Mori itself comes. Erdeni Mori itself approaches. And the people will not remain in their previous state.

What shines above the steppe grass? Why do the holy obo (cairns) radiate? Why is the great Suburgan already alight?

There, where Erdeni Mori has passed, the steppe grass glimmers. There the wolves become silent.

And the falcons hasten their flight.

* * *

From ancient times Erdeni Mori appears and its treasure radiates. At sunrise and at sunset everything is submerged into silence, this means that somewhere the great white steed, carrying the treasure, is passing. As long as the people know of the ordained treasure, they will remain on the righteous path. Their path, although long and unusual, is inevitable. As inevitable as is the service to perfection. For someone it may be a fairy tale, and for another it is a reality. And someone will become afraid. And others will unfold the pages of the given book.

The book of doves also came from heaven. And the treasure came from above. And not soon was a wise man found to read the book. And many peoples remember these given great gifts. And to all evil ones the light is unbearable. Why are they so horrified? They are afraid of themselves, they have not read the great book and they have turned away from Light. And having turned away from a small light, how can their eyes stand the brilliant radiance of the Great Light!

Menhe Tengri!

. the great blue sky, which Chingiz Khan worshipped! Endless are the plains of Mongolia. Boundless are the steppes! Numberless are the mountains, hills, ranges and ravines, where the glory is hidden!

It seems that the desert is lifeless, but suddenly there appears a camp on the slope. Behold, many yurtas rise and unexpectedly there shines a white monastery or suburgan. And a small blue lake glimmers in the distance.

And again the desert becomes lifeless. And again riders in bright kaftans and in yellow kurmas and red-topped hats approach with the speed of the wind. The saddles are silver-laid, just as they were in the times of Chingiz Khan. But where are the arrows and bows? Long are their rifles on the back.

And again there is silence. But the dark outline of the caravan proceeds. The steppes are spotted with herds of black yaks. Drovers of fine horses are scattered over the desert. Like snow the herds of white sheep glitter in the sun. Antelopes rush along the hillside. A marmot disappears in a hole. Camels, wolves, foxes, hares

Where are the birds? Only an eagle circles in the heights. Black ravens appear here and there. A lark sings its beautiful song. A partridge and a quail fly up. And

from the lake comes the noise of geese and ducks. A bustard runs along swiftly. Cranes and herons are flying in formation. . . . Many birds!

From where comes thy great silence, beautiful desert? Does it come from thy boundlessness? Does it come from the high blue heavenly dome, from the great Tengri, which was always benevolent towards Chingiz?

At night all starry signs shine. The beautiful stellar runes are awakening. The Book of Glory is open. Beyond the hills a ray of light flashed.

Who is there?

Who passed there?

Erdeni Mori!

On the rocks of Shara Muren are the signs of the treasure. Naran Obo guards the miraculous stone. Everywhere Erdeni Mori has passed.

* * *

II

The banner of Chengiz Khan was white. In different campaigns he used various symbols—the lion, the steed of happiness, the falcon, or the panther. Fundamentally the colour of the Mongols is blue.

The laws of the Great Khan are extant even to this day, and we may recall many which are applicable to our present life. His severe penalties for theft, murder, adultery and other offences, could be placed upon the pages of our law even in the present times. Similarly with his other official acts, his orders to his officers and his steps for the progress of his country were broadly introduced by the Great Khan.

In order to prevent pride and vanity among the khans, Chengiz Khan forbade the adoption of pompous titles. Freedom of religion and speech were observed and the love of God

acknowledged. Clergy and physicians were freed from public taxes. Capital punishment was prescribed for spies, perjurers, sorcerers and those who accepted bribes. The marriage laws forbade marriage between the next of kin. And to raise the sense of honour, it was forbidden to employ one's next-of-kin as servants. To abolish intoxication Chengiz Khan constantly discountenanced the use of strong beverages and urged his people to eliminate the use of these entirely.

A regulation is also known to have aimed at the abolishing of excessive superstitions. The ordinances of Chengiz Khan encouraged hospitality among his nomad population and insured the safety of travellers throughout the vast extent of his empire. Rules were given in regard to camp sites and divisions of yuertas were made into tens, hundreds and thousands.

Along the caravan routes military stations with guards were established and at intervals of a day's journey posts for horses were set. The army was divided into divisions of tens, hundreds, thousands and ten thousands. Capital punishment was meted out to all officers who deserted their posts.

Judging by everything which has come down to us, Chengiz Khan was a great leader and organizer.

"The Lord preserve us from the Mongols!" Such were the inscriptions found in destroyed cities of Asia. Danish fishermen did not venture into the open sea for fear of a Mongolian invasion.

This is one of the earliest descriptions of the Mongols, presented to Europe in the thirteenth century, which was created by fear and terror:

Lest human joys be especially prolonged, and the world's benevolence endure too long without tears, [wrote Matthew Peris in the year 1240], reviling creatures of Satan himself, the count-

less Tartar hordes broke loose and swept out of the boundaries of their encampments surrounded by mountains. Swarming like locust over the earth, they brought terrible devastation to Western Europe and by fire and sword reduced it to a wasteland. They are inhuman, bestial, more monsters than men. They thirst for blood and gorge themselves with it. They rend and devour dogs and human flesh and dress in skins with their chests and backs naked except for armour. They are small in stature, stocky, hairy invincible. With zest they drink the pure blood of their herds. Their horses are stout, strong and eat branches and even trees. Due to their short thighs they have to mount these horses with the aid of three-stepped ladders. . . . They know no laws; they are completely lacking in any idea of comfort and are more ferocious than lions or bears. . . . they have pity neither for age nor sex nor position. . . . they know no language to converse in besides their own, which no one understands, because up to recent times there was no contact with them and they themselves never came beyond the boundaries of their country. Thus there is no information available about their customs and personalities, such as is gained through the mutual intercourse of people. They travel with their herds and wives and the latter are accustomed to fight as well as the men. To the destruction of Christendom, they suddenly appear and with the speed of lightning ravage and annihilate everything on their way, terrorizing everyone and arousing terrific hatred everywhere.

This was the reputation of the Mongols when their name first reached Europe, accompanied by the sensational terror which usually preceded their attacks. The very word Tartar aroused terror; they were considered the scourge of God. The old writers called them the "plague of God",—demons sent against men in punishment.

Europe did not regard the Mongols as human beings. It denied them the honour of being enemies or customary adversaries and considered them some sort of superhuman creatures. In those times Europeans sincerely believed that Mongols had dogs' heads and devoured human flesh. This

was the sort of wild terror that gripped Europe before the appearance of the Tartars. The danger which threatened humanity was regarded as so extreme that even Danish fishermen did not venture into the open sea for fear of Mongols.

The same picture is apparent at that time within the boundary of the Far East as well as in the Far West—on the shores of the Pacific as well as on shores of the Black Sea. One of the Chinese historians of that period exclaims with dismay that "since the creation of the world, no nation has been as powerful as the present Mongols. They devastate entire countries more easily than we pluck grass. Why do the heavens permit it!"

Another writer, describing the consequences of Mongolian supremacy, significantly remarks that "in Asia and Western Europe a dog can hardly bark without the permission of the Mongols."

After overwhelming all Asia and reaching the threshold of Europe, the Mongolian invasion seemed such an ominous threat that the rulers of Europe began frantically to take council with each other as to ways of meeting the threatening danger. It was decided to undertake united resistance against this human deluge, as no single country could cope with it alone. No proof is more evident of the fear which these Mongol hordes inspired, even within the limits of the greatest European countries of that period, than the call of Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor, to the entire Christian world to repel the invasion of the dreaded Mongols. Just imagine an appeal addressed to "Germany, ardent in battles, France, nursing at her bosom a fearless army, militant Spain, England, powerful in men and ships, Crete, Sicily, wild Hibernia, and cold Norway", asking them to organize international crusades against the nomad conquerors who came

to Europe from far-off Mongolia.

Once during the conquest of Persia by the Mongols, a few Mongols met some Persians and not having any arms with them, told the Persians to keep sitting by the roadside until they go to fetch their swords to behead them. And the Persians calmly obeyed. Thus history tells us.

Excerpts from the manifesto of Frederick II eloquently describe the "Mongol terror" which surrounded Europe in 1240.

These people, [wrote the Emperor], have emerged from the far ends of the world, where they have long been concealed in an atmosphere of terrific climatic extremities and have suddenly and brutally swept upon the Northern countries, swarming like locusts. No one knows whence this fierce race has gained its title of Tartar, but one thing is certain, it is apparently God's will that this race has been preserved from prehistoric days as a weapon to scourge people for their transgressions and mayhap even for the fall of Christendom. This brutal savage people has not the least conception of humane principles. They have a leader whom they revere and whose command they blindly obey, calling him the earthly god. They are small in stature, stocky, strong with great resistance, and have unbreakable faith. At the least sign from their leader they throw themselves with reckless valour against the most incredible perils. They have broad faces, slanting eyes and emit the most terrifying shrieks and outcries, which indicate vividly the savagery of their hearts. They know no other raiment except the skins of oxen, asses and horses and up to now their armour is only crudely and badly-soldered iron plates. But now—and we cannot mention this without shudder—they begin to improve their armour by looting that of the Christians. Soon the Lord's wrath will descend on all of us and these barbarians will begin to kill us, to our shame, with our own weapons. The Tartars already are learning to dress richly and elaborately and at present they eat the most savoury food. They ride beautiful horses and are inimitable archers. It is said that their horses, when they have no other fodder, eat foliage, bark and roots of trees and yet preserve their courage, strength and agility.

Thus Europe estimated the Mongol conquerors.

In later times these estimates become more exact and more detailed. For instance, Timur, instead of the former evaluation of a destroyer, received from the French savant, Grousset, a completely different estimate. Grousset says that Timur "who combines the subtle strivings of Iran-Hindu culture with the austere mould of an ascetic, appears as one of the most colourful figures of the Indo-Iranic world". Thus the great son of Chengiz Khan in the clan of Barlass is presented in a new light by the reflective scientist Grousset. Similarly, many rulers of the world, who were hastily condemned, as quickly revealed themselves in a completely different light. Is this not the case in Russian history with Ivan the Terrible and Peter the Great?

In recalling the description of Grousset and the notes of Plano Karpini about the interest in arts and sciences of Mongolia, we may consider that the Mongolian apotheosis reached the zenith in Akbar the Great. Of course there have been prejudiced judgments of him as a bloodthirsty tyrant, but there has finally emerged a brilliant picture of the resplendent unifier and cultured ruler of a great country. And to this luminous image of Akbar, already apparent, new studies can only add new valuable signs. And the wisdom of the people, which is just at its base, will add the aureole of a saint to the image of the Great Emperor. Thus through the centuries the people can revere a consistently great service. In regard to the characteristics of Mongols, I also recall other notes by contemporaneous travellers. There are many valuable and benevolent tokens. One should likewise remember the sacred Mongolian books, with their covenants about the Bodhisattvas and their admonitions to compassion, self-sacrifice and help to one's neighbour. Let us also recall the Nestorian times. In short, let us not in any way dispar-

age that which was so real a factor in the life of this strong and courageous people.

* * *

How many beautiful hours we recall from our own travels in Mongolia. I remember the hearty greeting of welcome of the Mongol Rin-chin. How much we valued also the fiery exclamation of the grey-headed Buriat, "Light conquers darkness!" I remember how valiantly the Mongols acted in our encounter with bandits. I remember the building of the Suburgan and the gracious offering of their treasures. If we go by the marks of benevolence we will find many of them. No matter how often a nation finds rebirth, its foundations still prevail. The same may be observed with many other peoples. Circumstances may change, bringing happiness or ill-fortune, but the soul of the people remains. And one may trace this folk soul by its ancient songs, its sayings and its parables. In these indestructible folk mementoes, one can find the worthiest characteristics.

In the laws of the Mongolian Khans, in the heroic epic of these people, is reflected a nature that is firm, courageous, often ascetic, patiently enduring the vicissitudes of their time.

And perceiving these covenants of the past, which have not been lost in the currents of the present day, should we not help this people, which desires peaceful progress?

There was a time when the circumstances of life and the yearnings of their heart enticed the Mongols into far-off places, because man often thinks that the beyond is more alluring—"splendid are the drums beyond the mountains". But contemporary thought has directed the Mongols towards the treasures of their own lands. To appreciate our own possessions, to learn to evaluate that which is defined by destiny, is a great accomplishment. It so happens that the

Mongols as such, having concerned themselves with remote places, did not as yet exhaust their own inner treasures. Not to use, means not to waste. Therefore it is but just to direct attention to Mongolia with benevolence and friendship.

No one will make the error of exclaiming again "Lord preserve us from the Mongols." On the contrary, thoughtful persons will send hearty wishes for the peaceful regeneration of their people.

Rigden Djapo himself, in resplendent armour, is galloping on. The Mongols do not forget the visions of the Great Lama in 1927. So it is also said in the prophecies:

On the slope towards the sunrise a white stone will be revealed with an inscription. . . . and though you hew out this inscription it will never disappear, but will for ever emerge again".

Greetings to our Mongolian friends. Greetings to Mongolia!

* * *

Tzong-Kha-Pa in his Teaching "Lam-Rim-Chen-Po" ordains:

As the shadows of birds flying in the sky, move together, so also good and evil deeds follow the living beings.

Do not neglect even the smallest sin, thinking that it may be harmless. The accumulation of drops of water by and by fills even a large vessel.

Habits for good and evil deeds constantly dominate over man.

Deeds, even over a hundred world-periods will not disappear, but will accumulate, and when the time is ripe, their consequences will arise for the reincarnated.

How happy are the travellers who have taken care to carry along sufficient food, so also living beings who have done good deeds, ascend to a blissful life.

* * *

The Lama proclaims:

Let life be firm as adamant; victorious as the banner of the Teacher; mighty as eagle and may it last for eternity.

Calling resounds the conch-shell over the vastnesses of Mongolia!

THE NEXT CONGRESS

By B. PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA

[What will the Congress do at its next session in Lucknow? This article by Dr. Pattabhi, a prominent member of the Working Committee and the distinguished author of *The History of the Congress* has a special interest at this juncture.]

Prophecies in politics are often times apt to be deceptive and may therefore be appropriately and even advantageously avoided. But the *immediate* is a little more tempting than the *remote*, for it has the merit of constituting the next step in the march. No traveller is safe who does not look a little ahead of his straggling feet even as no reader can read aright who does not fix his eye upon a few words in advance of what he reads. The next Congress is not really far away and its sittings will be held before the din and tumult of the 50th anniversary celebrations of the great national organization will have subsided. Well may be therefore address to ourselves and answer to others, the question what the Congress at Lucknow will be like, what it shall achieve and what place it will hold in future history.

People sometimes wonder whether the Congress has not become a fetish with the country and whether Congressmen are not concerned more with the pomp and circumstance attending the holding of a session, than what it shall discuss and decide. That is true in a measure but is becoming less true day by day. The reason is obvious. The Congress is becoming a reality. It is fast evolving into a centre of power both with the nation and with the Government. It furnishes a vantage ground from which to operate in the

struggle for national emancipation which is growing daily more and ever more intensive. To this end the Congress has been transformed into a compact, close-knit body of earnest and whole-timed workers, charged with a business sense and called upon to answer rigid tests of devotion to its ideals and discipline in the observance of its exacting standards. For the first time in fifty years, the Congress at Lucknow will cease to be a spectacular body appealing to mere sentiment and imagination by numbers or eloquence, but will consist of a maximum of 850 delegates for the year chosen in strict proportion to the number of members enrolled in the districts, and duly allocated between rural and urban interests. The actual attendance may not exceed half a thousand and the Congress will then be a well-proportioned Parliament of India commissioned to decide the destiny of 350 millions of population and charged with the duty of framing a program of fight by which to reach that destiny. At one time it was contemplated that the strength of the Congress should be reduced to 500, or in other words that the strength of the All-India Congress Committee should be raised to 500 and the Congress as such abolished. This is virtually what will happen at Lucknow. So far we have discussed the structure of the Indian National Congress in accordance with the changes introduced in its constitution in Bombay in October 1934. Let us just think of what the Congress might do at Lucknow next March or April. The air is thick with the demand for the acceptance of office by Congressmen. Congress workers who have served the country with earnestness and devotion are engaged in making such a demand. There are forces in the Congress itself less vocal, but not less powerful, which are equally sincerely arrayed against such a course. The former consider that the Parliamentary front is a legitimate battle front and should be one

of the several fronts on which the national fight has to be carried on. They quote the example of Lenin and De Valera, both of whom took up the burden of Government and purified it. The latter's view is that we are nowhere near the position attained by Lenin who after destroying the Royal family took possession of the country from his rival party headed by Kerensky. When the Czar was removed the Royalists disappeared and it was only a struggle between two popular parties,—the less radical and the more revolutionary—the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks,—as to who should take the rudder in hand and guide the ship of state. Conditions in Ireland were not materially different when Michael Collins took charge of the fate of Erin after the bloody programmes of 1921 and 1922 which ended in a treaty between Lloyd George and De Valera. Opponents of office-acceptance ask whether our victories of 1931 are anywhere near those of 1922 in Ireland and of 1917 October in Russia, whether our success, such as it was, was not undone by our reverse in 1933 and 1934 and whether after such a reverse we shall not be merely walking into the parlour of the enemy. Here in India the third party is a grim reality—present in flesh and blood and operating to his own benefit, the forces in the country from a position of clear vantage. Shall we fall a prey to its “wiles and stratagems” or shall we bide our time, renew our fight, await a better fortune and then assume command of the Parliamentary front? We have proclaimed from house-tops that we reject the White Paper—the J. P. C. Report, and the Government of India Act. How shall we reject the Reforms when we accept responsibility under them? These are the broad issues known to all and are reiterated here in outline. They await a final decision at Lucknow.

Even if these issues are correctly stated here, there is a view among the opponents of office who seriously state that

matters should grow worse before they can grow better and that the soldiers who are tired should beguile themselves after their own heart and cannot be compelled to fight. That is true in a sense. It is true that our soldiers in the cause of national struggle are not the members of a standing army, but constitute as it were, a territorial force, picked out from householders who have their own responsibilities and burdens of family life and who cannot be put under the yoke for an indefinite time. But the same argument reveals, the position that as years roll by, minors become majors and acquire the qualification to fight for the country's freedom. And too, it is a question whether this yearning for the acceptance of office is merely the result of a sense of void arising from a cessation of fight or whether it is an inertia that takes us back to ways which we had deliberately abandoned. There is a feeling that in yielding our ground at Delhi (Special Congress) and at Cocanada in 1923, at Patna in 1925, we had yielded too much and that the wisdom that returned to the Congress in 1928 and 1929 should not be once again thrown away by repeating in 1936 the blunders of 1923, on the other side it is contended that this spirit of resistance should have operated unbendingly at Patna in May 1934 and in Bombay in October 1934, and that it is unfair to send the bride to the nuptial room and impose upon her the vow of celibacy. Human intelligence is resourceful enough to argue either way and it is more than doubtful whether after all, our reason, our logic and our arguments are not more often framed in accordance with the conclusions reached by us in advance of them, in other words, are we not all victims of our own prejudice which in softer language may be termed pre-judgment of issues?

Be this as it may, the next Congress, must recognize that the issue of acceptance of office or rejection is a minor issue

in the stupendous national struggle which has covered half a century of its course. The issue is not whether we should discover our own follies in politics or allow them to be detected by others. Nor is the issue one centring round a point of prestige as to whether, having flamboyantly proclaimed a rejection, we should abjectly pick up the crumbs that may fall from the master's table.

Parties change in politics and politicians change parties too by crossing and recrossing the floor of the House, but that is a small matter. The problem is whether we should rest on our oars and seek rest or whether we should face the rising tide of a boisterous sea and row our boat with all our might. We may not listen to the siren voice of the temptress or the soft allurements of the strategist but prefer to both, the stern command of the generalissimo. Let us recognize the contrast between a warfare that is physical and one that is moral. In the former an unrelenting field-marshal compels obedience, while in the latter a restless following compels command. People often talk of the Presidents of the Congress but the president is only the embodiment of the Time-spirit and the Time-spirit is the compendious name given to popular feelings, thoughts and aspirations. No Nation can obtain a measure of freedom greater than it desires or demands. Shall the Congress at Lucknow desire a measure of full freedom now and here? Shall the Congress be a force fashioning Indian Nationalism into a new synthesis evolved out of the conflicting civilizations acting and reacting upon each other in India or shall the Congress be a party—one amongst many—scrambling for a prize here, or a post elsewhere and running after the mirage of influence under the hallucination that it is real power? Shall the 51st session of the Congress be a mere continuation of the series that have met and dispersed after an annual carnival or shall it forge

itself into a new national force that is not merely contenting itself with the achievement of an immediate national purpose, but shall, through the successful application of its newly discovered forces of Satyagraha constitute itself as a beacon light and the guiding star to the many nations of the world tossed about on the high seas of untruth and violence?

Pious hopes are afoot that the freedom which the Congress is longing for is not the freedom of geographical boundary, or ethological integrity. It is not even the freedom of economic manhood or commercial self-sufficiency. Much less is it the power to beat down the enemy on the battlefield and secure a competitive advantage in the race of life. The freedom sought by the Congress has a higher end and a nobler purpose. It is meant for restoring to Hindustan the opportunity no less than the right to think out the problems of life on lines set by her forbear, and work out the solutions unfettered by a sense of bondage in body or spirit. It is the freedom that longs to share the object of its quest with all who love it and crave for it. The realization of self has been forbidden to this ancient land for centuries and India shall have gained her freedom in vain if she becomes the out-house of England. The tree of freedom grows only from the seeds of freedom and bears in turn the fruits of freedom so that the cause and the effect and the medium through which they operate shall all be of a piece with one another. To seek freedom for oneself and employ it to enslave others is to destroy the very roots of the tree which you have striven to nurture. Let, therefore, Lucknow broadcast it from tower and beach, from mount and mine, that a free India shall first engage herself in programmes directed to achieve her self-realization and then help every other Nation in the world to think and act, so as to develop itself. Thus shall the ideal of

Loka Kalyan or universal brotherhood be nearer realization, and thus shall the League of Nations be a League of well-meaning friends and partners rather than ill-meaning intriguers or partisans.

THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE OF INDIA

By "PRESENT TENSE"

[What is India's future or what future has India, in the realm of politics? This article deals with the immediate, not the remote, and is therefore of greater attraction. The writer's forecast, based as it is on a searching analysis of the present conditions in India, will be read with lively interest.]

It is a debatable point how far a decay in the wholesome custom of stewing false prophets in boiling oil is responsible in these latter days alike for the increase in the volume of prophecy and for the deterioration in its quality. To the popular Press that phenomenal increase is welcome. When copy is scarce and the inventive powers of news-writers flag, an editor can always fall back on prophecy; he can voice his own predictions or accept those of his contributors, for to-day we may all be prophets, none hindering us. Further, as we behold our vatic efforts in print, we can cozen ourselves into the delusion that we are not voices crying in the wilderness.

Nowadays, we have no major poets but only minor ones. So, too, we have no major prophets and possibly no seers comparable to the minor prophets of old. How wise was even that lesser breed within the law! Seldom, except under duress, did past schools of prophets venture any prognostications about the immediate future. On the subject of what would happen one hundred or one thousand years later, they could be most impressive; as regards coming events a month or a year ahead they were discreetly reticent. Our generation displays no such sagacity and thereby, perhaps, should be

accounted pinchbeck tipsters rather than the genuine prophetic article.

In this land of long traditions but short memories, the prophetic itch is commoner even than *dhobi's* itch, *pace* any comparative statistics to the contrary. A disease it may be to pose as seers, but if it makes us happy and "everyone is doing it, doing it" why should we too not take a hand in the game? Let survey parties of pusillanimous angels fear to tread the path of social, political and economic India during the next decade: we will rush in and more power to our pen. May it prove mightier, if not than the sword, at all events than the bludgeon which in size at least so many post-modern fountain pens resemble.

A fledgeling nation is always more allured by the idea of political power whether to be acquired or to be used after recent acquisition than it is interested in its existing social problems. Yet possibly for a growing nation social developments are more important than political developments. This is peculiarly the case in any priest-ridden country where, for the gain of its professors, religion is intruded into every branch of secular life. Politically, a nation cannot develop normally if its social inside is out of order and no curative treatment is undergone:—a purge at the least, a major operation at the most.

Socially, the big problem before India in the next decade is the settlement of the Harijan question. It is useless to look for a sudden change of heart among the higher castes or for the development of a national conscience. Wholesale changes of heart are rare and result usually in speedy wholesale back-slidings; in dealing with its own internal concerns, no nation has ever had a conscience in the past apparently, so why should India be expected to develop one now?

One may safely lay odds that the Harijans will hack out

their own caste salvation and thereby pull away one more prop from under the tottering edifice of Hindu orthodoxy. And why not? It is as hopeless for India to attempt to run a modern political system with an archaic religious organisation intervening as it is for her to cope with modern economic world conditions while clinging to a mediaeval social system. No theocracy has ever been kind to the underdog, and theocratic tactics in this matter of the Harijans will result in a mickle of converts to Christianity and a muckle to Islam. This is no age of faith; and mass changes of religion without bloodshed are possible, as in the past, when social advancement is the bait. The striking feature about the recent meeting of Harijans, which at Dr. Ambedkar's advice undertook to jettison Hinduism for some other religion, is not the undertaking made but the number of Harijans who collected for the meeting. Assuming that number to be but one half of what was reported, we may ask whether five years ago it was conceivable that five thousand Harijans would ever collect from all over India and be unanimous in so momentous a decision, whether later that decision be implemented or not?

As regards the emancipation of women, the experience of every country shows that women with a modicum of combination easily achieve the amount of emancipation they deserve, just as in the home the individual woman with a modicum of tact achieves as much emancipation as she really desires. There is probably at the moment more potential capacity to be found among India's womanhood than among her men. The sooner such capacity frees itself the worse for the joint family system at least, if not the better for India as a whole.

Since generally the protagonists for freedom for India's women are inspired by a faith such as few protagonists for

India's political freedom possess, it is tipping a certainty to say that the coming decade will witness a phenomenal advance in the progress of Indian womanhood—progress towards what ultimate goal, remains to be seen. The progress, however, may to some extent lead to a better *modus vivendi* between the various religions of India.

To come now to Politics:—

Federation, except by those rooted in the past, is admitted to be the only political system possible for this continent at the present stage. What India (and not Europe) really needed was a League of Indian Nations with a collective League Defence Force and collective League Responsibilities. Naturally, any such idea would have been rejected with scorn, but through it possibly the various nations of India might have developed the give and take which makes for internationalism and eventually have formed an Indian Nation based on collective advantage instead of on a grievance against foreign domination. As it is, in some ways the development of provincial autonomy may slow down the development of India's national consciousness. Still, it is not our business to talk of what might have been, rather it is for us to prophesy. In our political predictions we will deal chiefly with the immediate future of the existing political parties in this land.

Indian Liberalism, which, for a political party, has a singularly creditable record behind it, will never die but like old soldiers simply fade away. New recruits to the creed are not coming forward in great numbers and any defections from the Congress ranks to those of the Liberals will not add much permanent strength to the latter. But Indian Liberalism can play a useful part in helping to ease political tension both in the Provinces and at the Centre during the period when Federation, as a system, is finding its feet.

The Congress, until it again finds a master, appears likely to suffer from too many leaders each of whom cannot depend on the mass loyalty of his professed followers. The years spent in the wilderness of passive resistance has been injurious to the morale of leaders and led alike, and has proved no good preparation for participating in creative politics. Whether Congress takes a part in the new Councils or not, Congressmen or ex-Congressmen certainly will. It is not impossible that Congress will enter the Councils not as one body but several political bodies each, perhaps, claiming to be the real Simon Pure, but, unless those bodies start to think more practically than sentimentally, the Country's distractions will increase rather than diminish and solidarity will remain far off as ever.

The Communist party which must be absolved from any connection with Bengal terrorism (itself a product of a provincial inferiority complex) will probably find some recruits, perhaps many, from the Congress ranks but we cannot believe that Communism in India will get any great accretion of strength from that quarter. The Communists if allowed to sit in the new Councils either by their leaders or by the Government of India will only be an additional party fishing in troubled waters. Indeed, India seems likely after so long an interval to have as many political parties represented as has France to-day though we doubt if the new Assembly will ever reach Germany's record of those twenty-seven diverse parties in the Reichstag which made Hitler's task so easy. Indian Fascism is still to appear. This decay of caste has made its emergence difficult.

Self-interest will make a more or less solid *bloc* of the representatives from the Indian States whose votes will be useful to the Government, whether or no their speeches prove so. They will have their brief and strict instructions

to stick to it. They can flatter themselves with being broad-minded by a friendly spirit towards and an occasional flirtation with the Indian Liberals. They will be useful back benchers and admirable at garden parties.

The coming decade will see the first rise of two parties which one day will become the most important of all in Indian Politics. We mean of course a Labour and an Agricultural Party. Labour, anxious to organise itself in trade unions is at the moment suffering from growing pains like so many other things in this land. Indian Labour hitherto has had no leader of vision worthy of the name but come he will. If Mahatma Gandhi returns to Politics, Labour may find in him its leader, just as the Agricultural Party (by which we mean a Peasants Party as distinguished from a Landowners Party) certainly will, if such a "come back" ever be staged. We do not think the Mahatma wants to return to Politics but we believe that his present work will lead him back willy nilly. Otherwise, there is little or no prospect of any real union between the Countryside and Labour for their interests are not the same.

For any mild form of Socialism, we see no immediate future. Amongst Hindus generally, the caste organisation, though obsolescent, militates against any such system. In a reaction against caste, Communism may secure a big following such as Socialism pure and simple can never do.

We are not very proud of our prophetic acumen in this matter of Indian Politics but will venture the general paradox that the sooner the various parties in India settle down to the job of putting things in order, the more fuss there will be.

Economically, the immediate future of India depends primarily on how quickly something can really be done in the Provinces and States for Agriculture? If in the past the *ryot's* life has been "a long drawn question between a crop

and a crop", it is now a matter of a race with early starvation unless methods of cultivation can be radically altered and improved. If the present system of land tenure be kept (and only a complete revolution could bring in the Soviet State farms) India will have to adopt market gardening methods rather than stick to its present modes of cultivation. By the former methods China can feed a population of four hundred millions, such as India will have by 1941, on a cultivated area of roughly half that of this country.

Except for special crops, we see little chance of India being able to export large quantities of agricultural products at remunerative rates. She will have to live more and more on her own and develop her internal trade which should receive a considerable fillip with the abandonment of the internal customs barriers maintained at the moment by many States. We are not at all despondent about the future of Indian railways despite the competition of the motor bus, for we pre-see a large extension of goods traffic and a continuation of the complaints about the shortage of waggons which in this country never seem to approach the average annual mileage obtained anywhere else and always for the very best of reasons which are so technical that they cannot be explained to anyone outside the magic circle of railway experts.

For the protection of her industries, India will raise the customs duties. Of this there can be little doubt. Whether she will raise her customs income is a very different question. Provided she runs her industries with a modicum of efficiency (which is seldom the case at present), her existing factories can supply most of her needs for the next decade. Behind the wall of protection, she can raise the price of home-made goods and check the demand for them. That cottage indus-

tries will seriously compete at present we cannot believe. Of all industries those of the cottage variety need the best sales organisation and it is in such organisation that this country is for the moment most deficient. She will remain so until with the decay of the joint family system, she gets rid of the idea of the proprietor of a big factory staffing and stuffing his business with his relations.

During the next ten years, the export of gold from India will continue. As most of it is in the form of "dead", i.e., non-circulating gold, the loss to the country is a sentimental rather than an economic one. Whether this land can acquire the saving habit in place of the hoarding habit, is doubtful, but the habit of saving, which means investment, is a sign that mediaeval economic views are giving place to modern ones. India still is largely fascinated by the mercantile theory, but cannot put it into full operation, not because of foreign control but because of her apparent inability to develop her shipping so as to export her goods in Indian bottoms. The coastal trade of which so much is made will be of little value when Burma counts as a separate land.

The immediate economic outlook for India is not very bright and cannot brighten until agricultural production doubles. Then Jeshuram doubtless will wax fat and kick out at the Indian industrial policy of high prices for goods manufactured in this land. As the outlook is so menacing, there can be little doubt that both the Provinces and the Centre will have to reduce official salaries wherever possible. It is to be hoped that the nation-building and research departments will not be starved.

Considering that it has taken India three thousand years or so to develop a nationalistic mentality, one cannot expect too much speed in a decade's development. It will take more

than ten years for conflicting Indian interests to shake down into a modicum of harmony and whatever truth there may be in our predictions for 1936-45, we expect to see the 1946-55 busy in upsetting the work of the decennium that immediately preceded it.

MASS EDUCATION

By P. GUHA-THAKURTA

[One more chapter from Dr. Guha-Thakurta's treatise. The earlier ones have attracted wide attention and evoked warm praise. Here the writer discusses the *financial aspects* of the problem.]

The financial problems of mass education are beset with difficulties. The masses are poor; and the Government, as at present constituted, have never had a great deal of money for education. So, we may as well take it for granted that the task of elimination of mass illiteracy cannot even be properly begun, till India has obtained real control over her monetary affairs. Since the introduction of Montford Reforms, education has been what is called a "transferred" subject. But this transference of subjects into the hands of elected Indian Ministers in the provinces was a bit of paradox. The Ministers of Education, having no direct control over the financial part of the undertaking, were naturally devoid of the means as well as the power to spend on education what they might have wished to spend if they had any freedom of discretion and choice. The primary duty of every well-organised, democratic State is to expand general education; unfortunately, governments in this country carry on their duties to their people in the way they think best and according to what they consider to be "good" for the Indian people.

If it had really been the policy of the Government to remove illiteracy, it would surely have found the necessary funds to do so, either by reducing other expenditure or by

useful taxation. People of no country are unwilling to be taxed reasonably for objects which are calculated to advance their cultural and material well-being. That comes from the ordinary human instinct of self-protection against ignorance and property, which is stronger than any other social and economic impulse, and also from the natural human aspiration for self-development. In India, neither that ordinary instinct nor that aspiration has ever been lacking among the masses, or the intelligentsia. Indeed, the broad mass of people in India have hoped and hoped until hope itself seems too like despair. It is not their proverbial fatalism, mental defeatism, apathy, or the spirit of letting things run their usual course in their usual way, in fact, none of those defects which are usually pointed out by prejudiced observers of the Indian way of life, which have so long stood in the way of their attainment of the same cultural level reached by peoples in the forefront of civilisation to-day. It is, primarily, the lack of desire in our rulers at any period of their governance of the country to formulate and finance any plan of education which might have fought illiteracy and removed it by gradual stages.

The general diffusion of the knowledge of the three R's was not, therefore, the aim of the governments as we know them till now. In fact they have never had enough money and to spare for education; and the little money they have spent on it, has been virtually unproductive. For, it has reared up a system which it is now difficult to fit into any enlightened and rational scheme of mass education in India. What is to be done with this system? The best thing would be to scrap it entirely so that the money absorbed by it now, may be utilised for the drive against illiteracy, instead of leaving it to die, as some people suggest, a natural death from sheer popular disfavour and disuse. The foundations of a

sound educational policy cannot be laid while we waste time and energy over re-adjusting the existing policy.

The great peculiarity of governments in this country is that they spend disproportionately too little on education and too much on the maintenance of law and order in general. This is not the place where we need to criticise at length government's general fiscal or budgetary policy; but the fact must be recorded that out of the total annual expenditure, both central and provincial, they spend only 5 per cent on education as compared to 30 per cent on the army. This distribution cannot but strike one as grossly unfair, when we consider how urgent is India's need for educational expansion. Government knows as well as anybody in this country how much Britain herself spends on mass education or any other progressive country in the world. The U. S. A., for instance, is spending on education, elementary, secondary, and higher, approximately 2½ billion dollars annually. Japan spends over 130 million yens on education out of a total budget of just over one and a half billion yens, that is, about 9 per cent. Nearer home, Turkey spends over 20 per cent over education every year. And, in India, the salaries enjoyed by routine-administrators are the highest in the world! What we deplore is not so much the government's seeming inability to spend on education as their perverse way of spending whatever little they wish to spend on it, year after year, with the result that no tangible impression is made on illiteracy in India. Probably it is not government's illiberality towards education that makes them so unpopular in this country, so much as their disinclination to fight illiteracy on a scale required for India and by measures adapted to her present needs.

Under Tsarism, Russia was no better than India in the matter of mass literacy. At the end of the second decade

of the twentieth century, the percentage of illiterates in Russia was 72·2 among the rural population and 40·6 among the urban. During the 24 years from 1897 to 1920, the percentage of male literates increased from 33·7 to 44·6 and that of female literates from 11·7 to 25·8. This was somewhat like the policy of "gradualness" which our governments still follow in the matter of education. At the time of the Revolution in October, 1917, only 33 per cent of the entire population of Russia could read and write. But we might also look at the results obtained by the intensive campaign to eliminate illiteracy which is being carried on by the Soviet Government. During six years from 1921 to 1927 the number of male literates increased to 58·2 per cent and that of female literates to 34·4 per cent. And all this was done when the Soviet regime was almost entirely busy in reorganising the country's economic life. Yet, the Soviet Government succeeded in initiating, for the first time in the history of Russia, quantitative methods of universal popular education, which was beyond anybody's imagination under Tsarist regime. The first Five Year Plan, no doubt, made ample provision for funds to carry out a nation-wide anti-illiteracy drive. In the balance sheet of the Plan, we find that 250 million roubles were ear-marked for expenditure on this item alone. During 1929-30, 13 million illiterate adults learnt to read and write as against 2·7 million during 1928-29. The amount of State appropriation for the purpose was doubled (from 30 million to 60 million roubles) in 1929-30. At the end of the first Five Year Plan, 18 million people of the age between 15 to 35, most of them coming from among the rural population, was completely rescued from illiteracy. According to the *Isvestia*, July 28, 1930, the acceleration of universal popular education exceeded far beyond the original provisions of the Five Year Plan. Indeed, at the end of

1931, 75 per cent of the Russian people between 16 and 50 had learnt to read and write.

It must, however, be pointed out that the programme of Socialist reconstruction launched by Soviet Russia is a composite thing, in which the economic and cultural sectors are closely riveted. In short, the whole plan is based on a single idea, which is to revolutionise the entire life of the Russian people through organised Socialist economy. It is an audacious and challenging experiment in perspective planning, and something entirely new in world's history. The extent of progress of mass education which has been possible under the new regime in Russia, which is practically one-sixth of the earth's surface, inhabited by 150 million people, should be an eye-opener to administrators of India. India's population is more than twice of Russia's and the number of illiterates is, even now, thrice as much as that of illiterates in Russia under Tsarism till the second decade of the twentieth century. On that comparison the cultural level of India in 1935 is barbarian and primitive. In Russia, by 1932-33 the number of children between the ages of 8 and 11 in rural primary schools reached the figure of 15 million. Thus in less than 15 years Russia is about to liquidate mass illiteracy almost completely at an expenditure of about five billion roubles and thereby fulfil the most essential prerequisite for the reorganisation of her social and economic life.

The example set by Soviet Russia in raising the cultural level of the masses has a two-fold application for India. In the first place, it shows (conditions not being entirely dissimilar between India of the present-day and pre-War Russia), how far we have to go in order to remove mass illiteracy, and in the second place, what amount of financial provision India ought to make for the purpose. The type of organisational machinery for the solution of the problem

in India may quite conceivably have to be different from what Soviet Russia is experimenting with, but there is little doubt that India's new educational venture will demand funds in a similar proportion to what Russia is spending out of her total national expenditure. Roughly speaking, India would have to apportion at least one-fourth of her entire national budget for mass education. That is absolutely the irreducible minimum which India needs and with which she can expect to cope with the problem of illiteracy. The State appropriation is, of course, capable of indefinite extension; for, it will take at least two or three decades before the drive against illiteracy in India reaches a saturation point, provided we have the necessary skilled personnel and provided also the economic conditions permit it. But since the drive on the economic front must needs go hand in hand with the drive on the cultural front, there is little likelihood of economic conditions impeding the progress of education. If the educational programme is conducted systematically and vigorously, its beneficial effects should be cumulative.

So, it is quite obvious that the problem of arranging for the necessary organisation and funds cannot be solved outside of the general scheme of measures aimed at raising the economic level of the great mass of the Indian people. The bulk of the people do not earn enough at present to provide for schools. Until the income of the peasant population of India has been increased *per capita* by the introduction of improved methods of cultivation, scientific marketing of agricultural products, and relief from agricultural indebtedness, they cannot be expected to contribute anything to the educational expenses of their young. So far as general education of the masses in rural areas is concerned, the State will be required to support it—by taxation of other sources and from voluntary contribution of private funds by well-

to-do and public spirited citizens. Both methods are of universal use to-day. In fact, private support for educational enterprise is considered in modern age to be the healthiest device that the State can resort to for solving the country's educational problem. The finest educational institutions in the United States of America were established on private foundations, provided by men who had given freely of their private fortunes to maintain them. The amount of money voluntarily given every year to higher education alone, in U. S. A. is astounding; it is, in fact, the most encouraging feature of the educational practice of the United States. It has had the effect of developing among the American people a sense of public responsibility and a desire to share wealth and culture with the common people.

In India, it is only a small class which is superlatively wealthy while the bulk of the people is abjectly poor. If we really desire to reorganise our cultural life in the same way as our social and political life, the country's wealth conserved by the country's wealthy few should be made to flow into extensive educational enterprise in the future, for the masses. As things are, India's educational need is the greatest, and the most effective way to meet it is to have an abundant supply of private funds into educational institutions. To begin with, the State can be counted upon to encourage to its utmost private educational enterprise, because the spirit of friendly rivalry will prove in every way beneficial to the State institutions. Indeed, the State institutions can have nothing to fear from private institutions, since the easiest possible way of getting money, viz., taxation, is always at the disposal of the State. Only the State must see that private educational enterprise conforms to the standard of its organic plan of mass education. The stimulus given to private edu-

cational enterprise will, in fact, enable the State to think less of taxation and more of the suitable methods of directing, controlling, and co-ordinating its educational activities. What will distinguish the new educational policy from the existing educational policy is that the former will lead to the participation of literally all peasants and workers in a self-governing India, indeed, all members of the toiling millions, in the cultural and economic activities of the land and ultimately in the administration of the State.

Let us, then, plan our new campaign for making India hundred per cent literate within the shortest possible time; let us forget the Universities exist and for whom; let us stop the rot which has set in. Since the system of education prevalent in India to-day is utterly incapable of making "sweetness and light" available to the broad mass of humanity inhabiting this sub-continent, let us scrap it altogether. Let rational ideas guide us to fashion a durable fabric of education in India, which will eventually lead every Indian, man, woman, child, youth, adult, to appreciate the value of an education that not only enlarges the mind but feeds the body and helps each individual to participate in the general joy of living and the fruits of his toil.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL IN HIS DISCRETION

By K. V. PUNNAIAH

[In view of the enactment of the new constitution, this article by Dr. Punnaiah of the Andhra University, is of topical interest.]

His Majesty's Representative in India has to figure in many different roles under the new Constitution. As the Viceroy, he is the representative of the Paramount Power in relation to the Indian States and is the connecting link between the Federal Government and those states who may stand out of the Federation. As the Governor-General, he forms part of the Federal Government but here again he has two different functions to discharge. He is the constitutional head of the 'transferred' side of the Federal Government, and an autocrat (except for his responsibility to the Secretary of State) in relation to his 'Reserved Departments' and 'special responsibilities'. More interesting than any of these is his role as the impartial arbiter between the Federal Government and the Governments of the Units. The Governor-General in his discretion is a person outside the Federal, state and provincial Governments, who shows himself on the stage, only when things go wrong, to set them right, and then relapses into his former attitude of the disinterested spectator.

For a long time, there was a controversy in India regarding the location of residual authority under the Federation. The Muslims demanded that it should be located in the Provinces and the Liberals argued that it ought to be located

in the Centre. As the importance of the residual power dwindles down to small proportions, if the powers of the two Governments are exhaustively enumerated, this method has been adopted as a compromise during the Round Table Conference, and three lists of subjects—'exclusively Federal', 'exclusively Provincial' and 'Concurrent'—were drawn up. But it is possible that there may still be some undistributed residue of power (that is, not enumerated in any of the three lists), which might have escaped the attention of, or which could not have been foreseen at the time by, the framers of the Constitution. Where to locate this undistributed residue of power? The staunch advocates of Provincial Autonomy and the vigorous champions of a strong Central Government both agreed that if it is a matter of provincial importance the Provincial Legislature, and if it is of an extra-provincial or national importance, the Federal Legislature, should have power to legislate. But who is to decide as between these rival claims in an actual case? In Canada, this function is no doubt discharged by the Courts, but that has led to a large volume of litigation on questions of *ultra vires*. As the British have nothing to gain or lose in this matter, the Governor-General in his discretion may be expected to keep an open mind on the question, and so he is empowered to declare (whenever the need arises) which of the two Governments is to legislate on the particular subject.

Another interesting case arises with regard to the legislation and administration of 'Concurrent' subjects. The intention of providing for this concurrent field is to secure uniformity in those directions where it may be found necessary, but at the same time to enable the Provincial Legislatures to make laws to meet local conditions. But as the federal law prevails over the provincial law in the concurrent field, it is conceivable that in course of time the whole

field may be occupied by Acts of the Federal Legislature. If this would happen, it may prove a great hardship in some cases, as certain aspects of the law included in this list of subjects require to be treated in a special way by a Province or Provinces so as to meet their peculiar local conditions. Under the Devolution Rules at the present time, 'Civil Law' is a central subject, but the Provinces (notably Madras and the United Provinces) have legislated on certain aspects of them (*e.g.* the inheritance of property) with the previous sanction of the Governor-General, and without a similar sanction again, the Central Legislature cannot amend or repeal any of these laws. This interesting provision entrusting the Governor-General in his discretion with power to keep a just balance between national interests and local needs is continued under the new Act (1935) within the limited sphere of the Concurrent List.

The chief peculiarity of the Concurrent List is that it is only concurrent to the extent of legislation, but provincial for purposes of administration. If the Provinces are to find the money necessary for the administration of these subjects, they should necessarily have a voice in legislation on them, as otherwise there would be a division of responsibility between the two with all the consequent friction or an encroachment on the sphere of provincial autonomy. If the Provinces are to be consulted regarding legislation on these subjects, what is to be the extent of provincial agreement which should entitle the Federal Government to make a law on them? Should one or two Provinces be allowed to hold up legislation even if the others agreed to it? The Federal Government will certainly find it impossible to pass a law unless it is sure that the Provinces are willing to bear the burdens and to co-operate with it wholeheartedly, for what is it to do if any of them refuse to administer the law?

According to the constitution, it cannot even give directions to Provincial Governments ordering them to enforce the law, unless this power is specifically conferred upon it by the Federal Act in question but, any such legislation can only be introduced in the Federal Legislature with the previous sanction of the Governor-General in his discretion. So it is the Governor-General who has to decide in each particular case the extent of Provincial agreement necessary before the Federal Legislature can pass a law on any of the subjects included in (Part II of) the Concurrent List. It is possible that even then a Provincial Government may disregard the directions of the Federal Government and refuse to administer the law, and in that case the Governor-General may give such directions as he thinks necessary to the Governor of the Province who will have to carry out those orders even in opposition to his Ministers.

The Indian States have agreed to federate with regard to the greater number of subjects included in List I (the Federal Legislative List), but demanded that their relations with the Federal Government in the administration of these subjects should be somewhat analogous to those between the Federal and Provincial Governments in the concurrent field. The Governor-General is empowered, and if the Instrument of Accession of the State so provides, is required, to make agreements with a state as to the administration of Federal laws in that state, but every such agreement must contain provisions enabling the Governor-General in his discretion to satisfy himself, by inspection or otherwise, that the law is administered in accordance with the policy of the Federal Government, and if he is not satisfied, to issue such directions as he may think necessary. So the Federal Government cannot give directions to the states in the administration of matters in List I as it can do in the cor-

responding case of the Provinces, but it has to request the Governor-General to do so, and the latter does so only if he likes, after hearing the representations of the Ruler and after balancing the two sides of the case dispassionately in his mind.

In the financial relations between the Federal Government and the Units, the Governor-General in his discretion has again an important part to play. The states refused to allow the Federal Government to levy income-tax in their territories, but agreed to contribute to a 'surcharge' on it in case of a 'grave emergency' which would arise, according to their definition, when the Federal Government, after doing what all it could in reducing its expenditure and increasing the indirect taxation, would still find itself unable to balance the budget. Here again, it is the Governor-General in his discretion who has to decide whether at a particular time any such emergency has arisen or not.

In the case of the Provinces, there are certain taxes which are levied by the Federal Government but which are distributed in whole or in part among them. It is provided that legislation on any of these cannot be introduced in the Federal Legislature without the previous sanction of the Governor-General in his discretion. It may be expected that there may be many differences of opinion among the Ministers (Federal and Provincial) as to legislation on these taxes from time to time. The Federal Finance Minister, since he has the responsibility for introducing legislation on these in the Federal Legislature, may be expected to wield great authority. In any case of Federation *versus* Provinces, it is doubtful whether he will always act impartially. The Governor-General, being an outside authority, may be expected to be impartial and be able to interpret correctly the kind and extent of the agreement reached among them

on each particular question.

In some other matters also (borrowing powers, broadcasting etc.), the Federal Government is entrusted with power to lay down conditions, and to refuse facilities in case of non-observance of these by a Province or State, but as a safeguard against a possible abuse of power by the Federal Government, the Governor-General in his discretion is empowered to see whether any conditions thus imposed are 'reasonable'.

We may now ask: Is it necessary that there should be an impartial arbitrator between the Federal and Provincial (or State) Governments in the Indian Federation? Are there not federations which are working satisfactorily without a 'Governor-General in his discretion'? If so, why not the Indian Federation?

The answer is to be sought in the peculiar composition and character of the Indian Federation. If we compare the Indian Federation with any other federation of our time, we meet with one fundamental difference. The Indian Federation is an ill-assorted group of states and provinces, differing widely in their status and forms of government as well as in the communal complexion of the Provinces. The Indian states are autocratic and the British Indian provinces are democratic and there can be no alliance between these two irreconcilable things. The Federal Legislature is constructed in such a way as to make impossible the rise of stable parties based on national principles. More than a third of the Legislature is taken up by the nominees of the Indian Princes, while the rest is divided among a number of communities, classes and interests—Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Indian Christian and European; landlord, commerce and labour. In all other federations, the unifying and co-ordinating element comes in from a common electorate and the party

system, whereas in India, in the absence of these, it is the 'Governor-General in his discretion' that acts as the co-ordinating authority. So there is profound truth in the observation of the Joint Committee

that the existence of an authority in India, armed with adequate powers, able to hold the scales evenly between conflicting interests will be as necessary in the future as experience proved it to be in the past.

Without a Governor-General in his discretion, the Indian Federation, as at present conceived, is a cumbrous and intractable mechanism, very difficult, and sometimes even impossible, to work.

MYSTIC TERMINOLOGY

By BANKEY BEHARI

[As an interpretation of mystic terms, Mr. Bankey Behari's article will be helpful to the readers in following the series contributed by him to this journal.]

. Even 'midst thy smiles thou weepest and
moreover strange to tell;
Thou art of thyself the lover, and the well-
beloved as well!
Both are weeping, both are wasting, both are
pale and weary-eyed.
Both are burned in isolation, both are spurned
and sorely tried.
I behold upon thy head what in my heart doth
hidden rest,
Thou upon thy head dost carry, what I hide
within my breast.

SHAMSHUDDIN MINUCHIHR—"ON CANDLE"

Behind the apparent terminology of the mystic an esoteric meaning is hid. The reader has therefore to appreciate the symbolic interpretations of his words. It is said of Nasir Khusraw, the great mystic, that he once questioned a pilgrim just returned from Kaaba in the following words:

Tell me how didst thou honour that noble sanctuary?
when thou didst stand on Mount Arafat and wert permitted to
advance? Didst thou become a knower of God and denier of Self,
and did some breath of divine wisdom (*maarfah*) reach thee?

In answer, the pilgrim shook his head. Nasir thereupon remarked:

O Friend, then thou hast not truly performed the pilgrimage, nor stood in the station of self-obliteration, thou hast gone, seen Mecca, and come back, having bought the fatigues of the desert for silver.....

By Kaaba, the mystic does not mean the tomb of the Prophet at Mecca: but the place of the Lord within the human heart. Maulana expresses himself thus, on the same point:

Apparently people understand by Kaaba, the house in which it is located, for the simple reason that whosoever runs and hides himself in it, is protected from calamities. The taking of life of anybody and all kinds of sports are prohibited there. Nobody is to be given any kind of pain. God has selected that spot as his own. This is the apparent explanation of the words of the Quran. However those who have penetrated below this superficial interpretation, say house (*BAIT*) connotes the heart of man. It therefore follows that what is meant is that the heart prays that the Lord might be pleased to cleanse it of all evil thoughts and desires: and keep it away from the approach of doubts and fears, so that when all fear is gone peace may reign in that house. (*Fih-ma-Fiha*, p. 169).

He has further enlarged on the point a little later:

Kaaba means the heart of the Prophets and the saints, where the Lord sends His calls. The Kaaba which exists outside is but a branch of it. If the heart was not there, to what purpose would then a Kaaba be?

Maulana Rum therefore strikes his note of warning, and tells the reader not to look to the words alone, but seek to find the meaning behind them. He contends that his religion does not teach the worship of the tomb or of the idol; and advises the devotee to tear the veil, and to peep behind the mask. He thus expresses himself:

The tomb of Hazrat Ibrahim and his place of worship is but a few steps from Kaaba. People ascribe miraculous effects to the

prayers that might be said there. Those who look to the externals thus interpret it. They may in their own way be right. But the investigators who have dived deep think that it preaches to the devotees to burn themselves in God's love as Ibrahim did, and strive to reach that height. Bear up, it says, with the difficulties of the Path that leads to Him, and even if you fail to reach that height, try to reach at least close to it, for Ibrahim had made of himself an offering to the Lord. He ceased to cherish any fear for his life. Nothing deterred him from his ideal. He permitted himself to be thrown into the fire for the sake of his Beloved (cp. Prahlad in Indian Vedantism). It is therefore said, that saying prayers at the tomb of Ibrahim is efficacious but the prayer that is to be said there must be such that while you stand here in this world, you bend (in devotion) in the other (world). (*Fih-ma-Fiha*, pp. 169|170)

The mistake which people generally make is that they confuse the real with the apparent meaning. The prayers that are said are mere external ceremonials: they are mere prefaces to the (book of) purity that is sought for (to be opened) within. Prayers connote remembrance of God at all moments.

Prayer does not mean that you should be standing all the time in it, by bending in prayers at all hours in this world. It aims at your acquiring that devotional attitude that should accompany and inspire one in his prayers. Whatever you are doing, whether reading or writing, sleeping or awake, in all conditions you should remember Him, and not be heedless of Him.

(*Fih-ma-Fiha*, pp. 179)

What Maulana Rum meant when he termed prayer, as merely a "preface" is illustrated by himself:

Although respect is shown always from the heart, but as externals are an introduction to the internal conditions, 'preface' has a special significance. People sometimes scent the contents from the preface of the book. Therefore I say, this standing in prayers, bowing your head in reverence only depicts the extent

to which this respect is engrained in the heart. If externally we show no respect, it is an indication that our heart is impure.

(Ibid p. 184)

Maulana Rum very clearly says that prayer and fasting without actually living the life they really portray is meaningless. The mere form of prayer and fasting should not be mistaken for the reality. Pointing to Amir Parwana he said, that it was for that reason that one seldom came across a real devotee. None said he, really wants to fast and pray, consciously reading the essentials in his life and translating them into practice. Amir Parwana is said to have inquired of the Master, "Is then actual comprehension and action essential to prayer?" The Master remarked:

There is not one amongst you, disciples, who understands the value of practice. If I could find one I would demonstrate to him the value of practice. I see here people are after intellectual disquisitions, after enunciations and mere statements. If I am silent they grow sullen. I tell you, if you are after practice, I shall introduce you to it. I indeed am seeking one who should be dying to learn it, but none I can find who is genuinely anxious to gain that knowledge. I, therefore, pass away my time, discoursing about it. How can you understand the value of practice, when you are not temperamentally inclined towards knowing it. One can know it who will actually practice. Knowledge is understood by knowledge and forms are known by forms, just as the inner self is understood by a clear insight. Unfortunately I do not see anybody amongst you anxious to traverse the Path. It is so lonely, deserted, and even if I were alone traversing it, how would you know it?

The prayers and fastings are not the real action, the genuine practice. They are mere appearances of it. Behind appearance is hid the real meaning. Imagine for example for a moment, the fact that there was some form or other of worship or prayers from the time of Adam to the period of Muhammad, the essence was the same, only the external form was different, from what we

find it today. What matters is the meaning behind these rituals. To-day we are concentrating ourselves on forms. The reality which is behind them is the inner self and is quite distinct a thing. Just as we say, the medicine had its effect, now this "effect" has no form and is not visible, the meaning is hid behind the form called medicine. Similarly, if we were to say that in a certain city dwells a person who "lives within himself" apparently this fact—"lives within himself"—is not visible only the works which he apparently associates himself with make us say that, 'here is man (of action) living within himself'. What is meant is that what people consider as the real practice is not what they see apparently, and mistake the reality for the ceremonials and the rituals. Unless this mistake leaves them, they cannot derive any benefit from it. What matters is true and honest faith springing from within. (Ibid p. 82).

Maulana suggests that one should not look to the skeleton of mysticism, the form that it has adopted, the dress it has donned. One should probe further to discover the meaning behind the words. The reader should know that rituals have no significance to the mystic. The mystic says that what you call saying of prayers is a mere form and a skeleton, it is not the spirit. It is not life. Prayers that you say, he adds have a beginning and an end, but the prayers of the soul are without a beginning and an end. Real prayer consists in absorption in His thoughts and becoming so much engrossed in the Lord as to become utterly oblivious of the surroundings. Prayers do not mean the external form to which we attach so much importance and significance.

At another place the Maulana repeats, why for nothing is a house considered as the Kaaba. The Kaaba is also the creation of a Prophet, and has become the object of adoration of the world. If one were to make the self of the Prophet as the Kaaba, it would be far better, because the reason for so naming the Kaaba is that self and personality of the

Prophet behind it.

I have at length attempted at presenting the esoteric meaning behind the expressions used and the language employed by the mystics, because I find that by superficial interpreters the remarkable records of the experiences of these mystics have been styled as unintelligible and obscure. And so fatal have these interpretations proved at times at the hands of the orthodox clergy that many a beautiful soul have been butchered at the Altar of Truth by these ignorant people who could not see the Truth behind the veil. Mansur Al Hallaj, who for all times will shine like a brilliant star in the mystic firmament was one such martyr. Browne however seems to cite with approval the condemnations against that great mystic in the following words:

.....But the older and the better authorities Tabari,..... Ibn Miskawayah and the Kitabul Uriyum and the Fihrist..... present him in a different light, as a "wily conjurer" bedecking his doctrines in the phraseology of the Sufis, "as ignorant and forward pretender to all the Sciences", a "dabbler in alchemy" a dangerous and impudent political intriguer, claiming to be an incarnation of the deity and outwardly professing the Shiite doctrine, but actually in league with the Carmathians and Ismailis. (Literary History of Persia-Browne, Vol. I, p. 36).

An Indian mystic, Ghaus Ali Shah, felt differently, thinking on the lines of Rumi and other mystics of the first rank, who considered Mansur as the fearless adherent of Truth:

Truth is uttered by everybody. The fault lay only in Mansur prefixing it with an "I am". And this too was not an untruth. The misguided world, however, without cause crucified him. How many a great man have not forfeited their heads because of the ignorance that prevails in the world!

Maulana Rum similarly describes his experiences:

When love reaches the limits,
 Friendship then becomes its enemy.

The world of enmity is far narrower than the world of friendship, and it is for this reason that one runs away from the world of pain to the world of love. It would be just therefore to conclude that the world which contains both these—friendship and enmity—must be vaster than the other two taken individually. Friendship and enmity, heresy and belief are the results of duality. Heresy connotes non-belief in His existence. It presumes there must be some one who is not to be believed. Just so, there must be one in whose existence people base their faith. It follows therefore that faith and heresy both cause duality. And His world is beyond the ken of belief, heresy, friendship and enmity. When one reaches that realm, it is all unity and oneness, and one transcends duality. It follows that the first world, which is of love and friendship and whatever else, is surely of a lower order and inferior to this new-dawned world. (The ignorant one) will never love it and will look down upon it.

Just so, when Mansur reached the climax of love for His God, he became the enemy of his self (duality) and killed it (duality). He cried out, "I am Truth." He meant to say myself is no more, only the divine self exists. This was the highest form of prayer and the height of humility. It means whatever exists, is God and nothing else. If someone were to say, "You are the Lord and I am Your devotee", then it is pride and vanity. You thereby prove your existence (separate from the Lord). Duality comes into play. Or if you were to say, "He is the Truth" here-to duality, steps in: because it necessarily follows that so long as 'I am not there, He cannot be.' I daresay it was God Himself who spoke through Mansur when the latter cried "I am Truth", because at the time there was none else in Mansur except Him. Mansur (i.e., his dual self) was dead. It was God asserting Himself. (Fih-Ma-Fiha, pp. 195|196).

The meaning of the expression of the mystic "I am ruth" must now have become clear. People in their ignorance and sometimes in sheer fanaticism have put a

wrong interpretation on it with the result that many massacres have resulted, depriving honest innocent people of their lives.

At another place the Maulana has said, it is likewise with the expression "He is the Lord of East and West".

This is an allegorical way of saying that He is the creator of our desires that see their dawn in us and also their close (sunset). He sustains them throughout, in the early as well as in the late stage.

The expression used by Christ one occasion, namely, "I am surprised when I see one being swallowed by the other" is thus explained by Maulana Rum:

Apparently people say man eats the flesh of 'animal'. And both man and animal belong to the same animal kingdom. This, however, is a wrong use of words, for although man does eat the flesh, but it ceases to be animal when it is so taken, for the animal is long dead. It ceases to be an animal when it is killed. The flesh is not the animal. It is the lifeless form. What Christ meant was that the Teacher swallows (eats) the disciple, and nobody can assign a reason for the queer act. He was therefore surprised at it. (Ibid p. 193).

Such then is the language of the Sufis, which is not necessarily to be judged and interpreted by the ordinary canons employed by the academician. The laboratory of the mystic is the human heart and what he records are his experiences in his path of devotion. These are understandable only by those who have passed through them. A different kind of knowledge is necessary to understand them:

Real knowledge consists in something different. This learning which people are trying to acquire is mere understanding of forms, skeletons. It is just like one embellishing the back of a mirror with pearls. The face of the mirror does not improve thereby. Its surface contains no marks of the pearls. Its face cares only

for purity. He alone who does not care for the purity of the face, may seek the back of it. For the face of the mirror speaks the truth and whosoever possesses good features, will love the mirror's face because it reflects his beauty. (Ibid p. 189).

So (realise) the knowledge acquired in this world rests on mental arguments. It is therefore shortlived. The joy of argumentation has a brief existence. As long as one hears them one delights in them, and is full of enthusiasm for them. The moment the discourse ceases the glory too fades away. In mysticism, however, the mystic perceives the reality. The charms of divine beauty are portrayed before him, and all this beauty that he sees is from his Lord. The object of learning is to teach piety. Without knowledge this is not possible. What then is meant by piety? It means renunciation of the world and directing one's attention to God and the other world.

Therefore, test your lives with this touchstone. Find out, if, whatever you have acquired is of the essence of knowledge or not. He is really learned who seeks after his God and is His lover, and has forsaken the study and researches of the things of the world on examining the workless properties of those objects. He alone will meet his Lord. It is this knowledge that will reach you to the climax. As long as you will not be oblivious of your self you will never find Him. Spend all time in His investigation and pass all time in trying to have a vision of Him. Once you are engaged in this work for years, and do not for a moment direct your attention to the things of the world; then the perfume of the new birth (conversion) in you will spread throughout the world, and you will attain to sainthood. You will feel the joy of discovering Him in His Name (GOD). It will be an enjoyment which you shall not forget even in your intellectual pursuits.

When absorbed in Him you will experience ineffable joy and see that all names are contained in that one Name, and all forms and colours are the colours of the soul. And, if perchance, you do not experience joy in that *word*, and do not attain to nearness to Him, believe it you will never find pleasure in any other know-

ledge. Real merit and achievement consists in merging your identity into that Universal Personality and acquiring that attribute that shall attract souls to it, and give them strength, and make the latter oblivious of its previous (ignorant) self by its magnetic touch. You should become forgetful both of this end (the world) and the other (next world). Anything that causes you anxiety or worry should leave you. You will find that everything is hid off and has disappeared as the stars and the moon in the daylight. Of course then people will observe the light in you, and recognise your learning and wisdom. Do not waste any further time. Start now. Enliven the knowledge that you have so far acquired. (Ibid p. 237).

I had just mentioned the tragedies that had been enacted on Shah Mansur and Shams Tabriz owing to the ignorance of the people in not following what they (the noptics) expressed. Maulana Rumi thus laments this episode in the History of Islam:

The standard-bearers of Islam never knew what was meant by the term heretic (idolator) and in this mistake shed so much innocent blood. A heretic is one who loses faith in the mercy of the Lord. Faith connotes recognition and belief in the existence of the Lord. The saint sees the mansion (Goal), the world only the dirty stables. And those who are dearest to Him, care neither for this world nor for the next. They have directed their attention to the primal cause and centre it there.

I have tried to give, in the words of Maulana Rumi, some of the interpretations of the mystical expressions, taken from his work *Fih-ma-Fiha* (a collection of his discourses, the translation of which I contemplate bringing out in English shortly). Those who are interested in the study of this aspect of Islamic mysticism will be well advised to refer to Shabistari's *Gulshan-i-Raz* and Jami's *Lawa'ih*, for a detailed interpretation of the mystic terms. Of course the books of Rumi and Attar, the *Masnavi* and *Diwan* of the

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former, and the *Mantaq-ut-Tair* and the *Qasida of the letter*, sometimes elucidate the technique of the path of the mystic in very simple language. In the allegories of these mystics there is a treasure hid, which might be dug out with patience and profit.

MAHATMA GANDHI AND PUBLIC LIFE

By P. NARASIMHAM

[Mahatma Gandhi's role as a politician is still in the region of controversy, but not so his influence on, and contribution to, Indian public life. What India owes to him is a matter of history. This article by a non-Congressman belonging to "Mr. Chintamani's school of thought" (not party), will be read with interest.]

'The modern Jesus Christ', 'the founder of His Kingdom on Earth', 'the embodied symbol of the Indian nation, its living sacrifice and sacrament in one', 'Saint Francis of Assisi', the shaker of the foundations of the British Empire', 'a truer representative of the crucified Saviour than those who have thrown him into prison and yet call themselves by the name of Christ', 'an image of Buddha with the sense it gives of wisdom and peace', 'prophet and politician, saint and super-propagandist, the object of adoration to three quarters of India and of admiration to half the World', 'the most formidable man that Asia has thrown up since Mahomed', 'a pure visionary who dresses like a cooly, forswears all personal advancement and lives practically on the air'.....

How to describe the man in full who has been so variously described? But the purpose of this article is not to portray the Mahatma but to discuss, and assess the value of, his contribution to Indian public life.

Long years ago, at the twenty-fourth session of the Congress when Gandhi was yet a stranger to Indian public life, the late Mr. Gokhale (whom he is never tired of acknowledging as his political Guru) referred to him in terms which have since acquired a classic significance. Speaking on the Transvaal question, said that great Servant of India:—

'Fellow Delegates, after the immortal part which Mr. Gandhi

had played in this affair, I must say it will not be possible for any Indian at any time here, or in any other assembly of Indians to mention his name without deep emotion and pride. I can tell you that a purer, a nobler, a braver and a more exalted spirit has never moved on this earth..... a man among men, a hero amongst heroes, a patriot among patriots in whom Indian humanity at the present time has really reached its high water mark'.

How prophetic the Guru and how worthy of his benediction has been the chela's later career!

What is the contribution of this great—the greatest—apostle of Indian freedom to the cause of the public life of this country?

The first and foremost contribution that strikes any observer is that Gandhi has, with considerable success, striven to *spiritualize* the public life of the country in an unprecedented manner and to an unparalleled degree. It is no longer intellectual pre-eminence, the mastery of facts and figures, the gift of the gab or the tongue of fire, adroitness in argument or adeptness in pharse-coining that entitle one to leadership or recognition in public life unless added to all these one brings to bear on them an unsullied character, spotless and clean, and beyond reproach or cavil. As Gandhi himself put it, political life must be an echo of private life and there cannot be a divorce between the two. By starting the Sabarmati Ashram and insisting on its inmates the observance of the strictest vows bearing on the formation of high character and devotion to God and Country, by his incessant association with the lowest of the lowly and exposing his life to the public gaze, as an open book for anyone who cares to read its lessons and draw inspiration from it, by the remarkable dignity and independence never bordering however on vanity, he has brought to bear in the statement of his views and his adherence to them before his own countrymen as well as the Rulers of the

land, by the unsurpassed frankness with which he has pressed what he considered to be right and just and has likewise admitted his faults and weaknesses such as he conceived them to be, by precept as well as by the example of his spotless life, he has raised the stature of Indians and has enhanced their reputation in India as well as abroad more than it has been possible for any publicist to do hitherto. The Gandhi-Irwin Pact was Britain's first compliment to India's national awakening while the Poona Pact clearly showed that the soul force of a great Indian was sufficient to challenge the most solemnly sealed decisions of the greatest of Empires and unsettle the most settled of historical facts.

Indeed, where is there in all history, another example of a representative of the down-trodden subjects of an Empire speaking on equal terms with the Rulers of the land, and presenting the case for India with a religious fervour and a profound patriotism, an accuracy of detail and a firmness and authority in statement which have been at once the envy of his opponents and the unbounded admiration of his fellow countrymen? Who could call the mighty British Politicians to order by stating that the Round Table Conference was not intended to convert itself into a debating society but to arrive at some conclusions, good or bad, satisfactory or unsatisfactory, instead of being involved in a state of 'hopeless uncertainty and endless delay'? The Mahatma's utterances in England breathed a spirit of remarkable freshness and rare candour. And by far the most eloquent and touching words he addressed the Conference were as regards his relations to the untouchables.

'I claim in my own person' [said he] to represent the vast mass of the untouchables. Here I speak not merely on behalf of the Congress but I speak on my own behalf and I claim that I would get if there was a referendum of untouchables their vote and that

I would top the poll. And I would work from one end of India to the other to tell the untouchables that separate electorates and separate reservation is not the way to remove the bar sinister I would far rather that Hinduism died than that untouchability lived I will not bargain away their rights for the Kingdom of the whole world. I am speaking with a due sense of responsibility when I say it is not a proper claim which is registered by Dr. Ambedkar when he seeks to speak for the whole of the untouchables in India. It will create a division in Hinduism which I cannot possibly look forward to with any satisfaction whatsoever. I do not mind the untouchables being converted to Islam or Christianity. I should tolerate that but I cannot possibly tolerate what is in store for Hinduism if there are these two divisions set up in every village. Those who speak of political rights of untouchables do not know India and do not know how Indian Society is to-day constructed. Therefore I want to say with all the emphasis that I can command that if I was the only person to resist this thing, I will resist *this with my life*. (Italics mine).

And did not the Mahatma resist it with all his life and secure for Harijans a permanent place in Hindu society?

Closely allied to the spiritualization of politics and the political institutions in the country is the quality of *fearlessness* which he has trained the Indian Nation to cultivate and practice. Fearlessness according to him was 'the first thing indispensable before we could achieve anything real or permanent. It was unattainable without religious consciousness'.

Let us fear God [says he] and we shall cease to fear man. If we grasp the fact that there is a divinity within us which witnesses everything we think or do, and which protects us and guides us along the path, it is clear that we shall cease to have any other fear on the face of the earth, save the fear of God. Loyalty to the Governor of Governors supersedes all other loyalty and gives an intelligent basis to the latter.

Never has the presence of an august personage, be he

his own friend and countryman or a foreigner for whom he had high regard, ever prevented Mahatma Gandhi from speaking out his mind in the most unequivocal manner. In his historic speech at the Benares Hindu University which was interrupted and could not be delivered in full, on seeing a number of Princes and Maharajas dressed in magnificent jewellery, he told them there was no salvation for India unless they stripped themselves of all their jewellery and held it in trust for their countrymen in India. In the course of the same speech referring to the detectives stationed in many places to protect His Excellency the Viceroy, he asked:

Why this distrust? Is it not better that even Lord Hardinge should die than live a living death? But a representative of a mighty sovereign may not. He might find it necessary even to live a living death.

Denouncing the anarchist movement he observed:

It is a sign of fear. If we trust and fear God we shall have to fear no one, not Maharajas, not Viceroys, not the detectives, not even King George.

When Sir Daniel Hamilton waxed eloquent over the advantages of co-operation and axiomized 'Credit which is only Trust and Faith is becoming more and more the money power of the World' and that India would find her ultimate victory and peace in co-operative credit, the Mahatma was provoked to give a bit of his mind. He said:

After twenty years' experience of hundreds of men who had dealings with banks in South Africa the opinion I had so often heard expressed has become firmly rooted in me that the greater the rascal the greater the credit he enjoys with his banks. The banks do not pry into his moral character; they are satisfied that he meets his overdrafts and promissory notes punctually. The credit system has encircled this beautiful globe of ours like a serpent's coil and if we do not mind it bids fair to crush us out of breath. I have witnessed the ruin of many a house through this system

and it has made no difference whether the credit was labelled co-operative or otherwise.

He explained the right method of co-operation and concluded his remarks on the subject by stating that when that was practised 'there need be no fear of Co-operation of scoundrels that Ruskin so rightly dreaded'. Examples of this nature might be multiplied. It is hardly surprising however that a person to whom his very life is as nothing in the conquest of Truth should be a personification of fearlessness in his relations with men and should preach that gospel to his cowardly brethren. Fearlessness however does not mean according to him a want of due respect or regard for the feelings of others.

In fact, a wide *tolerance* of difference of opinion and a divine forgiveness constitute a prominent feature of Mahatma Gandhi's public life. It abounds in several examples of these sterling qualities which are but another name for his doctrine of Ahimsa. Gokhale was in Gandhi's estimation all the latter wanted, a most perfect man in political life and when people began to suspect his allegiance to his departed Guru he protested against any insinuation questioning his loyalty to his Guru and said 'It would be blasphemous to conjecture what would have happened if he were alive to-day. I know that I would have been working under him', and yet there were vital differences between the Guru and the *sisbya*. These differences he himself tells us mattered neither to him nor to his master and that nothing could put them asunder. Dr. Besant and the Mahatma had never seen eye to eye on several matters and the former had sometimes said things about the latter which several resented. Nevertheless, the Mahatma was nothing but admiration for her and never referred to her except in the most flattering terms.

No one has popularized the idea of Home Rule for India [he

said] with so much success as she (Dr. Besant). The best of us, much younger in age, are unable to approach her in her industry, zeal, organizing ability, all devoted to the service of India. She has devoted the best part of her mature life to the service of India and she has deservedly attained to popularity in India, second perhaps only to that of Lokamanya Tilak.

Nor is this tolerance confined to the Indian leaders alone. To him Lord Chelmsford is 'a wise ruler', Sir Samuel Hoare is 'the most honest and frank-hearted Englishman', and Lord Irwin is 'a pious and charitable Christian'. The Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri spoke feelingly of the same characteristics, when he saw the Mahatma in the hospital at Poona at his operation for appendicitis in the year 1924. He said:—

I sat outside marvelling at the exhibition I have witnessed of high-mindedness, forgiveness, chivalry and love transcending ordinary human nature and what a mercy it was that the non-co-operation movement should have had a leader of such serene vision and sensitiveness to honour.

The Mahatma himself preached his followers the great value of these qualities in the course of several of his discourses.

I want you to feel [he said on one occasion] like loving your opponents and the way to do it is to give the same credit for honesty of purpose which you would claim for yourself.

And again:

'Three-fourths of the miseries and misunderstandings in the world disappear if we step into the shoes of our adversaries and understand their standpoint. We shall then either agree with our adversaries or think charitably of them.

Consistency is another notable virtue which the Mahatma's life presents to us for emulation. It has sometimes been said that consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds. It is however only partly true like the saying that 'Patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel'. A false consis-

tency like false patriotism may be what these sayings emphasise; but without consistency in its broadest sense, it would be intolerable in public life to accept leadership or have regard for any patriot when it is possible for him to change his views as the chameleon changes its color and cause untold misery and ruin to several of his followers. It must be said to the credit of the Mahatma that during a long course of 40 years and more of public service he has rendered in India as well as outside there is hardly a case of any violent change of opinion, not to speak of any change in the main creed or faith of his life. The ideas might have developed with mature years, their place in public life might have been better realised and with riper experience a better perspective come to be formed but *volte-faces*, topsy-turveying, opportunism, change of creed for selfish ends, unsettled ideas and views deceiving the world as to real intention or motive actuating those holding them, are absolutely foreign and positively abhorrent to Gandhi whose beacon light has always been Truth. The only matter on which there would appear to be a difference in his views between his earlier years of public life and the latter is his opinion on the value of the British connection. But even here it is not a change of any view but a realisation of a mistake after long experience. He briefly put this aspect in his formulation of the National Demand at the Second Round Table Conference thus:

Time was when I prided myself on being, and being called a British subject. I have ceased for many years to call myself a British subject. I would far rather be called a rebel than a subject, but I have now aspired, I still aspire, to be a citizen not in the Empire but in a Commonwealth, in a partnership if possible, if God wills it an indissoluble partnership but not a partnership super-imposed upon one nation by another.

His written statement before Mr. Broomfield, the

District Judge who tried him explains at length and in the most convincing manner why 'from a staunch loyalist and co-operator' he developed into 'an uncompromising disaffectionist and non-co-operator'. It is the supreme quality of noticing only the good points in a great man's career without worrying himself about the darker phases of others that has endeared the Mahatma to every Indian leader of any standing and the result has been that those who violently differed from him have come to recognise the unassailability of his position and some of them have fallen in with his views and others, though differing from him, hold him nevertheless in the highest regard.

Another pointed lesson that Mahatma Gandhi has taught the Indian nation is the doctrine of *self-help* in political affairs. It is the doctrine of Swadeshi in its widest significance. The burden of his political song has always been that Swaraj is a thing to be realised and not conferred by an outside agency and in the measure we qualify ourselves for it in that measure do we succeed in achieving it. The shortest way to Swaraj, explains the Mahatma, 'lies through self-impression, self-expression and self-reliance, both corporate and individual'. A period of apprenticeship is accordingly necessary before one enters public life. Gokhale founded the Servants of India Society but Gandhi with his widely divergent views from those of his Master on Western Civilization, Western Education, Social Reform as generally understood, and Female Education as at present obtaining, started his own school of discipline, the Satyagraha Ashram whose inmates were the first to practise the risky ordeal of civil disobedience. Their spiritual training stood the Ashramites in good stead and they played their part nobly and well in the first active non-violent fight for political freedom. Without strength from within, it is gross superstition according

to him to think that we could set our house in order after we get the Government into our own hands and he warns us by telling us that no nation has achieved its independence in that way.

Yet a vital contribution to the Indian cause that the Mahatma has made is the optimistic outlook he has brought to bear on it and of *the importance of the masses* of India in any scheme of Swaraj. It is not merely the educated Indians that are pining for political deliverance but the masses of India as well. They have understood the cult of Swadeshi and of Swaraj and the Mahatma has brought a change in the Indian outlook by pointing out the desirability not of securing a few more posts for Indians but of devising ways and means by which the grinding poverty of the masses can be reduced, if not removed altogether. This was indeed the message of Dadabhai Naroji.

In a forceful rejoinder to the criticism of the Bard of Shantiniketan the Mahatma once wrote:

The human bird under the Indian sky gets weaker than when he pretended to retire. For millions it is an eternal vigil or an eternal trance. It is an indescribably painful state which has to be experienced to be realised. I found it impossible to soothe suffering patients with a song from Kabir. The hungry millions ask for one poem, invigorating food.

It is in the same spirit that he appealed to the Viceroy to effect a radical reduction in the expenditure of the administration. To Lord Irwin he wrote:

Take your own salary. It is over Rs.21,000 per month besides many other indirect additions. The British Prime Minister gets £5,000 per year i.e., over Rs.5,400 per month at the present rate of exchange. You are getting over Rs.700 per day against India's average income of less than annas two per day. The Prime Minister gets Rs.180 per day against Great Britain's average income of Rs.2 per day. Thus you are getting over 5000 times India's

average income. The British Prime Minister is getting only 90 times Britain's average income. On bended knee I ask you to ponder over this phenomenon. I have taken a personal illustration to drive home a painful truth. I have too great a regard for you as a man to wish to hurt your feelings. I know that you do need the salary you get. Probably the whole of your salary goes for charity. But a system that provides for such an arrangement deserves to be summarily scrapped. What is true of the viceregal salary is true generally of the whole administration.

The message of the spinning wheel, the wheel of fortune as it has been aptly termed, has brought comfort and consolation to many a poor and desolate home in this country while the ideal of simplicity and curtailment of wants so repeatedly advocated by the Mahatma has brought about economies in the private lives of several Indians and has afforded a training ground for the future administration of the Swaraj Government. The Mahatma's hopefulness of outlook is due to the fact that he intensely believes that through our civilisation we have a message to deliver to the World. His own loyalty to the British Raj he used to say before he gave it up was based on a selfish motive *viz.*, that he aspired 'to use the British Race for transmitting this mighty message of Ahimsa to the whole world'. He tells the Poet Rabindranath that his modesty has prevented him from declaring from the housetop that the message of non-co-operation, non-violence, and swadeshi is a message to the whole world. He feels however that in order to preach the gospel of hope to the world, and before she can aspire to die for humanity, India must first learn to live.

Last but not least of his gifts to the public life of the country is his spirit of *compromise*. It is not a compromise of principle or of an abiding faith, but the compromise of unessentials when the essentials are granted or secured to the nation. Are not the Gandhi-Irwin Pact and the Poona Pact

glowing tributes to his capacity to stop the suffering of a nation or of his own self when there is a real change of heart, a frank concession of the vital things in his demand? Times out of number has this most uncompromising lover of truth exhibited this readiness to give in the minor points where the major ones are admitted, to the surprise of the more fanatical of his followers and the unstinted admiration of his friends in hostile camps. As a liberal-minded politician once put it, the danger lay not in that Mahatma Gandhi would not give in when necessary but that he might give in too much. The view-point of the Mahatma is not merely political but politico-religious that explains the apparently conflicting and sometimes surprising decisions of the Mahatma at critical points in our national history. The Rt. Hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru gave expression to this peculiar feature in Gandhi's public life when he said:

We cannot get him to discuss real political problems. He is all the time putting to us moral and social conundrums.

The public life of a country is the reflection of the life of its great leaders and Indian public life is no exception to the rule. The message of the Mahatma to the Indian public life may indeed be summed up in the saying of one of the greatest statesmen of England:

Be inspired with the belief that life is a great and noble calling, not a mean and grovelling thing that we are to shuffle through as we can but an elevated and lofty destiny.

To the extent we act up to this ideal, to that extent will we have attained Swaraj.

"A NEUROTIC PRINCE"

By V. R. TALASIKAR

[An interesting study of Hamlet, as delineated by Shakespeare.]

Everyone may see the glorious kinship to genius of all these forms of disease. And everyone thinks of Shakespeare who divined neurosis in genius, and left of it a monumental portrait in Hamlet the man afflicted by melancholia.—CESARE LOMBROSO—

Hamlet's psychic structure has been a mystery which has baffled critical intelligence. It is a mystery more perplexing than the letters of Junius, and more occult than the masked executioner who beheaded Charles the First. It is a mystery more astounding than Demosthenes who, a stammerer in his boyhood, rose to the highest pinnacles of fame in oratorical achievement. It is a mystery more shocking than the "Œdipus Complex" at which we shudder even to the marrow of our bones.

In order to get out of this mystery, in order that Hamlet's mental functioning as manifested in his behaviour may be coherently explained several tentative theories have been put forth. One cannot help laughing at the acrobatic feats which these professional critics perform, forgetting all the while that literary criticism, unlike poetry, is not a lucky dip into fantasy. One critic denies to Hamlet even manhood itself. I believe that it is a flight of imagination almost up to the moon but we must not ignore the fact that its feet have left the ground. Goethe says that Shakespeare wants to represent the effects of a great action laid upon a soul unfit for the performance of it. There is an oak tree planted in

a costly jar, which should have borne pleasant flowers in its bosom; but the roots expand: the jar shivers. But to call Hamlet effeminate, who in a convulsive action stabs Polonius, who valiantly fights with Laertes, is a flagrant contradiction which is very difficult to reconcile. Then comes Coleridge who dreams under the influence of opium, that Hamlet's action was paralysed by a habit of thinking too precisely on the event. It needs no ghost from the netherworlds to tell us that Hamlet was actuated by a morbid mania of wistful brooding. This does not explain the strange paradox that Hamlet thought almost in a puerile fantasy where he should have acted; and acted in a fit of mental derangement where he should have thought. He remains hard, relentless even to the brink of cruelty, where he should have expressed his love; and where he should have controlled himself, his love fulminates smashing decency and good sense only to jump into the grave. Lastly Dr. Bradley tells us that Hamlet has pocketed so many shocks: his father's inopportune death, his mother's incestuous marriage, and the grim revelation of the ghost. Now he says, psychologically, there are two alternatives possible: either immediate action or losing the name of action. Hamlet's mode of behaviour chooses the second path. In logic this is a perfectly valid dichotomous division, but I believe that it is bad psycho-analysis. This does not explain why he fumbled hopelessly between morbid thought and blind action, between implicit belief and vain disbelief, between lurkings of insanity and lucid intervals, and between sweet love and hate that is sweeter still. Many of us receive shocks, but few of us act in a state of mental aberration; many of us are actuated by burning ambitions, but very few of us have bloody hallucinations. The cause of his delay, of his failure in love, of his dramatic reflections, must be sought to the trait of abnormality in his psychic constitution,

and not to anything external as the critics do. It is like injecting serums and applying plasters, when the pain lies, ever tormenting in the "unconscious depths of the soul".

I have discussed above how all these critics fail to give a coherent explanation of all the conflicting phases of Hamlet's personality which abounds in discrepant actions and unusual manifestations of human behaviour. It is a bundle of hopeless contradictions, and we want a hypothesis that would cover all these morbid phenomena. The real thing is, his physical outbursts and mental disturbances must be accounted for, according to the recent developments in dynamic psychology. He doubts the reality of the ghost which revealed the gruesome tragedy, even though there are promptings from beneath "Swear, swear." He doubts his own capacities. He is embarrassed and frightened at his own ideas. Every expression gives him scruples. But he has not a shade of doubt whether Claudius is hid behind the arras. Everywhere he moves from scene to scene as a man of delicate sensibilities, but these sublime gifts of his noble heart turn to horrible convulsions of anger, when he mercilessly drags the dead body of Polonius, with an effrontery, "I took you for your better." His finer emotions give place to monstrous cruelty. "Get thee to a nunnery." This was the kind of love reserved by fate to Ophelia, love which blights the innocent smile of Nature. He thinks and thinks, goes to the lowest depths of melancholy, until he plunges headlong into a suicidal mania. He thinks, as Napoleon and Alexander conquered not from a love of glory but in implicit obedience to an innermost drive. Hamlet was a man of genius like Goethe, Voltaire and Cavour. He shared deep melancholy, suicidal tendencies and epileptic fits with them. Uneasy lies the head of a genius. Genius thinks and indulges in creative illusions not because it sincerely wishes to; but

because it must. In his lucid fantasies he sees farther than when awake, but when the bubbles of imagination are over, he is suddenly brought down to hard reality. He exhibits a strange tendency to feign madness, where his psychic energy fulminates: we get miraculous flashes of intellectual brilliancy, and the idea of the play within the play. He frequently hastens to take immediate action, but something within him paralyses his hand. As a result there is little action, but he undertook far more, and dreamt even much more. However vigorous his practical faculties may have been, his poetic faculty was still stronger. We see greatness in him exaggerated into immensity, and immensity degenerating into madness! What monstrous, surprising conceptions revolved, accumulated, superseded each other in that marvellous brain!

All these extremes that I have described are clearly the products of a pathological state of mind. Hamlet is a genius, and he is a neurotic genius. The whole of his nervous frame has been shattered. Because of this he displays hysterical symptoms and torturing obsessions. His neurosis does not seek an outlet through bodily infirmities, (although at times they do appear, when he, with his knees jostling, meets Ophelia almost in a fit of lunacy). His psychic energy explodes through various channels of mental abnormality. "Impulsivity, double personality, childishness which goes back even to the earliest periods of human life and alternates with a prophetic penetration", these are the diverse manifestations used as channels of "sublimation". He doubts the truth told by the ghost, doubts the sincerity of Ophelia. When Hamlet's introspection begins, he thinks that it is his fortune to be useless, to be wanting in courage, never to have confidence in his capacity. In such conditions action becomes a curse. The little miseries of existence were tortures

to Carlyle. To pack his portmanteau was a grave affair of state. The idea of buying gloves almost crushed him.

Claudius will not go hell if he is killed while he is praying.
To die; to sleep, perchance to dream:

What a puerile logic! Renan said:—

Unless I have the protection of the inspector I always get the worst place in a railway compartment. I see too well that to do a good turn to one is to do a bad to another. The vision of the unknown person I am offending stops short my zeal.

Next we stumble upon another stone which led Coleridge to believe that Hamlet's delay was occasioned by over-reflection. It is true: he thinks until the tissues of his brain are smashed to pieces. This excessive brooding reminds me of the last days of Swift who was confined in his room as an eagle chained behind the bars. He would walk for ten hours a day eating his meals standing or refusing food and giving way to attacks of rage if anybody entered his room. His intervals of lucidity were short. He fell back into a stupor and, as it were, itself. The working of this irony can best be seen in Hamlet, when in a neurotic fit he ruthlessly reproves his mother. This reaches the heights of magnitude and intensity, when he exposes Rosen and Guilden. He exhibits a morbid declivity to puns and plays upon words, declamations, paradoxes, and conceptions often original but inchoate and contradictory.

Hamlet thinks, introspects, thinks painfully about himself and then melancholy supervenes which culminates in the thought of killing himself. Thus when inspiration and high spirits fail together and depression of mind prevails, then these great unfortunate men interpreting their conditions still more strangely believe themselves to be condemned to

eternal fire like Haller and Ampere, persecuted by inveterate enemies like Swift and Newton or burst forth like Hamlet,

O cursed spite that I was born to set it right.

Hamlet's ghastly failure in love, his unjustifiable cruelty to sweet Ophelia can only be reasonably explained if we admit that he was a neurotic genius. He withholds his love where he should have expressed it and in an epileptic fit he jumps into her grave when it is too late. This reminds me of Julius Caesar who failed to rise when the senators went out to greet him. They felt insulted. Then Caesar returning to himself, ran home, took off his clothes, uncovered his neck and exclaimed that he was ready to deliver his throat to anyone who wished to cut it. These two discrepant actions are easy to reconcile if we think of his double personality.

An exaltation carried to excess made me treat my mistress like an idol, like a divinity. A quarter of an hour after having insulted her, I was at her knees; I left off accusing her to ask her pardon and passed from jesting to tears. He tries to compensate for his 'inferiority complex' and the bitter experience about his mother by breaking her heart upon a stone wall. Carlyle tortured his wife all through his life. He neglected her and pretended that she was indifferent. Flaubert wrote to George Sand:—"The muse gives fewer sorrows than women. I cannot reconcile the one with the other. One must choose." Adam Smith reserved his gallantry to his books. All these great men share with Hamlet colossal failures in love. Ophelia is the most natural creation which Shakespeare breathed life into. She is not Quality personified like Portia. She is just a freak of Nature, a delicate jasmine but in monstrous hands. "Get thee to a nunnery, Frailty thy name is woman," these are the standing libels pronounced by Hamlet—a second Schopen-

hauer who lacking all affection insulted his mother and drew from her conclusions regarding the whole female sex:—"Long of hair and short of sense." Surrounded by moral wretches the King and the Queen, a too wise father, a brother of no avail and a lover, a neurotic monster in a noble form—under the extreme tension of these dynamic forces poor Ophelia is crushed! Her mental equilibrium is smashed! Poor Ophelia drowns herself, to leave the world of monsters for that of Gods.

Here a few words about Shakespeare would not be out of place. What do we see in Hamlet?—a King murdered, the Queen a moral wretch, horrible goblins and ghosts, Polonius stabbed in cold-blood, a person feigning madness, hallucinations, a delicious girl actually going mad and committing suicide; and as if all these are not enough, a heap of corpses at the end. What a horrible creation! Falstaff a coward and a dipsomaniac; Macbeth actuated by satanic ambition; Lady Macbeth wringing her hands to wash off the guilt. What a ghastly exhibition of vices and desperate criminals—a morbid spectacle which we cannot find even in the court of Satan. What an heart Shakespeare must have to contemplate all this! His magic wand does not call forth "gentle drops from Heaven" but raises fearful goblins from the nether-worlds. To think of Hamlet is to think of an Empire falling. Hamlet, Lear, Macbeth, these are unique creations but they, as Friedrich Nietzsche rightly puts it, are monsters like Swift and Baudelaire. St. Joan had to go through fire to meet her saints. Napoleon was rotting in jail for the tortures he had given to the world. Socrates had to drink the cup of hemlock for misguiding the youth of Greece. Mankind has always laughed, with a devilish flicker in its eyes, at these monsters writhing with pain, laughed to its content and heaved a sigh of relief!

THE PROBLEM OF EVIL IN SHAKESPEARE

By P. C. JOSHI

["Never morning wore to evening,
But some heart did break."

What is Shakespeare's attitude towards the most perplexing problem of life—the problem of evil? Mr. Joshi of the Benares Hindu University analyses the Shakespearean mind on this subject in the following pages.]

The skies were dim and vast and deep

Above the vale of rest.

They seemed to rock the stars to sleep

Beyond the mountain's crest.

I sought for graves I had mourned, but found

The roads were blind—Æ.

And all feel yet see thee never,

As I feel now, lost for ever—SHELLEY.

In probing the Shakespearean mind, we poignantly have this feeling. The master mind that he was, his riddle is yet unsolved. It is wondrous strange how skilfully he leads his reader—for his days on the stage are done—into strange vistas, exquisite and beautiful. But the more you try to explore them, the greater is your wonder—and dismay. Shakespeare has masterfully eluded our grasp for centuries now, he has successfully overflowed our analysis, he has made us feel lost for ever in the maze of his art, but we all *feel* his charm, we all share his vision, the divine frenzy of his soul. We are cognisant of his greatness and that is why we cry aloud, in opening a play of his, with Shelley:

This, like thy glory, Titan, is to be

Good, great, and joyous, beautiful and free

This is alone life, joy, Empire and Victory.

Thus it is that Shakespeare makes us feel. But all the same we try to analyse his mind. We prefer, in spite of all disappointments, to make a search of the contents of his poetic soul.

The most psychological of English poets, and a dramatic artist of no mean order, Robert Browning, bluntly declared that Shakespeare ne'er so like at any point in his work 'left his bosom's gate ajar'.¹

Nevertheless we feel like making an attempt; and even a failure, strangely though, seems to be only an intoxicant stimulating our energies for the journey to Shakespearean El Dorado. One such baffling problem is that of evil. What did 'evil' convey to the mind of Shakespeare? What were his reactions to such an idea? In fact what did Shakespeare think of evil in general? How far can we find out his conception of evil from his dramas?

We are aware that all evil is not necessarily moral evil. Dramatic evil may or may not be moral evil. They are not identical, though they are not mutually exclusive as well. Dramatic evil and moral evil may overlap. Thus we find that the intensely pessimistic conception is not at all a moral evil. In fact, moral evil necessarily requires a free will as a man must be allowed to have his own choice or there will be no goodness left. Moral evil, again, is a relative term. It has a peculiar reference to a particular plane. We may judge the ethical in actions. Virtue exists only in activity. Moral goodness is a potentiality and not a capacity. It can admit of no chance, no fate, and even a Categorical Imperative is to be understood in peculiar sense of its own. But not so with dramatic evil. *The Tess of the D'Urbervilles* presents us with a definite illustration. One may admit the possi-

¹ Sidney Lee 'A Life of William Shakespeare' p. 635.

bility of a retribution lurking in the catastrophe which befalls Tess at the end of the first phase of her life. In this Hardy finds absolutely no dramatic evil. No doubt, he questions the presence of even moral evil. But as he remarks at the end,

'Justice' was done, and the President of the Immortals, in Æschylean phrase, had ended his sport with Tess². Art only deals with dramatic evil.

As Hood remarked:

Evil is wrought by want of thought
As well as want of heart.

Had we thought of it, where would our sympathies be? Certainly not with Tess. But we feel that there is something higher than moral evil, a something pre-ordained by the President of the Immortals. That "immeasurable social chasm was to divide our heroine's personality thereafter"³ lies in the dramatic evil which is in the background. Here we do not have the only narrow conception of evil that the moralist has, but the general outlines of the master's work bear a plan, a systematic plan, of grandeur and nobler justice.

Nowhere in Shakespeare's work is there a loss of this high morality [says Nicoll] this feeling for all that is best and most lofty in human conscience, and the same impression is created in our minds by the plays of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Ibsen⁴.

This high morality we have to discover in Shakespeare. We have pain no doubt. We have villainy of the crudest type in *Richard III*. But we ask, is it all as Jeremiah said "to prove itself in some deeper sense to be not evil but good."⁵ Does he like Hebrews come to one of the four views of evil? Is it a test, a punishment, a warning, or a

² Hardy's 'Tess of the D'Urbervilles' p. 517.

³ Op. cit. p. 93.

⁴ Nicoll's 'Theory of Drama' (1931) p. 130.

⁵ Lofthouse's 'Hebrew View of Evil'.

means of education? Again is the evil in Shakespeare only physical or mental? Or does evil lead to good and is only a stepping-stone to happiness. As Francis Thompson put it:

Is my gloom after all
Nought but his hand outstretched caressingly⁶.

Shakespeare being after all a man of his age, was yet an advance on it. He took his materials from the age, he took his inspiration from what he found, but he transformed it all into something absolutely new. He found in the Senecan model and its master, Marlowe, a crude sense of evil. The Senecan model had introduced coarse tragedy—the murders, the horrors heaped on horrors. *The Spanish Tragedy* of Kyd or even the atrocious murders of the virgins in the *Tamburlaine* show the gross manifestation of evil. Even the change from white to red and red to black in the colours of the tent symbolise the same strain. The doctrine of *Vertu* typifies the attitude of Marlowe. His heroes are superhuman, whose 'Will to Power' justifies them and triumphs over every consideration. Barabas, Faustus and Tamburlaine, all outside the barriers of human constraint, defy human standards and conventions. It has no design—intricate design—involving any psychological reading behind it. Unlimitedness—be it boundless ambition, greed or thirst for knowledge—sums the whole up and all else is raised to the ground. It is all a process of murders, horrors and sensations, and the evil does not flow from the system itself. The opposition necessarily leads to it. It is not always a clash of evil and good, but it is very often between evil and evil, the difference being in degree only, as we have in *The Spanish Tragedy*, *Sejanus* or *The Jew of Malta*.

⁶ 'The Hound of Heaven'.

But the values change with Shakespeare. Here we have essentially a systematic view of evil, refined and finished to an infinitely greater extent. We have here a convulsion no doubt as in the others but the convulsion is the outcome of a flaw in the nature of the hero. The change has occurred and certainly for the good. There has come about a change from the presentation of action to that of character, a gradual shifting from the external to the internal. And as we have seen the evil—dramatic evil—is not generally pertinent to the incident. It is essentially found within, and is to be searched for in the character. Of course there can be no isolation of the character and the incident. They are, in fact, merely two aspects of the same theme. Each vitally reacts on the other. And this Shakespeare has realised. Dr. Smart points out,

His tragedies are not bleak expressions of cruel destiny and nothing else. Of the two theories . . . of Fate and Responsibility, he perceives that both, each in its place, have in them something of truth, that both correspond to the indubitable realities of life⁷.

This combination of Fate and Responsibility forms the ultimate power which is often miscalled the Moral Order. It can, perhaps, be just and benevolent in the 'ethical' sense as Prof. Bradley would have it, but it is undoubtedly bleak in the purely dramatic sense. The end of his drama is a sort of resurrection and the survivors seem to be passengers in Noah's Ark. Through them, we believe, there will be a regeneration. All good and bad alike is involved in the same catastrophe. It thus appears as a destructive force but is not without an aspect of reconciliation. We may have otherwise felt repulsed by the play. But as Prof. Vaughan remarked,

⁷ Smart 'Tragedy' (English Association, (1922) p. 13.

It is because he had seen life and character so widely that he has grasped their significance so clearly. It is because he had sounded the depths of the soul more deeply than any other man that he touches our imagination more strongly and grips our heart-strings with more power⁸.

What is that reconciliation which instead of leaving us in a sense of deepening gloom and isolation rather leaves us warm, pulsating with new life, purged of 'pity and terror' as Aristotle would say. It is certain that no amount of argument will make us believe in a sort of poetic justice. That is a thing completely foreign to Shakespeare's nature. But we must accept that "a true perception of their own actions, painful as that may be, sheds light in their souls."⁹ This new light is the new vision of life, the process of rejuvenation in which the part of evil in their beings is atrophied like the old and wasted cells of the human organism. Thus Hamlet rises from the self-torment and self-condemnation into which he had fallen up to a sphere of thought where man's actions are regarded as *sub specie eternitatis*. Lear gains a new manhood and Othello stands aghast at the wonder and nobility of life as he sees the cynical, and we may almost say, villainous smile of Iago:

I kissed thee, ere I killed thee:—No way but this, killing myself, to die upon a kiss¹⁰.

Even Macbeth realises a new beauty in existence musing on the might-have-beens.

To make a long list short we may take three chronicle plays, where the dramatic and the moral evils tend to coincide. *King John* is the one among them in which evil plays a part next only to *Richard III* which is superior in point of

⁸ Vaughan 'Types of Tragic Drama' p. 166.
⁹ Nicoll 'Studies in Shakespeare' p. 32.
¹⁰ Othello V. 2.

subtle villainy. In this we have the eternal conflict of ambition for the kingly crown. King John contests Arthur's right and the clash is still more prominent between King John and the French King. No one reconciles himself to the circumstances, nor can. For a time the citizens of Angiers succeed in making a sort of peace by playing upon the greed of the combatants, but no sooner the Cardinal from Milan arrives, the truce is swept away in the hailstorm of prospective glory. It is the glory of being the saviour of the Holy Roman Empire on one side and on the other the high ambition of having "the free breath of a sacred king" who is supreme

Under Him, that great supremacy,
 Where we do reign, we will alone uphold,
 Without the assistance of a mortal hand¹¹.

Later again when we begin to feel that John is secure from any more troubles, the Dauphin lands in England and the nobles revolt. The solution is remarkable. King John dies of poison. He could make no compromise but Henry reigns as he can adjust the differences and himself to the situation. "Even so much I run on, and even so stop"¹² has a ring of significance round it.

We may now turn to the master villain, Richard III. He is what Boyer describes a "villain hero." It is no doubt true that the chronicle plays made him move in a very restricted atmosphere. It left him little choice to mould the events in the way he may have done. But the underlying principle runs throughout. The current here may be only as slow as a stream is at its source, but we can trace the flow all the same. Gloster is at the very outset determined

¹¹ King John III. 2.

¹² Ibid. V. 5.

to prove a villain,
And hate the idle pleasures of these days¹³.
He is a typical Marlovian character.

Selfish ambition, physical courage, absolute want of moral scruple and human kindness, are the fundamental qualities on which the character of Richard is built up. The figure is imposing, because the villainy embodied in its conception is on so large a scale and is worked out so thoroughly¹⁴.

The characteristics which Cunliffe has enumerated as Senecan are all found to a more or less extent in this play and the hero. "Sensationalism, including horror of incident and exaggeration of expression, Rhetoric, Fatalism, Contempt of Death, and Soliloquy"¹⁵ and even the subtle treachery of Richard display the influence to the full extent. What does a glance at the story reveal? Richard says:

Plots have I laid, inductions dangerous
By drunken prophecies, libels and dreams¹⁶

and no doubt we are prepared to find, what he calls himself, a 'subtle, false, and treacherous' man in action.

Richard himself, [says Thompson] is a powerful study of sustained villainy: Hastings, his credulous dupe, and Buckingham his short-sighted fellow-conspirator¹⁷.

His aim, no doubt, is to remove all obstacles from his way. That 'rudely stamped' Gloster, wanting 'love's majesty' and 'curtailed of fair proportion' dissembles and plots and executes wickedness all around. Here is an abnormal who is placed in a very intriguing position to counsel the king and to soothe reassuringly the very victim of his connivance. He gets a man murdered and the moment it is done

¹³ *Richard III.* I. 1.

¹⁴ Introduction to *'Richard III (Arden)* p. XXVII.

¹⁵ Quoted in Boyer's *'Villain as Hero'* pp. 44-5.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.* I. 1.

¹⁷ (*Arden*) *op. cit.* p. XXIII.

sheds crocodile tears as if he was the murdered one's grandame. But he does it well. He is the past-master of his trade. No compunction visits him. If one has the heart to call him a normal man—rather he is no Man—the rest of the world in the play is all on either side of that normal but never on a par with it. The tragedy arises once again out of the incompatibility of the character to cope with the circumstances. Even this wildest villain does not find himself capable of dealing with a situation of tremendous importance for all his wicked ways. No, he fails. And there lies the tragedy. There are touches which redeem the whole wicked atmosphere but here we have a presentation of evil on a wide scale in the crudest fashion Shakespeare knew of presenting it. He has definitely replied to our question: Is evil ought but good? It is a categorical negative and we shall notice it again in dealing with *Macbeth*.

Richard II is in some respects reminiscent of *Macbeth*, and in fact we may call it *Macbeth* in embryo, to a certain extent. York undoubtedly has the Banquo streak of loyalty, and at times passages occur reminding us of the latter play. But we have certainly not the amount of evil which we have even in the play just now considered. The inefficient king takes the task of

Numbering sands and drinking oceans dry:
Where one on his side fights, thousands will fly¹⁸.

He cannot do the right thing at the right time. Though a veritable villain at the beginning, he becomes the lovable Richard who

weeps for joy,
To stand upon his kingdom once again¹⁹,

rather who awakes himself on finding his kingdom not his.

¹⁸ *'Richard II'* II. 2.

¹⁹ *Ibid* III. 2.

He had come "home—what home?—had he a home?" Whether filled with indignation as we are in the earlier portion, or brimming over with crystal bright sympathy and admiration for the superb fallen majesty of Richard, we feel throughout that here was a man who had to be in some other place—anywhere but not in the universe in which he has being.

We, thus, see the evil in Shakespeare's belief consists in the MALADJUSTMENT. Take any play of his, we have the same inefficiency and incompatibility of the hero to the situations. Every tragedy is the outcome of a particular character in set circumstances which he is incapable of coping with. Each hero is an 'unpractical' man in the given circumstances. The catastrophe in all is due to a lack of adaptability in the characters. Neither the characters nor the environments are by themselves evil but both do not suit each other, and thus give rise to this third element. Not only here but even in *As You Like It*, the little evil that we have in the beginning is due to this incompatibility but the play ends well because the characters have the capacity to adapt to the circumstances. There is what may be called the Arcadian conversion in the charmed Forest of Arden. This is amply borne out by Shakespeare in all his plays.

(To be continued)

POEMS

ON A MOLE

By a strange and happy chance
My love is symbolised
For I see the likeness of my love
In Nature's bounteous life.
I compare it to the moonlight,
I see it in the Dawn;
I feel its throb in the noontide
And in nightly vigils forlorn.

In this quest of likeness of my Love
I have even found myself
A worthy handiwork of Life
In which the loved-one dwells.
For in the centre of my heart
She has designed a place
An emblem of the Deeply Loved
To solace my lonesome days.

In common language—a mere mole
But its sweet eloquence is untold
For I find in it a semblance rare
Of love which I may not declare
And thus hidden from the common gaze
It lies in imperishable—intimate embrace

And this stained whiteness betwixt my breasts,
 Is but the wound of love's caress
 Which will last till life expire
 When mole and I in funeral pyre
 Will languish in the smouldering fire.

—PURNIMA

"CRAZY QUEST"

Roam in quest of Blessed Land,
 Away from mortal man,
 Life's sad tale is at our hand
 And the world for e'er to scan.

O'er lawns and lilies, ups and downs,
 Thro' brooks and fairy glen,
 The eye is cast with sad renown
 Of all bewilder'd men.

High and low, o'er grass and green,
 O'er ocean deep and blue,
 The step of man is cast so keen,
 In quest of what is true.

O'er forest wilds, o'er hills and dales,
 And everywhere on earth,
 Our life is sad and full of tales
 Of death and mortal birth.

Our endless race and crazy quest,
 And wily art to lean;
 We're always at the cosy nest,
 Where early we had been,

The farther do we push our steps,
 More far it e'er doth grow,
 The maze of life more wide it gapes;
 His griefs, the man to know.

And task as if devoid of Love,
 To make the Gospel new;
 Where'er on earth gone might you have,
 The Kingdom is in you.

—S. S. ALAICHI

AN EXPERIENCE

Across my bewildered imagination
 While clasped in love's delight
 The painful thought of its annihilation
 Blurred the vision of my mind.
 A nameless fear; the dread unknown
 And my love a sport of chance;
 A wild confusion in the soul
 Would await release of Love's arms
 And the Goddess Reason whom I worshipped of old
 Would not, could not, meet my searching
 glance.

I went to Her temple with wonted steps
 And laid bare before her my heart's travail
 She charged me with many exacting concepts
 But none to soothe my anguished wail.
 And so the live-long day would pass
 In many a strife;

And with the fall of eve into the night
 It would hie
 And rob my eyes of sleep;
 But the eternal Why and Wherefore
 Evade eternal reply.

Thus burdened by despair
 Of pleasure—which time may turn to Pain
 I forestalled the Morrow
 While pleasure's cause—my love remained.

—PURNIMA

THE BREATH

(Translated from the original Hindi poem)

The ever running breath generates this belief in my mind that without delay the night of suffering shall vanish and the golden dawn appear.

The fresh errands of life and death remove the trouble at every ebb and tide. No sooner does the water of life recede than the wavy gushes overflow the bank.

Accompanied with compassion the pitiable phase of the world has turned a beggar on every side. She enchains the heart and captures the mind by her throbs.

The previous life and the future lap are heavenly pleasures by the bond of memory. The breath-vibrations sing sweetly, 'May the life pass in sacrifice!'

—CHANDRA BHANU SINGH

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By A. N. S.

The Problem of the Far East—By Sobei Mogi and Vere Redman. Victor Gollancz. London. 5s. net.

Although knowledge like charity should begin with the home, it is unfortunately true that educated Indians generally are better informed about the march of thought and affairs in Europe and America than regarding the course of events which have transformed Japan from an obscure and insignificant country into one of the most important nations of the world. And yet the progress which this small island nation has managed to achieve is one of the most amazing and arresting phenomena not merely of modern times but one of the strangest chapters in all history. Even an account of the origin and historical development of the empire on which the sun never sets is not a subject calculated to excite more surprise than the recent history of 'the land of the rising sun' which records of a single-minded pursuit, the high resolve and the singular devotion to their country of one of the bravest and the most patriotic peoples. That there should be more interest in Asia in the culture and institutions of two continents lying across thousands of miles is largely an evidence of the tight grip under which the West holds the East. If the history of the rapid and gigantic strides which Japan has taken in the race for progress is a challenge to the West it is no less an inspiration to the East and a call to wake from the deep slumber of the ages. In the menace to the West lies the hope of the East. Without any desire to belittle the importance of an acquaintance with

the thought and institutions which have established the ascendancy of the West in the modern world, it may be observed that if in spite of our political subjection and the habit of constantly turning to the West for inspiration which it has inevitably bred, we can do something to add to our knowledge of Japan we might gain immense profit by doing so. Perhaps for us in India circumstanced very much as Japan was when with set teeth she entered the arena of competition and started fighting her way up, Japanese history may be found to be rich both in example and working. It may possibly give conscious direction to our course and help us to steer clear of many rocks and shoals.

This book, though not learned or profound, furnishes clear and concise information about the problems of the Far East and their bearing upon the wider sphere of the world-problems. One of the two authors of the book, Sobei Mogi, has already achieved a considerable reputation by a book on Federalism which shows wide and accurate scholarship. The writers are evidently trained observers of institutions and tendencies which although obscure and uncertain, shape the future course of events. To a capacity for keen and competent observation is united the ability to present facts objectively and with proper detachment. In separate chapters we are informed of the working of the political and economic institutions of the two great countries which constitute in essence the problem that we now call the 'Problem of the Far East'. Reading of the political institutions of Japan which have made the country politically great, one is struck by their undemocratic character and the contrast they offer to modern democratic theory and practice which we associate with advanced countries where democracy prevails in a less undiluted degree. The constitution of Japan is a denial of the theory which lies at the core of democracy that the

ultimate seat of sovereignty is in the people. In Japan, sovereignty resides not in the people but solely and indisputably in the Emperor himself. It results logically from this that the power of amendment of the constitution can be exercised only by the Emperor. The mere fact that this power—a cardinal test for judging of the fundamental character of a constitution belongs exclusively to the Emperor is enough to show how far Japanese political institutions are from being democratic. While certain fundamental rights of the subject are guaranteed, the Japanese diet is merely a deliberative body with no effective voice in the determination of the laws which form the subject of its deliberations. The Central Government exercises a very tight control over local institutions so much so that their autonomy is reduced in practice to a shadow. Japan has borrowed her code of criminal laws mainly from the French legal system and based it partly on German law. The principle of *Droit Administratif* is an important feature of the constitution and serves as an effective brake on any real advance towards a genuine type of democratic government. Ministerial responsibility to the House of Parliament is wanting and the ministers between whom and the civil servants no distinction has been thought necessary owe responsibility solely to the Emperor. The main problem of Japan as far as it involves relationships with the outside world is economic. Her economic needs may force her to adopt more and more a policy which will inevitably cause a conflict between her and other world-powers which command more ample outlets for their industry and their populations. The growth of industrialism in Japan and her present important position as one of the leading industrial nations of the world have been largely assisted by cheap and abundant labour, a low standard of living and the exceptional knack of the people in acquiring

mastery over the technique of production. Ideas inevitably leap across geographical frontiers in the modern world and there is no wonder therefore that socialistic ideas have entered into Japan and even aroused some enthusiasm and caused some anxious heart-searchings. But according to the authors, socialism is not likely to take root in the soil and there are stronger grounds for prophesying that Japan will in course of time develop into a Fascist corporate state. Her belief in militarism, in firm, efficient and orderly administration and the essentially conservative outlook of her people in spite of the changes which have altered the face of the country make it more likely that Japan will model itself in consonance with the ideas of the Italian Dictator than accept the gospel of Karl Marx.

If Japan presents a picture of peaceful and planned progress, a welded homogenous people and a firm government, the picture of China exhibits the very reverse of these qualities. The change resembles the experience of going from a peaceful and cultivated garden into a vast wilderness where the horizon is all clouded and the sky dark as dark can be. If there is danger from Japan for the peace of the world because she is ambitious and strong, China is a greater danger spot in her weakness. Internally the prey of constant and bitter feuds, externally she is the great hunting-ground of Imperialistic powers. Her weak, disunited and chaotic state is a heaven-sent opportunity for countries who have set their hearts on the quest of new territories and fresh markets. Here in this vast, unexplored field many different countries are engaged in a conflict, each to establish its own supremacy which may at any time cause a crisis of the first magnitude. Many difficult war-lords strut across the stage engaged in constant internecine warfare differing from bandits only inasmuch as they possess more power and more resources.

There towered above all others amidst this confusion and organised plunder for a time the commanding figure of Sun Yat Sen with a clear-sighted vision and an elevating appeal to the patriotism of the people. He exerted himself heroically to base the Chinese Constitution upon their fundamental principles nationality, democracy and livelihood. But even the magnetic personality of Sun Yat Sen could not succeed against the tremendous odds which had to be encountered. The battle for political supremacy in China will be fought out between the two active movements, the policy of the national government of the republic and the Chinese Communist party. Many of the ills from which China is suffering are undoubtedly due to the extremely low standards of morality of her people. There is little hope of her progress without expert foreign advice and the problem as the authors see it is how to secure advice without domination—a difficult task indeed as this kind of advice has so often been proved to be the precursor of domination. The problems of China and Japan constitute in essence the "Problem of the Far East". This problem raises three questions which according to the book are (1) can an international conflict be avoided; (2) can Japan's economic needs and political aspirations be satisfied; (3) can order and prosperity be brought to China. These are crucial questions upon which hang momentous issues.

"A CARICATURE OF CAGLIOSTRO"

By I. D.

Mussolini Red and Black. By Armando Borghi. Wishart-Books Limited, London. 5s. net.

Mussolini is the most discussed man in the world to-day, not excluding Hitler. Both of them are the supermen of

the post-War period. But to-day, Mussolini has eclipsed Hitler in challenging the attention of the world. What sort of man is this whose presence is reminiscent of Napoleon and whose manner is suggestive of Caesar? Has he any of the qualities of a great man or is he the devil incarnate?

Armando Borghi whose book provides us with an answer, be it a satisfactory one or not, frames, in fact, his own questions: He asks:

Who is Mussolini? Where does he come from? What are his different political phases? In what sense was he a socialist? How did he disown socialism? How did he ally himself with military politics? How did he make war? What was his militant action after the War? Did he save Italy from revolution? How, when, in what way? Should he be classed among the heroes or the scoundrels, the charlatans or the idealists, the audacious or the swindlers, the zealots or the criminals?

The author's answers to these questions are not at all complimentary to Mussolini: they are, on the other hand, very damaging. It cannot be said that Armando Borghi's knowledge of Mussolini is limited or that his argument is weak. He was in close touch with Mussolini and an active participant in the history of Italian socialism. And his book is heavily documented. Out of his picture Mussolini emerges in the blackest of hues—a deep-dyed "villain of the piece". One wonders if a person can be as bad as Armando Borghi has presented him to be. For if he is to be believed, Mussolini has not one relieving trait or one good intention, or one praiseworthy act to his credit. There is no vice from which he is free, no crime which he has not committed, no sin of which he is not guilty. According to the author, he is 'a braggart', 'a bandit', 'an opportunist', 'a charlatan', 'a mountebank', 'a villain', 'an unscrupulous impostor', 'a king eater', 'a very complete Barrabas'—and what not? His disclosures are sensational and shocking.

Perhaps Armando Borghi has given a one-sided picture of Mussolini (for his is the most devastating indictment not only of Mussolini as a politician but also of Mussolini as a man), but certainly his is a very entertaining book from the first page to the last. It reads like a thriller.

MYSTIC SOLUTION TO MODERN PROBLEMS

By BANKEY BEHARI

God is my Adventure. By Rom Landau. Published by Ivor Nicholson and Watson Ltd., 44 Essex Street, London. (1935) Price 10s. 6d.

A record of the experiences, stretching over 15 years, more personal than scholarly, of one who sought from great mystics and teachers of his day, a solution to the great problems that constantly baffled him.

For example:—Was our earthly life a complete whole or was it merely a stage in a longer journey? Was the belief in Karma and in reincarnation more satisfactory than in Paradise and purgatory of the Christian Church? Had our sex instincts to be regulated according to some hidden plan or to physical necessity or to conventions in which we have been brought? Were our actions the free expressions of our 'ego' or merely the results of habits and education? Ought we to follow the conventional ethics of our day or try to discover ethics that might have a more spiritual significance.

Not attracted by the monasteries or the Eastern *Ashtams* he has sought replies to his queries from the teachers and mystics of to-day. Count Keyserling, the founder of the "School of Wisdom" the author of the great book "Unsterblichkeit" (Immortality), gave out to him as the mission of his life the

radiation of spirituality which could not radiate through compulsion or even persuasion Spirit had nothing to do

with brain or intellect which could be forced to do this or that. The elements of spirit were faith and courage. It needed tremendous courage to lead a life conceived of spirit and one could achieve its deepest realisation only if one could base it on faith.....

Rom Landau recounts the message Keyserling would give to the women:—

Women are more adapted to carry the message of the spirit to the world than men. While men concentrate on activity and achievement women are always ready to become receivers for a spiritual message..... In the early Middle Ages, in the days of Provencal troubadours, woman created in their lives a refinement that carried spirituality to men.

Keyserling is averse to breaking the old churches. He is an apostle of the creed of developing the inner awareness.

Rom Landau deals with his interviews with Principal Jeffreys, the great healer, the founder of the Emil Evangelists: with Dr. Buchman, the leader of the Oxford group movement: with Stefan George, marked for the great influence he exerted through his silence and exclusiveness, the master of the German language and a supreme artist, who laid and lived high ideals. Briefly he taught "We can find true and lasting happiness only within ourselves, and that we must abandon the search for it in the world without." He deals with Rudolph Steiner and discusses his creed known as Anthroposophy: with Gurdjieff, round whom hangs the veil of mystery, and who is at once like Steiner a great believer in Occult Truth. He has lived with the Lama and is acquainted with quaint eastern esoteric practices and terminology. Mehr Baba is next dealt with and the estimate of Brunton is adopted by Landau *viz.* Mehr Baba is not a perfect teacher, whose theatrical bombast does not find favour with him.

Rom Landau is especially interested in Krishnamurti, who he confesses has strengthened his spiritual determination

at times when he was faced with crises. The teachings of Krishnamurti with whom he has lived, he deals, at great length, and the replies of Krishnamurti, to personal questions put to him, even regarding his possessions, his personal preferences, his idea of sex, the fact if he is a world teacher and if has a message to give, are replete with information and are pleasant revelations.

The net result of such contacts, at such close quarters during such a long period of genuine search have brought peace to Rom Landau. He sums up by saying that to know thyself is the goal of life. The solution to it comes naturally in due course. Discipline is needed. Prayer is necessary and in meditations the help of a teacher is essential; conscience guides but it should not be confounded with the commands of the brain; instinct is a great help, but imagination is to be guarded against, lest instinct and its call be mixed up with imagination. Sorrow is a great chastener, that "shakes and awakens the faculties that discriminate between the real and the illusion". Doing for doing's sake is suggested. The present-day spiritual anarchy is due to a wrong view from where we look at things. Inward awareness is to be developed and the solution is not far off.

Rom Landau does not profess to convert. He places his experiences before the readers without attempting to disturb their serenity or shake their faith. The thought provoking material that he has presented deserves commendation and praise.

The book is pleasant reading, illuminating and revealing.

Literature. By Philip Henderson. Twentieth Century Library. The Bodley Head, London. 3s. 6d. net.
As a survey of (mainly English) literature, this book

has a distinctive merit. It is done from an entirely new angle. Its object, in the words of the author, is "to demonstrate that it is only by understanding the economic, and therefore the class structure of society, that any genuine understanding of the literature and thought of an age can be arrived at". The author has undoubtedly achieved success in viewing literature as "a mirror of social development". From the far-off days of the epics to the collapse of capitalism he traces his subject and shows how at each age the economic and social structure of society has influenced and affected the writings of the period. ~~The book is a review~~ both of life and letters—a review with communist learnings. One may quarrel with the author in regard to his approach to the subject but one cannot deny the excellence of his treatment and the brilliance of his style. His criticism is thought-provoking; his analysis searching; his onslaught on what he terms "literary capitalism" furious. He finds "the greater part of the intelligentsia of England at the present time, clinging kindly to the individual "Bohemian" traditions of the past and terrified at the prospect of having their privileged seclusion in any way menaced". And rather with the gusto of a political propagandist than with the detachment of a critic he writes:

The old world must die before the new socialist world of the future can begin to live. Let us help to kill and bury it before it buries us all in the ruins of its collapse. Then the conception of literature as an elegant accomplishment of the leisured class and art as "fine art" will disappear, and literature will once again, as in classical times, become the expression of man's struggle with his environment and his pride in building up a society worthy of mankind.

And he praises Russia at the expense of the rest of Europe. His views apart, Philip Henderson is a delightful writer.

—I. D.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

THE BRITISH THRONE

By THE EDITOR

(i) The Late King George V

It was in a famous sermon he preached in St. Paul's Cathedral on the Sunday after Queen Victoria's accession to the Throne that Sydney Smith referred to "the folly and nothingness of all things human". If human sympathy could save King George, he would have been alive. But Providence whose purposes are always inscrutable, summoned him away to the realms Beyond, and we can only bow down to His will. It is, however, impossible, even as it is unnatural, not to mourn the loss of one who came nearest to the mould and ideal of Kingship in an age when Sceptre and Crown showed a tendency to tumble down, amid the rumblings of revolutions and the ravages of wars.

In the glorious life which was vouchsafed to King George, there has been nothing more glorious than the way in which he passed away. With the members of the Royal Family watching at his bedside, with the multitude watching and waiting for the news, with the whole nation praying for his recovery and yet trembling with fear that the fatal stroke might befall, with the peoples of the civilised world extending to him their sympathy in his tussle with Death, he passed away at Sandringham on January 21, and too, at the height of monarchical fame and personal popularity. And when the news of his death was flashed upon an anxious world, it merely broke up, so to say, in funeral groups.

It was only in May last, on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee of his splendid reign, that (in the words of the "Round Table") "ornament and oratory, tongue and pen,

ancient ceremonies and modern inventions, all the arts and energies of the nation were joined together to pay His Majesty homage." But to-day grief has swept over nations, and there was a touch of universality in the remarkable manifestations of sympathy and sorrow on the occasion of his demise. Messages of sympathy poured in upon the Queen Mother who lost the companion of a long and happy married life, and is now in utter desolation. It is of the utmost significance that the messages received by the Royal House were not conventional and commonplace but spontaneous and sincere, and that in them was also heard the voice of an exiled monarch, a European Dictator and a leader of the freedom movement in a subject country.

The quarter-century of King George's reign was one of the most memorable periods in the annals of history. It was a period of swift and startling changes in every part of the world, and in almost every sphere of life. Great Britain, in particular, passed through vicissitudes that threatened the very fabric of her Empire. Amid all the uncertainties of time and the buffets of circumstance, it was to King George that the English people instinctively turned for hope and inspiration, and never had they turned in vain.

To his judgment and understanding were allied a striking simplicity and genuine sympathy with and love for the people. Akin to workers in the mine and to labourers in the field as to men of affairs and leaders of thought, he always spoke the healing word and radiated a spirit of friendliness. In every sense, King George was the people's King. Few kings have worn the Crown with such grace and dignity as he had done. Though dead, he will live in history as one who in very difficult times succeeded in making Kingship an object of reverence.

(ii) H. M. King Edward VIII

From the King that is now no more, let us, at this time of historic associations, half sad, half gay, turn to his illustrious son and successor, H. M. King Edward VIII. The most widely travelled of Princes, as popular as he is attractive, and supremely equipped by Nature, King Edward has under most favourable auspices assumed sovereignty "over the land that the Great Macedonian could not conquer, and over a continent of which Columbus never dreamed, over every sea and nations in every zone". It is a widely cherished hope that His Majesty, like his great father, will strive to secure for the world "an ordered freedom and an enduring peace". In wishing His Majesty a long and happy reign, let us hope that in his time England will continue to be, as she has been, in the beautiful language of Ruskin, "for all the world, a source of light; a centre of peace; mistress of learning and of the arts; faithful guardian of great memories in the midst of irreverent and ephemeral visions; and faithful servant of time-tried principles", and that the Empire will have a long era of contentment, peace and prosperity under the British flag which is the greatest emblem of security in a stricken world.

RELIGION AND SOCIAL REVOLUTION

By HIRENDRA NATH MUKERJEE

[There is no more controversial subject than Religion. Right or wrong, we are apt to hold strong—often uncompromising—views on it. Mr. Mukerjee, in this article states his view-point with his usual clarity and vigour and impresses on his readers the need to guard themselves against what he calls “the subtle solaces of outworn religion”.]

I

The social principles of Christianity justified the slavery of the classical days; they glorified medieval serfdom; and they are able to defend the oppression of the proletariat, though with a somewhat crestfallen air. The social principles of Christianity proclaim the need for the existence of a ruling class and a subjugated class, being content to express the pious hope that the former will deal philanthropically with the latter. The social principles of Christianity assume that there will be compensation in heaven for all the infamies committed on earth, and thereby justify the persistence of these infamies here below. The social principles of Christianity explain that the atrocities perpetrated by the oppressors on the oppressed, are either just punishments for original or other sins, or else trials which the Lord in his wisdom ordains for the redeemed. The social principles of Christianity preach cowardice, self-contempt, abasement, submission, humility, in a word, all the qualities of the ‘canaille’; and the proletariat which will not allow itself to be treated as ‘canaille’ needs courage, self-confidence, pride, a sense of personal dignity and independence, even more than it needs daily bread. The social principles of Christianity are lick-spittle, whereas the proletariat is revolutionary. So much for the social principles of Christianity!

There is no need for an apology for this extended quotation from Marx which lays bare, with the passionate vigour

of the prophet, implications not only in Christianity but in every other form of organised, institutionalised religion that the writers, whose name is legion, so often conveniently forget. No doubt, religion has been the supreme expression of every historical epoch. An elaborate ritual and symbolism and an equally elaborate mythology have at given periods contributed to the interpretation, acceptable to contemporary minds, of man’s place in the Universe; significance could only thus be attached to what was otherwise incomprehensible, a tale told by an idiot—the processes of life set in the mute and stolid environment of Nature. No student of religion, least of all its critics, would deny its supreme importance as a social factor. Marx himself described it as “the generalised theory of this world, its encyclopaedic compend, its logic in a popular form”, and hence, as he put it, “the criticism of religion is the beginning of all criticism”.

II

There is no end to the number of definitions of religion and more has been written about it than on any other subject under the sun. Newman’s statement that “the essence of religion is authority and obedience” may not be palatable to many of us, but the great Cardinal has given us an honest definition that is more in conformity with the facts than most others. Modernists would probably dislike Rudolf Otto’s hypothesis that man is endowed with a ‘sensus numinis’, a sense of awe, which reveals itself in a longing for something which is “altogether different” from the nature of man (“das ganz andere” is one of his favourite expressions). Most of our intellectual ‘élite’ would, it seems, prefer Matthew Arnold’s famous definition of religion as “morality touched with emotion”, or Whitehead’s subtly alluring definition of it as “what a man does with his solitariness”. They forget that while morality means the *pursuit* of the true

and the beautiful and is thus ever in evolution, religion, if we are to be fairly precise in our terminology, implies something *eternally realised* or involved in the nature of things. They are probably unaware that when religion begins to stress its ethical appeal instead of its metaphysical powers, it is obvious that *as religion*, it is in a stage of decadence. They do not know that ethics, as all history shows, is not the essence of religion, though it certainly is one of its more important derivatives. They seek the answer to the "riddle of life", not in the reality of human labour and activity which is developing in every direction at a revolutionary pace, but in the depths of their own ego. They ignore what is to a student of sociology a more immediately vital sense in which religion is not what a man does with his solitariness but what he does with his gregariousness. They do not in effect, live and enrich the life about them; they hide, and cling to their miserable little "private estate," and as Gorki once said, perhaps rather unkindly, they recall, in their 'contemplative activity', the Biblical hero, Onan.

Most definitions of religion are advanced from the point of view of a particular creed or attitude, and to offset their effect, it is necessary to point out the more universal essence of religion properly so-called. The etymology of the term itself is illuminating. Cicero derived it from the verb 'religere' that is, to execute perseveringly by means of repeated effort, while Lactantius, the "Christian Cicero", who lived in the first half of the fourth century, derived it from 'religare,' to bind together, and interpreted religion as essentially a 'bond of piety'. These two interpretations suggest the subjective and objective aspects, closely interrelated, of religion, but in every sociological inquiry the major emphasis has to be laid on the objective phases of religion.

The work of men like Sir James Frazer furnishes us with

the key to the understanding of religious evolution and it is imperative to have some idea of their conclusions. Men, we learn, have ever felt strongly the need for some assurance that they are not altogether helpless and lonely in the face of the majestic and rather awful indifference of the forces of nature around them. This assurance was supplied by religion which personified those forces as gods to be invoked and cajoled and propitiated. It was imperative, on the other hand, that some of the strongest instincts of men were to be most ruthlessly curbed if the stability of communities in the past was to be ensured. Religion supplied this need, when it provided that the natural forces of which men were so afraid, in their personified forms as the gods or as God, forbade the "anti-social" acts. It was a sanction far more powerful than what could be provided by purely human agency. The certitude of eternal and dreadful punishment tended to perpetuate the forms of contemporary community life. The great majority of men were convinced, in effect, of the divine right of the powers that be. Religion became the cement of society, and before long it grew to be a powerful vested interest, more anxious than its protagonists know or care to know, about keeping the rabble in a state of satisfied servility. As Gibbon cynically remarked:

The various modes of worship, which prevailed in the Roman world, were all considered by the people, as equally true; by the philosopher, as equally false; and by the magistrate, as equally useful.

The present crisis in capitalist culture finds its most crucial expression in the crisis in religious belief. Straight-forward faith in the overt truth of religion is no longer easy, except for those who are not unprepared for mental atrophy, for the cheap and dangerous happiness of credulity. In his 'The Future of an Illusion', Dr. Freud points out with a quiet

irony, how the dogmas of religion claim our faith and support, "firstly because our primal ancestors already believed them; secondly, because we possess proofs, which have been handed down to us from this very period of antiquity; and thirdly, because it is forbidden to raise the question of their authenticity at all". It is no wonder that, as an American inquiry in 1934 showed, out of 1000 proletarians, those who worked fewer hours and got higher wages and therefore some opportunity for culture, were the least interested in religion and the Church¹. In England, similarly, an identical questionnaire ('Do you believe in a personal God?' 'Do you believe in personal immortality?' 'Do you believe in any form of Christianity?' 'Are you an active member of any church?') issued by the *Nation and Athenaeum* with its 'high-brow' clientele and the *Daily News* with its huge circulation among 'lowbrows', brought answers which showed that while among the latter, faith though weakened was still alive, it was almost dead among the former². 'The ebb of religious belief has brought men face to face with their environment and the necessity of remodelling that environment. The knowledge acquired by civilised humanity has made the old simple beliefs impossible, but the application of that knowledge has not yet been made in such a manner that the consolations of religion would no longer be needed. The crisis of capitalism has meant many a paradox, that of poverty in the midst of plenty, of overproduction and underconsumption. There is, very naturally, a profound sense of disappointment; an increasing number of men are turning away from science and reason, and are seeking solace in the myths that served society during the childhood of the race. The

¹ V. F. Calverton, 'The passing of the Gods' (1935), pp. 264-5.

² Ibid; Cf. C. E. M. Joad, 'The present and future of religion' (1931).

more sophisticated turn towards what Julian Huxley has termed 'Religion without revelation' towards the 'God-building' for which Lenin castigated Gorki and Lunacharsky. We cannot do without the comforting illusions of religion in whatever shape or form to-day, because man has only conquered, very largely, the non-human part of his environment, but has not yet understood the nature of his relationship to his fellowmen and acted on that understanding. Those who are preparing for this second conquest say with Marx that

the demand that one reject illusions about one's situation, is a demand that one reject a situation which has need of illusions.

III

Throughout the course of history, the mind's apprehension of reality has been mainly determined by its interests. Religion, from its earliest phases of primitive sorcery and witchcraft and totemism to the present-day individualist and ethical emphasis, has really served to keep intact the social body with its stratifications into castes or classes. There is no getting away from the fact that religions have served and are serving material interests and that religious teachers, more often than not, have acted as a social soporific. It is significant that the English Established Church, for instance, will more readily pardon an attack on 38 of its 39 articles than on 1/39th of its income.

Not much need be said about the part religion has played in our history; our quietism, our esotericisms, our resigned submission to the powers that be, are too well-known to require elaboration. Our spiritualism is little more than a mechanism of escape from the misery and futility of the life around us. We search our history in vain for social struggles on any large scale, for religion has done its work very thoroughly, the soporific dose has been successfully injected

into our body politic. The system of castes may have performed a useful service at some stage of our history but its survival to-day, when it is flouted more often in theory than in practice, has meant a permanent stratification of the community and the degradation, sometimes too cruel for words, of our fellows. Unlettered barbarians from Central Asia, whose only title was their sword, were admitted by our priests, many centuries ago, into the honoured ranks of the Kshatriyas. But, of course, the sword meant power, and priests of all lands and ages have believed, very conveniently to themselves, that power is ordained of God. Not even the ablest apologist would succeed in explaining away the fatalism with which the law of 'Karma' has poisoned our society. All effort at social regeneration has been baulked by the facile and pathetic hope of a less miserable life in the next round of one's existence. For centuries our social leaders have had the infernal effrontery of calling millions of their fellow-humans "untouchables", some of whom were deemed so lowly that even their shadow would pollute the path of a bloated Brahmin. Our leaders to-day think they are expiating for the sins of their fathers by finding a new name for the so-called "untouchables"; they are "Harijans", 'the people of God.' One does not understand how one connects these unfortunates whom society has been treating with damnable indifference and contempt, with the special favour of God. The idea, probably, is that God has kept them in a kind of special enclosure, for otherwise how can the comfortable votaries of God exercise their patronage and philanthropy? Many of our best men talk about 'Daridra Nārāyana', about God coming to us in the guise of those who are poor and heavy-laden. Presumably, God's pious worshippers will find their occupation gone when the poor are no longer there to receive their self-righteous commiseration! The pity of it

all is that those who talk of 'Harijans' and 'Daridra Nārāyana' have neither the time nor the inclination to think clearly of the implications of what they say. It is only one of the melancholy symptoms we always come across of our almost total lack of a social sense, a lack which has been accentuated by our hopelessly disproportionate preoccupation with the supposed spiritual outlook with which, by some esoteric process, we profess to be endowed. In the context of our social history, it is not surprising that orthodox Hindus and Muslims formed such an unholy alliance in their senseless opposition to an elementary piece of social legislation, the Sarda Act. Orthodoxy here, as everywhere, has formed to-day a league with the ruling power, with the object not of what is called the preservation of religion but of maintaining its stake—and a very material stake at that—in the country. Few care to think of the root causes of the vice and beggary which infest the places of pilgrimage. Religious conformity and social obscurantism go hand in hand together and even those who would like to think of themselves as reformers assume and often welcome the continuance, for as long as they care to see in the future, of the present class-structure of society.

In the West as in the East, this alliance of religion with obscurantism is evident to any student of history. It is a miserable subterfuge to say that slavery was condemned "implicitly" by the early Christian Fathers, for in that case one must in honesty remember that every ancient moralist from whom credit is withheld had done the same. To quote the rather rare passages in which the Fathers of the Church urged the humane treatment of slaves is neither here nor there, for every moralist had done so too. It is more to the point to remember what St. Augustine, the greatest of the Fathers, wrote in justification of slavery.

The first cause of slavery [wrote Augustine in his 'The City of God'] is sin—that a man should be put in bonds by another; and this happens only by the judgment of God in whose eyes it is no crime.

The greatest Pope of the fifth century, Leo the Great, ruled that no slave could become a cleric lest his "vileness" should "pollute" the sacred order. The greatest Pope of the sixth century, Gregory the Great, who was the richest slave-owner in Europe, forbade slaves to marry free Christian women and, very significantly, emancipated two of his slaves who had money and promised to leave it to the Church! There is no denying that neither the Christian Church nor any Christian body ever condemned slavery until modern times and even then one discovers that a generation after Western Europe had formally renounced slavery, the churches in the Southern American States were ardently defending the system. There is every proof that ancient slavery decayed from economic reasons and that slavery was openly abolished only in the sceptical nineteenth century³.

In the first century of the Christian era, there was a general belief that the world was soon going to end, and thus an ecclesiastical machinery was not carefully built up. It was only after that belief vanished that the clergy established itself as a separate class and began to batten upon the contributions of the faithful. By the ninth century, the richer members of the clergy owned from 75,000 to 140,000 acres of land; those less rich from 25,000 to 50,000; and the poorest of the bishops and abbots possessed from 5,000 to 7,500 acres⁴. In the next three hundred years this wealth multiplied itself and the Church became a business organisation on

³ See Joseph McCabe, 'The Social Record of Christianity' (1935).

⁴ Figures in J. W. Thompson, 'An Economic and Social History of the Middle Ages', p. 653, quoted by Calverton, *op. cit.* p. 141.

an international scale. This is no surprise in the context of the history of religion, for several millenniums previously, as we learn from Hammurabi's Code of Laws, the Temple of Shamesh executed many transactions and usually collected 20 per cent interest, the rate rising to 33-1/3 per cent and even to 40 per cent in the case of loans on grain⁵. It is interesting, in this connexion, to recall the intimate relationship between one of the Krishna cults and certain Hindu trading and banker sects (Vallabhāchārya), between the merchants' guild and the temple of Mercury in Rome, between the banking and ritual activities of the ancient temples of China. It is not insignificant that the magnificent edifice of the Moscow Stock Exchange used to belong to an immensely wealthy 'Lavra' (group of monasteries)⁶.

The increasing rigidification of class structure is reflected in the characteristics of the early gods as in the constitution of the medieval church. The Edda, 'Hárbarðsljóð,' depicts the antagonism between the crude peasant-god Thor, and the more refined god of the nobility, Odin. "Odin is master of the nobles who fall on the field of battle. Thor is master only of slaves". In India, Agni tended to take on more and more the characteristics of the priestly caste, as Indra did of the warrior caste. In a more developed society, there appear class divisions within the ecclesiastical hierarchy. The hatred of the rich which had been an inherent part of the early Christian creed disappeared. Even Gratian who contended that communism was the ideal state and that private property and the good life were incompatible conceded that the wealthy need not give away their riches in

⁵ Cf. N. Bukharin, 'Historical Materialism' (International Publishers New York, 1934).

⁶ Article on 'Religion' by A. Bertholet, in the 'Encyclopaedia of the Social Science' (Ed. 1934).

order to escape sin⁷. The plebeian clergy—the Waldensians, Albigensians, Catharis and others,—whose social notions did not square with those of the church aristocracy were condemned and persecuted as heretics.

In the peasant revolt in Holland, in Upper Swabia and Frisia, which culminated in the Peasant's War in Germany, religious leaders played an infamous part. The great Martin Luther could without a tremor advise the mercenaries of the German princes: "Stab, kill, hit here whoever can . . . Remember that nothing can be more poisonous, harmful and devilish than a revolutionary." In the summer of 1525, 150,000 persons, mostly peasants, were killed, often with revolting savagery; and those who warn the world against irreligion by exaggerating the massacre of 2,000 priests and aristocrats during three years of the French Revolution, never mention this orgy of evangelical brutality.

In the 17th and 18th centuries, some ten million African negroes were conveyed to America in conditions of such callous brutality that only the toughest could survive the ordeal. The Spanish theologians whom Queen Isabella consulted could only reply that the Church had never condemned slavery. The English and French joined in the profitable trade as eagerly as the Spaniards and Portuguese. Even Christian apologists have had to admit that the guilt of this great crime rests on the Church as an organised body.

The work of Troeltsch and Weber and Tawney has shown the historic importance of Calvin who was not only the social and religious dictator whose fiat would be the law in many lands, but was also the propounder of rules, in regard to the taking of interest for example, which were essential to the needs of the rising business class. While

⁷ Cf. Max Beer, 'Social Struggles in the Middle Ages.'

Augustine had stigmatised business as sin, while Tertullian had declared that with the removal of covetousness, there would be no need for trade, while Aquinas and a host of others had condemned usury and devoted considerable thought to such conceptions as that of the "just price", Calvin assured all that in working for oneself, one also works for the greater glorification of God, that one's selfish impulses and religious ideals are capable of a new and hitherto unknown harmony. Even Dissent, with its lower middle-class outlook, showed the masses no way out. Harrison and his fifth Monarchists, Winstanley and the Diggers got short shrift from their betters. Success in business became for the Puritan a test of religious grace and poverty the proof of God's disfavour.

The Wesleyan movement in 18th century England drew men's attention away from the appalling evils and cruelties of the Industrial Revolution. The Church, as usual, exalted the 'status quo', but the impetus of the Wesleyan revolt directed the mind towards individual salvation and a kind of spiritual security.

Where riches accumulated, [writes Prof. Laski] they could be regarded as the blessing of God, where they were absent, their unimportance for eternal happiness could be emphasised.

Even to-day, the evangelical zeal of the Welsh miners prevents them from attacking, as fervently as social revolutionaries would wish, the bases of a social system that condemn them to a beggarly existence.

The "saintly" Wilberforce used to speak of "the more lowly path" of the poor as having been "allotted to them by the hand of God . . . it is their part faithfully to discharge its duties and contentedly to bear its inconveniences". Another "saintly" person, Hannah More, told her famine-stricken tenants how the gentry

would not have been able to afford such large supplies to the distresses of the poor, had they not denied themselves for your sake many indulgences to which their fortune at other times entitles them.

The Archbishop of Canterbury spoke of the Reform Bill of 1831 as "mischievous", and another bishop said:—"I do not know what the mass of people in any country have to do with the laws but to obey them." In 1832, fifteen bishops were still in opposition, even though the King was intimidated to the Reform Bill. The head of the Church opposed the Education Bill of 1807. Only three bishops attended the House of Lords when in 1815 a bill was introduced to prevent the use of British capital in the slave trade. Two only voted for the Bill for the total suppression of the slave trade. The Church was obscurantist, and the misery incident to the cruel struggle for life that had to be incessantly waged by the masses evoked only what appears to us the ironical consolations of religion.

The poor [as Laski writes trenchantly] were consigned to a God whose dictates were by definition benevolent and if they failed to understand the curious incidence of His rewards, that was because His ways were inscrutable⁸.

There was no dearth of philanthropists, of "charity-mongering acrobats", as Marx called them. They no doubt sincerely desired to see an improvement in the situation of the masses, but they were careful to exclude anything which might strengthen the discontent of the workers or might encourage them to organise on their own behalf. Where God has been so patient, a reverend gentleman bids us remember, it is not for us to be impatient.

Towards social questions, thus, the Church has taken

⁸ See McCabe, *op. cit.*, J. L. and Barbara Hammond, 'The Town Labourer', H. J. Laski, 'English Political thought from Locke to Bentham'.

up a consistently reactionary attitude. It will defend to the last ditch the present distinctions of rank and fortune. It will have little to say, officially, in regard to the often inhuman policy pursued in many parts of Africa towards the native to-day. During War, its point of view is at best equivocal and not unoften chauvinistic; when nationalist frenzy overtakes it, as it did during the Great War, it is bestial. In 1927, Granville Hicks printed in the *American Mercury* a number of ecclesiastical pronouncements on the War; the palm goes to a Boston preacher who avowed that

three inches are not enough, seven inches are too many, for while you are pulling out the bayonet you are losing the opportunity to drive it into another man five inches. We must keep the flag and the cross together⁹.

No sophistry, no jugglery of argumentation can explain away the connection between missionary and trader and empire-builder; the financial adventures of Church Corporations with shares in armament firms; the historic indulgence to the rich cleverly manipulated, most notably, by the Roman Church; the opposition of the clergy in many countries to educational or social or economic change. Religion and not laws, said Fustel de Coulanges, first guaranteed the rights of property. Religion, history shows us, has been and will be used by its protagonists in every conceivable way to prop up this social system that is based on the institution of private property.

IV

In a factory survey in the Soviet Union, stories of their severance from religion were collected from atheist working men. In 7 cases, it was the experience of the Revolution of 1905 that led to the severance; in 10 cases, the World War;

⁹ Quoted by Calverton, *op. cit.* p. 261.

in 26 cases, agitation in the Red Army; in 31 cases, the experiences of the October Revolution and of Socialist construction; in 9 cases, disappointment with the clergy and revolt against the frauds of the Church; five were directly converted by atheist agitation and five gave up God and the Church as a result of their own personal experiences. There are significant reports of conversations with Uzbek farmers in the collective farms of Central Asia. One was asked, for instance, "Tell me, do you still believe that *Shaitan* exists?" "Oh yes, he still exists and he can get me, but not in the collective!" "And why not in the collective?" "Because there we are many and if I should become learned and be an engineer, then he cannot get me at all¹⁰!" In the early stages of a social revolution in our country, we too shall have to report such reactions on the part of our peasants.

True religion, one is sure to be told, is above all narrowness and institutional interest; it is a challenge to replace the world of power by that of spirit. Such talk is the kind of idealism that thrives on a "Robinson Crusoe" conception of society, that goes no further than a subjective desire to identify God with the true and the good and the beautiful, to define it as the idea which arouses and organises the social emotions. But as Lenin wrote in a famous letter to Gorki;

Your words being written went to the masses and their meaning was determined, not by these your good intentions, but by the correlation of social forces—by the definite objective interrelation of classes. Consequently these relations being what they are (whether you wish it or do not), what you have actually done is to embellish and sweeten the idea of the clericals, of Punishkevich, of Nicholas II and Struve. Because actually the idea of God helps them to keep the people in slavery. By redecorating the idea of God, you actually repaired the chains by which the ignorant workers and peasants are bound.

¹⁰ J. F. Hecker, 'Religion and Communism' (1933) p. 71.

A witty Frenchman once remarked that Marxism like Christianity has its Bible, its councils, its schisms, its orthodoxies and heresies, its exegesis, sacred and profane. And like Christianity it has its mysteries, the principal one being the dialectic¹¹. It spurs the faith of its supporters to the point of missionary zeal and martyrdom, in a manner which can only be paralleled in the history of religion. These comparisons are suggestive, but the socialist always will object to calling his creed a religion, partly because of the associations of that term. The Communist Party in the Soviet Union, which is often compared with the Society of Jesus, is not an Order; its members get no separate training but go through the education given to the youth at large; they are not cut off from the world, either by celibacy or any other distinguishing condition; and the party is not a hierarchy. Socialists are not concerned with laying up treasures in heaven where moth and rust does not corrupt. The Socialist's work is here and now to make this world a very much happier place not for the providentially chosen few, but for all.

We in India suffer only too acutely from the effects of our preoccupation with religion and its rituals. But India's so-called spirituality is not really so deeply entrenched as many of us would like to imagine. It is a mantle of myth in which our ego attempts to keep itself warm against the cold blasts of misery and degradation. It is something of a protective legend and we take some flattering unctious to our souls in order to screen from our view defects in our social system which we cannot without shame defend. Social revolution in India will remain a distant ideal, till we can brace ourselves to an attack on the miserable vested interests

¹¹ Cf. Sidney Hook, 'Towards the Understanding of Marxism' (1933) p. 71.

of prince and priest. It is easy of course, for us to brag about our 'spirituality', for

There's naught, no doubt, so much the spirit calms,
As Rum and true Religion. (Byron, *Don Juan*)

But it is fatal, perpetually to yield to the subtle solaces of outworn religion. We must boldly face the facts of our situation and try to diagnose their causes. We shall find, then, the close interrelation between religion and the material interest of the classes in power. We shall discover, from the history of religion in every clime, that it is "the sigh of the oppressed creature, the opium of the people."

ADULT EDUCATION

By P. GUHA-THAKURTA

[With this chapter Dr. Guha-Thakurta concludes his excellent treatise on Education. His constructive criticism of this pressing problem and useful suggestions for tackling it merit the earnest consideration of the Government and the public.]

The problem of making the people of India hundred per cent literate will not be solved merely by the introduction of mass education for the children and youths. It will be necessary to adopt practical and effective methods for the removal of illiteracy among the adult population. It is much easier to bring the children and adolescents under the influence of education than the grown-ups in their settled avocations of life. To attract the latter to cultural uplift necessarily requires a different technique of education from what is applicable to children. In fact, the safest guarantee for the success of the drive to raise the cultural level of the country would be to encourage the large mass of illiterate adults, particularly in the rural areas, to be more and more interested in education. For, education is the best instrument for subjecting them to the influence of new forces, if they are to be weaned away from their feudal habits of mind and defective social inclinations. An adult is a complete entity; his ideas being more or less fixed and his tendencies being more or less set on a definite pattern of instincts and desires. And specially when he is absolutely illiterate, he is not easily susceptible to change in any established practice. His roots have gone deeper into the remnants and atavisms of the past, from which to break away is, for him, a matter

of supreme mental effort. The unspoiled child or adolescent, however intellectually backward at one time, yields to the impact of fresh ideas. Consequently, the intellectual reclamation of the illiterate adults of the country will necessitate the evolving of only those methods which are adapted to their specific needs.

Before we set forth the methods by which the uneducated adults can best be caught in the nation's educational mould, we would like to touch briefly on the efforts made under the existing system for fostering adult education in India. The Director of Information Bureau, dealing with the subject scantily in his annual review of 1930-31, confessed that it was difficult to form a clear idea of the progress made by adult education in the country,

since in many provinces no distinction is made between schools which really provide for the education of illiterate adults and those,—specially night and part-time schools,—which are attended most largely by ordinary primary school children who are unable to attend day schools.

Does not this mean that the system in vogue does not really provide for a differentiated scheme of education for adults? Its usual devices are night schools, occasional lectures on health, sanitation, civics, social efficiency and allied subjects delivered by departmental officers and indifferent visitors, or encouraging villagers to read vernacular newspapers and library books. In one or two provinces, attempts have been made to seek and enlist the services of co-operative societies and village banks in promoting adult education, but we find that even these very meagre measures have not been carried out in any systematic fashion.

Government reports seldom give any idea of the actual results yielded by the measures tried in the rural areas. In the cities certain Government Training Schools and Teacher's

Colleges have adult classes attached to them, which seek to impart, in a rather sketchy and off-hand manner, instruction in the three R's, occasionally accompanied by lantern lectures and discourses on Indian history and geography. It is not, however, possible to ascertain actually what proportion of illiterate adults in urban areas take advantage of these facilities offered by such Government institutions. So far as rural India is concerned, illiteracy among its adults shows absolutely no sign of yielding to the measures adopted by the Government, departmentally or in conjunction with co-operative agencies. Legitimate and recognised institutions, exclusively meant for illiterate adults which the Government have established and have been supporting, are, indeed, so few in number and so very lacking in requisite equipment that the Government may be said to have done next to nothing in this direction.

The insufficiency of the Government's range and scope of activities in the field of adult education betrays a woeful absence of imagination and constructive thinking. The night school movement in rural areas or the University extension schemes in the cities for illiterate adults is evidently all that the Government can think of, for spreading little enlightenment to this section of India's illiterate population. Non-official and philanthropic agencies which are working in the field do not lack ideas so much as a sound knowledge of the psychology of adults. This knowledge can only be acquired by an intensive study of rural conditions and also through repeated experiments, involving both success and failure. Adult education does not simply mean providing opportunities to learn the printed word. Its real aim is to give education in citizenship, so that adults freed from illiteracy may themselves share and assist the ideal of social service and economic efficiency. Consequently, adult educa-

tion is to be conducted through methods which are readily applicable to the day-to-day routine life of the masses. It has to encourage whatever is sound and healthy in their existing mode of social and agricultural life, by the presentation of such tested knowledge as would prove beneficial to the development of their latent intellectual faculties and create in them a desire to improve their lot and advance the general good of society. The life in one rural part of the country does not differ in its general character and complexion from the life of any other. Therefore, the most practical way of tackling adult illiteracy in India is to employ a set of uniform devices which can simultaneously operate in every centre throughout the country.

The devices we wish to suggest may be broadly classified into two different groups: (1) auditory, and (2) visual, although one will conceivably merge into the other, as in the case of drama or sound pictures. Both, whether acting separately or jointly, are essential for awakening the sleeping minds of illiterate grown-ups. By auditory we mean either the spoken word heard or the written word communicated through a lecture, and by visual, we mean the representation of facts by means of pictures whether on paper or on the screen. Each, in its own way, possesses the driving power of all sensory reactions produced by a general stimulation of intelligence. When all instruments belonging to both once begin to function properly, the result is that verbal symbols and images overflow into visualised impressions until the whole experience passes into language, uttered, seen and felt. What actually happens is that where there was a complete intellectual vacuum, the life of reason,—the life in the mind—imperceptibly enters into the life of sensation, transferring all reports of the senses into ideas and thoughts which have coherence and a meaning for the individual as well as a

bearing on general human experience. This subjective side of the educational uplift of adults must determine our objective planning on the right line. Naturally, adult psychology has to be properly understood before we can think of initiating illiterate adults to the mysteries of knowledge. As we have already remarked, the mind of the uneducated adult is more or less cast in a definite mould, however defective and fatuous it may be. Our first duty, therefore, is to arouse it from lethargy and inaction so that it can respond to fresh stimuli. The visible and auditory world must be revealed to him through media which alone belong to those spheres. For the material with which to supply the stimuli we would not have to go far afield, although there will be occasion to use the available instruments of educational endeavour, usually employed in Western countries.

The Spoken Word

Before the illiterate adult can be made to learn the three R's we must create in him a sufficient desire for knowledge by means of propaganda through the media we have just hinted at. Night schools or "illustrated" farms as, for instance, in Canada, obviously belong to a slightly more advanced stage of adult education. First we have to incite the untrained mind of the illiterate to a state in which it will begin to crave for intellectual stimulation. The real knack for a mastery of the written word must inevitably come after the stimulation of the senses through the spoken word or imaginative impressions. There are various ways of communicating the spoken word to the illiterate without having recourse to the visual, such as lectures, discourses, recitations, radio-talks, etc. The effect of the vocal words, needless to say, is always enhanced if it becomes musical, as for example, chanting, reading of folk-lore and epic stories with musical

intonation, which still survive in some form or other in different parts of India.

Ancient Indian literature is rich in legend and song with which even the most illiterate Indian is not only familiar, but in which he has an abiding interest. Our aim should be to spread a net-work of unpretentious organisations in all the villages of India which will undertake to disseminate and popularise the spoken word through the recognised auditory channels. They will be required to arrange for lectures and discourses dealing with village sanitation, hygiene, maternity and child welfare, as well as to open study circles at which Indian literature, history and geography should be taught verbally and assisted, whenever possible, by folk-music. Even though the methods of propaganda in this direction might vary to some extent according to the needs of the different linguistic areas, the central idea is so simple that it can be made uniform throughout.

In rural Bengal, for instance, the popular displays of logomachy, such as *Kabi* and *Panchali*, ballad recitations such as *Kathakata* and other multifarious forms of lyrical and semi-lyrical performances, enjoyed at one time enormous popularity. The aim of all these was to impart religious instruction and also to evoke wholesome and noble sentiments. Most of these deal with gods and goddesses of popular mythology and are still held from time to time before ceremonial as well as informal assemblies. In fact, the Indian rural poetry, written either to be recited, sung or acted, is so diversified that it does not admit of satisfactory selection and treatment within our narrow compass here. Most of the specimens now survive in the mouths of the village people and are scarcely accessible in print. But there is no doubt that before the illiterate adult masses can be expected to tackle the cold print, the spoken word must be communi-

cated to them, and they must have facilities to avail themselves of simple auditory media of learning rural literature and folk-lore.

The indigenous material available for our purpose is almost unlimited, and supposing we are also able to take advantage of the modern methods of communicating this material such as wireless broadcasting, it would be of great propaganda value. Each district town can be made a centre for broadcasting lectures and instructional talks to the surrounding villages where small receiving sets may be installed at a central place in the village. To start with, the radio programme may be started in a few districts only, and as the experiment is gradually appreciated by those for whom it is intended, it may be extended to other parts of the country. Limited experiments in radio programmes cannot require a very large expenditure. The programmes which should be essentially propagandist, must include talks in the vernacular of the area, on the benefits and advantages of literacy. These will not only be a source of great pleasure to the unsophisticated peasant population, but also prove a useful instrument for whetting their appetite for learning. Indeed, twentieth century has not produced anything better than the radio for purposes of diffusing the spoken word to unseen millions, who could be brought at a moment's notice in touch with the wider spheres of human thought and activity.

Visual Media

Things seen are less liable to be forgotten than things heard in lectures and talks. Such is human memory that it tends, with the passage of time, to depend more on visible symbols and visualised facts than on the spoken word. The propaganda for adult education must, therefore, depend largely for its success on those recognised instruments which

can easily imprint on the untrained and uninitiated mind the direct impressions formed by contact of the eyes with facts. Soviet Russia, in her drive against illiteracy, has been making prolific use of posters and pamphlets, illustrating the benefits of education. Lantern lectures, silent films and talkies are also being employed to make the masses accessible to the history and geography of the land as well as the achievements of the Soviet Government in the direction of improving the cultural life of the people in the broadest sense of the term. It should not be difficult for India to utilise the modern cinematographic art as widely as possible and produce appropriate educational films. The film must deal primarily with simple rural life, with a pastoral and agricultural setting, and show the contrast between hygienic and insanitary conditions and primitive and modern methods of agriculture. They must also demonstrate the cure and prevention of epidemic diseases, the breeding and care of cattle and livestock, and scientific processes of poultry and dairy-farming. They must also depict realistic scenes of historical and geographical interest. No mind, however untrained, can escape the vibrant influence of the realistic portraiture of rural life and economy.

In fact, the educational film can teach adults the history and geography of India much more vividly than text-books and schools. It is the most potent medium for interesting the uneducated in everyday knowledge of useful things. But the propaganda through visual media need not be confined to the historical and educational films. It should adopt other equally convenient methods such as excursions, exhibitions, publicity vans, and demonstration trains. In Russia, as a recent English visitor points out,

at one time you feel all Russia is travelling; at another all Russia is studying. Through the Worker's Clubs, through the evening

university and educational classes, no limit is placed on those who are eager for knowledge.

The process of decrease of illiteracy in India can also be similarly accelerated by providing for methods of learning at leisure and in a spirit of effortless recreation. That is to say, opportunities to learn the things in which the grown-ups are likely to be most interested should have a place in their holidays and leisure hours. Publicity or demonstration vans at village and pilgrimage fairs will prove a real source of stimulation to their minds. Of course, when one considers that this country stretches from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin and that innumerable places of interest are spread all over the country, one realises the vastness of the undertaking of publicity through these channels. Holiday programmes of tours for uneducated adults to enable them to see the land of strange contrasts can be arranged, and it should be possible in time to extend this opportunity to every adult in India, living even in the most backward part of the country.

Education Through Folk-Plays

The Indian in the village must once more be taught how to amuse himself; a spirit of gaiety must again enter into his drab and colourless existence. Theatrical entertainments play a unique part in education, particularly in the education of adults, because the art of drama comprehends the qualities of both the auditory and the visual. Dramatic or semi-dramatic performances have been genuinely popular in rural India for centuries. Indeed, conditions can never be so favourable as when the national offensive against illiteracy is launched, for the revival of all Indian folk-arts. Our aim should be to reorganise the indigenous types of folk-play which have gone almost entirely out of vogue, on account of

the artificial conditions which prevail in Indian aesthetic life of to-day. We may have noticed that although the outer appurtenances of Indian plays produced in city theatres are Western; stories are still indigenous, derived from Indian history or mythology and even though the Indian actors attempt to imitate the European technique of acting, they have not been able to cut themselves completely loose from the essentially Indian tradition of speech, movement, dramatic interlocution, and behaviour.

The type of drama suitable for the advancement of adult education need not be of a highly artistic order, nor will it require of the actors high technical accomplishments. Rural amateur dramatic societies, not organised for profit but for pleasure alone, still satisfy the unsophisticated taste of villagers in many parts of the country. The Indian masses are not intrinsically lacking in dramatic appreciation of histrionic ability. In every part of India, community folk-play, originating in religious worship, has been in existence from time immemorial. For ages these Indian folk-plays have been utilised by every type of propagandist, these can be easily made to disseminate the new ideas and new necessities of the new generation of Indians determined to refashion their social and cultural life. To the rural community, folk-plays are even now as familiar as their daily routine of duties, the most uneducated villager is still at home with the traditional stories in history and legendary heroes, with which these plays generally deal. This only shows what a firm hold the rural Indian literature, the epics and *puranas*, still have on the imagination of the rural population. As a matter of fact, no form of rural entertainment is so closely allied to the cultural and religious life of the village people as the folk drama,—like *Ramlila* in Northern India, *Yatra* in Bengal, *Kathakali* and *Dasavathar* plays on the west coast of India.

The folk-drama can, therefore, render an unequalled service to education, in not only bringing the masses into contact with the intellectual content of the dramatic literature of India, but in also directing their minds to thoughts of beauty and aesthetic enjoyment. In the past, of course, the folk-play had emphasised only the ethical and religious appeals; but in future, it must be made to give greater prominence to its intellectual uses. It must be presented, as extensively as possible, purely as an instrument of education. It must have elements which stimulate the imagination, a sense of comradeship and *esprit de corps* which are the supreme attributes of participation in a common enterprise of joy. Indeed, the power of attraction of drama is unique among all arts, and that is precisely why its value as an instrument of education is so great. There is no better way by which the great mass of Indian people living in far-off villages can be brought into touch with the cultural background of Indian civilisation, and the picture, in the foreground, of a gigantic cultural endeavour. The folk-play has a great part to play in furthering education in India among the masses.

The Printed Word

The problem of introducing adults to the printed word will not be so difficult as it now appears to official as well as private agencies, as soon as we begin to use the devices already enumerated. The night school movement must draw its real strength from the wide employment of these devices, which are not mere subsidiaries but the vital parts of the scheme aiming to impart the knowledge of the three R's to illiterate adults. It is only by the introduction of the auditory and visual methods can the right atmosphere for the education of the printed word be created; all other methods are bound to fail. The vast field of the printed word—libraries, books,

journals and newspapers—will remain unrevealed to illiterate adults if the craving for a knowledge of the printed word itself is not aroused, in the first instance, by those other intellectual stimuli. To-day, the printed word means nothing to the illiterate adult; for, his mind is a complete void and his intellectual faculties are paralysed. Should he be inclined by curiosity or a temporary spurt of intellectual animation to avail himself of the village night school, he invariably finds his attempts to learn the alphabets an extremely tedious and laborious process. His natural inclination is to escape, after a brief effort, from a cumbersome ordeal of learning and to revert to his paradise of intellectual vacuum.

Compulsion under law is, therefore, out of the question, so far as the illiterate adult is concerned. The only compulsion to which he will ever surrender is the compulsion of his inner craving for knowledge. And this craving must be systematically encouraged and satisfied. He must unfold himself, as if unawares, and be given every facility to help himself to lead his mind gradually out of darkness into light, so that he can, by a natural process, comprehend the potentialities of the printed word.

In conclusion we would like to refer to another method by which the adult parents may be made to feel the urgent need of educating themselves. Their literate children must be made to undertake to teach their parents at home. This device of the education of adults through their children is being widely encouraged in Russia. Russian children reason and remonstrate with their parents to learn the three R's and are also told to carry on a regular campaign in the villages against the intellectual slackers. This method might seem to some people in this country as a total reversal of the accepted rules of conduct which regulate an Indian home; for, youngsters are not normally expected to enforce the

obedience of elders on any matter whatsoever. The fabric of Indian society is built on the principle that elders must issue the rules and children must implicitly obey them. The principle of encouraging the children to teach their parents is not, however, so revolutionary as it may outwardly seem.

An educated child should be the pride of his parents, and normally, they should not consider it a derogation of parental authority if the child, considered worthy of helping them intellectually, is willing to do so. If illiterate parents in India can once be convinced that they too must bring themselves up to the educational level on which the young generation at school is being brought up, they are sure to welcome the sympathetic interest of their children in their own education. As soon as the illiterate peasant realises that without learning to read, write, or do simple arithmetical calculations he cannot hope to become a skilled worker, either in agriculture or in any industry, he will be anxious to take lessons in the printed word from whatever quarter it may come, and will preferably find it less expensive and more convenient if the assistance comes from his children he has been educating at school.

In Russia, children who have undertaken to carry war against illiteracy into their own homes, are really doing a wonderful work. Schoolboys and girls, varying in age from 6 to 16, form themselves into groups and march to the village spreading the message of literacy. Sometimes they even draw up lists of adult illiterates. Lessons on health, sanitation, and cleanliness which they learn at school, they copy on posters and hang them up at home for the benefit of their parents. They prepare placards, leaflets, and bulletins, enumerating the evils of drink, unhygienic habits, ignorance and superstition and distribute these freely among the village population. In one village, we are told, they opened their

campaign by putting up in the very heart of the market-place a poster which read:

We, your children, call on you to give up drinking, to help us to shut drink shops, and to use them as cultural institutions, pioneer clubs, reading rooms, etc.

..... The children whose parents drink are always backward at school..... Remember that every bottle of wine you drink will buy a text-book or exercise-book for your child..... Respond to our call and give us the chance of being well developed, healthy and cultured human beings..... We must have healthy home surroundings.

Your children, the Pioneers.

That is how the Russian children have thrown themselves into the task of enticing adults to learn the printed word and give up intemperance and all unhealthy habits. The older children take care of the babies while their mothers have their lessons. Often, under the supervision of teachers of schools, the children arrange themselves into teaching brigades and teach their illiterate mothers. Mothers who cannot attend schools are taught by their own children or by others at home. The children in Soviet Russia are not prigs; they are not taught how to become a gentleman or a lady, but how to be a future useful citizen of the State. That is why they have proved themselves of so much practical help to their parents in their effort to blot out the shame of illiteracy.

India will have to face the greatest of all her problems even as Russia has done. India should concentrate, for a few years to come, all her potential strength and resources almost entirely on the elevation of her general cultural level. The future educational policy of India must be focussed to this fact, that the greatest possible number of people must be helped to understand, read, and write the printed word in the shortest possible time. That is the only way in which

India can hope to cope with the growing demands of her organised agriculture and industry for skilled personnel. She will need, in the years to come, a much greater number of intelligent, healthy citizens and efficient agriculturists and labourers than politicians, administrators or statesmen.

Education in the mass is, therefore, the only lever which can throw India's entire national life into gear again and set it in motion—an infinitely more powerful and stronger lever than even the new Government of India Act. If the education of the country's illiterate millions, child, youth or adult is taken up in right earnest, in 15 or 20 years it will have done for the Indian race all that we had hoped for all these years and all that over a hundred years of desultory, disjointed, and disruptive system of education have failed to give us. What we have lacked so long is the right framework of education for the masses as well as the classes, and our appalling economic degradation, our appalling cultural backwardness, our appalling "intellectual unemployment" and our appalling cleavage between rural and urban classes are indisputable proofs of the fact that the existing framework is wrong and ill-fitting.

MAN OR WOMAN—WHICH IS TO BE?

By "JGN"

[In this interesting article the writer refers to the position of woman through the ages and puts in a plea for sex-equality.]

Before the classical antiquity, in contrast to the familiar Father-Right of the present day, Mother-Right was prevalent. Commenting on it Bachofen tells us, that it was the obvious outcome of the hetraism of the pre-historic days under which woman was considered common property of the man and no marriage custom existed.

Woman, under this system, was literally master to man. Descent was reckoned in the female line and inheritance passed through mother. Possibly this was due to the closer and intimate relationship which existed between the mother and child, so much so that the child, even as grown-up youth, depended entirely on its mother for feeding and, some authorities are of the opinion, was suckled, till it could conveniently tear itself away from the mother; in certain cases past the age of fifteen. Indeed, the physical aspect of fatherhood, an essential preliminary to the appreciation of values in marriage, was very little understood. The phenomenon of child-birth was ascribed to influences unearthly and supernatural. And it was very much later that the sex factor came to be regarded as necessary precedent to child-birth.

The woman, in those times, remained with her people and her man lived with her. She was the property owner, and the man was reckoned as the goods. Often she subjected her man to cruel temper; sometimes displaying her aversion

by showing tenderness to her brother. Marriage was permissible between the children of the same father, provided they were not born of the same mother.

The woman was the one that wooed. She expected the man to contribute dowry, and demanded a pledge of fidelity from him. The husband was often subjected to severe punishment for unfaithfulness and bachelors were regarded with contempt. Among Goros, courtship was compulsory for young women. And the man, should ill-luck or fancy lead him to court a woman, was punished for his "shameless" behaviour.

According to Plutarch, there were no willing adulterers in Lacediemen. Yet, as to the fidelity of the Spartan wives, history tells us a different tale. Polyandry was common in Sparta¹. Spartan women never took marriage bond seriously and adultery by the woman was tolerated, sometimes even considered "chivilrous"². The woman by right was entitled to have child born to her by the handsomest man she could capture, be he a native or foreigner³.

Many authorities are of the opinion that in Egypt obligation of fidelity was not impressed on the woman. Illegitimate children were in no way considered inferior to those of legitimate birth. The Arab woman, as late as in the Mohammedan period, was polyandrous. According to a writer⁴, the Prophet once exhorted a woman to be faithful to her husband, and her answer was characteristic: that a woman might have carnal relations with as many men as she liked.

Among the Iroquois, wife was usually older than the

¹ Mathilde.

² Mathias-Verting.

³ Jaeckel.

⁴ Bachofen.

husband. A young man was often assigned by his mother to a wife older than himself⁵. In arranging the match the man had no choice, for the mothers exercised supreme control.

Men as well as women have had harems whenever permissible by the existing moral code of the day. The resemblance in the behaviour of the owners of the harems, whether male or female, is such as to appear incredible. In the descriptions of the harems for males maintained by the Negro queens, we find a wonderful semblance with the harems of the Persian kings. The same abuse of power is revealed in the either case. The Negro queens pick any man for their harems who caught their fancy, and none could refuse their favours except under the risk of losing his life. The men in those harems were prisoners rather than spouses; they were secluded from women, even a look at a female save their queens being forbidden. When they moved outdoors armed escorts accompanied them, and streets were cleared of all women. Should any woman, led by mischance, mischief, curiosity or spirit of adventure, venture near the strictly guarded household, her life was forfeit. Exactly similar measures were adopted in Persia as regards the harems for women, the only difference being that roles of the victims were reversed. Should a royal harem party pass through a town, the men had to be cleared off from the streets.

Even certain customs connected with the death of dominant partner in marriage (for instance, the *Sati* custom in India) were observed in the mother-right era. Jaeckel tells us that among the Ashantis the husbands of priestesses had to follow their wives to death. A custom such as this, if the present writer were to make a comment, is the morbid

⁵ Mathilde.

outcome of the marriage custom under the influence of which the man on one hand, and the woman on the other, plays the despot in the conjugal life.

Marriage between the children of the same father, but not of the same mother, is still permissible among certain hill tribes of Sumatra. The children remain with mother and are reared into manhood by her people. According to Jaeckel there still exists a tribe in Assam among whom the woman, rather than the man, wooes. The courted man sometimes has to put up a vigorous resistance culminating in flight, yet when captured he is brought back to the nuptial residence amid the lamentations (a mere ceremonial ritual sometimes) of his parents. Just as the male wooer sings of the beauties of woman, female wooers make much of the beauty of the man. She addresses him as graceful, as supremely beautiful, and says she cannot tear herself away from his charms.

However, in the modern times, under the masculine domination, as in India, a duplex code of morality prevails; that is to say, a code of morals for the man, and a separate one for the woman.—This, in spite of the world-wide recognition of the monogamic principle i.e., one wife to a man.

In this country, the preferential rights in marriage are vested in the man. It is, however, not recognised that where women rule, quite naturally, the interpretation of sex morality is the other way about; and the woman has more freedom than the man. Here again, there is infringement of the monogamic principle, now by the woman

If the man has the uppermost hand in the affairs of the State, he, if otherwise, the woman, reserve for itself as a sex, the sexual freedom and privileges denied to the other.

The value placed on the pre-conjugal chastity and maidenly (or manly?) reserve, too, is an outcome of mono-

sexual dominance.

Only on the subject of sex does the burden of chastity and reserve lie; otherwise, the code of morals is entirely dependent, as will be seen from the facts mentioned, on the wielding of power. In other words, the right to dictate is vested in the ruling party.

The dominating sex always establishes for its convenience the right to maintain an age relationship code between the parties in marriage; which means in all cases marriage of the members of the dominating sex with the younger of the subject sex. Whereas, in actual fact, the choice should depend on biological and psychological considerations. In India and Burma, the difference in age is as much as 10-15 years' seniority. The chief consideration, however, in an affair like this is to provide for the spouse, and the responsibility is invariably always shouldered by the dominating sex. In Egypt, for instance, it was the young woman rather than man who was exhorted to marry and support his partner in marriage.

The writer cannot resist the temptation of observing that, the very qualities which in men's State are considered as masculine, in the light of what historians, observers and poets have said, will be regarded as specifically feminine in women's State. Consider, for instance, the rule that wife should obey husband. This tendency to subordination is said to be entirely feminine. Yet, if we were to presume this business of marriage in a State run by women, the same rule of obedience will be observed in action again. And the party bound to "Love, honour and obey", hark! is the man

The term "Native-land" too is subjected to alteration, the change being dependent on domination of sexes. When the term "Father-land" is used, masculine dominance is discovered; and "Motherland", as in India, denotes feminine

supremacy. It is interesting to note the term "My Country" or mere "Country" as used in England, signifies neutrality and or sex-equality.

Kemnitz has attempted to discover a plausible explanation of the transfer of supreme power from women to men. She believes that the cause of the absolute rules which women once enjoyed was that the man, temporarily perhaps, was dependent on the woman for sexual gratification. But this sexual dependence, she observes, was not quite natural. And when ownership of property became an established institution, to be acquired and guarded, the masculine will asserted itself and women were gradually subjected.

It is obvious that under mono-sexual dominance, as at present prevailing in India, where women have no status, leave aside the quality of it, monogamy and faithfulness must needs be subjected to assaults. The code is being infringed, as has been in the past. This will happen owing to absolute sway of one sex over the other; which brings into mind Schopenhaur's observation that there are no genuine monogamists to be found. We are polygamist at one time or the other, and some always.

And a possible remedy against attacks on our social structure, by ourselves, and against the struggle for sex-supremacy, is a countrywide plea for *sex equality*.

RADHAKRISHNAN AND HIS PHILOSOPHY

By I. B. SAXENA

[An outstanding cultural ambassador, Sir S. Radhakrishnan is one of the few Indians who have within recent years brought the East and West closer in the realm of thought and won recognition as a liaison officer between the two worlds. This short article is an appreciation of the famous philosopher of whom India is justly proud.]

Gītānjali brought fame to the Poet Tagore, and Sir Radhakrishnan won laurels by his *Indian Philosophy*. West discovers everything; it hardly finds. When a Schopenhauer, a Max Müller or a Deussen realised that the Indian philosophy was the "Solace of Life and a Solace of Death," the world grew furious. East followed instantly in its wake. Its philosophers were honoured, cheered and applauded. Nobody, perhaps, knew Radhakrishnan until he had poured the old wine in a new bottle. Steeped in almost all the Upanaṣidic systems of thought, brought up on the lines of Hume, Kant and Hegel, Radhakrishnan has combined within himself the rare capacity of the "liaison officer." He speaks well, writes well, thinks well.

"A spare slight figure, a keen alert face and a pair of bright brown eyes"—that is the personality whom we had the honour to greet as our *viva voce* examiner. His questions were simple and lucid, touching occasionally the existence of God or Bergson's *Élan Vital* or Buddhists' changing fluid. A man who annoyed, perhaps reluctantly, H. G. Wells, was shaking hands with us cheerfully. He is eloquent in speech, sparingly witty and extraordinarily fluent.

He has so mastered the technique of lecturing, [says a gentleman from the West] as to turn what is practised by most of us in an effort of sweetening exegesis, as painful for lecturer as for lecturees, into the apparently effortless performance of an art.

Radhakrishnan does not weep over the epitaphs of his ancestors. He does not rail against *Kaliyuga*. "We hear on all sides of the revolt of youth. . . . My complaint is that it is not sufficiently wide spread." He is bitter against the system "that uses human beings as beasts of burden." He is furious over "a corrupt social order and religious fanaticism." While paying homage to the ancient civilization of India, he wants "religious heroes who will not wait for the transformation of the world, but assert with their lives if necessary the truth of the conviction 'on earth one family'." Indians are asked to shake off their lethargy, to act in the living present and mould their destiny with the march of time.

We must wrestle with the past that oppresses us, the relics of barbarism that threaten our very life, the fantastic notions about elemental facts that militate against decent living. We do things in our daily life which are a disgrace to our humanity. We eat food, wear clothes and enjoy comforts, while those who produce them are dying by degrees in unhealthy surroundings and had economic conditions. We repress our natural sympathy with those who suffer because it does not pay us.

Fully conscious of the Indian logic-chopping, aware of the happy-go-lucky atmosphere, and smelling the foul disease of fatalism, Radhakrishnan condemns the present generation. He leads us into ancient corridors and invites our attention to the frescoes painted on the imperishable walls of times. We are made to think of our past as a glorious achievement not based on the chanting of hymns but on perpetual movement and ceaseless adventure.

"Science," as Bertrand Russell points out, "does not

change man's desires; it merely increases the power of satisfying them". It does not tell us to believe anything; it asks us to prove it. We must not only think, we must worship reason as well. Under such circumstances, "the supernatural nature of religious authority will have to be given up." We cannot think of a religion which is surrounded by a hallow of awe-stricken wishes. If religion shirks the responsibility to embrace reason, the high pedestal of God is made low. For,

the assumption of religion that God, the author of the universe, is the benevolent father of us all is an open invitation to explain away the difficulties and discomforts of life as delusions of the mind.

The rapid advances taken by science in every sphere of life leave us no option but to think that,

man is nothing more than the latest of a long series of living creatures, and he did not arrive on this planet faultless and finished but is slowly ground into shape by the shocks of circumstance.

What else is remained for a man than to believe in Tripitākā, Bible, Vedās and Qurān not as divine revelations but as "human documents written by human hands and liable to error." Perhaps none is more courageous than Dr. Radhakrishnan in denouncing religion as it stands to-day surrounded by the mushroom-growth of dogmatic ideas and stagnant ceremonials. He says in his characteristic fashion that "if the depths of the unconscious contain the dynamic drives, then ethical striving and religious aspirations are only illusions." The truth is that "we are grown-up infants, and God is a sort of 'wet-nurse' to humanity."

Emerging from the sticky gloom of religion into the sunshine of science, we are not granted a heaven of peace and prosperity. We abhor the worshipful master, yet hardly find favour with the Mammon. We say science creates.

Changes happen and we try to fit in, no matter, how awfully. Scientists prepare us for all the emergencies. But,

at the moment they are like men presenting babies with boxes of matches and schoolboys with high explosives without troubling to enquire whether the babies are likely to set fire to themselves with the probable result of consuming the scientists in the conflagration, or recognise the duty of instructing the schoolboys in the properties of T. N. T.

Thus we find our position quite uncomfortable. We jump from the frying pan into the fire. We look again to religion for providing us a solution.

Man [says Sir Radhakrishnan after the fashion of Plato in his Parable of Cave] dwelling in the cave of his ignorance, bound in the chains of his stupidity and selfishness, takes the shadows thrown upon the farthest walls by the light of his own passions as realities, knows not that the God is there, the eternal source of all light and life. If his eyes are cleared up, he will see the Real.

Many have tried to clear the mote out of their eyes and consequently we find a galaxy of 'isms' to solve this apparent anomaly. Naturalism and Atheism, Agnosticism, Scepticism and Humanism, Pragmatism, Relativism and Modernism—all attempt to supply the needs of the modern mind, yet "do not show an adequate appreciation of the natural profundity of the human soul."

Philosophy for Radhakrishnan must be different from life, but it should not be indifferent. It must serve as a "spiritual concordant, which will free the spirit of religion from the disintegration of doubt and make the warfare of creeds and sects a thing of the past." With such high aims Radhakrishnan has presented a solution which is natural and peculiar in its own way.

Philosophy of religion attempts a reasoned solution of the problem of religion based directly on experience,

rendering thereby the existence of God a reality and not a phantasma. Thoughts are always about things. Thinking cannot be conducted in vacuo. Thus facts are as necessary for other sciences as for the philosophy of religion. "To say that our sense perceptions answer to reality, while spiritual intuitions do not, is for Psychology a gratuitous assumption." To say again that "stones are hard and the sky is blue for all," yet God is Buddha to some and Jesus to another, is not to suggest the contradictory nature of the facts of religious experience, but to infer that the facts are more complex and require closer study. Radhakrishnan's enthusiasm for scientific truth leads him to utter the weighty words:—

There is no reason why the intentions of the human soul with regard to the ultimate reality should be studied in any other spirit or by any other method than those which are adopted with such great success in the region of positive science.

True to his words he shows that every scientist seeks the help of symbols and proves their existence by their utility. "Similarly, we have certain experiences which we try to account for by the assumption of God." It is as a matter of fact religion that affirms God as a fact. It is based upon personal experience.

To know, possess and be the spirit in this physical frame, to convert an obscure plodding mentality into clear spiritual illumination, to build peace and self-existent freedom in the stress of emotional satisfactions and sufferings, to discover and realise the life divine in a body subject to sickness and death has been the constant aim of the Hindu religious endeavour.

Radhakrishnan affirms spiritual intuition as a logical necessity. The experiences of Buddha, Moses, Elijah, Eckhart, Jesus, Muhammad, Shanker and others are not delusions of the mind or the result of inauguration run riot. Their intuition is as real as the reality of electron, or the existence of ether or the manifestations of nebulae. "It is a condition of con-

sciousness in which feelings are fused, ideas melt into one another, boundaries broken and ordinary distinctions transcended." Here in the distinction of the knower and the known disappears. The universal soul embraces the individual self and acts as its own explanation. Such an experience attains its credibility by being *svatassiddha* (self-established), *Svaśamvedya* (self-evidencing) and *Svayamprakash* (self-luminous). "The experience is felt as profoundly satisfying, where darkness is turned into light, sadness into joy, despair into assurance." Some may ask how it is that only the God's chosen few enjoy this intuitive consciousness and others not? But, truly speaking, others do have this consciousness in varying degrees. Do we not share the illumination of new knowledge, the ecstasy of poetry and the joy of falling in love? "To have one's heart and mind absorbed in love," says Radhakrishnan, "seems to unveil the mystery of the Universe." The various names that are given to God serve as symbols alone.

If God works in an office, employing charwomen and smoking cigars, it is only a metaphor, rather crude perhaps, as much as glassy seas or any mansions.

Again Radhakrishnan draws our attention to the fact that the philosophical idea of God is nothing different from the devotional idea of a personal God. For,

when we consider the abstract and impersonal aspect of the Supreme, we call it the Absolute; when we consider the Supreme as self-aware and self-blissful being, we get God.

The world is not what it appears to be. Or what we touch, feel and smell, is it the thing-in-itself? This puzzling question has been the backbone of philosophical activity. From Berkeley onward the relation of thought and thing has been discussed with varying degrees of success. Berkeley's idealism paved the way for objective idealism of Bradley and

Bosanquet. Gentile's neo-idealism and Perry's neo-realism have tried to show on the one hand that what mind creates in the shape of history exists for ever and on the other it has established the truth about the independent nature of the objects of thought. Recent attempts have been more tolerant inasmuch as they profess that the knowledge is subjective but the object of thought exists apart from the thinking activity. As to the place of universe, its reality is acknowledged on all hands. Bosanquet, one of the best exponents of contemporary thought, accounts for the universe on the basis of harmony. The changes that happen, exist within and not without. From all this Radhakrishnan has evolved out a new position, not, of course, devoid of difficulties. To him, the universe is a spiritual unity. The properties and qualities we believe ourselves to perceive are relative to the observer, and are dependent on him.

The sensible [he says] is not the real. . . . The sensible is not independent of the observer. The colour of the rose exists only for one who has the human sense of sight.

This would suggest that Radhakrishnan goes back upon the *subjective* idealism of Berkeley. It is idealism no doubt and subjective too, but not in the sense in which the existence of the outside reality is altogether wiped out.

Knowledge is for him, [says Joad] a whole or unity in which subject and object are both discerned as aspects of the unity.

Radhakrishnan finds a ready support to his views in other sciences of the world. Almost all the sciences believe in the part played by mind in determining the nature of what it discovers.

There is no such thing as pure experience and undigested. It is always mixed up with layers of interpretation.

He himself admits the difficulty to know the real nature of the thing-in-itself of Kant.

We do not know precisely, [he adds] what matter or life is. We know that they are objects of experience though their real nature is hidden from us.

Dilating on the same point he remarks elsewhere,

it is much too difficult for us in the pit to know what is happening behind the screens.

And again in *The Hindu View of Life* he tells us that

the greatest thinkers are those who admit the mystery and comfort themselves by the idea that the human mind is not omniscient.

Through these intricacies one is allowed to conclude that just as facts are necessary for thought and just as mind puts its interpretation on what it perceives so also, there is the intuitive faculty which deals with *the* fact of religious experience and the necessary existence of God. The circle of unity becomes complete when man is reabsorbed in God and God in the Absolute.

Radhakrishnan's 'way of life,' is again saturated with the religious outlook so scientifically propounded. We are led to believe in God; we are made to accept the Absolute by means of the facts of experience and the intuitive consciousness. The life which confronts reason and challenges science reaches the *sumum bonum* after disciplining the will to concentration. Hence the will to think rightly involves the will to live rightly. Religion thus becomes the way of life. But for those who think the aspects of world as illusions or *Māyā*, life has very few charms. Radhakrishnan, as shown above, does not ignore the objective validity of the things. The so-called distinctions between the knower and the known, the subject and the object, are not final and ultimate. They are two sides of a unity which absorbs them and transcends them. That unity is the absolute. In *the Religion We Need*, Radhakrishnan reasserts his position clearly.

Our idea of God [says he] is the result of the interaction between subject and object. "It is not the apprehension of the real object by a real subject.

Establishing thus the position of Ethics, Radhakrishnan propounds his conception of duty, good and bad. Again he makes his stand on intuitional knowledge, trained and disciplined by means of which we know beauty and attain goodness. This realization becomes predominant in God to the highest degree, and still believing that He is the essence of our being, we realize the "divine spark" within us.

While discussing the controversial problem of *karma* and man's freedom of will Radhakrishnan says:

Our demand for freedom must reckon with a universe that is marked by order and regularity. Life is like a game of bridge. The cards in the game are given to us. We do not select them. They are traced to past *karma*, but we are free to make any call as we think fit and lead any suit. Only we are limited by the rules of the game. We are more free when we start the game than later on when the game has developed and our choices become restricted. A good player will see possibilities which a bad one does not. The more skilled a player the more alternative does he perceive. A good hand may be cut to pieces by unskillful play and the bad play need not be attributed to the frown of fortune.

Summing up, one can say that Radhakrishnan is a reformist who believes in the past traditions of the Hindus, their mode of living, their forms of thought and their philosophy of life. Like a true Hindu he preaches the doctrine of Love, Unity and Harmony. But he is not a passive spectator shedding idle tears on the march of time. He does not shrug his shoulders and sit in silence. He makes us feel by decrying the present lethargy, makes us think by denouncing the dirty and almost peculiar cropping up of ideas and finally shows us a vision not of the fabled past but of the golden future.

IDEALS IN EDUCATION

By R. N. KAUL

[This is the first part of an extra-mural lecture on "Ideals in Education" recently delivered by Prof. R. N. Kaul of the Allahabad University. In the following pages Mr. Kaul deals with ancient ideals and takes the reader back to the Hellenic age when "Education was a training for leisure, not for a livelihood".]

I—Ancient

It is to Greek thought that we first turn when we wish to consider any of the problems of Ethics, Education or Politics, for in Greece we find the beginnings of Western civilisation. The boast of Plato was not an empty one, that "whatever Greeks receive from foreigners they in the end make more beautiful". Greek thought has in addition to its originality a surprising universality, "not a mere local and municipal fitness." The principles of Logic, Ethics and Politics which Plato and Aristotle enunciated are generally regarded as universally valid; the writings of the Greek poets are still read; the Greek tragedies are acted before modern audiences; and the surviving works of Greek art are appreciated even to-day by the untutored. Greek thought has likewise a simplicity which enables us to image the problems involved more easily than under modern complex conditions. It is both natural and necessary, therefore, to begin our survey of the great educators with a consideration of the Greek thinkers.

The Sophists:—At a time of intellectual unrest in Greece about the fourth or the fifth century B.C., a new school of teaching came into being. The enlargement of

the intellectual horizon resulting from the unrest that ensued demanded a class of men who could impart quickly every kind of knowledge; and to satisfy this demand all sorts and conditions were passed into the service of *Education* and classed under the general title "Sophist". In the "Protagoras," it is asked "Is not a sophist one who deals wholesale or retail in the food of the soul?" Plato's testimonial to them reads as follows:

They are capital at fighting in armour, and will teach the art to anyone who pays them; and also they are most skilful in legal warfare; they will plead themselves and teach others to speak and to compose speeches which will have an effect upon the courts. And this was only the beginning of their wisdom, but they have carried out the art of wrestling to the very end, and have mastered the only method of fighting which had been hitherto neglected by them; and now no one dares to look at them. Such is their skill in the war of words *that they can refute any proposition whether true or false.*

The teaching of the Sophists was unsystematic: it was also limited to the few who could pay for it. Protagoras was the first to accept payment.

You proclaim in the face of Hellas that you are a sophist or teacher of virtue or education and are the first that demanded pay in return. (Protagoras Section 348).

Socrates says in the 'Meno,' Section 91:

I know of a single man, Protagoras, who made more out of his craft than the illustrious, Pheidias, who created such noble works, or any ten other Sculptors.

In the 'Laches,' Section 186, he says,

As for himself, I am the first to confess that I have never had a teacher; although I have always from my earliest youth desired to have one. But I am too poor to give money to the sophists, who are the only professors of moral improvement.

The fact that they accepted payment for their services

created a certain prejudice against the Sophists, which was intensified by the fact that they degraded knowledge by making its aim *direct utility*. Education was with the Greeks a training for *leisure*, not for a *livelihood*. In the 'Protagoras' it is asked,

Why may you not learn of him in the same way that you learned the arts of the grammarian or musician or trainer, not with the view of making any of them a profession, but only as a part of education and because a private gentleman ought to know them?

Socrates:—Socrates recognised the unscientific nature of the methods of the Sophists, and his own method, although superficially resembling theirs, was essentially systematic and founded on general principles. "There are" according to Aristotle "two things which we may fairly attribute to Socrates, his inductive discourses and his universal definitions". Inductive reasoning was his method of arriving at a definition. The result attained by his method could not in many instances be regarded as satisfying the requirements of scientific exactness, but this did not disturb Socrates, for he himself continually and emphatically disclaimed the possession of any knowledge, except perhaps the knowledge of his own limitations. Although not possessing knowledge himself, Socrates claimed to have the gift of discerning its presence in others, and of having the power to assist them to bring it to light. (Cf. the metaphor of midwife in "Theaetetus" Section 150). His first task was to arouse men from that false self-satisfaction which was by him believed to be the cause of their misery, and to lead them to self-examination and self-criticism.

Herein [he says in "Symposium" Section 204] is the evil of ignorance that he who is neither good nor wise is nevertheless satisfied with himself: he has no desire for that of which he feels no want.

The mission which Socrates conceived himself as charged to fulfil was to make men feel this want, to teach others what the utterance of the Oracle at Delphi had taught him,—his own ignorance: to imbue them with a divine discontent; to make them feel "the serpent's sting", "the pang of philosophy". And when he was condemned to death and tried, in his defence he disowned neither his mission nor his method.

I am that gadfly, [he tells his judges] which God has attached to the State and all day long and in all places am always fastening upon you, arousing and persuading and reproaching you.

The whole life of Socrates was a protest against the wrong ways of thinking and the wrong ways of living which are reflected in the teaching of the Sophists. He differed from them fundamentally in his view of education and in his attitude to Truth and Knowledge. Education is generally agreed to be a preparation for life; but different views of life lead to different theories as to the preparation required. The Sophists had no philosophy of life. They took the life around them as they found it; and the education they offered was adapted to the kinds of life men were actually living and the standards that were generally accepted acquiesced in the prevalent assumptions that the things most worth having in life are wealth and power and pleasure. The education they gave was thoroughly practical. It aimed at all-round efficiency. Socrates also attached great importance to efficiency. In fact he had a higher standard of efficiency than the Sophists; for while they aimed at teaching the things that would make for worldly success and prosperity, he thought it mattered much more that people should do what they did really well. One who knows what is best, desires what is best and habitually does one's best is the right type of person. Socrates held that the right preparation for life is learning to be the *right kind of person*, while the Sophists

thought that it meant acquiring capacity to act in particular ways. In practice there is no hard and fast line between the two. But it makes the whole difference to the outlook of the educator and to the methods and results of Education, whether the aim is merely efficiency, as it was for the Sophists, or whether it is Personality and Character, as it was for Socrates. Socrates believed in knowledge and in goodness: he also believed that they could be attained. The task he set himself from which he never swerved, was to discover the possibility of attaining them.

A characteristic of the method of Socrates was the necessity for having a companion in the pursuit of truth. Any one sufficed for this purpose "When any one apprehends alone, he immediately goes about and searches for some one to whom he may communicate it and with whom he may establish it." The principle implied is that if one other can be convinced, then all others can likewise be persuaded, and consequently the belief in question is universally valid. Carlyle expresses the same idea when he says, "It is certain my conviction gains infinitely, the moment another soul will believe in it." The dialogue is thus a necessary and essential feature of the method of Socrates.

In the Socratic discourses three stages can generally be distinguished. (1) the stage called by Plato "opinion" in which the individual is unable to give valid reasons for his knowledge or belief. (2) the destructive or analytical stage, in which the individual is brought to realise that he does not know what he assumed he knew, and which leads to contradiction and a mental condition of doubt or perplexity. (3) a synthetic stage for the results of which Plato reserves the term "knowledge". It is true opinion, accompanied by a reason. When this last stage is attained, the individual's experience is critically reconstructed and he can justify his

beliefs by giving the reasons for them.

The possibility of applying a method similar to that of Socrates in the teaching of school pupils has frequently been questioned and sometimes even denied. Pestalozzi, the Swiss educationist of the 18th century, is probably the most vigorous opponent of what he calls "Socratizing". In one passage in his work "*Leonard and Gertrude*" he says:—

Socratizing is essentially impossible for children, since they want both a background of preliminary knowledge and the outward means of expression—language.

If, however, the teacher adequately recognises the limits of his pupil's experience and adapts his terminology to their vocabulary, the method can be applied quite successfully, as has been shown by Professor Adams in his "Primer of Teaching" by means of several examples.

Plato:—Education was a subject to which Plato attached the greatest importance. In the 'Republic' he reckons it as amongst "the grandest and most beautiful" subjects and in the 'Laws' he repeats that it is "the first and fairest thing that the best of men can ever have". In the 'Crito' he says:—

No man should bring children into the world who is unwilling to persevere to the end in their nurture and education. [Elsewhere he says] Children are your riches: and upon their turning out well or ill depends the whole order of their father's house.

The extent and elaborateness of the treatment of Education in the 'Republic' and in the 'Laws', testify to the importance of the subject in Plato's mind. It is in the "Republic" that Plato's chief treatment of the subject is to be found. Rousseau has said,

If you wish to know what is meant by public education, read Plato's "Republic". Those who merely judge books by their titles take this for a treatise on Politics, but it is the first treatise on education ever written.

The "Republic" is professedly an inquiry into the nature of Justice. But justice is essentially a social virtue: consequently to determine the nature of justice Plato is driven to construct in thought an ideal state wherein he hopes to find justice "writ large". The principle of the division of labour is applied to divide the citizen in the Ideal State into three classes—the industrial, the military and the ruling—thus Plato's constitution has been designated by Lewis Campbell, "a system of caste". The barriers between the classes are not however absolute, nor is the hereditary principle in legislation regarded as infallible,

for a golden parent will sometimes have a silver son, or a silver parent a golden son. An oracle says that when a man of brass or iron guards the State it will be destroyed.

For each of the three classes of the Community—the producing, the military and the governing—Plato ought to have provided an appropriate form of training; but although the education of the soldier and that of the ruler or philosopher are treated at considerable length, no mention is made of the education of the industrial class. Aristotle noticed this omission in Plato's scheme. The education of the members of this class, had Plato dealt with it, would doubtless have been of a strictly *vocational* nature, not a State scheme of vocational training, but something resembling rather "the constitution of apprenticeship as it once existed in Modern Europe". There would be no specific training in citizenship, for these members of the community have no voice in the government of the State: their characteristic virtue is obedience, technically "temperance"—to know their place and to keep it. The fact that this large element in the community is denied the benefits and privileges of citizenship must be regarded as a serious defect in Plato's Ideal State. Even his communistic scheme is confined to the guardian

class. This has been attributed to Plato's aristocratic prejudices and to the great contempt for the mechanical arts. Aristotle regards the artisans as of even less account than the slaves and maintains that they can only attain excellence as they become slaves, *i.e.*, when they come under the direction of a master. If, however, a state is to be safe, or be a "unity", as Plato phrased it, all must share in the government.

For cities cannot exist, if a few only share in the virtues as in the arts' (Protagoras Sec. 322).

T. H. Green contrasting the Greek with modern ideal of virtue, says:—

It is not the sense of duty to a neighbour, but the practical answer to the question who is my neighbour that has varied.

This explains the defect in Plato's scheme and helps us to appreciate the increased difficulty of our present day social and educational problems.

At the outset of his treatment of education Plato asserts that we should begin with music and go on to gymnastic afterwards: mental is thus to precede physical education. The mother and nurses are to tell their children the authorised tales only:

Let them fashion the mind with such tales even more fondly than they mould the body with their hands.

Compare and contrast Aristotle:

The care of the body ought to precede that of the soul and the training of the appetites should follow: none the less the care of it must be for the sake of the soul.

Education for Plato cannot begin too early: he recognises *the importance of first impressions*.

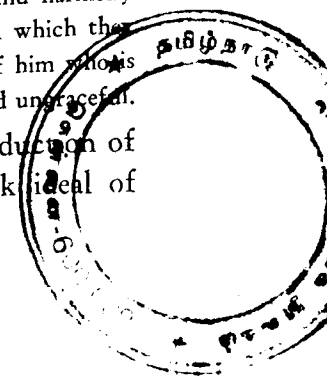
The beginning is the most important part of any work, specially in the case of a young and tender thing.

Consequently consideration of the tales to be told to infants he does not assume to be beneath the dignity of a

philosopher. Fables are best suited to the child mind. He recognises the truth of art as well as the truth of fact. For "true and false" he however substitutes the standard "good and evil". Here we come to his guiding principle—*that nothing must be admitted in education which does not conduce to the promotion of virtue*. He assumes a moral censorship over the tales then current—and formulates the general rules both for the matter of the stories and the form in which they are presented. Here we have the origin of the famous quarrel between *Poetry and Philosophy* or between Art and Morality. Plato, will not entertain the idea of "*Art for Art's sake*": the only criterion in education he will recognise is the *ethical*. The reason of Plato's solicitude for a good and simple environment for the children who are to be the guardians of the state is his belief in the efficiency of *unconscious assimilation or limitation* in the formation of character.

We would not have our guardians grow up amid images of moral deformity, as in some noxious pasture and there browse and feed upon many a baneful herb and flower day by day, little by little, until they silently gather a pestering mass of corruption in their own soul. Let our artists rather be those who are gifted to discern the true nature of the beautiful and graceful; then will our youth dwell in a land of health, amid fair sights and sounds, and receive the good in everything; and beauty, the effluence of fair works, shall flow into the eye and ear, like a health-giving breeze from a purer region and insensibly draw the soul from earliest years into likeness and sympathy with the beauty of reason. And therefore [he continues] *Musical training* is a more potent instrument than any other, because rhythm and harmony find their way into the inward places of the soul, on which they might fasten, imparting grace and making the soul of him who is rightly educated graceful, or of him who is ill-educated ungraceful.

Thus the end of musical education is the production of harmony and grace in the individual—the Greek ideal of



manhood, a life which in itself was perfectly balanced like a work of art.

The principle of teaching method in the "Republic" is elucidated as follows:

Bodily exercise, when compulsory, does no harm to the body, but knowledge which is acquired under compulsion obtains no hold on the mind. . . . Then do not use compulsion, but let early education be a sort of amusement, you will then be better able to find out the natural bent.

In the 'Laws' the positive significance of 'play' in education is emphasised. Thus we do not have to come to modern times, to Herbart, to Froebel or Montessori, to find the child's interest or his play taken as a guiding principle in education: it is found formulated in Plato himself.

So far for the scheme of early education, but those who are to qualify for guardianship have to be selected and then undergo a higher training. The aim of this higher education is not a mere extension of knowledge: it is, in Plato's phrase, "the conversion of the soul from study of the sensible world to contemplation of real existence".

Then if I am right, [he explains] certain professors of education must be wrong when they say that they can put knowledge into the soul which was not there before, like sight into blind eyes. Whereas our argument shows that the power and capacity of learning exist in the soul already: and that just as the eye was unable to turn from darkness to light without the whole body, so too the instrument of knowledge can only by the movement of the whole soul be turned from the world of becoming into that of Being, and learn by degrees to endure the sight of being, and of the brightest and best of being or in other words, of the *Good*.

Such is the aim of the higher education, the education of the philosopher or ruler. The curriculum of the Academy includes Arithmetic, Plane and Solid Geometry, Astronomy, Theory of Music or Harmonics, all, however, preparatory to

the highest of the sciences, *viz.* Dialectic or Philosophy "Through Maths. to Metaphysics" might be said to sum up Plato's scheme of higher education. The principles that decide the selection of the studies are, that they must lead to *reflection* rather than deal with the things of sense and that they must be of *universal* application. Dialectic is, for Plato the highest study of all. The sciences assume certain hypotheses or make certain assumptions. Philosophy or Dialectic tries to proceed without pre-suppositions or at least seeks critically to examine their validity and to determine the extent of their application.

The power of dialectic can alone reveal the absolute truth and only to one who is a disciple of the previous sciences. [Again] Dialectic, and Dialectic alone, goes directly to the first principle and is the only science which does away with hypothesis in order to make her ground secure; the eye of the soul is by her gentle aid lifted upwards; and she uses as handmaids and helpers in the work of conversion, the sciences which we have been discussing.

Dialectic is, then, the coping-stone of the sciences; no other science can be placed higher; it completes the series. All who would be magistrates in the Ideal State must consequently address themselves to such studies as will enable them to use the weapons of the dialectician most scientifically.

Plato's scheme of education is meant for women as well as for men; they are to have the same training and education, a training in music and gymnastic and in the art of war, which they must practise like men. Each member of the State should undertake the work for which he or she is best fitted by nature. While admitting that physically the woman is weaker than the man he maintains that in respect to political or governing ability the woman is the equal of man. Modern Psychology has come to the conclusion that in respect of *intellectual* ability the woman is on the average the equal of the man. But more revolutionary than this

proposal of co-education, there is that of "community of wives and children" which arouses distrust in Plato's scheme. To secure and preserve the unity of the state Plato was forced to destroy the family as the social unit. On this ground his scheme has been effectively criticised by Aristotle.

I refer to that subversion of all the tenderest of our natural feelings, which he sacrificed to an artificial sentiment which can only exist by their aid. Will the bonds of convention hold firm without some foundation in nature? Can devotion to the state exist apart from the love of those near and dear to us? Can patriotism thrive except in the soil of that miniature fatherland, the home? Is it not the good son, the good husband, the good father who makes the good citizen?—says Rousseau in "Emile".

The omission in the Republic of any reference to the education of the industrial or artisan class is partially rectified in the Laws. Education in the Laws is to be universal, not restricted as in the "Republic" to the guardian class and is to be compulsory. Again, while in the "Republic" education was to be in the immediate charge of the guardians of the state, in the Laws it is to be delegated to a Director of Education. The end of education nevertheless remains the same. *Education is for the good of the individual and for the safety of the state.* Thus Plato reaffirms in the Laws:—

If you ask, what is the good of education in general, the answer is easy— that *education makes good men*, and *that good men act nobly*, and conquer their enemies in battle because they are good. Education certainly gives victory, although victory sometimes produces forgetfulness of education; for many have grown insolent from victory in war and this insolence has engendered in them innumerable evils, and many a victory has been and will be suicidal to the victors; *but education is never suicidal.*

THE AGE OF MYSTICISM IN PERSIA

By BANKEY BEHARI

[This is the first part of the chapter under this heading from Mr. Bankey Behari's forthcoming publication, "Mysticism in Islam". Well documented, it is of considerable value.]

Each some protector, some defender claims.

But I, poor friendless I, have none but thee!

Authorities on Islamic mysticism, popularly known as Sufism, place its birth in Persia in the 8th century A.D. Nicholson and Browne agree on this date and share the view of Nöldeke, whose study of the subject is at once exhaustive, authoritative and illuminating. But we must guard against confusing Sufism, with the mysticism that prevailed in Persia much before the time the Prophet preached in the Sands of Arabia. It is with this earlier mysticism that I propose to deal in this chapter. Mysticism can be traced in Persia to very ancient times. Boscawen sees the "germs of the songs of Hafiz and Omar Khayyam in praise of wine, 'that maketh glad the heart of God and man'" in the Chaldean relics of 2,500 B.C. Admittedly about 1,000 B.C. Jackson rightly read in 'the Communings of Zarathustra with his God Ormuzd and the Archangels' the outpourings of a seer's heart. To quote the lines:

This I ask thee—tell it to me truly Lord,
Who the Sire was, Father, first of holiness?
Who the pathway for the sun and stars ordained,
Who through whom is't moon doth wax and wane again,
This and much else do I beg, O God to know.

(Early Persian Poetry-Jackson)

The Persian soil, like the Indian, was especially suited to the growth of the cult of the mystic. It is therefore no surprise that in the traditional history of Persia, we find practice prevailing from very ancient of the kings taking to the mendicant's life in the last stage of life and passing the remnant in same cave in contemplation [cp. the "vana parasta" of the Vedantist]. This will appear from the available accounts of the early rulers. Hoshung, who according to tradition, must have ruled Persia, millenniums before the advent of Christ, while handing over the reins of the Government to his successor Tehmarus, before his retirement to Solitude, thus gave him his last advice:

O memorial of thy sire and grand-sire,
Henceforth I devote myself to my own concerns,
And betake me in seclusion to the recesses of my cave.
Into thy hands I commit the empire of the world.

He is said to have then retired from the world. His condition is thus depicted!

He fixed his dwelling in the gloomy cave,
And followed the example of his soil and grand-sire,
He was continually engaged, like the devotee-recluse Abdal,
His nights and days were spent in fasting and prayers.
Sometimes reciting prayers, and,
Chanting the praises of the Almighty;
At other times immersed in holy meditation.
Until fate recited to him the lesson of absorption in God.

* * *

The name is healing to the broken-hearted.
Pour some moisture on the clay of these parched lips,
Apply some healing to the wounded heart.
In this wilderness on my destined journey.
I am without a companion and means of travelling.
Vouchsafe thy mercy to thy indigent and humble suitor,
Who has strayed from the Path, and roams without a guide.

* * *

And when this borrowed frame is no more,

Let my heart be reanimated in another frame.
In this desolation, bestow upon me a new existence,
As that annihilation is better for me than my present state,

[Shea—History of Persia, p. 70.]

Anecdotes of a later period point to the existence of a similar mode of thinking prevailing in Persia.

It is recorded in the Tarikh-i-hukma, that Iskander during his circuit in the Provinces (of Persia) happened to pass by a certain village in which the dwellings of the inhabitants were narrow and dark and at the door of each he saw a grave dug, among them was neither Governor nor Judge. Iskander having asked the reason of the uniformity observed in the houses, the absence of a Governor or a ruler, and the excavation of the graves, they answered "a difference in the elevation of the houses would lead to a claim of superiority and pre-eminence over each other, and we are far removed from the influence of such a quality. We have the graves dug ready at our doors, that we may not forget death or feel pride at our ephemeral existence, and pride is necessarily connected with calamity, and lastly as our actions are conformable to equity, what occasion have we for Judge or Governor!" Zulkarnani asked: if I should appoint for your dwelling a more cheerful place, could you remove from your present abode? They answered, "our request from the king is that he would drive away from us the predestined hour of fate." To which Iskander replied, "If the fulfilment of your request had been possible for mortal man, no human being would be more able than myself to grant it." On this they answered; "As the king in this matter is as weak as the others, our request is that he permit us to remain in our abode, for residence in the place of one's birth and growth has a peculiar delight."

[Shea—History of Persia, p. 417.]

A similar strain is noticeable in another account assigned to Alexandar (325 B.C.).

In the course of his conquests, Iskander is said to have come to a city in which seven estimable princes had in succession administered the Government. On asking the people, of the place, whether or not any of the descendants of the former king remained, they

answered: "There is a youth, related to the ancient princes, who dwells in such a burial ground, and feels an aversion for taking on himself the sovereign power." Iskander, with some of his principal courtiers went near the young prince: and reproaching him for abandoning the kingdom and taking up his abode in that dismal place, at the same time urged him to assume the administration of affairs. The youth replied, "O generous-minded sovereign, I am engaged in a pursuit, from which until I am disengaged, it will be impossible for me to undertake the charge of dominion and authority". Zulkarnani observed, "if you have any other concern than that of contemplating smouldering bones, explain what it is". The prince answered: "Having maturely reflected on the world and its transitory nature, I voluntarily withdrew from society and made this burial ground my abode; and although I have long endeavoured to distinguish the bones of the powerful kings from those of humble worshippers, I am still unable and the matter remains uncertain. Truly when I looked to the tombs, there was no difference between the slave and his master." Iskander replied, "This is an important point which can only be comprehended by the knowledge of the Almighty but if you are possessed of energy, permit not yourself to deviate from my commands which I may restore you to the rank of your fathers and ancestors." The young prince answered. "I have an energy which aspires to higher pursuits—a life exempt from death; youth free from the decrepitude of age, wealth beyond the reach of poverty, joy unmixed with grief, a beloved object unmixed with loathing, and health uninterrupted with disease." Iskander observed, 'From me you cannot except these objects'." The young Prince replied, "I seek them from one, whom I can find them."

[Shea—History of Persia, p. 418.]

There can therefore be no doubt that mystics existed in Persia millenniums before the advent of Islam. This mysticism of Persia, has many points of resemblance between itself and Vedantism, and Christianity and attempts have been made to confuse it with Sufism, the cloak of which it put on later, and to fix its birth in Persia as a result of foreign contact. The principal theories about its origin are four, as

stated by Browne:—

- (1) the result of Neoplatonist influence.
- (2) the reaction of Aryan (Vedantist) mind against a semitic religion.
- (3) the esoteric doctrine of the Prophet.
- (4) Independent origin.

[Wisdom of East Series—Rumi.]

[add to it theory accepted by some]

viz. (5) the result of contact with Christianity.

As to the Neoplatonic theory, its supporters principally base their arguments upon the intercourse that was established between the Greeks and the Persians at a very early date and upon the intrinsic evidence available, *viz.* the points of similarity between the two systems of thought. Davies, notices this similarity:

While the Sufis and Neoplatonists are at one inasmuch as the latter believe in the supreme good as the source of all things, self-existent, it generated itself; creation was the reflection of its own Being. Nature therefore was permeated with God. Matter was essentially non-existent, a temporary and ever-moving shadow for the embodiment of the Divine. The Neoplatonists believed that by ecstasy and contemplation of the all-God, man would rise to that source from whence he came.

These discussions of similarities do not establish anything further than that the two cultures came into contact and acted and reacted on each other: and at the most that Persian literature and Philosophy borrowed something from Greece. This fact is already admitted by native Persian scholars. In fact, they lamented such an attitude in their countryman and Al Ghazali and others raised their voice of protest against it. Maulana Shibli thus describes it:

When the Moslems translated the Philosophical treatises of the Greeks; they became so very enamoured of them, that they began to consider them as "revealed" books. This is the reason which is responsible, up to this day, for the esteem and reverence in

which Moslems hold Plato and Aristotle. In the next stage, following the period of translations, when the Moslem philosophers themselves wrote books, they accepted their statements as those of Prophets. It is as truism to say that Yakub Kundi, Farabi, Avicenna were real compeers of Aristotle and Plato; but they refrained from criticising adversely any of the opinions of the latter. There was only one group of thinkers, the mutzallites, who on religious grounds protested against the views of the Grecian philosophers; and even they directed their arrows to that portion which attached the principles of Islam. It was never the practice, to enunciate the Grecian system of thought and comment on it side by side (in the light of Islam). Even Imam Ghazali's 'Tahafut-ul-filā' is not written on these lines; although he was responsible for laying the foundations of this time of criticism. He, of course, lowered the respect for Grecian philosophy, which had till then so empowered and engrossed his co-religionists; and made people investigate into the worthiness of those Grecian thinkers. When Sheikh-ul-Ashraq compiled his Hikmat-ul-Ashraq, he was throughout pointing out the passages from which he differed amongst the Greek philosophers. Abu-ul-Barkat wrote his Kitab-ul-Mauthir on similar lines; and the vein of distrust found as great an enthusiast in Imam Razi that he took up his cudgels even against those principles enunciated by Greeks, which were undisputed and correct.

[Al Ghazali by Shibli pp. 60—61.]

And the infusion of the foreign element admittedly followed the spread of Islam in Persia. Davies fixes it about the 6th century, and perhaps correctly. He says:

Neoplatonist philosophers (7 in number) left their homes, being persecuted by Justinian and visited the Persian court in Naushairwan's time, and founded the School in the 6th century.

As we have pointed out before a reverse process was going on at a very early date. The Greeks were to a great extent borrowing from Persia. Alexander was accompanied with Aristotle, when he came to Persia, and ordered many of the books of the place to be translated. Stronger testimony

is forthcoming, leading to the just conclusion that it was the Greeks who principally borrowed from Persia: and we shall later try to establish that the earliest wave of culture that led to the founding of the Vedantic School in India, came from the North of the Pamirs, and one such branch of it penetrated into Persia, and extended to Egypt and Greece. And this happened millenniums before the advent of Alexander and Davies. Greece owes a heavy debt to Persia, and this is supported by archæological researches. Boscawen deals with this aspect as below:

The striking parallels, as between the ancient Chaldean epics and the Hellenic legends of Heracles are sufficient to show the indebtedness to the East for inspiration. Not only is Greek literature indebted to the writers of Chaldea, but the Hebrews no doubt found echoes of this ancient Saga in Canaan and borrowed and adopted it in the story of Samson, the solar hero of Hebrew mythology.

[First of Empires—Boscawen p. 284.]

Apart from this, testimony is not wanting to prove that vital and essential differences existed between the Neoplatonist and Sufi systems, which show that the latter cannot be said to owe its origin to the former. Just for the sake of illustration may be quoted Davies, where he says:

While the Neoplatonist's conception of God is purely abstract, that of the Sufi is essentially personal.

This being the state of affairs, we can only say that mysticism in Persia is far too old to be the outcome of the impact of the Neoplatonic thought with the Sufi system on the Persian soil.

The next theory that is advocated is that the birth of Sufism is the result of the contact with Christian monasticism. Even in the term "Sufi" itself Nicholson appears to read this origin, when he quotes with approval Nöldeke, to the effect:

But Nöldeke, in an article written 12 years ago (1902), showed conclusively that the name was derived from 'Suf' (wool) and was originally applied to those Moslem ascetics who in imitation of Christian hermits, clad themselves in coarse, woollen garb as a sign of penitence and renunciation of worldly vanities.

[The Mystics of Islam—Nicholson.]

Similarities between the principles of the two faiths have been urged in support of this contention. Sir Muhammad Iqbal too points out these early ascetic and quietistic tendencies in Sufism being in harmony with the Christian theory. He simply points them out, *viz.*, the Gospel texts and apocryphal sayings of Jesus are cited in the oldest Sufi biographies: the woollen garments from which term Sufi is derived is of Christian origin and the 'doctrine of love' advocated by the two creeds. But he stops short of it and does not rush to the conclusion that Sufism is born of Christianity.

These similarities, while so prominently brought out by Whinfield, never led him to the conclusion that Sufism was of Christian birth. He discusses them in the following lines:

There seems to be a great analogy between European mysticism and Sufism. . . . Many of the Catholic definitions of 'mystical theology' would do for descriptions of Sufism. The ruling ideas between both the systems are very familiar if not absolutely identical. Thus, for instance, we find Sufis talking of love of God, of 'Union with God', of 'death to self' and life eternal in God, of the indwelling in man of the spirit, of 'the nullity of works and ceremonies', of 'grace and spiritual illumination' and of the 'Logos'. Both systems may be characterized as the religions of the heart, as opposed to formalism and ritualism. Both exalt the inward light at the expense of the outward ordinance and voice of the Church. Both exhibit the same craving for visionary raptures and supernatural exaltations, and have been productive of similar excesses and extravagances. If Sufi has its Mevlavis and Rafais and Beshara Fakirs, its dancing and howling, and antimonian Dervishes, so European mysticism has produced the Omphalosychi

or navelgazing monks of Mount Athos, the Jansenist 'Convulsionaries', the Anabaptists of Munster and the Shakers. Finally to complete a parallel both systems have a tendency to Pantheism, and both use similar sensuous figures to express their visions and raptures. The pantheism of Gulshan-i-Raz has its counterpart in that of Eckart, 'The Doctor Ecstaticus', and much of its sensuous imagery might be matched by the erotic language of Saint Bernard's sermons on the Canticles, the wonderful effusions of Saint Theresa, and the mystical hymns of Saint Alphonso Linguori and others.

[Gulshan Raz—by Shabistri, Translated by Whinfield introduction.]

But from these similarities of ideas we cannot conclude that the one was responsible for the birth of the other. For, to quote an Indian author:

In every age, and in every clime there exists a certain class of minds which do not rest satisfied with mere knowledge of things, but try to penetrate into mysteries and solve the problem of existence herein and hereafter. In their endeavour to attain the truth they pass through various stages of spiritual progress and gather experience almost similar to those of other devout persons who have trodden the same path. We therefore find that the ideas of such persons and their utterances are almost similar, although no external relation exists between them. . . . From certain points of resemblance, or from the similarity of certain ideas, one need not come to the conclusion that they are borrowed from foreign sources; on the other hand it may be safely inferred that thinking minds after going through the same experiences of spiritual development often arrive at the same conclusion.

We are also in agreement with this view. Christianity cannot be said to be responsible for the birth of Sufism in Persia. It only influenced it in some stage or other of its growth, and while giving it something, took away something from it.

REORGANISING AGRICULTURE IN FEDERAL INDIA

By DR. B. N. SINGH

[In this article Dr. B. N. Singh, Head of the Department of Agricultural Research, Benares Hindu University, puts in a strong plea for the urgent reorganisation of agriculture in India and expresses the happy sentiment that this problem will receive the special attention of Lord Linlithgow, the Viceroy-designate, in view of his keen interest in, and great knowledge of, agriculture.]

The Twentieth Century has begun with the change of old order of economics, labouring under the menace of Malthusian doctrine of a remorseless pressure of an expanding population against the limited capacity of the World, to supply food, thus setting up an absolute limitation to the capacity of the human component. But all these staunch believers in the inexorable principle of diminishing returns and the law of increasing poverty with expanding populations, overlook the single fact that the potentialities of the Agricultural lands, have hardly been drawn at all, and intensive agriculture is capable of providing abundantly, for the existing population of the World, and for any increase that can be taken into consideration. To combat the scarcity of food, people use to look to the available land, but not to the availability of the potentialities of plant life and the land.

The present system of agriculture, is rapidly modelling itself out of innumerable experiments, developing new and more productive types of plants, in working new formulae,

for the application of fertilizers, and rapid cultivation. This outlook of agriculture from an extensive to an intensive nature, brings about, less labour and expense per unit of Product. In a country like ours with a natural conservative bent of mind and a traditional prejudice against the new, it may be hard, to convince the cultivators of the propriety of new appliances. But fortunately, the general structure of Agriculture is such that the retarding of the process of improvement and the readjusting go hand in hand. The cultivator who is not up-to-date in his methods cannot be pushed out of the field, by a cultivator who adopts modern methods. It is almost impossible to have sudden revolution in agriculture. There is a slow and steady evolution operating all-through in this branch of industry. Such an evolution is subject to the political direction of the country and the constitution. It is for us to regulate these new forces that model the form of agriculture which is socially desirable. If we leave them ill-regulated or unregulated, the same high commercialised agriculture as we are seeing to-day in the West will result in dwindling away the farm population and consequently in swelling the number of the unemployed. If the Society takes the control over these forces, bringing about a regulated production of small units, organised on a co-operative basis, for the well-being of our social as well as economic life, then only any improvement can serve to minimise the menacing toil of long hours which is scaring away our young men from the farm.

Agriculture is, and will be, for many more years to come, the foundation of the State. As such any change in our technical basis of farming, changes our social economic condition, with the consequent political repercussions. The raising of technical efficiency, with the resultant total production crossing the line in scarcity and surplus, creates a

critical position in our social and political life. The farmer can be benefited by the improved farm technology, only when the price to the consumer is not reduced too much. No rational reconstruction of Agriculture which necessarily implicates the re-building of the general social economic structure will be possible, unless the real technical basis of farming is given due consideration.

The technology of crop production essentially depends on two factors, viz., the measure of the full quantity of life inherently possessed by the plants, and secondly the control over the nature and magnitude of environmental factors. A perfect co-ordination and correlation between these two factors yields the maximum results. For this a scientific farmer apart from fully utilising the inherent life in the plant must have a co-ordinated control over the external agencies which can be described in the language of economics as "Free Goods" such as solar heat, rain, air and certain mineral nutrients.

Having an unlimited supply of air and solar heat the farmer must define his policy to the supply of other free goods. If more land is available for him he explores those new avenues of plant growth at the cost of some labour. This is extensive cultivation which tries to meet the demand from an aggregate yield though the unit yield per acre may be low. But a farmer with limited land tries to put the fresh stock of nutrients in the soil by adding fertilisers, thus making a beginning of intensive farming to meet the aggregate yield by higher unit yields per acre.

Some may put forth the argument that India is fit for extensive cultivation only since labour is very cheap and there is still a culturable waste of 152 million acres. In reply to the above argument we may invoke some of the principles of agrobiology which make quite evident that the produc-

tivity of the land is at its maximum and the labour cost per unit at its minimum, when the ratio between the input and the output has its limit value. Thus when a certain demand for any agricultural produce has to be met by a smaller number of farmers, less equipment and a smaller area of land are needed when the agrobiologic ratio between the input and the output is at its limit. Now it is for the social economist to rearrange the shattered elements of our national household by correlating these two fundamental concepts viz., the definite maximum productivity of the land and the definable minimum dimensions of agricultural establishments. These two concepts make the technical basis of our agriculture as an industrial art forming the foundation of our future Federal State.

The present century has witnessed great many changes in agricultural technique which have, in a sense, revolutionized the basis of farming. It will not be out of place to mention the main ones like the mineral basis of plant nutrition and the establishment of the science of genetics which has systematised the enlarging of the quantities of life inherently possessed by the vegetative organism. Based on the above principles has risen the science of agrobiology which furnishes the knowledge to our plant breeders the limits, within which they may expand the yielding abilities of the agro-types. The scientific pioneering in the identification of the material requisites of plant growth with its limits and systematic method for governing the induced evolution of plants within these limits is in a sense complete. Rest of the arduous task is in the hands of practical men—the tillers of the soil and the builders of our future State.

A glance at yearly yield reports clearly shows how far our cultivators have taken advantage of these evolutionary changes of modern agriculture. Our acreage yields remain

the same from 1898 till to-day. If we take factor by factor how far our cultivators have progressed, the problem becomes easier. The non-recuperation of the deficiencies of nitrogen and phosphate is simply due to the colossal ignorance of the material requisites of plant growth which necessarily implicates the problem of mass education. Now it is the task of the Government and the public to constitute a Central Bureau of Agricultural Information to translate the ideas and results of experimental researches such as can be put to agricultural practices by the farmers into languages which can be followed by the people. This is a matter of vital importance.

There is another requisite factor for maximum plant growth—moisture—whose timely co-ordination with fertility alone can bring the maximum yield. Of late this problem has received special interest and consideration which shows a marked improvement in our irrigated area forming 20 per cent of the total area sown, the total capital spent being 9984 lacs with a nett return of 7.4 per cent on the capital. This is a highly remunerative investment which merits the attention of the provincial and central finances. Now let us turn to the second factor. How far the high yielding agro-types have been utilised in our country can be clearly seen from the area under the improved varieties which forms only 7 per cent of the total area sown. This, as emphasised by the Royal Commission on Agriculture, can be put into operation by an organisation with the assistance of the Co-operative and Agricultural departments, for dealing with seed distribution and seed testing work and creating reliable seed agencies. The future of our state entirely depends upon convincing the cultivators of their economic security by taking to improved methods of cultivation and high yielding agro-types.

But our social structure unfortunately is intricate and highly involved. Fragmentation of land under the existing laws of inheritance is often cited as a great hindrance in our efforts to improve the land. For the better maintenance of the society and the State it is absolutely necessary that there should be a voluntary or statutory consolidation of land corresponding to the collectivisation of small farms as in Soviet Russia, at least for the purpose of improved mechanical operations. Besides there is a dire necessity of crop planning for every province, considering the recourses of the soil, water and the economic conditions. Unless the technical basis of farming is given the fullest consideration with a view to combat the aforesaid drawbacks of our social structure, any attempt to organise our social economic home will be only on sifting foundations.

The quantity of produce supplied by the improved establishment will not only be sufficient to cover the possible demand but may bring out an intense competition in "buyer's market" where the sellers will be more eager and insistent than the purchasers. Consequently the market prices will be at their lowest. Surpluses accumulate in the second hands, and the primary producers will be forced to cover the money necessities of life to accept any price offered, hardly making their budget balanced. There will be many economic categories of farmers with enormous diversities due to personal qualities as well as economic antecedents. By low prices some will be beaten below the point, where it will not be possible to continue as producers but still continuing as the cultivators of to-day for the mere meagre existence. The line separating the prosperous producers and the above mentioned, is the economic survival line or, to be more correct, the zone of social economic wreckage where men pass out of economic existence. Consequently our social

economic system will create a state where without any change in the area of cultivation an ever-increasing agricultural production will be saturating in a non-elastic market. But the quantity of labour remains constant or decreases by better mechanisation. This increment of agricultural wealth from a fixed amount of labour and land, goes on increasing till the known maximum productivity of the land is reached. Now it is for the society and the State to control and direct the swelling increment to make it a "Grand-arc" of social well-being or Pandora's box of evils. As time goes, the degree of supersaturation becomes greater and the economic wreckage of our cultivators becomes threatening. As it is, it is sad enough on account of the irrepayable rural indebtedness, with the sinking of the price levels and thereby culminating a general collapse of credit and buying power of our farmers.

A drastic social intervention in agriculture is inevitable to prevent politically a dangerous state of super-saturation when the progress continues its relentless forward march and the technical results of farming bodily move upwards. Broadly speaking, there should be a body politic whose objective should be to limit the production so as to avoid the depressing effect of annual surpluses on the prices of farm products and to assure the farmer a return which will be a safeguard for his economic survival. Such controlling boards like Central Sugar Control Board of Java and the British Milk Marketing Board are existing abroad, working in the entire interests of producers and consumers. At this juncture we venture to suggest the constitution of a "Federal Farm Board" under whose guidance and control the different crop boards should operate leaving to the Imperial council of Agricultural Research the entire field of agricultural research (realising the working conditions of

the cultivator so that the proposals for his benefit may be available from his point of view). The country should be divided into different crop zones on the survey of soil and climatic conditions with a plan of crop production. On this Board representation should be duly elected by the producers, experts and the State. This board should fix the price the domestic consumer has to pay and the surplus to be exported at the world price. Thus the cultivator should receive two payments, one for his share of operations in the domestic market and another for his share in the export operation.

Every year in our country we see farmers in some part or other whose crops are ruined by drought, hail, flood, pest or earthquakes. There is a constant yearning in all these panic-stricken areas for some constructive social planning to shield them from helpless exposure to Nature's ravages. Justice demands that the agriculturalist should be assured some continuity of income against crop losses caused through no fault of his. In a sense the basic nature of this is to be a large-scale crop insurance. There is nothing difficult about this, as the same concept is at the base of every life,—fire accident, marine and teacher's provident fund. We are growing insurance-conscious day by day. If once the public realises the feasibility of this crop insurance as a matter of course it will become a feature of our Federal Government. Such a system is in the interests of both the producer and the consumer, as under the present system a widespread agricultural calamity finds pretext for squeezing from the consumer famine prices. Now as a body-politic fixes the price which the producer receives in the years of surplus and scarcity and also the price, the consumer has to pay when crops are short. In a way it stabilises the producer's income, and the consumer's budget, in spite of Nature's worst ravages. Such a

pro-ration system will be the starting point for the social exploitation of the age of abundance that stands before us. The stabilisation of any industry by production and control of prices brings a critical situation making the human component frozen into a fixed dimension. In its real sense each producer is guaranteed his share in the existing market in proportion to his previous relative standing without any possibility of being nosed out by rugged individualism. Under the shelter of control if the cultivator is resourceful by using high yielding agro-types and giving new accession to growth powers, he saves money by reducing the investment and at the same time gains leisure as well. Now it is for the body-politic to decide the social capitalisation of the leisure to reduce our overhead administrative charges or leave it as a reward for his resourcefulness.

In brief our problem of social economic reorganisation is to be dealt with, from two standpoints—firstly, the effective control of the march of industry towards minimum dimension and the employment of all rational means for accelerating the approach. Instead of trying to block further development of the machine-age or the new agrobiologic era, let the agrobiologists and the farmers multiply the unit yields of food and raw materials to any extent, but with the necessary caution of freezing the human component by controlling the produce and the price. Secondly, we have to take advantage of the consequent leisure by social capitalisation. This social economic evolution is bound to progress in any future form of government with equitable capitalisation of invention and progress for general benefit to the full extent that it can be practicable without diminishing the initiative. This we feel as a possible compromise between the two main schools of economic thought—Capitalism—Socialism, where the former's assumption of private property is

substantially preserved with added gain of assured business stability and at the same time the latter's contention is also maintained because the means of production will be under social control of product and price.

To many this may look as a Millennium. But we say ours is a land of Wonders and Millenniums. Looking to the past decade that has created a new social economic home for agriculture in India it will not be surprising to complete this structure of our national household, in an united Federal India with a Viceroy of Lord Linlithgow's knowledge and experience of agricultural problems.

EVIL IN SHAKESPEARE

By P. C. JOSHI

[This is the second and concluding part of Mr. Joshi's article on the problem of Evil in Shakespeare's plays.]

In Hamlet, as in others, Shakespeare by intuition and instinct, if not by force of tradition, falls in line with the Aristotelian canon about the hero as

a man who is not eminently good and just, yet whose misfortune is brought about not by vice or depravity but by some error or frailty.¹

It is doubtful if we can call the lack of a particular quality—rather the over-abundance of a quality as it certainly is in Hamlet—a frailty in the man. Certainly a man of thoughtful disposition who thinks twice before taking a leap, who has the sanity to reflect:

Whether 'tis nobler in the mind to suffer
The slings and arrows of outrageous fortune,
Or to take arms against a sea of troubles,
And by opposing end them,²

can scarcely be called inefficient. It is common wisdom as the stale adage runs that hurried judgment is liable to serious results. And what was the harm if Hamlet thinks out the plan and the consequences of the act before plunging head and shoulders in it. And does he not show that he has an energetic constitution in leaping to the pirate ship? Where, then, does the tragedy lie? Indeed, it is in that overbrooding alone which was, in reality, meant to put him-

¹ Aristotle 'Poetries' XIII. 3.

² 'Hamlet' III. 1.

self in the right light before the world. The tragedy is in the incapacity of Hamlet—and of Horatio—in recognising the exact significance of the situation, in their inefficiency to adjust the environments to the normal.

The time is out of joint: O cursed spite
That ever I was born to set it right!³

said Hamlet, but proved too inefficient to set it right. There is the root of the tragedy. The lack of practicality that Hamlet shows in the handling of the situation swallows the whole of his world. Horatio—the punctum indifference as Coventry Patmore calls him—fails to realise its gravity. It is this which would have driven him as well to suicide but the sense of his obligation to Hamlet compels him to survive the catastrophe and report the true story of Hamlet to the world. An Othello would have seen to the game he had to play and rushed through it. His easy credulity would never have doubted the credibility of the ghost as being a prompting of the devil and things would have been just the contrary. But the peculiar grouping of the circumstances make the tragedy inevitable and the evil—

that old dragon, rears one of its hydra-heads in the tragedy.
In the phrase of Job 'he counteth iron as straw and brass as rotten wood. The arrows cannot make him flee, sling stones are turned with him into stubble.'⁴

It is not only so with Hamlet but the process is continued in *Othello*, *Lear* and *Macbeth* as also in *Antony* and *Cleopatra* or the earliest *Romeo and Juliet* to name a few out of many. The two lovers are undoubtedly innocent of all evil—at least of dramatic evil. But the family feuds and the resulting quarrels, neither these beautiful creations of Shakespeare, nor the parents themselves, nor even the state

³ Ibid. I. 5.

⁴ Dixon 'Tragedy' p. 57.

can adjust. So also is the incompatibility of Othello—the victim of the green-eyed monster, jealousy—Lear or Antony. This incompatibility is essentially evil. It not only brings about a devastating effect on the inefficient man who brought it about but all who are related to him. It makes no discrimination but spreads like wildfire devastating and killing all that come within its limit. It is a volcanic eruption laying hands on all that come under its way.

It is, indeed, very true. Hegel pointed out that the destruction of evil alone can never produce tragedy.

Moral evil . . . so greatly diminishes the spiritual value we ascribe to the personality that a very large amount of good of some kind is required to bring this personality up to the tragic level, the destruction of evil being in no degree tragic⁵.

Along with the wicked the virtuous suffer. There is absolutely no systematised poetic justice. Or as Dr. Smart puts it:

He does not present all his characters as guiltless victims, there is in many of them a strain of evil, or blindness, or infatuation which distorts their actions and leads them at last to destruction⁶.

In this strange art, said Schopenhauer, we are brought face to face with the terrible facts of existence, the unspeakable suffering, the triumph of evil, the tyranny of chance, the pitiable destruction of the guiltless⁷.

And to such a division belongs *Macbeth*—to me the masterpiece of Shakespearean study in evil. It is the only concise and compactly written play. Here we have

a hunted creature, [as Prof. Vaughan remarks] alone in a world of curses, stripped of everything save the will to do evil, and

⁵ A. C. Bradley, 'Oxford Lectures', p. 90.

⁶ Smart op. cit. p. 22.

⁷ Dixon op. cit. p. 188.

the knowledge that, with the evil, will come its own punishment of self-torture and despair⁸.

The tragic effect of *Macbeth* does not lie merely in the fact that he is a villain—rather it is in the element of mysterious evil, vague dread and fear of the unknown. That is the atmosphere of the play. The images in *Macbeth*'s own speeches contribute to that atmosphere and show the connection of evil in his soul to the mysterious evil at large. The witches and the weird supernatural phenomena are symbolic of *Macbeth*'s soul, or rather the evil in *Macbeth* symbolises "the huge universal powers working in the world of individual fate and passion." But Boyer is right in observing that "neither the witches themselves nor the more obscure evil influences which surround a man, according to Shakespeare's conception, actually compel him to evil. He acts upon his own responsibility."⁹ Otherwise the whole thing would have been revolting. And here comes the significance of the knocking at the gate just after the murder of Duncan. The knock is just a challenge to a particular suspicion that begins to creep into our mind. One can do nothing better than quote Prof. Quillerkouh:

It is, if we will, God. It is, if we will, the Moral Order. It is . . . that which holds the human kind together by law of sanity and righteousness. It is all that this man and this woman have outraged . . . It is the tread of vengeance, *pede claudo*, marching on the house. *Macbeth* is king, or is to be. But the knock insists on what his soul now begins to know, too surely. Evil is *not* good; and from this moment the moral order asserts itself to roll back the crime to its last expiation¹⁰.

Let this masterpiece of construction, then, serve not only as a resume of our theme but also as an illustrative

⁸ Vaughan op. cit. 151.

⁹ Boyer: 'Villain as Hero', p. 209.

¹⁰ 'Q' 'Shakespeare's Workmanship', p. 55.

exposition of our subject-matter. In Shakespearean tragedy it is never good which is the main source of convulsion but on the contrary evil.

Guilty ambition, seconded by diabolic malice and issuing in murder [says Bradley] opens the action in *Macbeth*; Iago is the main source of convulsion in *Othello*; Goneril, Regan and Edmund in *King Lear*.¹¹

But it is difficult to see eye to eye with him, when he infers that "this order cannot be friendly to evil or indifferent between evil and good."¹² The order which is so full of evil as we have in *Macbeth* needs be friendly—or at least not indifferent to evil. In the animal world, serpents, who die by their own poison, cannot be called inimical to that poison. If they do not feel friendly, they are certainly not indifferent to it. So also in a universe where so much disturbance is created by evil; it has a positive place which is not inimical to it. This universe is only the outcome of good and evil put together. Segregation of these two is impossible. There can be no escape from such a thing. Indeed, it is true that

evil exhibits itself anywhere as something negative, barren, weakening, destructive, a principle of death. It isolates and dis-unites, and tends to annihilate not only its opposite but itself¹³.

The incapability of the character to adjust to the environment may or may not be of an ethical import but in its course the Shakespearean tragedy involves and destroys ethical values also. Its tendency is to spread and others who are innocent also get involved. Evil is incalculable in its working and there is no knowing where it will stop when once it starts. Notice the first scene of *Macbeth*

¹¹ A. C. Bradley: 'Shakespearean Tragedy', p. 34.

¹² Ibid., p. 34.

¹³ Ibid., p. 35.

(1) Witch—When shall we meet again
In thunder, lightning, or in rain?

(2) W.—When the hurly burly's done
When the battles lost and won.

* * *

All.—Fair is foul, and foul is fair:

Hover through the fog and filthy air¹⁴.

These are the visible representations of evil. Once they are face to face with Macbeth whole action hovers through fog and filthy air, full of 'lightning, thunder and rain'. All values are lost and fair and foul have no difference. Naturally it goes on till it has destroyed itself. The whole thing ends as soon as the evil is destroyed in Macbeth. The evil had spread its meshwork round him in a way that Macbeth voluntarily seeks them. He has a peculiar trust in its efficacy. He places implicit faith in what the apparition and the witches say:

Mac.—Had I three ears, I'd hear thee.

App.—Be bloody, bold and resolute, laugh to scorn
The power of man, for none of woman born
shall harm Macbeth¹⁵.

Indeed he stands amazedly at the end of his fateful interview. It is at the last, when Macbeth realises the impotency of witchcraft, and the prophesy being fulfilled in the equivocating Delphic fashion. He casts aside the bloody and foul cloak he had put on and once again rises to the chivalric height of the soldier he was at the beginning:

Before my body

I throw my warlike shield, lay on Macduff

And damned be he that first cries, 'Hold, enough!'¹⁶

This extends to Lady Macbeth and even Banquo. All

¹⁴ 'Macbeth' I. i.

¹⁵ Ibid. IV. i.

¹⁶ Ibid. V. 7.

these place high credulity to the weird sisters and the bloody results follows. The tragedy is in the character's incapacity firstly to cope with and resist the foul atmosphere and lastly at their incapacity to get along with the situation that arises at their disillusionment. The tragedy does not end by the destruction of good but only when the evil influence itself is broken up completely. The tragedy lies in the destruction of good and not in the destruction of evil. Macbeth is tragic because much that was good in him was destroyed. It is the spiritual waste that we witness which is poignantly tragic. Shakespeare's greatness is in the spiritualizing of the traditional ending in death and thus giving it a completely new and higher significance. These people live a tolerably long life and the course of their life leads them to find out their own errors. This realisation makes the tragedy all the more poignant.

It is from the final atmosphere of idealistic calm [remarks Nicoll] that there arises the great power of Shakespeare's dramas. We are not left pessimistic, for we are in the presence of an eternal mystery: The weary calm of Hamlet, Othello's great last soliloquy, Lear's innocent awakening, the tired musings of Macbeth—on these and not on death alone the curtain-folds sweep down¹⁷.

Shakespeare seems to believe in a kind of inherent virtue in life to purify. The course of life has a tendency to self-purification. The evil, as a matter of fact, comes in clash with this tendency and the contest ends in the eradication of this evil. In the course of this extirpation many precious things are lost. Life in its purificatory efforts tries to eliminate the evil and a good deal that is precious is also destroyed. That is the tragedy. Much that was great and promising, that lived a life worth living, is also destroyed. The world

¹⁷ Nicoll: 'Studies in Shakespeare', pp. 33-34.

that is left at the end of the catastrophe is pale and anaemic, hardly a thousandth of the giants they succeed. The world has shrunk considerably.

Evil, then, has its main source in Shakespeare in the maladjustment of the character to the environment. But once it arises in one way or the other, either, from the accidental meeting with the witches, or through a faultless rejection of a lover, or may be from ambition in a striking personality or a maldistribution of the State, it goes on without any let or hindrance till all is submerged in a final convulsion. Evil, in the main, is in the very nature of the plot sometimes and very often inherent in the characters. But wherever it be, it has strong reactions on the other. Upton Sinclair has observed that an accidental turning at a road-crossing effects our fortunes beyond recognition.

How strange, yet how true! There is no recalling of our actions. Once it is done and we have done. It will go its way and the catastrophe cannot be stopped. In fact no better fitting conclusion can be thought of than these lines of Wordsworth:

Action is transitory—a step, a blow.
The motion of a muscle—this way or that—
'Tis done, and in the after vacancy
We wonder at ourselves like men betrayed,
Suffering is permanent, obscure and dark,
And shares the nature of infinity.

MOODS AND MUSINGS

By "PRIM"

["Prim's" moods change. After considerable silence, he has reverted to his musings. And this time, he "muses" at the grave-side and in a garden, two places which have little in common.]

(1) *The Grave*

Last month I was a sad spectator at a funeral of an old and dearly loved English lady who had come out to India to see her friends. I knew her in England in 1929; and that short acquaintance was at once transported into a privilege, when I paid my last tribute to her earthly remains—a mere memory now transformed into the permanence of a monument. For, indeed, what the poet has said of love, can also be said of friendship that where Death has sealed it, no age can chill, nor rival steal—no, nor falsehood disavow.

This is a pleasant reflection, which makes it a matter for rejoicing to treasure the life that lies beneath the inscribed sepulchre. It was a cemetery that inspired Gray to write his famous elegy; and it is always the grave which is the beginning of all philosophy. For, in death alone can man realise the beauty of life even as in falsehood he can appreciate the significance of truth. And love, to take the sublimest of all human feelings, is truth incarnated in death. How happy we feel to talk of one who is dead, dwell on the bright side of his life, or feel amused at his idiosyncrasies that at times perhaps annoyed us when he was alive. The bad points for which we upbraided or condemned him now appear as golden memories for which we are prepared to sacrifice everything, if only once—just once—we could have a

glimpse of the man who was once the embodiment of those evils. And to perpetuate his memory we raise over his grave a monument of everlasting love built upon truth realised in death. But, alas!,

Can storied urn, or animated bust,

Back to its mansion call the fleeting breath?

Can Honour's voice provoke the silent dust,

Or Flattery soothe the dull cold ear of Death?

Too late, my friend, it's too late. What a wonderful opportunity we lose to do good to a man when he is alive; we miss the golden sunshine in his life; we then only see the silhouette of his being that is necessarily dark—too dark to measure the truth that is himself. Indeed, Hyde is far too preponderant over the personality of Dr. Jekyll; what we fail to realise is that Dr. Jekyll is also a human being with all the imperfections of man, that there is something in him which is even superior to Dr. Jekyll. It is unfortunate that the superman, not merely in intellectual gifts, but in nobler qualities of head and heart, is lying silent only beneath the darkened tomb. In futile abandonment we let loose our tongues in unhealthy gossip and fill our conversation with idle scandal. But life is too short for such a filthy indulgence. Soon—alas!—too soon it passes away into the silence of the grave—a mere skeleton too insignificant for man's notice. And, as the philosopher has observed, the grass soon grows over the grave.

Here, proud man, is a lesson for you. From the innermost being of your heart you feel ashamed of human follies; you know the wrong you have perpetrated on humanity by dividing it into narrow communities and narrower sects; you realise the falsehood that cloud the "civic slander and the spite"; you understand the pettiness of human jealousy and mean prejudices. And yet you live a life of wanton cruelty, of deceit and hypocrisy; you have devised religion to delude

man into happy isles of innocent peace and happy plenty, but in truth have thrown him into the abysmal pit, into the mire of base communalism and ugly provincialism; you have made morals only to pretend virtue at the cost of culture, to keep aflame the torch of truth by scandalising your neighbour and by being scandalised yourself; in short, your whole existence is like a counterfeit coin that shines all the brighter in its falsity, behind the glittering exterior of which there is a base metal. And so you march to your grave little realising that once you are there you are levelled with the sinner who lies next to you, whom once you maligned, but who perhaps is now absolved not by the priest, but in your saintly company!

(2) *On a Garden*

I have in my mind a garden—a lovely monument of friendship that has enriched two souls with the freshness of the morning dew. The garden is, strictly speaking, not a handiwork of man; it is an image of the friendship that exults in the exuberance of foliage. In the nature of things it is of course destined to be transitory; the rose that to-day blooms, tomorrow withers away and dies—a mere symbol of the fleeting life that is born, runs its dazzling tenure, and then passes away into the inevitable silence. But life is too short to brood over this sorrowful spectacle of the future, even as it is profitless to waste time in vain regrets about the past. For the moment, beneath the luxurious shade of mango trees, by the 'Mount of Talking Age', rich in the green scenic effect of ferns, I feel grateful to the life that enables me to enjoy the sublime art of man carved out on the canvas of Nature into a landscape of divine excellence. Here, one would say with the poet, no one shall find an enemy; no, not even the forbidden fruit that lost for man the paradise of Eden.

Nothing there is in this garden that is forbidden except perhaps the lawn that stretches out before one's eyes as a green carpet so pleasing to the sight. But the prohibition is not a mark of possession; on the other hand, it is an unselfish protest against abuse which may spoil the even beauty and destroy the verdure of the lawn. But even here hospitality grudges not its free use when it welcomes friends to enjoyable evening parties, under the canopy of wintry azure sky.

And there, hidden behind a hedge, is a promenade, obviously for whispering lovers made. Unfortunately, the privilege of romance is denied to the youth; it is often an abominable business of prying through the keyhole by surreptitious aunts who are so anxious to chapron their nieces only to press forward the claim of *their* faded glory—a Fruedian complex of peculiar significance. But never mind, young man, if you feel crossed in hopeless love, you may derive solace in the 'Isle of Peace'. Smoke a cigarette if you will, my dear man, and try to reflect on the smoke that goes whirling upwards to heaven. See if you can't even then crush the 'vice of blood' in a philosophic detachment by saying to yourself, hence loathed melancholy!

Thus musing, I stop at 'Pitfalls of Life with Palms of Welcome'. What a magnificent combination! It is here where I realise

That men may rise on stepping stones
Of their dead selves to higher things.

But who shall so forecast the years? Ah, I forget, there's the 'Lady of the Lake'. A white statue in clay, it is a serene figure of captivating grace. And there across is a 'Sweet-heart'—and, behold, there is another one within it. What else do you want, Sonny? That should be a sufficient promise. Don't be scared away by the 'Ancient Mariner',

for it is merely a shadow of a great legend. Besides, experience tells me that old people, past the age of fifty, are more catholic than their younger counterparts on this side of forty, who fancy they are paragons of virtue for the same reason as our surreptitious aunts picture themselves the very images of Helen. With two 'Sweethearts' on one side and the 'Lady of the Lake' on the other, you should be able to reach the happy isles of peace and love, leaving the back-doorish devils to be washed away by the gulfs into the pits of Infern. And now by the babbling 'Pierian Spring' taste fully the beauty of life.

And, indeed, life is a garden if one could make it so. Across the stretch of one's existence there are moments as joyful as the freshness of the rose that has just blossomed, as there are moments of despair and regret. But Nature maintains a wonderful balance: out of travail a lovely child is born, even as physical affliction precedes the everlasting peace. Thus beneath its 'Pensive Bower' one may look at the garden in this philosophic light. Before one's eyes stretches out a panorama that man could make out of rugged Nature. Here is an instance of skill surmounting fate, for without the skill of man wild grass would have grown where the lawn exists. Even so, in spite of many pitfalls, man can sow for himself palms of welcome that will cheer his lonely way. But—the irony of it all—Mangal, the gardener who has helped a good deal in this sublime creation has little solace to derive from his handiwork. He has been able to surmount the superior fate of Nature, but when he returns home after the day's work, he sleeps not under the shadow of mango trees, beside the 'Mount of Talking Age', but beneath the thatched roof of his hovel—a pathetic example of man's tyranny against man. Alas, even the garden of Eden could not hold out to him a brighter promise!

The Twentieth Century Library

A PROPHET OF BEAUTY AND CULTURE

By BIRESWAR SEN

Fiery Stronghold. By Nicholas de Roerich. The Strafford Company. Boston (Massachusetts). Price 3.00.

One always opens a new book by Prof. Roerich with a considerable amount of anticipatory pleasure. The writer still remembers the thrill of surprise and joy when he first came across his works—ADAMANT, FLAMING CHALICE and SHAMBHALA—in the cool heights of Kulu. It is not simply because they are unusual and surcharged with a wealth of strange and varied lore from the unknown or little known regions of the earth, but because of the wise, virile, ever-active and benevolent spirit which pervades all his works. While the world rings to the paeon of praise for Roerich the Master-Artist, there must be countless hearts in every land all yearning for the light of Culture and Beauty, for whom Prof. Roerich's works would be like glorious and inspiring messages of hope.

A descendant of the warlike Ruriks, Roerich is no pale and anaemic pacifist mumbling inarticulate protests or bewailing the existing order of things, but a true and valiant warrior blowing with his sonorous trumpet the battle cry of Peace and Beauty against the dark forces of Ignorance and Negation. His is no futile and uncertain voice of a prophet crying in the wilderness and painting with visionary colours the beauties of a dubious Utopia; for when Roerich speaks, he speaks with reason; he speaks with conviction—hence he speaks convincingly.

Three things stand out clearly in all his written work.

is great fund of knowledge in ancient and modern lore on every conceivable subject, from pre-historic archaeology to occult and oriental mysticism. Roerich indeed staggers none with his vast erudition. He is equally at home amidst the cromlechs and dolmens of Scandinavia as amidst Tartar camps and Tibetan monasteries; he can talk with equal authority and judgment on old Russian 'ikons' and the Tibetan 'dzi', on the migrations of ancient tribes and the Kalachakra system, on the mysteries of Shambhala and the Ethics of Spinoza. With a wonderful clarity of vision, he sees into the heart of things and synthesises the teachings of the Great Ones of the Earth into one vibrant creative philosophy which manifests itself in constant and ever-irradiating benevolent actions.

Incessant and benevolent creative activity is the keynote of Roerich's philosophy of life. All his precepts are corroborated by triumphant personal examples. An indefatigable worker himself, he exhorts everybody to devote his life in ceaseless creative and constructive activity in the cause of Truth, Beauty and Culture. Ever in his life, he has held Beauty and Truth to be the supreme concepts of the Universe, for the protection and conservation of which he has devised the famous Banner of Peace which with years to come will do for the Spiritual treasures of mankind what the Red Cross has done for the frail human body.

The third interesting characteristic of his writings is the beautiful sonorous quality of his diction. It is surprising for one who was born a Russian to write such prose, which reminds one of Gibbon and James Allen in their more inspired movements. His prose is characterised by the same vigour, charm and gorgeous colour as are seen in his paintings. If he is the Prophet of Beauty and Culture, he certainly speaks with the strength and directness of his mighty predecessors.

Anyone who has read his "ADAMANT" and other works cannot but be thrilled by the wonderful breadth and sweep of his vibrant sentences which echo and re-echo in one's soul like the booming organ-notes in a dark cathedral.

FIERY STRONGHOLD has the same old magic of his previous works, the same unabated vigour and sincerity, the same stout championship of Beauty and Culture. It is a book which one would do well to read over and over again.

POST-WAR YEARS

By C. K. C.

The Post-War World. A Short Political History. 1918—1934. By J. Hampden Jackson. (Gollancz. 6s.).

The avowed aim of this book is to provide the ordinary citizen with a background for the news he reads in his daily paper, in the form of a simple, intelligible history of the crowded, complicated post-War years. This purpose it admirably fulfils, containing, as it does, an immense amount of material, excellently arranged and presented in a clear and interesting manner. The subject-matter is divided into six parts, dealing respectively with Europe, the Soviet Union, the Islamic States, the Far East, Africa and America, followed by a brief Epilogue on "The World in Conference." The book includes ten maps, a short bibliography and a good index.

No doubt criticisms might be made on grounds both of emphasis and omission. For instance, it appears to the present reviewer that the author's summary dismissal of the First Round Table Conference as having "decided nothing," is not, strictly speaking, historically correct and that the omission of the Round Table Conference Reports from the portion of the bibliography relating to India is un-

fortunate. Or, to take another point at random, many historians would certainly question what may be called the net impression left on the mind of the reader by the description of the brief Bela Kun régime in Hungary. These are, however, minor matters. The author expresses the hope that "whatever bias there may be is unobtrusive and whatever inaccuracies, obvious." That hope appears to be fully justified. The book can be warmly recommended as offering wonderful value for a low price to all students of world affairs and all who desire to have a clearer understanding of the many difficult problems of our time.

Palestine Caravan. By Moshe Smilansky. Published by Methuen & Co. Ltd., London, Price 7s. 6d. net.

This delightful volume of short stories is a vivid portrayal of Palestine and its people. Mr. Smilansky, the author of the book, is a well-known Hebrew writer who has made his mark as a very fine example of literary artiste. In this particular book, which contains ten stories in all and a glossary at the end, he has undertaken the very noble task of dispelling the wrong conception that Jews are not agriculturists, well authenticated by his personal experiences as the Chairman of the Jewish Farmers' Union of Judea and Samuria (which he founded himself), and as the leading figure in the large cooperative 'Parades'.

Written in an atmosphere of rustic beauty, the language, though translated into English from the original Hebrew, retains the sublimity of the author. To take only one instance, the wail of a woman at midnight, is rendered into exquisite pathos of almost poetic excellence, when he describes it thus:

a woman weeping, weeping and sobbing, wailing and moaning, moaning and wailing in her bitter agony.

And thus the book is a series of vivid narrations of the Palestine countryside; but out of the passages there emerges a purpose that permeates through all the stories—a purpose which at once entertains and enlightens by giving an insight into the daily life of country workers. This certainly is no mean achievement; and truth, 'animated by a deep sense of humanity' is likely to stand the test of times and give this book the recognition of an enduring contribution to literature.

P. K. B.

In Lightest Africa. By H. T. Kenny. Published by John Murray, London. Price 10s. 6d. net.

Here is another book that deals with the life in the Sahara. Unlike the former volume, it is not a collection of stories, but an account of some experiences that befell the author, Mr. Kenny, and his wife, who resided for several years in an oasis in the desert.

As one reads through the volume one finds endless glimpses into the customs and means of livelihood of the inhabitants of Sahara; and as if these are not enough instructive in themselves, the author has completed the usefulness of the book by sketching an historical and geographical outline of Algeria and the Northern Sahara. Thus authenticated, he polishes it up by vivid reminiscences of his experiences in the desert.

There is something romantic about this narration. The call 'to return to those genuine sons of Ishmael, the Arabs', came to the author and his wife 'after three years of life in London'. But as their previous association with Arabs had been in the East, they now decided to settle in the Sahara. Unfortunately, they missed on landing in Algiers, the enchantment that one experiences in most big

cities. Nevertheless, there was much in a small Sahara oasis that delighted them and excited their imagination when they were back again in England, they wondered how in a country, so apparently free, one meets people who 'seem to have lost their sparkle and become oppressed by the conventions of commonplace and deafened by the rancorous shout of money'. And it is this reflection that yearns for a return to Sahara which is really free from all laws, restrictions and conventions, and where the nomadic Arabs stand still in apathetic wonder at the toiling, civilised millions who form the wheel of Progress.

Altogether, an absorbing book.

P. K. B.

Flowers of Speech. By Sir John Squire. George Allen and Unwin Ltd. London.

This small volume consists of two series of six lectures, each delivered over the "Wireless" in 1930 and 1931 by the famous literary critic, J. C. Squire. One series was on words, the other on Literary Forms. Everybody who has made writing the occupation of his life knows "the fun" he has had, with words, their meanings and derivation. He derives (though the writer modestly states that this book is not meant for academic experts) much pleasure as well as profit from its perusal. The second half of the book is the better half: at any rate, the more interesting half. Poetry, the Essay, the Novel, the Play, Biography and Criticism—these are the subjects which Sir John Squire traverses in this part. Some of his *obiter dicta* are simply delightful.

Sir John Squire thinks that great critics are rare and discerning critics of contemporary literature rarer still. The greater is the reason why we should read Sir John Squire.

I. D.

THE LATE SRIMATI KAMALA NEHRU

One more light has gone out of Anand Bhawan. February has once again proved to be a fatal month for the Nehrus. The death in a distant land of a dear daughter of India has evoked nation-wide regret. Daughter-in-law of a great statesman and wife of a true soldier of freedom, Srimati Kamalaji was at once the ornament of, and inspiration to, the Nehru family—one of Allahabad's most precious gifts to India. She was an embodied ideal—the ideal of consecrated service to the Motherland. In health and in sickness—in later years more in sickness than in health—she had heroically borne the brunt of the suffering to which the proud family she had the honour to belong, was exposed. Her unfailing cheer, her utter fearlessness, her indomitable fortitude which characterised her glorious life, she has now bequeathed to the country in whose service she lived and died. She has left behind her an imperishable name which animates the history of modern Indian womanhood. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to whom all eyes are turned in tears may have the supreme consolation of finding that a whole nation shares his sorrow.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

THE RENAISSANCE OF INDIA

By SIR H. S. GOUR

[Sir Hari Singh Gour, Vice-chancellor, Nagpur University, has distinguished himself on several fronts. A veteran publicist, he writes with singular force and felicity. This article with its impressive historical background, shows the writer at his best.]

The entry of India into the charmed comity of free nations does not depend upon her political freedom, for such freedom would only remove one fetter from her growth, but it would not make her free, as freedom is understood in political science. If, suppose, India were admitted into the hegemony of a self-governing dominion to-morrow, will she be able to shoulder the burden of a self-governing State? All political thinkers are now agreed that every nation has the inherent right to self-government. The principle of self-determination of which the late President Wilson was the first popular exponent had pressed his idealism of an estate into an instrument of national policy, without which there could be no world peace. It was the fine flower of neo-renaissance which the Great War had produced as the only safe guide for human action.

But that renaissance has had a long history which we are apt to forget; but which India must recall if she is to start the spring cleaning of her social institutions. The student of history divides the history of European civilization into three distinct epochs: The dark age, the mediaeval and the modern ages to which we must now add a new age to be presently referred to. The dark age (476-1453 A.D.) was an age which is generally said to have begun with the fall of the Western Roman Empire in which the paganism of Rome

gradually gave way to the Christianization of Europe. It was an age when the church asserted its supremacy over all powers, temporal and spiritual, and the head of the church was the Pope who claimed his authority to rule over the world from God Himself; and as such he made and unmade Kings and controlled their rule after they had been so appointed. It was the age of absolutism both of the church and of the state. The church derived its power from the Divine head and was the lord paramount of the earth. As it made and unmade sovereigns, the latter in their turn claimed the same divine authority for their rule.

It is curious how human affairs move from one extreme to the other. The pre-Christian republics were democratic in their essence, though they divided society into freemen and slaves, the latter being, according to Aristotle, mere animated implements at the service of their masters. But nevertheless such republics were the very antithesis of the divine right of kings. With the fall of the Western Roman Empire, absolutism once more began to be practised and justified as the divine will.

Jesus Christ had raised the standard of revolt against the later absolutism of Rome. He had plotted against the imperialism of Rome, and its tyranny and oppression of the subject nations including Palestine. Born of low parents the accident of his birth had put him outside the pale of even orthodox Judaism, he swore vengeance both on the priests of his own country as upon its overlords whose Prelates shook terror wherever they ruled. Both he and his people had been disarmed. They were a prey to the exactions of the priests who had possessed their souls as their bodies had been enslaved by the secular authority the lash of whose whip drew blood from their veins which bled them to an immobile jelly. Such a people lived in abject terror of the forces, real and imaginary, surrounding them. They led haunted lives. Jesus had

himself suffered from this dual tyranny of the procurators and prelates who ground down the unfortunate people by their dual exactions, added to which they kept the people in abject terror of their might and power which they exercised with the *abandon* of a despot. Jesus mobilized the forces of the oppressed and the down-trodden whom he hoped to relieve from the galling yoke of a foreign conqueror by having recourse to the only weapon left to them namely, mass force or civil disobedience. He had collected a band of some twelve or more fishermen to whom he had not disclosed his plans, but who became attached to him by the magnetic touch of his personality and the hope of their own liberation in their own lifetime. This creed set in motion a new soul-force. Its author was apprehended and crucified for sedition, but Christianity which he had founded for one purpose started upon its mission of mass awakening. It was a slow movement, and though primarily directed against the Imperialism of Rome, its mission failed, for long before it became a power, Rome itself had begun to fall (180 A.D.), being ruled by the puppets of the praetorian guards or of the legions, who wreaked vengeance upon Christians, as the enemies of the State, but Christianity continued to attract adherents, and its prelates seized temporal power as that power became venal, weak and debased, with the result that its proselytising mission reached the Teutonic races.

The dark ages were thus the centuries of Christian consolidation and civic decline. It closed the page of mediaeval Europe and opened that of the Middle Ages (800-1453 A.D.) memorable for the idle logomachies of the schoolmen and the consolidation of the feudal system in which the land, and the serfs attached to it, passed from hand to hand and the Islamic power started to make a bold bid for its own supremacy in Europe. It was an age of chivalry and confusion. Science was slowly gaining ground and it compounded gunpowder

which was to revolutionize war and deliver a deathblow to feudalism; the Church was still consolidating and establishing its undisputed sway over all mankind. On the whole, it was an age of intellectual struggle in which man had not as yet discovered the talisman of human peace or human progress. That grand old institution, the Roman republic had long since been tottering and what remained of it was in its last gasp.

The Kings and the Clergy were at times disputing with each other their sole right to overlordship; as often as not, the Church proved too strong for the weaklings who occupied the throne. The middle classes were still to emerge, the serfs were yet to secure their freedom. The masses were, as the masses everywhere are, mere pawns in the game of the intriguer and the usurper. They were all illiterate, ignorant, superstitious and an easy prey to those who dangled before them the key to heaven or those who created in them fear of the torments of hell.

The University of Paris (founded in 1104 A.D.) was merely a further development of the cloister schools started by Charlemagne. It is the oldest University of Europe, but was a mere upstart compared to the great universities of hoary antiquity which Buddhism had founded throughout the length and breadth of India, and indeed, in all Southern Asia. That religion the oldest of all the so-called revealed religions is still the youngest of them all, in that it was founded to establish the supremacy of reason above the dogmas of religion, and had evolved a social system of universal brotherhood, peace and tolerance which still dazzles the vision of the twentieth century seer.

The fact is that the Indian renaissance which began with the rise of Buddhism had spent itself by the time the renaissance in Europe began, as it did with the fall of Byzantium (or Constantinople) in 1453 A.D. when it fell to the Turks.

That year marks the birthday of modern Europe. It is the starting point in modern European history. It is the period of renaissance in which the forces of absolutism, both in politics and religion, were relaxed and a forward movement in favour of free thought in those and other spheres of human development received a distinct recognition and stimulus by the discoveries of science and a revolt against the pretensions of the Church, and its confederate, the State. The expansion of education to the unlettered middle classes, the growing self-consciousness of the proletariat, and their growing suspicion of the sanctity of the ruling classes had commenced to produce a social ferment in which the classes had at first an easy victory, though it did not last long. The struggle from the men passed into a struggle between two opposing influences.—Science *versus* Authority.

It was at first an unequal struggle, with the dice of authority heavily loaded, but the scientists had truth on their side and authority nothing but faith for their armour. It began to be pierced in its weakest joints by the rapier thrusts of science.

The history of the Inquisition set up by Pope Innocent IV in 1248 to try all heretics by consigning them to the flames, and the numerous martyrs of science who suffered that ignominious death in defence of truth, forms at once, one of the most noble as also the most ignominious comment upon religious bigotry.

How many a soul has not died refusing to recant their religious heresies and preferring to be burnt alive rather than deny what they had found. When the horrors of the fagots and the flame failed to stem the march of truth, or discourage the votaries of science, fresh tortures were devised by the church of whom those of Torquemada (1420-98) have become notorious. Italy, the home of the Papal throne led the first revolt in the European Renaissance. It was from

there that the first signal of revolt against religion was given. Poets like Petrarch, Boccaccio and Dante, philosophers like Pomponazzo, Telesio, Bruno and Campanella, vied with the new spirit of research piloted by men like Alberti, Davinci, Toscauelli and Da Porta; that in politics by that analyst Machiavelli whose name has passed into a by-word for unscrupulous statecraft. The study of humanism in the universities of Bologna, Padua and Salerno, and physical training in the hours of recreation which still dominate the course of studies at Oxford quickened the intellect of the rising generation whose mental outlook was being transformed in a manner and to an extent the result of which even those living in the midst of those changes were unable to see. But the renaissance, though a revolt against ecclesiastical authority, was not directed against it, since the pioneers of that movement had the shrewdness to judge and the wisdom to see the folly of any direct action which attacked an evil which was merely one symptom of human ignorance, but left out of account the mainspring of human action, namely the mind.

As Demosthenes had truly observed in one of his Philip-pics:

Men of Athens, you are afraid of the Philip of Macedon; what if that Philip should die, many Philips would arise out of his ashes to threaten your freedom if you are yourself weak and not strong enough to resist them.

The evils of the church, its corruption and cupidity, lust and barbaric brutality, had slowly aroused the mass consciousness in Italy, but the masters of the Italian renaissance wisely felt that what Italy needed was a massed intellectual force pervading the nation, which should bring into being the aid of reason for the solution of all questions unwarped by the inherited reverence to tradition or accustomed subservience to authority. In one word, what the renaissance stood for, is the discipline of the mind without which the

utmost strength and energy of the man can never be brought into sustained action. The true reform of any social abuse that pervades society must then proceed from the purification of the soul, since it is the soul-force that can move mountains; and its sheet anchor is proven truth and tested experience. The pursuit of truth without prepossession and bias is the surest pathway to human progress. The authority, whether spiritual or secular, demands that the people shall accept its conclusions by faith and in the spirit of the child, and they are then left free to find such reasons as they can find to support them. They demand from the people an unswerving loyalty. The pre-renaissance period of the schoolmen was an age of endless logomachies intended to support the inviolate dogmas of the church and the state. The renaissance was a challenge to *a posteriori* reasoning.

The Italian renaissance began when the rest of Europe was still plunged in a state of comparative darkness. But the torch it lighted spread with the growing influx of the races; and as time yielded striking results of scientific pursuit, and the invention of printing by moveable types in Germany (1450 A.D.) widened the diffusion of knowledge, the triumphs of science became widely known, and each discovery weakened the hold of revelation upon the rising generation producing a religious ferment, which penetrated the jealously guarded cloisters of the monastic order; and one of their members, Martin Luther (1483 A.D.—1546 A.D.), himself then a monk, published his protest against the sale of papal indulgences (1517) which led to his persecution both by the King and the Church, but the renaissance had well prepared the ground for the Reformation which turned most of Europe Protestant. But this was only the first fruit of the renaissance, other influences were fast rallying to the support of human freedom, both in thought and in action, but the biological discoveries of Charles Darwin (1809 A.D.

—1882 A.D.) and the caustic polemic of Karl Marx, the author of *Das Kapital* constitute outstanding landmarks in the history of renaissance which have probably produced a greater revolution in religious thought and social customs than all the four hundred years of emancipating struggle for free thought. Darwinism had an effect of routing the Genetic conception of human origin dispelling with it all the Gospel hopes of a personal resurrection, while Karl Marx's writings had the effect of rousing the masses against the classes who had been exploiting them, and which in later years became their lay Gospel in overthrowing the domination of the privileged classes.

It must not be supposed that while the undermining of religious authority had given a new direction to the current of human thought, it left undisturbed the old time notion of morality which being treated as indistinguishable from religion, began to be shaken off as its ornamental trapping. The early age of renaissance was, consequently, an age of revolt both against religion and morality. Later years brought in the steadying influence to support the rules of the decalogue, not because they were a part of the Gospel but because they were good independently of it. But nevertheless, the nineteenth century morality was in reality a sham, and though it was becoming increasingly divorced from religion, it continued to flow in a similar channel; as witness for example, the barbaric law of divorce in England, which in spite of the considered verdict of a representative committee and the entire civilized world still remains kneeling in church praying for its deliverance. So again, the clerical prohibition of marrying one's deceased wife's sister had to fight for its release from its talons for over a century; while in the diplomatic field, public denials of secret pacts are still considered as justified by the highest traditions of policy.

In its inception the renaissance had not been started to

oppose Christianity, not indeed its Church, but merely against Papacy; but the release of the mind from the cramping control of the Church and the startling discoveries of science disproving every one of its canons turned the hostility from the Church to Christianity itself, with the result that by the nineteenth century Christianity had ceased to count with the intellectual *elite* of Europe, who essayed other creeds more rationalistic, such as deism, unitarianism, positivism, and utilitarianism but in spite of the temporary distractions so created the upper classes were converging on agnosticism as the only *Ultima Thule* of philosophic rationalism.

Modern criticism had, meanwhile, proved that all religions were man-made and invented as a solace against the fear of death, and that they had been multiplied and kept alive by the growing race of idlers who in the guise of offering salvation deprived the worker of his sole means of sustenance. As such, religion was cold-shouldered, but not killed, since the yoke of heredity cannot be cast off easily and religion was, therefore, left free to survive or bleed to death if it could not live by its own vitality.

As a matter of fact, it lingered on and even lived with the help of workmen, women and children whom the Sunday school teachers attracted early and in growing numbers by the distribution of food, toys and chocolates. It is true that the churches found themselves increasingly deserted, and even the workman began to protest against the closing hours enforced by the Church, which prevented him from sipping his beer which he preferred to sipping the Bible. But the Church was still allied to the State in England, and had not wholly lost its influence in other countries, with the result that while there were pauses in its decline, the masses were still prepared to report themselves as Christians to the census authorities, though they had ceased to be Christians except in name when the trumpets of the Great War called the masses

to forced service in defence of democracy.

The conscription of the masses brought them together. The strategy of modern mechanized war gave them ample leisure in the trenches to study the problems of life and death. The horrors of war opened their eyes to the futility of religion or belief in God and His goodness. The arms with which they had been for the first time provided—over fifty millions of people were at one time said to be so armed—gave them the power they had so long needed to execute their plans.

Its first effect was seen in Russia where the proletariat who were at one time the most servile and the most religiously minded peasants in the world, each one wearing his icon as a charm and crossing himself every ten feet by the wayside as he passed the altars of unknown saints, and rooted as they were to the belief that there were only two Gods in the Universe, the Great One in Heaven, and the little one in the winter Palace, the Czar of all Russians and the only saviour of his people.

The Greek Church of which the Czar was the titular head was itself an off-shoot of the Renaissance established in 1654 A.D. when the supremacy of the Papal authority began to be attacked from both within and without. The disruption of the Catholic Church into numerous independent churches had tended to weaken the hold of Christianity; but in the Eastern Church, the authority of the Czar had delayed its dissolution, but the very fact of its outward cohesion and its absolutism reflected in its political counterpart the State had given fillip to a revolutionary movement which could not make headway because of the poverty, ignorance and disorganization of the proletariat and the ruthless oppression of the aristocratic plutocracy.

The Great War gave them their chance, and in 1917, the proletariat took up the cry that they were being shot down for the sake of Imperialism. Their leaders who had

sought shelter in exile, felt that the hour for their return had struck, and they rallied the forces of revolution, and knowing that they had to cope with the dual power of the State and superstition, they proclaimed a crusade against both, de-throned the Czar, outlawed all religion, confiscated all private property and proclaimed a dictatorship of the proletariat.

It is not necessary to agree with the extravagant programme of the Soviet rule. The masses always fly from one extreme to another. So did the Russians, but it soon became clear that Karl Marx had been resurrected from the dusty shelves in which he had reposed for half a century. His gospel had been damned by book, bell and candle by the Church, he himself had to flee his country (Germany) for England, and it is here that he had evolved and published his revolutionary monograph which was to transform the history of the world.

He had broadcast the seed, but the soil of Russia was found favourable to its growth, and it burst with a vengeance, and its repercussion convulsed Turkey, where the Caliphate was abolished overnight and the caliph, the prophet's shadow upon earth had to run for his life. The old turbid atmosphere of a primitive state vying to live the life of the Arab nomad of the sixth century burst forth into a modern republic under the wise guidance of that noble soul Kemal Pasha who drove the Greeks helter skelter from his fatherland, and who was thenceforward justly acclaimed as the saviour of his people.

The example of the premier Moslem State has since been emulated in Persia; it was emulated by Amanullah in Afghanistan, but the people were too mullah-ridden to follow him, with the result that they set up a fanatical water-bearer's son upon the throne, and Amanulla had to flee from his country for his safety. He is now a self-made prisoner in Rome. But he had prepared the ground for Nadir Shah who is

hastening slowly in the same direction and so is his neighbour in Persia.

Egypt, in spite of the French and the British tutelage since 1875, still prefers the lead of the mullahs to that of reason, though it is filled with the political ambition of recovering her independence. But if she did receive it in her mediaeval receptacle it would be sold from the minaret of the Amr mosque to the highest bidder, as was the Roman Empire in the days of its decrepitude from the ramparts of her Capitol.

The one country that has sprung at a single leap from darkness into light is Japan. Her rise to world power would be a miracle were her example not so easy to follow, if only one had the courage to face public odium for a while—and that needs character. As is well-known, after the loss of America, England turned eastwards for an outlet for her trade and she naturally turned to China and Japan which were both weak and disorganized. In 1863 Commodore Perry trained his guns on the closed port of Osaka and demanded its opening to European trade. Emperor Meiji was then a mere figurehead in Japan, which was then and as it had been for centuries ruled by the *Samurais*, the warrior clan of Japan, who whetted their swords by fighting with one another.

Meiji summoned a council of war and warned it of the coming peril pointing to India as an example to profit by. The warring clans had the good sense to place patriotism above their petty feuds. They unclasped their belts and delivered them to the Mikado in token of their united submission.

Meiji lost no time in despatching a mission to Europe and America to report on the shortcomings of Japan. That mission returned and reported, what was self-evident, that if Japan desired to thwart foreign exploitation, she must lose no time and be strong. Her strength demanded national

solidarity not possible with the feudal system which had divided the Empire. The State must disestablish the Church, though it was the Buddhist Church which had never shed a drop of blood, but the Buddhism of Japan was the Mahayana school, sensuous and corrupt and dominated by the priests and the abbots. "If you wish to resist Europe, do as the Europeans do" was the short report of the combined mission. The Emperor took it to heart. The military surrendered their power to the Emperor, known as the Restoration in Japanese history.

All baronial rights were abolished. Religion ceased to be the concern of the State. European mode of life was introduced, and in fifty years, Japan forged ahead from obscure mediaevalism into a first-class power, now invincible in her own home.

China watched the progress of Japan but heeded her not, and she is now lying prostrate under the iron heel of Japan.

So is India under the heel of Great Britain. She reviles England for her exploitation; but has she forgotten her own history. Has she not been exploited by the Tartars, the Moguls, the Afghans, the Persians, the French, the Dutch and her own people; and can she be sure that if the British evacuated India as the Romans did England, she would be left alone for a single day thereafter? This is the plain truth she is apt to forget—

Slowly comes a hungry people, as a lion creeping nigher
Glares at one that nods and winks behind a slowly-dying fire¹.

The youths of India are apt students of India. They recite its records by rote; but do they ever pause to think, what is the mainspring of history? India's age-long weakness of which she complains—her thousand years of slavery to

¹ Tennvson-Lockslev Hall.

oreign powers is not merely an accident; it is the logical outcome of her innate weakness, due to her heritage, the weakness of her character which abhors any change, her utter incapacity to profit by the bitter experience of her hoary past. None are so blind as those who will not see.

India is at present like one suffering from a systematic disease which she is striving to get rid of by symptomatic treatment. It is like covering a person with sticking plasters over boils all over his body when what is required is the sterilization of the blood of which the eruptions are merely symptoms.

What is wrong with India is her entire heredity. Her past has been guided and controlled by a system both religious and social which possesses unparalleled efficacy for cramping the mind as it is suited to enslave the body. Our entire social structure is a part of our religion, and is, therefore, vested with the same halo of sanctity. This heavy load of religion and religious "don'ts" have been solely responsible for our thousand years of slavery. They eat up the vitals of our young men even before they are able to judge for themselves. It is not merely an accident that in every country in the world of which we possess authentic records spiritual slavery was the surest path to political subjection. The history of the renaissance and that of the neo-renaissance started by the Great War shows how other nations have knocked off these age-long immoral, devitalising, debasing, and enslaving fetters forged by wicked men for their own selfish ends, and how they have retarded human progress and produced human misery, and how at long last a few of the poets, philosophers and thinkers had the vision to see and the courage to act by leading a revolt against the puerile pretensions of the priest-craft, and how the latter combined to preserve inviolate their paying privileges, shaking the hell fire upon those who withdrew from their clutches, and how

their own hypocrisy, becomes revealed in their own acts, and how the triumph of science over the fables of faith purged men's minds of the accumulated filth of ages of ignorance and superstition, and how the Great War acted as the new Messiah of a new order of human freedom, and how this order outlawed all religion as a social evil, and how it created a new mentality cleared of old beliefs which had no vestige of truth or reason to justify them, and how it had the talismanic effect upon the body politic which shook itself free, became strong and able to pull its own weight, and how in fact modern nations have emerged out of the darkness of antiquity; and how India cannot ignore that beaten path; and how her half-hearted efforts, piece-meal and ill-designed, are a mere eyewash and can never produce a regenerated people or a reinvigorated system.

East is East and West is West
And never the twain shall meet

sang the poet of a century now dead. But one wonders whether his words were not prophetic so far as India is concerned. I wonder!

MY VISIT TO THE PINDARI GLACIER

By THE HON. SIR SITA RAM

[In the following pages, the Hon'ble Sir Sita Ram, the distinguished President of the U. P. Legislative Council, describes his visit to the Pindari Glacier. For the benefit of those who may care to go there, he also offers some useful suggestions.]

I had heard a lot about the Pindari Glacier, the source of the Pindar river which joins the Alaknanda at Karnprayag and which I had crossed last year* while returning from Badri Nath. Last year, I could not enjoy the thrill of walking over snows or visiting a glacier either at Kedar Nath or Badri Nath, even though it fell to my lot to see some glorious scenery and a number of snow-clad peaks besides gaining spiritual benefit. I was, therefore, keen on visiting the Pindari Glacier at least, specially as it is nearest to the plains.

With my daughter and two sons (aged 17, 15 and 12½ respectively) I left Naini Tal on May 17, *via* Someshwar for the Pindari Glacier. I mustered up courage for this trip, as my nephew Mr. Dharm Vira, I.C.S., Assistant Commissioner, Almora, happened to be camping out this side for the time being. One's way to the Glacier is through Bageshwar which is situated at the Sangam (junction) of the Saryu and the Gomti, and we both met here on May 18 in high spirits: This Saryu and this Gomti are not those familiar to us at Ayodhya and Lucknow respectively.

There are three routes for reaching Bageshwar (1) *via* Almora, (2) *via* Someshwar, (3) *via* Baijnath or Garud.

*This article was written in 1935.

The Almora route would have taken a day longer. So, I decided to motor from Naini Tal through Ranikhet to Someshwar and from there took the district board road to Bageshwar. At Someshwar there is an old Shiva temple said to have been built by the Chand Raja. Bageshwar is a large distributing centre in this part of Kumaun and a brisk trade centre. I shall ever remember the enthusiastic reception that the Bageshwar people gave me—and their hospitality. From Someshwar to Phurkia the Almora District Board has the following dāk bungalows which are a great help to the visitors.

[The route is—Someshwar, Bageshwar (14 miles, about half ascent), ~~Kap~~kot (height 3,700 feet—14 miles, almost level), Loharkhet (5,700 feet—9 miles, about 1½ ascent), Dhakuri ridge (9,500 feet—6 miles ascent), Khâti (7,250 feet—5 miles), Dwâli (9,200 feet—about 7 miles) and Phurkia (10,700 feet—3 miles, ascent)].

There are no habitations at Dhâkuri, Dwâli and Phurkia. There is a fairly well maintained district board road with good bridges, spanning the various streams and rivers, except between Garud and Bageshwar where several bridges have been washed out or gone and were not rebuilt till then. Bageshwar to Garud is about 12 miles—almost level along the Gomti.

Except when we were halting, our almost daily routine was after some early milk to leave between 5 and 5-30 a.m. for the next stage. This was most convenient for everybody. After a strenuous day we found it refreshing to put our feet in hot water with salt. One may use two, four or eight legs as one may want. I walked, rode a pony or a dandi as occasion arose, and we became three-legged each when walking on snows, the third leg being the long khud stick. A

helpful system of Sarkari Bania* has been introduced to sell provisions: but beyond Bageshwar and Kapkot, fresh vegetables and good milk or curd became scarce. Good honey can be had, though.

As we proceeded along, ugly rumours reached us as to the extreme difficulty of fulfilling our intentions owing to the melting of the snow having been unusually delayed so far. Later, between Kapkot and Loharkhet three American ladies were returning disappointed and told us that the utmost we could do was to go one mile beyond Phurkia bungalow. Again, a European gentleman at Dhâkuri told our men that it would be difficult for our party to reach the Glacier and impossible for me—a man of 50 weighing 2 maunds! Later on, an Indian gentleman of Almora discouraged us by his own example—he had found the place impassable. But thanks to the dogged determination of Mr. D. Vira and the eagerness of the rest of the party we were not deterred.

Our first clear view of snow peaks was obtained from the Dhâkuri ridge—and what a clear and glorious view! Snow covered peaks of Trisul, Sukhram, Nandaghunghat (i.e. Nanda's veil), Nanda Khet (Nanda's bed) and Nanda Kot were pointed out to us. Between Khâti and Phurkia *via* Dwâli, there is some lovely scenery. At times we were overawed with, and at times lost in admiration, for the aspect that nature happened to wear. Gushing, raging torrents, turbid fast streams, swimming pools, narrow gorges, bare perpendicular rocks, coupled with thick forests, pretty water-falls and beautiful flowers some of which were in bloom even now, kept us in communion with nature almost in a seductive fashion. We started from Dwâli at 1 p.m. leaving behind half of our luggage. Between Dwâli and

*Note—In the hills a Bania means a Rajput or a Brahmin, selling flour etc.

Phurkia we had to negotiate on foot no less than ten snow gullies, in one of which our mules had a nasty time. But at about 3 p.m. on the 24th we reached Phurkia at last—men, mules, dandies, ponies, tents etc. An Indian Professor of Nagpur and his wife met us there at about 4 p.m.: they were then returning from the Glacier and happened to be just the first visitors of the season to have reached the place successfully. They depicted to us the difficulties of the five miles' journey from Phurkia to the Glacier. They said that the entire route was snow bound except a few patches here and there—several being almost vertical and dangerous. Dandies or ponies beyond Phurkia were out of the question. One shaky foothold and there was the yawning river at the bottom covered at places with thin or thick ice waiting for the unfortunate one who may slip down. The picture was too realistic and was not overdrawn, as we found next day. The weather again was a doubtful proposition. We had no ropes with us. So, although the rest of the party were enthusiastic and eager to reach the Glacier, I confess I vacillated a little.

Next morning (25th) the weather was simply fine and the glittering snows proved too irresistible. The keenness of the rest of the party proved too infectious and off I went also. We ought to have left much earlier, but we left the dâk bungalow at 6-45 a.m. We had two district board coolies to do, literally speaking, spade work for us in the pathless snows, where footholds had to be cut for us. The Phurkia bungalow chaukidar (Bhim Singh), Gopal Singh of Khâti (grandson of the famous Darwan Singh, who had helped Mr. Trail* over this pass) and Dalip Singh (an orderly of Mr. Dharm Vira) were specially told off with me,

*We saw a testimonial of Mr. Trail's of one hundred years ago with a insular of the family.

for I formed the very tail of the party naturally. All praise to God that the whole party reached the left lateral moraine at 10-45 a.m.—safe and sound after an enjoyable though trying time. On our way in the snowfields the children had some sports. As we had seen a number of snouts and ice bridges on our way from Dwâli, we did not care to visit *the* snout (of the Pindar). Competent observers have told me that this snout has receded about 200-300 yards within the last few years.

But these five miles proved too arduous and tiring for us and further journey was unthinkable, owing to the slopes here being covered with slippery ice. That is why some people like to pitch their camp at Martoli about three miles further away from Phurkia, so as to negotiate the glacier early next day. For a party like ours, however, this was inconceivable in this condition of snow. If the snows had melted earlier or if we had gone in September or October instead, the energy and the time spent over these miles would have been saved to us. So, seated at the top of the place marked with a mile-stone mentioning "75" (from Almora) (said to be about 12,500 feet) we could see the meeting of the two† glaciers of which we had a full and close view. Here Nature is seen in all its majesty and splendour. We could, with the naked eye, see two snow lakes below. Towering over us were the various peaks: there was the main glacier with all its crevices and chasms. We wanted to taste the "black snow"—perpetual snow of ages covered over with mud. One Gopal Singh (Shikari) went to fetch it. But he lost his foothold. We saw him rolling down the snow-covered precipice at our very feet. He must have gone down about 250 feet. All of us feared that he would

†The two glaciers are divided by what is called the middle moraine.

meet with a very serious accident. But to our delight, we saw him digging snow, none the worse, for this mishap,—and a short time afterwards he brought us enough of this snow crystal for the whole party and to spare. He had really a miraculous escape and received our warm congratulations.

We partook a few biscuits, Indian sweets and dry fruits. Our thermos had tea. Fully refreshed we left this place at 12 noon when a few specks of cloud just appeared in the sky and we reached Phurkia at about 3 p.m. after wearily treading our way through snow which had softened a bit by this time owing to the sun and had become slippery. More spade work had to be done and greater care became necessary. But we were favoured with ideal weather indeed—bright sunshine going up, a little cloud coming down; no rain, no heat and no falls of stones. We had no other accidents either, except a minor one to my youngest son who had a nasty slip down an ice drift, but luckily escaped rolling much further down owing to a jutting rock. This was soon after we had left the Phurkia bungalow in the morning. The boy was severely shaken and gave the party a terrible shock. But soon all were in a holiday mood—a mood which remained throughout. After resting a while at the Phurkia dâk bungalow we left for Dwâli the same afternoon, crossing again on foot the ice slips and ice nullahs that we had walked up the day before.

During our halt at Dwâli, the chaukidar of the dâk bungalow—an audacious Danpuria—secured a reward from me for successfully climbing up, unaided, the bare perpendicular precipice opposite the bungalow: it was a daring feat, fraught with risks.

From Khati Mr. Dharm Vira's section went towards the Sunder Dhunga glacier, and my section of the party returned through Bageshwar to Garud, near which are

the famous old temples of Baijnath. Here one is shown some ruins of Katuria Raj also, and a Muslim shopkeeper from Bijnor has recently built a small mosque. From Garud, I motored *via* the pretty Kausâni through Someshwar back to Naini Tal after spending a few hours at the Katârmal inspection house where my friend Pandit Badri Dutt Pande had arranged a reception from the Katarmal Naik School. For the establishment and maintenance of this school credit goes to the Seva Samiti of Allahabad.

This visit to the Pindari Glacier like the one to Badri Nath and Kedar Nath in September last year has further intensified my faith in Providence which shapes our destinies, or God who watches over us with His Divine grace. No wonder that ancient Hindus deified such manifestations and laid down pilgrimages to such places as a matter of sacred duty. The hillmen of our entourage believe that Goddess Nanda is the presiding deity this side. With their minds' eye some of them see at times smoke from the Nanda Devi early in the mornings and some "unsophisticated" among them have even heard temple bells!

Based on personal experience, all I need add is that persons bent on adventure or engaged in scientific researches, persons of a religious bent of mind or of secular inclinations, persons interested only in flora and fauna or in finding health, will all find their fill by a visit to places like the Pindari Glacier—and Badri Nath and Kedar Nath. Let me add also that pure vegetarians and teatotalers need hardly give up the principles of their lives for a visit to such places.

It has become customary for coolies to demand the offering of a goat ostensibly for Nanda Devi, but really for themselves. I gave them the requisite amount of money, but got them to cook halwâ instead.

For the benefit of those who may care to visit this side,

I might say that they will find the following things very helpful besides the kit necessary for a hill journey:—

Alpine stick, hobs-nailed shoes, tinted glasses, ropes, medicines or drugs like soda-bicarh or soda-mint, tincture iodine, amrith-dhâra, iodex, embrocation, quinine and some heart tonic saffron and musk.

I also found guṛ (jaggery) eaten with soft ice very sustaining indeed from Phurkia onwards. Flies and insects proved very troublesome and disorderly throughout the journey.

Thanks to the thoughtfulness of Mr. Canning (at present Chief Conservator of Forests) a log book is to be found at the Phurkia dâk bungalow. It has run into four volumes and contains some very informative and illuminative notes and sketches. Some remarks also border on the ludicrous, e.g., I read a remark—Blow the snout out: another—why cannot the dirty water emerging from the snout be filtered etc. etc. One person has attached to this log book samples of the lovely plumage of pretty birds, another mentions having made some collection of rare Himalayan plants for presentation to Their Majesties in England. With due deference and in all humility, I would like to discourage the shooting of innocent deer, inoffensive goat and unsuspecting birds at such places which, in my humble opinion, should be made sanctuaries for such animals.

In 1931, I had the pleasure of going to Europe for the first time and cannot but mark the huge difference in efforts that are being made for the development and popularisation of such pretty and invigorating places in India and in Europe. For example, from Dwâli, situated at the confluence of the Pindar and the Kaphini rivers Mr. Dharm Vira and his friends went to the Kaphini Glacier and from Khati to the Sunder Dhunga Glacier. But beyond goat tracks and ordi-

nary hill footpaths there are not even district board paths for these. Luckily the roads to Badri Nath and Kedar Nath are maintained in fairly good condition by the P. W. D. But here again the Triyugi Narain is a stiff test of the pilgrims' luck, faith and endurance. To proceed.

Between Kapkot and Loharkhet, situated a little above the Khárbagáṛ is a spring whose water (smelling like sulphur) we found very digestive, though shunned by local people. Between Dwâli and Phurkia, across the Pindar river is a waterfall whose water is a little saltish and in great demand by the animals. There are the hot springs at Gaurikund en-route to Kedarnath and also at Badrinath. I have seen a sulphur spring at Sahasradhâra near Rajpur (Dehra Dun). Water of all these might well be worth chemical analysis, if not already carried out,—and economic exploitation, if possible. If salts and water from natural or mineral springs from Karlsbad etc. can be profitably sold in India, it is worth the consideration of some enterprising syndicates as to how far Indian waters can be utilised in India and abroad.

The question of transportation is really a difficult one. But given an extension of some cart roads in Kumaun and Garhwal—perhaps out of the Road Development Fund—roads which not only do not come into conflict with the Indian railways, but which will rather act as feeders to them, this problem should not be difficult of solution even in these days of finances: and where cart roads prove too expensive, bridle paths can be opened up. Such opening up of communications might to a certain extent solve some knotty economic questions for the poor and simple, but sturdy and kind-hearted, people living in these parts.

CONGRESS AND ACCEPTANCE OF OFFICE—I

By T. VISWANATHAM

[The writer is a Congressman and a Socialist—or a Congress Socialist. He expresses the opinion that it is not only right but necessary that Congressmen should accept office under the New Constitution. He further tells what they will do if and when they occupy "strategic positions".]

Politics is the art of progress, and progressive realisation of an ideal of society. And in order to attain that ideal, all pure and progressive tactics should be adopted, changed or varied from time to time, and methods should not be confused with the ideal and a change or variation of method should not be mistaken for a change of ideal or objective. These are propositions which will undoubtedly be admitted by all and yet it is precisely these that have been forgotten in the discussion arising on the question of Congressmen accepting ministerships under the new constitution. Time and again when circumstances demanded, the Congress attuned itself to change in conditions and changed its tactics, and yet to-day when a similar crisis has arisen and some are advocating the advisability of Congressmen accepting Ministerships under the New Constitution with a view to realise the objective of the Congress and implement the decision of the All-India Congress Committee taken at its meeting of May 1934 and thereafter and subsequently ratified by the Indian National Congress at Bombay, all at once the cry has been raised that the Congress has lowered its flag. The Congress flag which was not lowered when Mahatma Gandhi advised Congressmen to enter the Legislatures

even under the present constitution, the Congress flag which has not been lowered when 44 representatives of the Congress entered the Assembly and took the oath of allegiance last year, is now supposed to be lowered if under the New Constitution the Congressmen should think of implementing their previous decision and with a view to implement it capture the strategic position of the Ministry.

The question has not yet been considered by the critics in a calm and dispassionate manner leaving aside sentimentalism. Nor have the critics been slow to be taken in by the phrases used by those who want to keep the Congress out of all power and influence in the country. The critics have easily been taken in by such phrases as "co-operating with the Government" and "same goal as that of Liberals." The whole psychology behind the Congressmen is different from that of non-Congressmen. The steps taken by the Congressmen should not be judged in advance without taking the psychology behind those steps into consideration. The opponents of the Congress want the Congressmen to commit themselves to a self-denying ordinance and in this the non-Congressmen have no noble motive but only the motive of selfishness and that of the worst type because their being in office also involves an invitation to the foreign government to continue its domination with their help. Will the Congressmen be afraid of these phrases and grow diffident because of this sort of psychological poisoning? No! The Congressmen should be more clear-headed and purposeful. The arguments advanced against accepting the office are that office would lead to demoralisation in our own ranks and that instead of breaking the constitution we will be working it if we were to accept the Ministry. The other suggestion that those who advocate acceptance of ministry are job-seekers is too petty-minded to deserve any serious

notice. The Congress consists of a disciplined set of persons who, to their credit, showed an amount of sacrifice, unparalleled elsewhere, and it is therefore an anticipatory libel on them to say that they would get demoralised if they will become Ministers. Under the New Constitution, the executive of the Province consists of the Governor and the Council of Ministers and if it is formed by the leader of the Congress party in the Assembly, where is the government side to walk in and where is the chance for demoralisation? There are no offices with which a governor can tempt a Congress Minister, for let it be remembered that acceptance of office does not mean acceptance of any office under this foreign government but only of the Ministry. This fear of demoralisation is a counsel of despondency and arises out of some vague suspicion of at least some of the persons who are now advocating the acceptance of Ministry. The merits of a question should not be so jeopardised by suspicions about its propounders. After all, it will be left to the whole Congress party to select the representatives to occupy this very strategic position and everyone about whom there is the slightest suspicion may be eliminated and I am sure the Congressmen with their sense of discipline and with their sense of realities will not become demoralised simply because of such elimination. Even assuming that some men will be of that type, we have got to face the situation and overcome it.

A doubt has also been expressed whether the Congress will not deteriorate as other parties have done in regard to appointments under them. But as has already been said above, the Congress is not going to spend its energies on jobs and patronage. As soon as the Congress forms a Cabinet, one of its first acts will be to set up public service commissions free from political influences and to abolish all communal or party legislation or rules having the force of such legislation.

The Congress will not exercise its patronage in services for any party purposes, for the Congress is not a party but the nation itself and will use its position for the nation and not for itself. Administration and services will entirely be made free from political partisanship and in all probability, the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress will make such rules and issue such instructions as are or as may be found necessary from time to time to prevent any possible deflection by Congressmen from this policy.

A great misunderstanding has arisen on account of the phrase 'Acceptance of Office'; this phrase seems to have created the impression that the Government is to grant something and the Congress is to accept it. The Congressmen, by dint of hard work and sacrifice and selflessness to their credit, win their seats and majorities after a tremendous fight against odds. They do not "accept" ministerships anymore than they "accept" the seats in the Legislatures; just as they capture the seats, so also they capture the Cabinets. It is all a fight between the Government and the Congressmen in the field of the Legislatures as a few years ago there was a fight in fields other than Legislatures. The psychology of fight and capture is the opposite of the psychology of acceptance; 'Acceptance' stifles life, 'Capture' revitalizes it. "We do not care" as Mr. Prakasam has said "a brass farthing for office as such under a foreign government" but the ministries should not be viewed as mere offices; they are strategic positions which the opponents of India's freedom have used effectively to thwart the progress of the Congress and the nation, and which are successfully utilised by the government to pit a number of our own countrymen against the Congress. Therefore if the Indian National Congress has got to pursue the programme for complete independence without hindrance from its own countrymen occupying these

strategic positions and helping the foreign government, those opponents of the country's freedom should be effectively deprived of their advantageous position. The several un-national and demoralising administrative and executive orders of the various ministries passed till now may not be considered merely as measures of civil administration. They are in the nature of military measures, requisitions and orders of an army of occupation, and if the Congress by a legitimate process is able to drive out that army of occupation and install itself in that strategic position, it must do so; there is no alternative if the Congress has got to be alive and kicking. Thus in the acceptance of the Ministerships you only implement the decision to enter the Legislatures, by not merely sitting in opposition and passing a vote of rejection of the Constitution but by actually depriving your opponents of the chance to work it from a position of executive and administrative advantage.

A Congress Cabinet frames its own budget, makes such rules and laws as would serve the country. Either the Governor accepts the proposals or he immediately comes into conflict; then what happens? Congressmen are in office; they have a majority in the house and the much desired deadlock arises. The Congress Ministers exercise their right, the Governor persists in exercising his privilege; the Congress Ministers pass their own laws; the Governor passes his own laws and they run a parallel government as it were. A little more of it, and a breakdown of the constitution is there. This is a situation which can arise only by Congress forming the Cabinet but if the Congress sits merely in opposition it can only defeat a Cabinet but the Cabinet and the Governor can merrily go on, for they would not be replaced by the Congress and the Congress will have no executive power.

The question is raised that if the Governor in the choice

of Ministers should choose all the Ministers himself, what would or could be the position of the Congress. This is a position which is not contemplated by the Instrument of Instructions or warranted by past experience. On the other hand, the Governor will have to call the leader of the party which is the strongest in the Legislature and ask him to choose a Cabinet which can command the collective confidence of the House. If, therefore, a Congress leader is asked to choose the Cabinet, he will have the choice completely in his hands which is the same as saying in the hands of the Congress, and according to the policy of the Congress, representatives from the Muslim and scheduled castes will surely be included and the Governor cannot and will not interfere in the choice of the members of the Cabinet provided the Cabinet has got a majority in the House. It may be argued that although a Muslim or scheduled caste member chosen by the Congress leader may have a majority of the House along with the Congress Cabinet he may not yet have the confidence of the Muslim or the scheduled caste groups in the Legislature but it must be realised that the provision is that due regard must be had to the representation of the minorities and that the Cabinet including these representatives of minorities should command the confidence of the House as a whole and not that of any particular group. If the Governor should insist on the inclusion of a Muslim or a scheduled caste man who is not chosen by the Congress leader himself, it is clear that such representatives will not have the confidence of the House as a whole and therefore the Governor will not insist on the inclusion of such persons. If he is so unwise as to do so, he will wreck the constitution much earlier than the Congress can.

Incidental legislation for national reconstruction or executive orders undoing the mischief of the previous minis-

tries may and will follow but not as a matter of working of the Reforms or of co-operating with the Government or of joining hands with the Britisher but as a measure of national self-preservation in order to strengthen and gather the national forces.

With a Congress Cabinet, Khadi and Swadeshi will automatically capture the imagination of the classes as well as the masses, flood the market and encourage the producer to produce more and the consumer to consume more and to establish themselves on an economic basis and will acquire a greater national status and higher political dignity and authority. A Congress Cabinet reassures the decaying craftsmen and revives his art, will encourage lakhs of people, who at present are afraid or are indifferent, to join the Congress and strengthen the organisation in such a way that in future, even after deadlocks and dismissals of Ministry, the fear of joining in and helping the Congress will disappear altogether. A Congress Cabinet therefore will put new life and courage of conviction in the country, add a new strength to the Congress organisation, establish Congress authority in the country, dispel scepticism and indifference, develop the will to act and will thus better prepare the nation for a future campaign for independence and will effectively deprive the government from taking the help of reactionary elements to run a government in the normal way and thwart the Congress work. If we do not, therefore, exploit this possibility in the constitution, why should we undertake the general elections with their accompanying expense of time and energy?

Those who have gone through the provisions in regard to the relation between the Governor and Ministers know that a great deal of the success of the constitution under the new Act depends on the willingness of the Ministers to co-operate

and it is frankly admitted by the propounders of the Act that if that co-operation is not forthcoming the constitution will surely break down. Congressmen must think well whether they are willing to let the position be occupied by persons who would give that co-operation to the Governor and help him to work the constitution normally or whether it would not be wiser for the Congressmen to capture the positions of the Ministry and compel the Governor to assume the powers vested in him under Section 93 of the Government of India Act. Real non-cooperation will and should consist in driving a Governor to a position of not being able to get a government at all and compelling him to resort to his powers under that section.

As a Socialist, I would like to occupy these positions of vantage during this period of the fight for independence of this country. I would not like to leave a single position of the Ministry in the hands of my opponents if I could so help, and the position of the Ministry is such a key position in the coming politics of this country that it would be dangerous to leave it in the hands of the opponents. As a Socialist I would not doubt the bonafides of a Congressman who comes forward with this proposition to capture the strategic positions and if I had the power of persuasion or strength of group in the Congress itself, I would surely make the whole ministry socialistic rather than proclaim in press and on platform that acceptance of Ministry would demoralise our ranks.

Another objection has been raised on the ground that in order to have a Congress Ministry, the Congressmen should join hands with the other parties and will have to compromise the Congress ideal in such combination. But let it be understood that combination with other parties is not by itself a sin; in fact combination with political parties in the country

has been resorted to by the Congress several times in order to add to the strength of the Congress. The Congress party made national demands in the Assembly. It was able to do so in combination with other groups in the Assembly and such combinations undoubtedly added to the strength and influence of the Congress. Then again the principle of combination has been freely accepted and acted upon by Congressmen when they have admitted the desirability and opportuneness of convening Unity Conferences, All Parties-Conferences, entering into Pacts such as the Poona Pact, and propounding a constituent Assembly. In these various acts, far from detracting from the Congress ideal, the Congress has been able to pull up the other groups in the country to a higher level and it does not require much argument to convince ourselves that in a scheme for National Government, we have to include and pull up other groups to our level in order to achieve the ideals of the Congress. This process has been slow because the Congress has been out of office and the other groups have accordingly been exploited by the Government. This process of Governmental exploitation of intellectual groups outside the Congress must be put a stop to and this can be done by integrating those groups into the Congress wherever necessary and desirable, necessary where the Congress is short of an absolute majority and desirable even when it is in a majority. The constitution of the Provincial Assemblies would show that out of the eleven provinces, in at least seven, the Congress will be able to command an absolute majority while in Bengal, the Punjab, North-West Frontier provinces and Sindh, the chances are not so bright and in these provinces statesmanship requires that the Congressmen should combine with other groups and see that the powerful machine of the Ministry is not held by Anti-National or Anti-Congress

gentlemen. There is a magic in the office which draws a number of Indifferents and Independents to itself and this chance if left in the hands of others will prove a great menace to the Congress organisation and hence to the Nation.

It will be seen therefore from the above considerations, that in order to implement the decision of the Congress to enter the Legislatures and prevent the possibility of the Governor working the constitution normally except in so far as is allowed by the Congress, in order to engage the government fully on this front and to disable Anti-Nationalists and Anti-Congressmen from having an executive and administrative advantage over the Congress, in order to consolidate the various political forces in the country, in order to give a new life and strength to Nationalism by eradicating Communalism in public life and in order to further the Congress programme and organization for another and early campaign to achieve the Congress ideal, the Congress should capture the strategic position of the Ministerships under the new constitution. It is hoped that Providence will grant us the imagination and guide us to take the right step, leaving aside the lingering sentimentalism and nebulous complex of demoralization and having firm faith in the supreme destiny of the country.

CONGRESS AND ACCEPTANCE OF OFFICE—II

By B. RAJABHUSHANA RAO

[This is a variation on the same theme by a votary of the same institution. The intrepid young writer deftly argues that Congressmen should accept office if only to reject the constitution.]

In the field of Indian politics there is now no controversy which requires more clarification than the one relating to acceptance of office by Congressmen in the new legislatures of the country. So varied have been the approaches to the problem that the real issues are lost in confusion. To the problem, some have contributed heat, some sentiment; and yet others overstated the case for acceptance, in the genuine liberal strain, and raised honest doubts about the faith of the Parliamentary wing in the policy of rejection of the new constitution to which the Congress is definitely committed.

Should the Congress accept office simply to shut out other parties? Can it be the intention of the Congress to use power, like any other party, only to consolidate and perpetuate itself in office? However necessary and important it undoubtedly is in the Madras Presidency, by itself, the negative programme of 'keeping out undesirables' cannot be an end in itself,—at any rate for a great organisation like the Congress. What then is the positive aspect of the acceptance of office? From the careless utterances of some Congress leaders, especially of Madras, that the Congress is to hereafter tread the path of constitutionalism and their wooing of the Liberals with the assurance that after all there is now practically no difference between their programme and that

of the Congress, one is tempted to doubt, if at this rate, the Congress is not going to be transformed into a Liberal Federation. Is it the object of the Congress to work the universally condemned constitution for what it is worth, with the fond hope that it can be made to yield some results, which however beneficial they may otherwise be to the country, are not capable of taking the country a step further towards complete independence? Such an attitude would be utterly inconsistent with any policy that the Congress has ever adopted during the last fifteen years of its heroic existence. It connotes a philosophy of despair, a resignation to the inevitable, a desire to settle down and get on. To work the constitution for what it is worth would be not merely the limit of the fall of a mighty institution, but a sad commentary on the good faith of the Parliamentary wing. There can be no going back on the pledge that the Congress gave to reject the constitution. Whatever it may or may not do, let it not commit a breach of faith.

If the Congress is to be true to itself, the question must be approached from the standpoint of rejection and no other. The real issue is therefore simple. How best can the Congress reject the constitution—by being in office or by being in opposition? It is wrong to import any heat or sentiment into this matter. It is idle to point out any verbal or constitutional inconsistency between acceptance of office and the rejection of the constitution. The inconsistency, if any, exists as much between rejection and council-entry itself, which is regarded as a settled fact quite in keeping with the policy of rejection. Nor need considerations of constitutional propriety matter to those who are professedly out to create deadlocks and break the constitution. The question has, therefore, to be judged not by theoretical considerations but by the practical standard of utility. The question is not

whether being in office, the Congress ought to reject but *whether it can reject* the constitution.

At the outset it must be realised that smart questions and fiery speeches, however cheering for a short period, cannot in any way affect the security of the new constitution. In order to deal a blow to it, it is useful to understand the scheme of the Government of India Act, which is simple. The new constitution is an inversion of democracy. Unlike all sensible constitutions under which Legislatures are intended to act as checks and safeguards on the indiscretions of a single person, under the India Act, the discretion of one person, namely the Governor, is to be a safeguard on the hasty legislation of—in several provinces—two big Houses representing various interests in the country! In short, the Governor is set against the Legislatures to keep them in peace and good behaviour. Rejection of the new constitution, translated into council politics, implies an attack on this principle. It succeeds to the extent to which the Congress party can come into conflict with the Governor and force him to interfere with his special powers. One method of producing such a conflict is by drastic legislation. There can be no question of such legislation, unless the Congress party initiates it. The difficulties of the opposition to introduce Bills and get them passed are very well known. There are practically very little chances for a non-official Bill to filter through official legislation, especially if the Ministry is against it. There is no surprise, if during the whole term of the new Legislatures, a Congress party in opposition cannot successfully pilot even half a dozen non-official Bills through the legislatures in any province. One other outlet for the activity of the Opposition is to obstruct the passing of the Bills proposed by the Ministry. It is fanciful to think of opposing every Ministerial Bill, good, bad or indifferent.

Such a course has been found to be impracticable and is further likely to bring the Congress party into ridicule. It is also not wise to imagine that the elected Ministers of the future, deprived of the support of the official and nominated members, which the present Ministry enjoys, would introduce very reactionary Bills, only to give a handle to a strong Congress party in opposition. Even if a few reactionary Bills of the Ministers are thrown out, the Governor will not be able or anxious to interfere, unless the Bills are designed to meet a special situation and have been virtually introduced at his suggestion. For all practical purposes, the only course ordinarily open to the party in opposition is to tinker with official Bills. At best there will be occasional display of fireworks, but it can hardly be called Opposition in any real sense of the term. Even if it smacks of opposition now and then, it is directed only against the elected Ministry, and the Governor is seldom concerned at all, or very remotely concerned with the activities of the Opposition. This is certainly not bringing Swaraj nearer but coolly settling down to peaceful and 'practical politics,' rather a poor occupation for a Congress party which has raised great expectations and which will be heralded into the new Legislatures, amidst applause and with the sound of trumpets.

After all it should not be forgotten that legislation is but a minor part of the government of a country. There is a large field, over which none but the Ministers can exercise executive and administrative authority. It is in that field that a Ministry of Extremists can come into daily contact and conflict with the Governor more than in any other. The Opposition cannot obtain, even in favourable circumstances, anything better than a belated and fragmentary knowledge of how policies are being shaped from time to time and worked out by the Ministers. Even after obtaining such

knowledge, the Opposition cannot exercise any control over the administrative and executive acts of the Ministers, except indirectly by a vote of "no confidence." Every administrative act of the Ministers with which the Opposition is not satisfied, will neither justify nor enable it to carry a motion of "no confidence". Nor can such a cantankerous attitude towards elected Ministers, some of whom will probably be good and able men in a way, enhance the prestige of the Opposition. Even after the Legislature expresses its want of confidence in the Ministers, there is nothing in the India Act which compels them to resign. Nor need they feel bound by any moral duty to resign, when the motion of "no confidence" is carried, without any sense of responsibility, by a party that does not come forward to form a new Ministry, but will carry on opposition for its own sake. The check of the Congress party in opposition on the Ministers is quite illusory and very meagre.

Thus without any executive or administrative authority, without even an effective control over such authority of the Ministers, without much of opportunity to carry extreme pieces of legislation, but simply waiting to make capital out of some glaring mistakes, which the Ministers may or may not commit and with which in any case the Governor will seldom have anything to do, the Congress party in Opposition would place itself in a sorry predicament. It cannot wreck the constitution; it will not work it; and it cannot prevent others from working it.

Why not then accept office, run the administration for the consolidation of nationalist forces in the country, and introduce extreme pieces of legislation? If the Governor does not interfere, the capacity of the country to fight for freedom will be enhanced; and if he interferes, it will be the beginning of the conflict. There can be no reason whatever

for the Congress to fight shy of office.

No doubt the difficulty of a Minister to keep up his extremism and to preserve his fighting spirit cannot be minimised. Whether office taints his soul or not, caught on the one hand between able and unsympathetic civilian secretaries, over whom he has no control, and on the other, a foreign Governor whose sole object is to preserve and tighten the fetters of the country, there is no wonder if an ordinary Minister is subdued and weak-kneed. However, it ought not to be difficult to find in every province a handful of stern Congressmen, with an unbending spirit, to form the Ministry. When once such Ministers are found, the argument of falling into the deceptive snares of office applies with very little force to the other members of the Congress party. All other things being equal, it is any day easier to keep them together when the Congress is in office than to hold together persons of varying degrees of mettle in perpetual and irresponsible opposition, without any vestige of power, but exposed to all the influences of Ministers, eager to break up the opposition at the earliest opportunity.

There is no reason why the Socialists need have any special objection to acceptance of office. If their insistence is on the rejection of the constitution, every true and faithful Congressman is with them. On the other hand, more than any other Congressman, the Socialist has use for the legislatures, in that he believes in bringing about Socialism by legislation. If the Governor interferes and stops any attempt to introduce Socialistic legislation, as undoubtedly he will, so much the better, for it will be another source of conflict with the Governor.

It is ordinarily believed and freely admitted that those who are in favour of acceptance of office are moderates among Congressmen and that those who are against it are the

real extremists. Properly judged, acceptance of office in the right spirit and for the right purpose, is a bolder and more extreme step than remaining in opposition. It is not easy to foretell what may happen to a Minister who flings conventions and constitutional precedents to the winds and tries to use his office to paralyse the constitution. At any rate it is certainly safer to sit in irresponsible opposition and indulge in the pleasant pastime of occasionally making sparkling speeches to the amusement of the country.

If, as some suggest, ministry is not offered to the Congress party, professedly seeking to wreck the constitution, there is no problem at all. Further, if the Congress party is not asked to form the Ministry though it happens to be the largest political party in the Council, it will also be the beginning of the failure of the constitution.

So long as the Congress party keeps the aims of the Congress fully in view, the position is clear. Whatever parliamentary programme it may follow, the object must be the rejection of the constitution. To this end, in the first place, as far as possible, persons who can readily see eye to eye with the ideals and policies of the Congress must be set up as Congress candidates for the elections, and in the second place, at all costs, only tried and tested Congressmen alone should be allowed to form the Ministry. If any of these conditions are disregarded, even mere council entry, not to speak of office acceptance, will be a costly and demoralising show, not worthy of the attention of the Congress.

WESTERNISATION OF ORIENTAL SCHOLARSHIP

By P. K. ACHARYA

[This is a tribute to a well-known Oriental Scholar—Rai Bahadur Hiralal. Prof. Acharya, Head of the Sanskrit Department, Allahabad University, incidentally makes some useful observations on Oriental Research in European centres.]

The late lamented Rai Bahadur Hira Lal appears to have been a victim to the allurements of christening his oriental scholarship which he picked up as a hobby late in life probably following the examples of the eminent European orientalists like Sir George Gearson, Dr. Fleet, Rhys Davids and many others. Rai Bahadur Hiralal started his career as a Naib Tahsildar and retired as a Deputy Commissioner. His unique abilities were fittingly recognised by Government by the conferment of Rai Bahadur title and by Nagpur University by the award of Honorary Doctorate. He developed a scholarly interest in historical researches, but did not concentrate in any one line. He worked jointly in bringing out 'The Tribes and Castes in Central Provinces and Berar' and brought out independently a volume named 'The Inscriptions in Central Province and Berar'. But his contributions are more valuable in Hindi. He appears to have been more attached to the epigraphical branch of archaeology. But as he did not start regularly as a student in his younger days he felt certain disadvantages which appear to have hastened his end. He used to visit the archaeological department at Simla frequently. He had been to most of the other centres of archaeological interest in India before he

suddenly made up his mind to go to Europe in 1933 at the age of 65.

I saw him unexpectedly on a May morning in 1933 in a dejected mood, sitting all by himself in a corner of the boisterous lower front deck of the luxurious motor boat Victoria which reaches Italy in ten days from Bombay. Rai Bahadur Hiralal was rich enough to travel first class but following his innate simplicity he bought a cheap return ticket for Rs.2,500 to cover all expenses for 6 to 8 months of travel by steamers, trains, motors, and also food and fees for visiting places of interest all over Europe.

Thus the first experience of a retired Deputy Commissioner of an Indian station was to find himself in the disquieting surroundings and dispiriting atmosphere of a luxury boat. The four meals supplied to the passengers of what is called the Economic class might have been sufficient for an ordinary Indian. But the foremost corner against the Engine Room, the foremost part of which corner, is the open deck with poor passengers sitting together with bundles of their scanty luggage upon the tools and machineries of the boat, and with other passengers who are provided with beddings for some six in each of the small cabins situated much below water-level, singing, drinking, playing or otherwise whiling away the time would naturally be too depressing for a retired Government official and well-to-do gentleman of the Rai Bahadur's rank and habits. The neighbours of the Economic Class passengers were the Chinese washermen, butchers, cleaners and similar menials of the boat. An idea of a journey from heaven to hell may be had when one goes down from the first class saloons and stately public rooms situated on the uppermost decks in the central part of the ship to this Economic Class following an intricate path passing through hellish heat, darkness, death-like quietude and a

forlorn look all over. After the mutual greetings of an unexpected meeting of old friends and the introduction to a fellow passenger of the first class saloon I unwittingly enquired if the Rai Bahadur had seen the upper saloons of the second and first classes and why he had bought such a passage. He simply pointed to a newspaper cutting containing the advertisement of the conducted tour and to a notice hung against a landing forbidding lower class passengers' visit to the upper class public rooms and decks. He was rigorously honest and refused my invitation to come up as my guest even. Nor did he complain of the numerous inconveniences and discomforts he had been apparently suffering from. Thus the scholar's vision of an ocean journey and the consequent realisation of the vastness of the universe and smallness of the man were all frustrated for the Rai Bahadur to begin with. Since then I went down to the Economic Class several times for his sake but found him always sad and morose and failed to ascertain the programme of his future journey.

Thus we met by mere accident in several towns of the great European countries and I do not even now understand if he had any definite object of his visit to Europe at such an advanced age. He of course visited the wonderful museums of Italian cities, particularly in Rome and Florence. But I was surprised that he did not make a single inquiry of the very learned Professor who conducted a prolonged tour arranged by Messrs. Thomas Cook and Sons over the wonderful excavation in the heart of the city of Rome or over the archaeological remains in Naples. But I was able to gather some of the unnecessary miseries he was unfortunately led by circumstances to suffer from, when I found him late in the evening come accompanied by his companions for a dinner in a cheap restaurant in Milan, when the dining hours had been long passed. The economic tour demanded that the

nights must be passed in travelling by railway sitting upon the wooden seats of the continental third class significantly known as the wooden class. It no doubt costs a good deal to tour in Europe in a higher class and pullman train with sleeping accommodation or by easy marches, travelling only in the afternoon between midday meal and evening dinner spending the nights in first or second class hotels, specially when one is accompanied, as it happened in my case, by a young and educated wife, too modernised to be called timid but shy all the same to a limit to be in Purdah, if not within a Burkah.

However simple an upper or central Indian may be with regard to the menu of his daily meals he enjoys the plain food because he has been habituated to that from his childhood. The adaptability to an entirely new kind of food consisting mostly of meat at the age of 65 would be a difficult task if not an impossibility for an average vegetarian Indian. In addition, the ever changing climate and weather of the different countries of Europe must have caused great inconvenience and annoyance to the Rai Bahadur if it had not positively injured or ruined his health. In connection with a recent sad incident of an old European lady tourist suddenly dying at Allahabad several qualified physicians declared that after a certain age the adaptability to new climate and food becomes much reduced to men and women of all races and countries. Constant travelling or rushing through without proper rest all the more hastens one's end. Rai Bahadur Hiralal died in less than two years time after his return from Europe.

What he actually gained in experience so far as his researches are concerned is not known. He did not rush to the Press to publish a report of his European visit. Nor has any book been written and published by him wherefrom any

improvement in his research can be gathered. But he was energetic. He went to meet many of the living great Orientalists of Europe, some of whom later told me of his visits.

The study of oriental subjects is no doubt scientifically conducted in centres of oriental learning in Europe. But an acquaintance with their methods can hardly be picked up by a casual visitor. The British Professors are conservative to a degree. Although they are generous enough to assist their pupils in all possible ways they themselves do not work side by side even with their most advanced students like some of the continental scholars who are more liberal in this respect.

For study and research the materials in museums, libraries, and other educational institutions are certainly more plentiful and well arranged in the west. But the polishing up of an Indian scholar's knowledge and resources previously acquired in India by a casual visit to an institution or to a scholar would be an impossible task even for a man younger than Rai Bahadur Hiralal. The European Goddess of learning demands more severe test, more serious attention and much longer devotion at a proper age when adaptability and conversion to a new system is practicable. The ordinary acquaintance with authors and institutions can be more wisely obtained by going through the printed records sitting in one's own easy chair and eating one's own food in one's own hearth and home, especially when one has passed the age of adaptability. The child is christened, not the grandfather. Thus the foreign scholarship for researches and ordinary study and training are awarded to raw graduates rather to retired officials or elderly professors.

All fellow scholars and friends mourn the death of Rai Bahadur Hiralal. His loss is a loss to Indian scholarship. But let his sudden death warn others of his age and tendency. Then the late lamented Rai Bahadur would have served a great cause even in his noble death.

WAR EXPENDITURE AND WORLD WELFARE

By E. C. SANKER

[War expenditure is mounting up with an alarming rapidity that augurs ill for world welfare. "The traffic is bloody," the peace of the world is at stake. Mr. Sanker of the Judson College, Rangoon, gives here facts and figures and pleads for a transformation in the present system of civilisation.]

It has been estimated on expert calculation that on the average a battleship costs £6,000,000. This huge capital sunk in that structure represents an engine of human destruction. Can the world really afford it? Or is the world rich enough to transfer a part of its wealth in that direction? Or is there no other channel where the same can be more profitably employed? The inevitable answer to all these questions is an emphatic No. Then why is it that the respective countries, in spite of unbalanced budgets, heavy taxation, currency crises and with millions unemployed have insisted on sinking a considerable sum in building and maintaining battleships? The explanation is found in human psychology. Man is arming himself because he is afraid and he is afraid because he is armed.

The Society of Friends¹, in one of their pamphlets, have very ably given a graphic representation of social welfare what a sum of £6,000,000 can do; or in other words, what the cost of one battleship will buy:

50 Hospitals		£ 1,000,000
and 50 Miles of arterial roads		£ 1,000,000

¹ The Peace Committee of the Society of Friends, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N. W. 1, issues from time to time very interesting pamphlets.

and 100 Miles of country roads		£ 1,000,000
and 100 Recreation Grounds		£ 1,000,000
and 100 Schools		£ 1,000,000
and 1000 Furnished Houses		£ 1,000,000
		£ 6,000,000

and give a year's employment to at least 20,000 men.

The social needs of one country differ from those of another. The same representation can be given a different colour by estimating what one battleship will buy each of those single items. A country like Abyssinia needs all those aids. Yet, this is what the cost of a single battleship can do in the social sphere. One can then imagine for himself the magnitude of the activity directed towards constructive social service, if the fleets of all the maritime nations were non-existent.

Facing the grim realities in the international situation to-day, what does one find? The estimates for the Navy, Army, and Air Force in Great Britain, have increased by nearly ten millions in the last two years. The Great War was fought and was won by the Allied Powers, to end all wars—at least it was most piously declared so, with the result that England spent in 1932 on preparations for the next war, £116,000,000 nearly £40,000,000 more than she spent in any single year before she had finally terminated war by winning the war to end it.

Mr. C. E. M. Joad, who was the principal speaker at the Oxford Union debate on February 9, 1933, when the motion "That this House will in no circumstances fight for its King and country" was carried by a large majority, said:

So far the world spent last year in war preparations £ 980,000,000 which is almost exactly one golden pound for every minute that has elapsed since the BIRTH OF CHRIST, who bade his followers to love one another and is believed to have converted the western world to His ethical doctrines, which included that of non-resistance.

If the sum of £980,000,000 has been spent in some form of constructive social service, the world would have been happier for it and more useful to suffering humanity. With the calculation pointed out at the beginning of this article the same could have been expended in one of the following six items, as the needs of the case may be:—

49,000 Hospitals, or 49,000 miles of arterial roads, or 98,000 miles of country roads, or 98,000 recreation grounds, or 98,000 schools, or 980,000 furnished houses—and could have given employment to 3,330,000 people for that year.

Instead of directing the expenditure towards social welfare, the respective countries are vying with one another in order to advance a step further in the race for armaments. Is it because the world has reached the stage of summum bonum in the realm of social welfare?

Let us look at the conditions of the teeming millions with the assistance and on the basis of the conclusions arrived at by economic experts. Mr. Cordull Hull, the famous American economist, declares that about 80% of the world's population are below the poverty line. To illustrate this fact, space does not permit us, to cover so wide a range as the whole universe; but by examining smaller units one can be convinced of the extent of the poverty-stricken conditions of the world.

Charles Booth², analysing the population of London, divided them into eight classes, four of which he defined as poor, the other four as "above the line of poverty." "My poor," he wrote "may be described as being under a struggle to obtain the necessaries of life and make both ends meet, which the "very poor" live in a state of chronic want. It may be their fault that this is so; that is another question; my

² Facts taken from his monumental researches "Life and Labour of the People."

first business is simply with members who from whatever cause, do live under conditions of poverty or distribution." Booth reached the conclusion that 30% of the population of London living under such conditions, were "below the line of poverty."

Another economist, Seebohm Rowntree making a closer analysis of the problem of poverty distinguished between "Primary" and "Secondary" poverty. By the former he implied poverty due solely to lack of sufficient income to maintain a family of normal size in a state of physical efficiency, even though all the resources available were economically administered. "Secondary" poverty, on the other hand, was due to expenditure of some part of the income on objects other than the maintenance of physical efficiency.

In 1924, Professor Bowley and Miss A. Hogg made investigations into conditions in some of the typical provincial towns, such as Reading, Northampton, Warrington, Stanley and Bolton³. They inferred: Taking 6.5% of the working class population as representing 4% of the total population there were in 1924 in the British Isles practically 2,000,000 persons living below the standard necessary for the maintenance of mere physical efficiency. Besides, one factor that should be taken into account is that the number of individuals who at one time or other fall below the poverty line is greater than those who fall below it at a given moment, due to vacillating economic conditions.

To turn to the other side of the Atlantic, in U. S. A. during the depression year of 1933, 20 to 25 millions were within the poverty level. Moreover there are always, some percentage of the population sometimes running into millions, those who are underpaid and under-employed and they

³ The results of their investigation appear in "Has Poverty Diminished?"

should naturally be classed under the "Poverty Class."

Still more tragic will be the picture of mass poverty in predominantly agricultural countries or for those in an earlier stage of economic development. Professor Tawney estimates that in China 50% of the families in the East and 80% of those in the North have incomes below the barest subsistence minimum and concludes that conditions for this class are worse than they were two centuries ago. Recent surveys of the conditions of the rural masses in China and in India indicate a study pauperisation.

In the midst of such a tragic scene, the world has concentrated not on constructive social programmes but has entered into a mad race for armaments. Let us examine the amount the world has been spending on National Defence⁴. The following gives an accurate picture.

WORLD EXPENDITURE OF NATIONAL DEFENCE

(In thousand millions of gold dollars)

	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934
At old parity ..	3.5	3.6	3.8	4.0	4.2	4.3	4.3	4.2	4.4	4.9

Again, a scrutiny at the increase of the tonnage of the warships of all the maritime powers, points to the same truth.

NAVY

WORLD TONNAGE

(In thousands of tons)

	Built	Building	Total
1930	5,028	433	5,461
1931	4,861	580	5,441
1932	4,832	467	5,299
1933	4,960	638	5,598
1934	5,085	745	5,830

The vessels included in the foregoing table belong to

⁴ Source taken from the Armaments year book (1935) and other latest statistical bulletins issued by "The League of Nations."

the following categories: battleships and battle-cruisers, coast defence ships and monitors, cruisers (including minelayers and armoured cruisers), aircraft-carriers, flotilla leaders, destroyers and torpedo-boats, and submarines⁵.

Transferring our survey from the world as a unit, to individual countries, such as Great Britain, the same conclusions can be deduced: From the British Budget of 1932-33, and 1933-34, the following items are taken:—

EXPENDITURE		
	1932-33	1933-34
Navy ..	£ 50,010,000	£ 53,500,000
Army ..	£ 35,880,000	£ 37,592,000
Air Force ..	£ 17,100,000	£ 16,780,000
TOTAL ..	£ 102,990,000	£ 107,872,000

From the two totals, it can be easily derived that the British Government has allotted £4,882,000 more in the year 1933-34, on war preparations.

For a comparison, it can be shown that the total cost of poor relief in Great Britain, both indoor and outdoor amounted to £23 millions approximately in 1932-33; during the same year she spent on war preparations 103 millions, namely she preferred to appropriate £80 millions more for human destruction or nearly four times as much as she contributed towards human welfare.

Regarding the expenditure on the preparations for war, Barbara Duncan Harris, in an article published by the Society of Friends, "A World Disarmed" says,

And with our 100 million pounds we could afford much; relief of nearly £1 a week to every income tax payer, or if you will,

⁵ By way of indication it may be mentioned that the world tonnage of the warships of all the maritime powers in 1913 expressed in round figures was 6,900,000 tons.

we could double the 50·7 million pounds now granted from the Exchequer for education, and we could double the 29·8 million pounds spent on Old Age Pensions, and the 9·8 million pounds granted to Housing schemes and the 3·5 million pounds granted to Health Service and the £ 5·9 millions spent on National Health Insurance and still have enough left to endow medical research work on an undreamed of scale..... to the service of mankind.

Britain's justification for contributing four times as much towards war preparations, as she contributed towards social welfare, can be considered from the appalling unemployment figures and their steady increase year after year.

Unemployment in Great Britain

September	1931	..	..	..	2,824,772
August	1932	..	..	..	2,859,828
January	1933	..	..	..	2,903,065

Dr. J. W. Graham, in an interesting article, "Dare we disarm?" says:

It is unpardonable that we have already lost 15 years since the war ended. This shows us how great are the fears and suspicions which the Treaties have created; how strong the military maxims in Government. Let us come down to business. What are we paying?

About 14 shillings out of every pound of taxation goes for war debt, pensions, and military preparations. That amounts to over thirteen shillings from every man, woman and child in the country, and taxes 14 % of the national income. Every year we spend on Imperial taxation 800 million pounds the same as the total of the Old National Debt at its highest.

To quote Barbara Duncan Harris again, she says:

Our 100 million pounds spent on the building of houses instead of on battleships as now, would enrich the nation by over 200,000 houses in one year, rent free, for the occupation of the disabled, the aged, the destitute, or for the relief of our slum areas. Or again, approach the possibilities from another angle. Let us keep

our 210,000 soldiers, our 100,900 sailors, our 32,000 airmen, and all the factors needed for their equipment, and maintain these men still at the expense of the nation. But instead of training them for war, let us set them to drain and prepare waste land, to plant forests, to perfect roads, harbours and railways.

In spite of the preachings of the different Messiahs of the world both religious and political and in spite of the bitter lessons learnt from incidents of history and in spite of the living monuments of Peace which is so ably embodied in the life and personality of Mahatma Gandhi and with a clear spectacle of the whole of suffering humanity, man, with all his wonderful scientific achievements to his credit, has persisted in continuing his animal passion of going to war with no less a barbarism than that of his most ancient ancestor; and all the above figures and statistics cited, bear the strongest testimony to the fact. It is sincerely hoped that the respective politicians of the world, in whom the rest have bestowed their confidence and look for their guidance and on whom the responsibility of the legacy the present generation is going to bequeath to posterity lies, will be imbued with a sincere idea of alleviating the distress that is so prevalent in all parts of the globe, rather than encourage or exploit the baser qualities of man of going to war and thereby wreck the whole edifice of modern civilization.

IDEALS IN EDUCATION

By R. N. KAUL

[This is the second part of Mr. Kaul's extra-mural lecture on "Ideals in Education", recently delivered under the auspices of the Allahabad University. Here he deals with modern ideals in education.]

II—Modern

LOCKE

The system of education outlined by John Locke swings between the two natural impulses of the teacher viz. a desire to impart information and a desire to develop and train intellectual initiative. The first is the commoner motive of the two, but the second is of immensely greater value. By tradition an upholder of instruction in the path of truth, Locke was by nature a devotee of that truth towards which no mind can win unless by its own persistent efforts. Certain conclusions follow; Locke, the instructor, is not wholly consistent with Locke, the seeker, and the inconsistencies are sufficiently obvious; but in spite of these, a resultant compromise remains, admirable in many ways, and typical of much that is best at least among *English* educational ideals.

It is unfortunate that Locke's notion of the young mind, as a "tabula rasa, written upon by experience only", as an empty sheet of paper, affects his educational scheme fundamentally and prevents him from becoming a whole-hearted exponent of education as the encouragement of organic growth. It was a fruit of the reaction from Calvinism and pre-destination which wrote in the book of every

child's character that he was already foredoomed. The garden of the child's mind, to use the metaphor of Comenius and Fröbel, was wrongly regarded by Locke as virgin soil, to be sown by the teacher in accordance with a formal pattern. But he was well aware that truth can germinate anew in the originative and not in the passively recipient mind. His formalism is pleasingly contradicted at every turn by his reliance upon the desire of the young to create their own understanding.

Children, [he says], have as much a mind to show that they are free; that their good actions come from themselves. . . . as any of the proudest of you grown men. . . . Further, children are much less apt to be idle than men, but this is visible, that it is a pain to children to keep their thoughts steady to anything.

Here his desire to inscribe the first principles of truth upon the young mind meets with a primary natural check. He finds his way round the obstacle by the path that was later rediscovered by the educational psychologists.

I have always had a fancy that learning might be made a play and recreation to children; and that they might be brought to desire to be taught, if it were proposed to them as a thing of honour, credit, delight and recreation.

From this it is not so far a cry to the methods of Fröbel and Montessori. Locke adds the one perennial precept of the good educator:

Keep the mind in an easy, calm temper. . . . It is as impossible to draw fair and regular characters on a trembling mind as on a shaking paper.

Thus we see that there is a contradiction in Locke's mind between education and instruction, which is due to the isolation of two extremes—extremes that centre in the individual and the social conceptions of life. Individual freedom and natural activity must be developed in the child, but it is equally necessary to teach him the accumulated

traditional wisdom, the realized truth of the past ages. The contribution of the Individual to the society is no less important than the contribution of the society, passed on by the educational system, to the development of the Individual. The ideal of Individual liberty is a diversity-ideal; the ideal of a tradition of social control is a unity-ideal. Education, in the strict sense of "drawing out" that which is in the individual child, is a process that favours individualism. Instruction is a process of social guidance in the sense of "building into" the child that which the society sees as truth. To advocate either process in opposition to the other is the extreme of educational folly. Locke's essential wisdom, the wisdom of a great philosopher and seeker for truth, consists in holding fast to the two vital aspects of educational verity in spite of his logical hatred of a contradiction. Education, even at the present day, wonders how to combine the two within a unified doctrine. Locke's system asks a question; it gives us not a solution but a paradox; it states the ideal but leaves for later educators, how to realize the ideal. We have now to see how Rousseau comes into closer touch with this problem, if not exactly with its solution.

ROUSSEAU

Rousseau was brought up practically without education, and grew up a critic, but a critic without a criterion. Uncentred, he tended to become self-centred. The outlook which he brought to bear upon education was that of society's duty to the Individual. Free himself in a sense, though tragically unfitted to use freedom, Rousseau saw the world around him in bonds and fetters. Once and for all he threw aside the notion of a child's nature as a shell to be moulded, hollowed out and filled; natural growth, rightly conditioned, was the only education. It was Rousseau's absolute, uncompromising statement of this crude ideal and

its wide acceptance, even in all its crudity, that gave impetus to the devising of method. He himself, however, lacked all methodology, and that is why many critics have lost their tempers while reading Rousseau. But we must not reject a sound principle on account of its unsound application. It is often maintained that "too much liberty" is bad for a child, or for any one. But there is no such thing as too much liberty. There is the practical question "What do you want your liberty for?" This is where further ideals are required. It is these further ideals which education for liberty has to teach. These ideals Rousseau lacked, and in that blindness he wrote of liberty as though it were the only ideal in the world.

Ignorant liberty is no liberty at all; education has to perfect it by giving knowledge. Idle liberty is no liberty at all, education has to turn it into liberty of action by training and developing the natural human desire for fruitful activity. Selfish liberty is liberty shackled by the bonds of self—a contradiction in terms. True liberty is social. Rousseau himself knew well enough in theory that true liberty in its essence depends upon the relation between the individual and the society. But he only perceived one way of reform: Society must give freedom to the individual. It is equally true, however, that individuals must give freedom to society.

Two factors are essential in the realisation of an ideal; the ideal itself, and the actualities of the world in which it has to make good its position. Rousseau stands almost solely for the ideal itself: we must turn to the successors of Rousseau—to Pestalozzi, Herbart and Fröbel—to see the ideal of education in freedom brought into any relation with actuality. Others had to interpret the ideal which he saw with such piercing, if partial vision. The contrast between education by means of free development and training

through constraint is really the contrast between the individual and the social aspects of life. In so far as constraint is necessary, it is justifiable, only when it is social constraint. For Rousseau the chainwork of social solidarity was evil, not made up of living links, but of cold metal forged upon the limbs of the unconsenting many by the powerful few. Thus law ceased, for him, to be a social expression, and constraint became a function of unsocial tyranny. If so education, as Rousseau dimly saw, has the principal part to play in claiming the road for social liberty—that true and only liberty in which the individual and the society are at one and constraint gives place to consent. Merely to state such an ideal is to demonstrate its Utopian quality. But there is nothing wrong with an Utopian ideal, if it is a true one; indeed, all great ideals are Utopian. The only error is to leave out any of the slow, necessary steps by which alone they can gradually be approached. Rousseau left out nearly all the steps and his plan for a boy's education leaves the reader with the uncomfortable conviction that 'Emile' would in the end have fallen into most of the pitfalls that entrapped his creator. It was left for Pestalozzi to begin the building of a safe causeway from the actual towards the ideal, and indeed, to start his building from the very bedrock of stern actuality.

PESTALOZZI

The broad principles on which Pestalozzi based his methodology cannot be better indicated than in his words:

Try first to broaden your children's sympathies, and through satisfying their daily needs, to bring love and kindness into such unceasing association with their impressions and activity that these sentiments may be engrafted in their hearts.

Pestalozzi carried out this difficult precept with great devotion. In the further development of those feelings he

did not trust to nature;

you must do all that is in your power to supply the place of her henceforth blind guidance, by the wisdom of experience.

In this the disciple of Rousseau transcends the pure naturalism of his earlier master, but his method lost nothing of naturalism while combining with it the teaching of experience and authority. For he says,

The good to which you wish to direct (the child) must not depend upon your varying moods and temper; it must be a good which is good in itself and in the nature of things, and *which the child can recognise for itself, as good*. Here we have the true reconciliation between freedom and authority in educational method. The good towards which we have to direct the steps of children, the good which the child can recognise for himself as good, must be a good of which the child can see the point. Whatever (the child) does gladly, whatever brings him credit, whatever helps him to realize his greatest hopes, whatever rouses his powers and enables him to say with truth I *can*—these things he wills.

These principles of Pestalozzi, which do not call for an easy lip-service, but for an effort of constructive thought from the teacher, were further worked out by Fröbel, Pestalozzi's disciple and his eventual successor as a light in the educational firmament, to whom we must next turn.

FRÖBEL

To the practical genius of Fröbel, the first question for the educator was not "What shall we teach?" Comenius had long ago endeavoured "to search out a rule in accordance with which teachers teach less, and learners learn more", and had based his system upon the dictum "Children learn to do by doing". Activity is the only educative process, and all teaching must be judged by the extent to which it induces vital activity on the part of the child. But there is a danger in centring educational values in the activity of the individual child. Hence Fröbel's further criterion was the *tendency*

of the child's activity. The child must not become too self-centred, too much engrossed in the vortex of his own thoughts and feelings. *His activity must be made social*. "The kindergarten", said Fröbel "is the free republic of childhood". The social element implies social control, and children must be accustomed from the very beginning to law and order, and therein find the means of freedom. The teacher must be felt as the interpreter, not the arbitrary inventor, of the social law that reigns in the small community. "Between educator and pupil, between request and obedience, there should rule invisible a third something, to which educator and pupil are equally subject". The child is a member of a fellowship, and the teacher a mouthpiece of the laws of fellowship. But is there anything, in the child's own mind that we can appeal to? Yes, says Fröbel, it is the child's community-sense, a simple appeal to his innate reason. The positive feeling to be aroused in his mind is his natural instinct of helpfulness. The call of social duty can be translated into a call "to come and help"—a call that draws the child out of a self-preoccupation into a recognition that others have need of him. This pre-supposes a school in which the activities of the children have been made genuinely social, as they are made by Fröbel's system.

HERBART

It is not a soft and easy path that Fröbel opens up, as is sometimes supposed. It is a way that demands steady thought and courageous self-discipline from teacher and pupil alike. It is not a nursery game, preliminary to serious education; it is education as serious and as real as any that has been conceived, and far more serious and real than any that is practised. The way of Fröbel is the way of sympathy; to be fully effective it demands a certain intuitive meeting of minds between teachers and pupils; it makes mutual under-

standing prior to rule. But Fröbel's way is not everybody's way, and a common and a highly valuable type of teacher can attain to Fröbel's principles only by a path other than his,—viz. that which is taught by *Herbart*. The way of Herbart makes rule prior to understanding and sympathy. The aspect of education that represents exact and logical method was left somewhat undefined by Fröbel. Herbart's systematic scheme completes the work which remained to be done. One aspect of education consists in the handing down of a progressively self-enriching tradition from the teacher to the taught. Knowledge is a thing which has to be preserved and handed down through the educational system. Our living traditions have to be realised by the teacher and presented to the child. They cannot be evolved out of the child's inner consciousness. It is essential that children should develop a social sense of their own in schools of the Fröbel-type,—but this is not enough: they have also to realize the best social traditions of their age and of the ages before; and these have to be presented to them so that their own developing social sense may go out to welcome the presentation; but the presentation must come from without, interpreted by the teacher. The student of Fröbel learns how to prepare the recipient mind, that of Herbart learns how to prepare the interpretation which the teacher has to give to the child.

THE AGE OF MYSTICISM IN PERSIA

By BANKEY BEHARI

[More theories about the origin of Mysticism in Persia are discussed in the following pages. This is the second part of Mr. Bankey Behari's chapter on this subject.]

The third theory that finds favour with the largest number of authorities is its Indian origin. Sufism in Persia is said to owe its birth to the contact with the Vedantist school of thought in India and the votaries of this school are both authoritative and very large in number. I, however, respectfully differ from that view, and shortly after shall discuss my view. And before discussing the views of the supporters of this theory, I might mention that Browne and Nicholson, too do not subscribe to the view that Sufism has a Vedantic origin. Prof. Browne puts it thus:

Too many consider Sufism as essentially an Aryan movement. It is necessary to emphasise the fact that two of the greatest Mystics of Islam (and perhaps a third, viz., Dhun-Nun of Egypt who in the opinion of my friend Mr. R. A. Nicholson, first gave to the earlier asceticism the definitely pantheistic bent and quasi-erotic expression which we recognise as the chief characteristics of Sufism) were of non-Aryan origin.

[Literary History of Persia—Browne—Vol. 2, p. 505.]

Browne opines further:

The singular eminence amongst the Sufis, of two of them who belong to the Arabian race, makes it very doubtful whether the once popular view that Sufism is essentially an Aryan reaction against cold formalism of a Semitic religion can be regarded as tenable.

[Ibid—p. 489.]

As against it, as remarked above, stronger testimony lends support to the Vedantic theory. The remarks of Sir Auriel Stein and Boscawen, based on archæological finds support this theory. One scholar remarks to the same effect:

It appears therefore quite clearly that in 14th Century B.C. and earlier the rulers of North Mesopotamia worshipped Vedic gods.

[Jacobi l. c., p. 723, cp V. Poussin *Vedische*—p. 87 N.]

Another Indian scholar in reply to my query summed up the position, thus:

During the Hindu and Buddhist times there was much traffic and intercourse with Persia, Mesopotamia and Egypt from India, and people were going as far as Rome for intellectual religious and commercial pursuits. In the *Raghuvans* by Kalidas, it is recorded that King Raghu went to conquer the Persians by the land route. (प्राचीनकाले ततः जैमि प्रत्ये स्वयं वर्त्मना) In fact the wars that are reported in our Mythologic and Puranic literature between the Deity and the Danavas, or in other words between the Devas and the Asuras refers to the wars which took place between the Hindus and the Persians, when they parted from their Aryan homes. The Persians were called Asuras, and we called ourselves 'Devas, each being used as a term of abuse for the other though in their respective vocabularies each term connoted a high ideal (cp. Asura असुर and Ahurmazda, and देव with Deo, a devil).

During the Buddhist period lots of Buddhist priests went to that part of the country to preach and settled down there, and both before and after the Persian invasion of India by Darius and the Greek invasion by Alexander, the scholarly and intellectual communion between those parts of the country and India continued. The Branch of Hindu Astronomy called रोमक सिद्धान्त was brought by Hindu Scholars who went for study to Greece and Rome and incorporated it into our Science. They also took from us teachers to teach Philosophy and Ayurveda, and the intercourse contributed to mutual benefit. The Hindus of those days had, as Sir Aurel Stein observes, a remarkable aptitude for absorbing and digesting foreign elements into Hinduism. The *Chilpevar* Brahmans like Gokhale and Tilak are said to have been

originally Jews, who had either stranded or come eastward and settled in India, and they were installed and accepted as Brahmans by the Hindus. The *Bhavishya Puran* records that men from Egypt came and were elevated to the position of the Brahmans and absorbed after purification at Puri in Orissa. We find stray evidences of these matters in the writings of Greek travellers and in Gazetteers and Archæological literature.

It was really after the commencement of militant fanaticism of Muhammadans, when all Hindus and Buddhists (carrying "bûts" or images of Buddha) living in those parts were mercilessly massacred that the intercourse completely ceased, and I would not be surprised that the prohibition against foreign travel or sea voyage was then incorporated in the *Parasasmriti* to guide us in the Kali Age.

[Rai Bahadur Pandit Kanahya Lal—Formerly Judge of the Allahabad High Court—in a letter dated October 25, 1934.]

The view of Sir Aurel Stein referred to above supports this theory. He is said to have remarked, while giving the account of his three archæological expeditions in the area dividing India from Persia and stretching over some 1,200 miles that:

in the Zhob Valley, within the Baluchistan Province, prolonged occupation during prehistoric times was proved by a group of important mounds near Fort Sandeman. One was known as the "Witches' Mound". Plentiful pottery vessels with geometric patterns neatly painted in black over red ground were recovered both from ruined quarters and cinerary urns. Flint blades and arrow-heads, alabaster cups and bone implements were associated here and at the other mounds with rare objects of copper and bronze.

Close relation to the culture of Mohenjodaro, the site of the earliest known Indian civilization, was attested by terra-cotta figurines of a mother goddess, archaic in type, of bumped bulls, and other objects of distinctly Indian cult. In a prehistoric mound in the Loralai Agency which rose to a height of 113 feet it was seen that brunt bricks of large size had been used for a care-

fully constructed, drain, also in wall foundations.

In the valley of Thal, apart from a mass of painted pottery, remarkable for the fineness of body, and the delicate execution of the designs, frequently polychrome, there was brought to light such a quantity of small stone implements and of materials for making them as to leave no doubt about the place having been occupied by families of stone workers, perhaps for generations.

No fewer than seventeen mounds, all marking occupation during prehistoric times, were surveyed in Kolawa, a tract of Makran. At the Kulli mound, the largest of them, trial excavations revealed the ruins of a town, with houses of solidly built stone walls and properly planned internal arrangements. Objects of house use left behind by last dwellers, ornaments of semi-precious stones, inlaid glass bangles, etc., pointed to a comparatively advanced stage of comfort. The use of certain animal motifs in the painted pottery such as rows of horned mountain sheep recalled the decorative style of South Western Persia, while the cult figurines marked the influence of religious notions from the Indian side.

The Aryan invaders, while imposing their rule and language upon the far more advanced indigenous population of the Indus valley, yet very early adopted a great deal of its superior civilization and its cult notions. In this we might recognise an early illustration of that remarkable capacity for absorbing and digesting foreign conquerors which Hinduism had shown all through the ages.

[A prehistoric civilization on Indo-Persian Border lands—being the Huxley Memorial Lecture—by Sir Aurel Stein quoted in *Statesman* dated September 26, 1934.]

Coupled with this we have the fact that Alexander took back with him many persons versed in Vedantic lore, after his Indian invasion and passed through Persia; where it would not be unsafe to infer that the contact with the Persians, during his stay, however short, could not have been without any cultural effect.

As against it I cannot ignore the unrebuted testimony of Boscawen in his "First of the Empires" where he speaks of

a highly developed Babylonian culture of a period before 4500 B.C. In every realm of art, literature and administration the valley between the Tigris and Euraphes seems to have led every other extant culture. I have in an earlier article "Law before Moses" [Allahabad Law Journal 1934—Page 43] discussed some salient features of it:

At the magic touch of the spade the earth has opened its bowels and amply rewarded the activities of the explorer and the patient labours of the decipherer by disclosing from underneath the dark mounds of Assyria and Chaldea memorials and relics that point to the existence of a civilization, in all its fulness and glory millenniums before the world received the law of Moses. This ancient civilization gave to the world a profound religious and ethical literature, a highly developed legal and fiscal system, well-established libraries and temple colleges, to name a few of the legacies. These facts are established from the writings on the plastic clay tablets, cuneiform writings and engravings on stones discovered below the underground graves, temples and palaces. These discoveries have added much to the world's knowledge of the various branches of human thought and learning. To the historian the chronicle of events discovered on stones has proved the existence of full grown empires as early as 4500 B.C. To the literature it has given a store of information on epics, legends, and mythology and folk-lore of the Chaldean Culture, from which the Greeks and Hebrews borrowed profusely in the centuries following: and to the legal world it has vouchsafed the oldest written legal code (yet discovered)—a thousand years older than the Mosaic Law. Boscawen has come to the conclusion that this legal code was promulgated by Emperor Kharnmurabi who flourished about 2283 B.C. and was proceeded by several rulers of his line; the reign of the first of these Emperors can be easily placed in a period before 4500 B.C. The Babylonian civilization discloses as early as 4500 B.C. a highly developed fiscal and revenue system and an efficient silver tariff. In fact these inscriptions prove that the number of these gods was not small, for apart from the gods of the community or of the family, there were gods and goddesses of every individual.

Such being the height and age of culture in Persia, one cannot but say that the claim of Vedantism is too meagre on the available testimony. The evidence discussed before, all relates to a period at the earliest about a thousand or two thousand B.C. and thus establishes a contact and intercourse about that period between the two nations. I have, however, shown, that an earlier civilization of the age before 4500 B.C. existed on the soils of Persia, which had absolutely no traces of Indian culture. It is therefore incorrect to attribute the birth of the mystic thought in Persia to Vedantism.

I am inclined, as I stated before to an independent growth of mysticism. 'It has a native birth and is not an exotic importation. The cultures were born, and imported from the tabelands of Central Asia, styled by Sir Henry Rawlinson as the womb of nations'—into India and Persia about the same time. I am inclined to believe that of the earliest pioneers who were responsible for such propagation, one branch went to China, the second came to India, and the third went to Persia, and from thence to Greece and Egypt. As stated before, they all thought similarly and we are prone to believe that while India received the message of Vedantism Persia obtained that of Sufism about the same time. This is a view held by me which is not without other support, than the evidence discussed before. Dr. Alfred. S. Geden, in his 'Studies of the Religions of the East,' thus speaks of the origin and history of the Sufi doctrine:

On the origin of the doctrines themselves and their rapid spread and popularity in Persia different views have been held. They have been traced on the one hand to the East, to Indian speculation, with which in some of its forms, they have much in common, or regarded as the outcome of Neoplatonic philosophy meeting the dreamy mysticism of the Orient. It is not improbable, however, that they were in the main an independent and natural product of minds which possessed of similar characteristics, have

all the world over tended to similar results. The essential features of mystical doctrine are the same in every age and country, and for the form which they received in Persia, it is not necessary to seek outside of Persia itself. Foreign influences no doubt contributed later, but the early stages were developed and carried through under native inspiration.

[Page 856.]

Before concluding the subject, just something might be said about the feeble claim of Islam to be the progenitor of Sufism in Persia. A misunderstanding might have arisen owing to some oriental scholars like Browne and Nicholson having fixed the date of the birth of Sufism in Persia in the 8th Century: and thereby concluding Sufism as the product of Islamic thought. This view is however untenable apart from what has been said above and what follows, for the simple reason that I am of opinion that the genesis of the term Sufi is to be traced to Failsuf (Wisdom or Philosophy) and has a Greek root, rather than to the various roots dealt with above (Subject dealt with at a greater length in a later chapter—'The term Sufi').

The order existed in Arabia from before the times of the Prophet: and according to the views of Professor Nicholson that it was due to the contact with the Christian monks that it was found there. Muhammad seems to have been curious to know about the mystic experiences than to have been the progenitor of it. This is clear from the anecdote of Ibn Sayud:

The Prophet of Islam was the first critical observer of psychic phenomena. Bukhari and other traditionists have given us a full account of his observations of the psychic Jewish Youth, Ibn-i-Sayyid, whose ecstatic moods attracted the Prophets' notice. He tested him, questioned him and examined him in various moods. Once he hid himself behind the stem of a tree to listen to his mutterings. The boy's mother, however, warned him of the Prophet's approach, who shook off his mood. The Prophet

remarked "If she had let him alone, the thing would have cleared up . . . this is the first psychological observation in the History of Islam.

[Six Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam—by Iqbal—Page 21.]

Add to it the fact that Muhammad laid down the precepts against celibacy and insisted on wealth being collected than abandoned, and spoke very much against monkish austerities and asceticism and it would be impossible to say that he was any way responsible for the growth of mysticism in Islam.

Sir Muhammad Iqbal remarks:

In a famous sentence the Prophet denounced Monkish austerities and bade his people devote themselves to the holy War against unbelievers, and gave as is well known, the most convincing testimony in favour of marriage.

Then the concept of the Prophet regarding the reality of the world is at variance with the cardinal concept of the Sufi's principle of the phenomenal nature of the Universe.

We have not treated the heavens and the earth and whatever is between them, by way of sport: We have created them no otherwise than in truth, but the greater part of men do not understand it.

[Quran—Sura 44.]

Attention might be drawn to the tortures inflicted on Mansur Hallaj and Shams Tabraz in the name of orthodox Muslim religion: and admittedly they were some of the greatest Sufis of all times. A compromise is however sought to be suggested, that these apparent anomalies are not in reality such. The mystic follows visibly the tenets of Islam, and even when he has his higher flights, he follows them, but then he does so understanding the esoteric meaning behind them, and apparently his acts appear to be at variance

with the formalisms of Islam. Sir Muhammad Iqbal, on this subject says:

"Devotional Sufism alone tried to understand the meaning of the unity of inner experience which the Quran declares to be one of the three sources of knowledge—the other two being history and nature. The development of this experience in the religious life of Islam reached its culmination in the well-known words of Hallaj, 'I am the creative Truth.' The contemporaries of Hallaj as well as his successors, interpreted the words pantheistically, but the fragments of Hallaj collected and published by the French Orientalist, M. Massignon, leave no doubt that the martyr, saint could not have meant to deny the transcendence of God.

[Ibid—Page 134.]

and at another place he remarks to the same effect:

In the History of religious experience in Islam, which according to the Prophet consists in the creation of divine attributes in man, this experience has found expression in such phrases as 'I am the Creative Truth' (Hallaje), 'I am destiny' (Muawiya), 'I am the speaking Quran' (Ali) 'Glory to me' (Ba Yazid). In the higher Sufism of Islam unitive experience is not the finite ego, effacing its own identity by some sort of absorption into the infinite ego, it is rather the infinite passing into the loving embrace of the finite. As Rumi says:

'Divine knowledge is lost in the knowledge of the Saint!' And how is it possible for people to believe in such a thing?

[Ibid—Page 152.]

Although at another place, something not quite parallel is thus cited, which notices the departure from Islamic Theology:

On the speculative side which developed later Sufism is a form of free-thought and in alliance with rationalism. The emphasis that it laid on the distinction of form and essence created an attitude of indifference to all that applies to appearance and not to reality.

The spirit of total other-worldliness in later Sufism obscured men's visions of a very important aspect of Islam as a social

polity and offering the prospect of unrestrained thought on its speculative side, it attracted and finally absorbed the best minds in Islam.

[Iqbal.]

Another well-known European authority describes, while tracing the history of the development of Sufism, the marked difference between the concept of God in Sufism and Islam, which too belies the origin of the former to latter. He says:

The earliest Sufis in fact were ascetics and quietists rather than mystics. An overwhelming consciousness of sin, combined with a dread—which it is hard for us to realise—of judgment day and the torments of hell-fire, so vividly painted in Quran, drove them to seek salvation in flight from world. . . . Their fate was inscribed in the eternal tablets of His providence, nothing could alter it.

Such a belief ends naturally in quietism, complete and unquestioning submission to the Divine will, an attitude characteristic of Sufism in its oldest form. . . . The mainspring of Moslem religious life during the 8th Century is fear of God, fear of Hell, fear of Death, fear of Sin, but the opposite motive 'of truly mystical self-abandonment had started becoming conspicuous. . . . The conquest of Persia, Syria and Egypt by the Prophet's successors, brought the Moslems into contact with ideas which profoundly modified their outlook on life and religion. . . . A rift had already begun to make itself felt as a result of the ascetic movement inspired by Christian ideals and contrasted sharply with the active and pleasure-loving spirit of Islam; . . . All these speculations influenced as they were by Greek Theology and Philosophy, reacted powerfully on Sufism.

'From the 9th Century, the mortification of flesh and austerities did not cease, but asceticism began to be considered only a stage of a long journey.

'Lastly comes the stage of Pantheism' which deposed the one transcendent God of Islam and worshipped in his stead one Real Being who dwells and works everywhere; and whose throne is not less but more, in the human heart than in the heaven of heavens.

Sufism, inaptly described as 'the pantheistic movement in Islam' although it has many votaries in that religion, was in effect a revolt against the cold and rigid formalism of orthodox theology and rituals of Islam. Unlike Vedantism, Sufism which has many aspects in common with, viz., the annihilation of self and absorption in God, as the object of life, differs from the former from being too humble. The former is like Islam very aggressive. The apparent meanings of the Quran, that make this aspect very clear and distinguish it with the cult of the Sufi, are too clear, and until the esoteric meaning is forcibly imported into the language at many places in the verses, I submit it is impossible to see the dawn of Sufism in the firmament of the Quran. I confess Ali might rightly be accredited with being an adept in certain practices of the Sufis, but to attribute to him the unique honour of being a progenitor of Sufism, inasmuch as he is accredited with having given a definite shape to the Prophets' teachings does not find support from the History of Islam in Persia and Arabia. Mysticism is far older in Persia as has been discussed before. All one can say is that, if at all anything can be said about its association with Islam it is that at some stage of its development mysticism in Persia donned the cloak of Sufism, and the adoption of the new term is confused with having an association with Islam and of having an entirely new birth. The essentials of the age-old mysticism continued through the passage of the term into the Sufi vocabulary, into the Sufi system—only a new term was used because as time passed on new ideas were acting and reacting on this system, live as it has been throughout. Sufism then and mysticism in general, has its beginnings in Persia in antiquity, and we shall not be far wrong if we were to say, mysticism is 'as old as the human heart'.

THE INDIAN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT FOR EMANCIPATION

By RICHARD CHINNATHAMBY

[An article of Women's Movement from Man's view-point. If necessarily critical, it is also constructive.]

What is the emancipation that the Western woman has achieved after such long and sustained struggle? She inherits and holds property of her own. She divorces her husband at the least sign of aggressiveness on his part. She has children if and when she likes. She appears on turf, track, court and field. She takes an active part in the Legislature of the country. She is a spoke in the wheel of Constitution. She enters into every walk of life, and does man's work with equal efficiency. She acquits herself better in, and even monopolises, some departments as nursing and telephone. She votes and smokes; goes out with men friends to talkies, or for rides in the car, or grows giddy with jazz.

This is the freedom that the Western woman has achieved! This emancipation which is a social lie! The finer instincts of women and the enduring virtues of the fireside have been plucked by the roots and thrown into the street. She finds no need for them in the new order of society where everything has been reduced to a formula or mechanised. To be frank, she has moved away from emancipation in the real sense.

The movement for emancipation in India, distressingly blind to all these facts, sets itself to the task of achieving for Indian women the identical emancipation that the Western women of to-day have achieved, without considering the

intrinsic value of such privileges or their fitness for our country just now. Practically, the indigenous movement is a bid for down-right occidentalism. Now and again, it lashes itself into a fury by delivering a tirade against the customs of our land, good or bad. The movement is unanalytical, not clear-minded. It does not import European virtues and is out to destroy what is best in our way of living.

There are very few in India who are bold enough to voice their dubiousness in regard to the ultimate good of the present emancipation movement that is hustled through. One writer goes so far as to question whether it is best to emancipate foggy old mothers and contented wives who are happy in their domesticity, whether it is best to force shy and retiring maidens to leave the purdah and be most uncomfortably planted in the midst of curious men, relatives though these may be? Emancipation in such a case, she says, will make them only unhappy.

This particular writer, of course, can be easily answered. Ignorance is folly's paradise. The happiness resulting from unhealthy customs is illusory. It is morally wrong to omit to redress our backward sisters. And surely these can put up with a little inconvenience so that their children may lead more healthy and freer lives than has been their own lot.

The real causes for a quarrel with the emancipation movement in India lie with the ideals which it sets up, with the ideals which are so unabashedly the tin-models of the West. These ideals make no compromise with our cultural tradition, our racial heredity or even our present environment. These ideals are coldly intellectual, detached and therefore must crash on the rocks of reality.

Let us take, for instance, Indian women's stickling for adult suffrage and their clamour for more seats in the legislatures. They want to be the prime movers of beneficial social

legislation for women. They point to the privileges and amenities enjoyed by women and children in England, the privileges won for them in recent years by the fact that women were enabled to sit in the English Parliament. The facts of the English woman's success will, however, throw light on the present situation of our woman's movement and also incidentally chalk out the lines on which progress should be made.

In the first place, there are more literate women in England than in India. I do not mean by literacy mere ability to read and write. I refer to their mature minds, the intelligent understanding they can bring to bear on questions affecting their life. Here, in India, only 2 per cent of the women are literate. When the women here articulate woman's needs they turn out to be the grievances of the literate, the rich—divorce, property inheritance etc. Education still remains, unfortunately, the prerogative of the well-to-do classes. The poor have no such grievances; and the amelioration of the condition of the poor, the banishing of illiteracy amongst them, these remain only on paper in the form of resolutions and are renewed year after year. And when they do establish educational institutions, they turn to be for the rich only. (Lady Irwin College).

It is their unfettered minds (minds unfettered by religious considerations or by considerations of by-gone usage) that enables men and women in England to seize on beneficent legislation and derive blessings from it. Whereas in India, even though a rational step may be taken in social emancipation by the introduction of a reform, like the Sarda Act, people are not clear-minded enough to see in it anything progressive. Most of them, in spite of their boasted education and culture shied from a step which they feared would have made the bones of their forefathers turn in their

graves!

"It is one thing" says Mrs. Corbett Ashby of the Woman's Movement in Turkey, "to change the habits of a nation compulsorily and another to adjust the minds of the Turkish people to the change." We have only to apply Mrs. Ashby's words to ourselves. Enlightenment through the right kind of education should precede social legislation. It is impossible to alter by an edict the habits and outlook ingrained in a people for ages past.

All reform, if it does not come from within will be superficial and ineffective. Beneficent legislation would be premature, as in the case of the Sarda Act, if the people to be benefited are ignorant. A similar fate will overtake all such social legislation. The Divorce Law, if passed for Hindu women will not be widely availed of. Most Indian women prefer to live with their cruel, unsympathetic, even dissolute husbands, because they have not yet realised their right to happiness or have a considerable respect for their own personality. Courageous examples set by sensational divorce participants only scandalise Indian women. The Divorce Law will be as much a dead letter amongst Hindus as among Protestant Indian Christians.

Legislation is the wrong cure for such radical evils. Education of the right kind, that will dispel the darkness in the souls of our women, that will give them individual existence, that is what is needed. They must be shaken out of their stupor.

Moreover, beneficent legislation itself will become an impossible task in India; even if women are given seats in the Legislature on the basis of the Indian Franchise Committee's recommendation (which was endorsed by woman's organisations in this country) i.e., 1 woman to 4½ men. At no time however, can women hope to equal, much less outnumber, the

men in the Legislature, so that the passing of any Bill in the interest of women has to depend on the sympathy of the men members. But our men are mostly inhibited, conservative, even retrograde. Even the Sarda Act had rather a difficult passage through the Assembly. Unless a large section of the men members see eye to eye with the women members, there would never be a majority for legislation of the kind that our women want.

And there is no certainty that in the Legislature our women members will be held in an integrate group by a bond of common aims. Partisanship will take its toll; the ranks of the woman's group will be riddled by political creeds of divergent shades. Reforms for women will be shifted naturally much nearer to the millennium than heretofore.

Indian women if they seek to do real good to their sex ought to cultivate self-reliance and independence. It is no good leaning upon their men. They should form influential and integrate groups, outside the Legislature and through education bring to the masses the reformation that they would achieve by rote and line. They should, in other words, strive for intelligent revolt among women.

Such universal education will, above all, improve the condition of the labouring class. It would instigate them to aspire towards better environment. By co-operation as well as representation that class will make itself heard and respected and become a vital branch of the Woman's Movement in India, as it should properly be. With Labour inadequately represented no movement, social or political, can escape being condemned as lop-sided. It is significant that out of the 62 women in the English Parliament after the General Election in 1931, 36 were of the Labour Party.

The immediate duty before the Women's Movement is unmistakably education. Education, on the right lines,

where citizenship plays a large part. Graduating upto the breadline is a meaningless and silly apology for true education. Our duties to the state, society and to ourselves should be the ideals of such an education and the development of personality and reverence for it should be the actuating principle.

Equally important is the question of health. It is as much a folly to demand the removal of sex disqualifications before women are physically fit for the wear and tear of the work-a-day world as to clamour for legislative remedies when women are ignorant. The working woman, of the educated or labouring class, is a sorry sight, when returning from work. Whether it be the typist, teacher, nurse, or cooly woman, the face is drawn, pale and burnt-up. She looks beaten; but, of course she won't admit it. Like man, she would brush up in the evening and go in search of restful recreation (talkies or the beach) to divert herself before the next day's toil. Her life is a mingled yarn of cosmetics, sarees, talkies, tonics and headaches!

The importance of the female physique is still a shelved question in India. The educated girl has, no doubt, a semblance of physical training while at school. As soon as she leaves school she settles down to sedentary life. She knows nothing of gymnasiums, has never heard of girls' clubs for (among other aims) physical culture, such as are numerous extant in England. (London Girls' Club Union or Social Institutes for Women and Girls.) Even the factory workers in England have organisations for recreative purposes such as the Factory Helper's Union. The emancipation movement has realised this importance of physical culture for women and has made adequate provisions for carrying it out. Clubs and organisations, which have foremost among its aims the care of the body, should first be founded in India before any inducement is made to women to flood the professions; which

would happen when sex disqualifications are removed. The unfortunate result would, of course, be the sapping of woman's vitality without any means of recuperating it, if the former course is not taken.

Earning her own living even when there is no need for it is the wrong ideal of independence for women, especially when she is not physically fit. And as she prefers to remain single in life and defiant and jealously guards her independence, the working woman in India is creating a prejudice against motherhood. Motherhood is fast becoming unfashionable. Spinsters and disgruntled matrons even preach singleness as a blessed state, as a freedom from the thralldom of sex. But "life can never be lived happily without bodily adaptation" and advanced opinion in the West is in favour of motherhood. It is, no doubt, a reaction there from the excesses of the new freedom. Why can't we take heed in time and keep motherhood in the exalted state it has held throughout the history of the nations.

A large number of women prefer to run their homes and rear their children themselves, if they are given proper conditions to do it and neither dragooned nor treated as breeding machines.

Such is the view expressed by Dr. Maude Royden, and she reflects the conviction of most women, especially of the 98 per cent of illiterate women in India. To these the glamour of motherhood is not yet lost. To these the fidelity of a Savitri is always exemplary and inspiring. The woman's emancipation movement in India incites disaffection to the chaste lives of a Damayanti and a Savitri, by insinuating subtly, sometimes even openly, that their lives were led in bondage and shameless submission. Enthusiastic propaganda of this kind will only spread chaos and unhappiness in our society. It will lead to the disconcerting conditions of American Society—not to emancipation in its real sense.

The virtues of the hearth will be blasted. The safety and success of the Indian women's future lies in the unswerving adherence to the integrity of the family unit and in the devotion to the motherhood ideal.

There is no sense, therefore, in striving for the emancipation of the Western women. We should aspire towards an ideal consistent with whatever is lovely and pure in our own culture. And the avenue to be explored is not legislation but collective enterprise for and by women for the development of their personalities and the scope of their lives. Education should go hand in hand with a concern for health; for too much attention cannot be given to the latter in this age of general degeneracy. And motherhood into which woman's vital force generally pours itself should not be despised. Its saner reconditioning is perhaps the particular work of the Indian Women's Movement for Emancipation.

INTERVIEW WITH ENGLISH MEN OF LETTERS

I—*Lascelles Abercrombie*

By SHRIMAN NARAYAN AGARWAL

[During his stay in England last year, the young author of this article availed himself of the opportunity of visiting some famous English men of letters. In the following pages he describes his visit to Mr. Lascelles Abercrombie who was till recently the Professor of English in the University of London and is now at Oxford. Their talk ranged over a variety of subjects—the cinema and the stage, Modern English poetry, Rabindranath Tagore and the inevitable Bernard Shaw.]

I had taken care to reach 7, Stanley Gardens punctually at 3 o'clock in the afternoon. On ringing the bell, I was ushered into a room with big almirahs full of books on all sides. In one corner sat an emaciated, though not very aged, gentleman in ordinary dark grey flannel trousers and a thick, rough tweed jacket, working at his table with heaps of books scattered over it. This was Mr. Lascelles Abercrombie, the famous English poet and critic.

"Good afternoon, Sir", I murmured quietly, feeling quite hesitant, and even a bit nervous.

"Good afternoon! How do you do, Mr. Agarwal?" He stood up to shake hands with a gentle smile, and then offered me a seat by his side.

After preliminary formal enquiries, including the correct pronunciation of my name, Mr. Abercrombie hastened to enquire about Dr. Tagore's welfare.

"Does he write still?", he asked eagerly.

"Yes, he does", I answered smilingly. "Probably he can't help it. . . . And he has produced some of the best poems and novels during recent years."

"I am immensely pleased to know that", said the Professor. "I am very eager to read his latest works. You know, he is the only person who has established India's prestige in the world of art and literature. To me India means Tagore."

His last sentence sent a thrill through my whole body. It was, indeed, for the first time that I fully realised the glorious services of the Poet to our Motherland.

"What about the dramatic literature in your country?" enquired the Professor. "Are there any good playwrights?"

"We are unfortunate in this respect", I said. "The Indian stage remains undeveloped to this day. Some Parsi companies tried to imitate the European stage, but that has been a failure. It is due to the absence of a proper indigenous theatre, that the literary genius is not being devoted to drama."

"It is unfortunate, indeed. India must develop her own stage-technique, instead of transplanting a foreign theatre. Such transplantations have never been successful. You should be proud of your excellent "Shakuntala"; it is very popular on the Continent. But I have not yet come across" he said, "any really first-rate translation of the drama."

The Professor kept quiet for a while, and then enquired:

"Is the Cinema ousting the existing theatres in your country?"

"Yes, cinemas are very popular, indeed. Nobody cares to go to a professional theatrical performance. I was surprised to find that theatres in England are popular more than ever. Here cinemas are regarded only as a cheap amusement."

"Quite", observed Mr. Abercrombie. "After all films are mere mechanical reproductions of living scenes. But is your country producing good films of its own?"

"Yes, some companies are producing nice films, and the industry is being developed very rapidly".

"I hope they are not imitating the Hollywood films", remarked the professor. "India must develop everything independently, in keeping with her national traditions. But the difficulty of a common language must be quite acute in this matter."

"At present films are being produced in provincial vernaculars", I said. "But Hindi, or rather Hindustani, is now being recognised as the *lingua franca*."

"I am delighted to learn that; I hope there are no provincial jealousies," remarked the professor shrewdly.

"There used to be some grumbling; but I am glad it has almost disappeared."

Our conversation was, then, switched on to modern English poetry. "I am not able to understand the latest tendencies in English poets", I told Mr. Abercrombie.

"Nor am I", smiled the professor significantly. "Probably they don't understand their poetry themselves."

"Do you think their poetry will live?" I asked.

"I don't think so. It is a Post-war reaction, and is bound to be a passing phase in literature. The modern poets claim to make an appeal to the man-in-the-street; but I think they are running away farther and farther from him."

I saw a collection of modern poems by Ezra Pound, called 'Active Anthology'. After reading some of the poems I found that a more appropriate title would have been, 'A Book of Humour'.

The professor burst into laughter at my remark. "You are quite right; to me they have always seemed to be like

puzzles. I was amused to read a poem in which a line began with a question-mark!"

"They are free to do anything they like," I added. "What do you think of T. S. Eliot?"

"He is very much in fashion, these days. The Sitwells are now out of vogue. I can't understand why Eliot is so much quoted everywhere. I don't find anything new in his criticism, and he always tries to parade his learning in his poems. Are there any such tendencies in the younger Indian poets?" he asked.

"In our country, the 'eccentricities', are on a higher plane, I told him frankly. "Every young poet claims to be a mystic like Tagore. Some of them even try to dress like 'poets' flying on the wings of ecstasy. To me, most of their poetry is 'misty' rather than 'mystic'."

Mr. Abercrombie smiled. We both kept quite for a few seconds, and then our talk was focussed on that 'most talked-of man in the world of literature'.

"Do you like Shaw?", I hesitatingly enquired.

The Professor appeared thoughtful for a while, and then remarked: "He writes excellent prose, and I like his brilliant wit and humour. But I don't think he will live as a playwright."

"Personally, I will, any day, prefer Shakespeare's plays to Shaw's", I ventured to assert. "I saw 'Man and Superman' on the stage the other day, and was quite disappointed. He is so didactic."

"Quite", observed Mr. Abercrombie. "He discusses modern problems in his plays, and when these problems cease to exist, his dramas will have no interest for us."

"Even his humour is often so unintelligible. It is so difficult to know whether he is 'a mouse of modesty', or a 'mountain of conceit'." I told the Professor about Shaw's

funny interview with a press representative, while he was at Bombay a few years back. "It is difficult to know what he really means," I said.

"Yes, sometimes probably even Mr. Shaw does not know what he means", remarked Mr. Abercrombie smilingly.

I told the Professor that I liked Tchekhov's 'Cherry Orchard' immensely. "To be frank, I like the Continental literature much more than the English,—of course, barring a few exceptions." "English Literature," I went on, "lacks subtlety and depth. We, in India, like Irish poetry, especially that of Æ, and Yeats."

He looked thoughtful for a moment. "I think, you are quite right", he remarked. "I met Mr. Yeats only the other day at the Victoria station. He looks every inch a poet."

"I have been deeply impressed by the novels of the Scandinavian writer, Johan Bojer," I said. "His 'Great Hunger' reveals a penetrating vision of life. This profundity I have rarely come across in English fiction."

"Yes, I like Bojer myself, immensely. You are right in thinking that Englishmen lack subtlety in art and literature. You know, English actors are notorious for their want of subtle expressions. That's why most of the Continental plays have been utter failures on the English stage."

"Is there any good novelist in India, at present?", asked Mr. Abercrombie.

"Mr. Sarat Chandra Chatterji, I think, is a first-rate novelist. His 'Shrikant' is a master-piece," I said.

"Has he been translated? I should like to read his works." I did not know about the translations in English, and promised to inform him on enquiry.

"Do literary books command a good sale in your country", he asked.

"I am afraid, not," I replied. "There is a want of

literary consciousness, at present; moreover, many people can't afford to buy many books."

"Even in England poetry commands a very little sale. Almost every poet is compelled to write novels to earn his or her living." "The State," the Professor went on, "should be able to provide for first-class artists. Of course one should not forget that really brilliant artists like Shakespeare and Hardy can produce masterpieces and cater for the public, at the same time."

The clock chimed four. One hour seemed to have passed too soon. I thanked the professor cordially for his kindness, and took his leave with apologies. It was impossible not to be impressed by his brilliance, scholarship, and broad-mindedness.

**"KNIGHT ERRANT AND LITERARY
CRAFTSMAN"**

An Appreciation of Mr. H. W. Nevinson

By THE EDITOR

"Thank God, one man lives who will always fight for the noble, the honourable, the unpopular cause whatever happens."

These were the words Mr. Nevinson could say to himself, of Mr. Massingham till he passed away on August 29, 1924, to the loss of true journalism. Mr. Nevinson himself answers his description of his great Chief better than any living journalist, and to-day it is our happy privilege to recall those memorable words in a spirit of prayerful thankfulness as Mr. Nevinson is still happily alive and to think of his own services, in those very terms.

Journals appear and disappear. Journalists come and go. Journalistic productions are ephemeral and journalistic reputations short-lived. But thank God, journalism can boast of a C. P. Scott, a Massingham and a Nevinson, to think of whom is to think of the noblest and the purest in a profession which is much like a river in floods where the scurf that is gathered on the surface is seen and the pearl at the bottom missed.

Mr. Nevinson is a globe-trotter with a pen in hand—a pen which he has always used as an instrument of action in the cause of emancipation. He has roamed the world over for "copy" and, as publicly acknowledged by his friends and admirers—and they are scattered in all countries and climes—often in pain and at the risk of his life, in tropical

jungles and on the fields of battle, he has served the enslaved and the oppressed. As a staff man he worked under the most harrowing conditions, and there was a day when "torn, bleeding, and but half-clothed" he reached the office like a shipwrecked mariner and walked straight to the Editor's room to have his subject for a leader. Very often, nearly always, whenever and wherever there was trouble, his services were requisitioned by one leading newspaper or another and he had thus "the opportunity of being present at many great and terrible crises of war, rebellion, and revolution upon which the course of history had turned." He visited many lands, far and near—Greece, Germany, Ireland, South Africa, Bulgaria, West Central Africa, the Cocoa Islands, Dardanelles, Finland, Russia, India, the Near East and the U. S. A. and several more—and he visited them not less as a crusader than as a correspondent. Not unoften had he done his work under showers of bullets. Was it not another famous war correspondent Sir Philip Gibbs that had foretold in a recent book that Nevinson should meet his end from a bullet on the streets of Dublin? And he loves to think that he richly deserves that fate.

Mr. Nevinson's life is (as a true journalist's ought to be) full of "changes and chances." *That* phrase he has made memorable by bringing out three delightful volumes of memoirs under that title. Uplifting it is to read the moving record of so remarkable a man, and we cannot be too grateful to his publishers for having compressed those three into a single volume and happily, very happily, called it. "The Fire of Life."* Journalists, as a rule, metaphorically pass through the fire of life, but it was left to Mr. Nevinson to have done so literally.

*The Fire of Life. By H. W. Nevinson. Nisbet in Association with Gollancz. London. 8|6.

His own desire and destiny conspired together and took him round the world through a succession of troubles, and of his wanderings many, he gives a truly wonderful description in passages of unexcelled beauty. He delighted to be in Greece . . . "the beautiful land where, for one brief century the genius of mankind stood on the topmost rung of its climax." He was happy to be held up once in Capetown for nearly a fortnight longer than necessary and almost every day in that beautiful country of mountain and sea and flowers he escaped from the madding crowd, far along the coast or up among the precipices. He was glad to have seen Majuba which had remained unnoticed since the sun and rain and frost began to carve the African mountains in their present form" till suddenly one day it became famous as a crucible of African history. To him, Macedonia looked like "a girl left with a small fortune in the power of a cruel step-father, Russia and Austria being her benevolent uncles and each claiming the right of guardianship." Chance also led him to Lake Ochrida, to him the most beautiful lake in the world, which is "one deep oval like a vast sapphire, surrounded by mountains, very wild and rugged on the north west side, and has only one issue . . . the rushing stream that pours out by Stuga at the northern end and becomes the Drin of copious history." Often at night, in Moscow he went up and down and watched "those ancient white temples and their gilded domes glittering under the moon." Ireland he visited often and the country appeared to him more beautiful than any other. The list is too long, but a reference may be made to his visit to India in 1907. "Many strange and beautiful sights I saw, and much of deep interest I heard, as I wandered (he says) about that strange and beautiful country, clinging to this old world as one lacking any sure and certain hope of a better."

It is something of a thrill to the reader to follow Mr. Nevinson's sojourn through the world to all the great centres where history was made. Not less beautiful, however, are the impressions he records of the great men and women of the last fifty years. Of particular interest are his thumbnail sketches of his distinguished colleagues in Fleet Street and of the great Liberal editors under whom he served—Massingham, Gardiner, Robert Donald and Spender,—men who raised journalism to the level of a Church. While he likes Gardiner to whom he pays a neat tribute as an excellent editor and writer of distinction with a remarkable insight into living character and with courage of conviction, his partiality for Massingham is unconcealed. He very lovingly dwells on the qualities which gave him much power making him the object of so much devotion. At one place he says:—"though he was so excellent a writer himself when I look back upon the paper (the Nation) he created and maintained for sixteen years I can but recall our Fleet Street saying:—"any bloody fool can write. It needs a heaven-born genius to edit."

Mr. Nevinson is reputed to have written some of the finest bits of English prose. In a book which has no dull page or a slack sentence, it is hardly possible to pick and choose. but there is one sentence which is worth a Nobel Prize. Writing of C. E. Montague, the brilliant leader-writer of the *Manchester Guardian*, who set a standard, aimed at by few and reached by none, Mr. Nevinson refers to that unforgettable incident when, moved by the invasion of Belgium, old Montague dyed his white hair and with a splendid lie enlisted as a private in the Sportsman's Battalion.

And this is how Mr. Nevinson hits it off:—

"We have all heard of men whose dark hair through fear turned white in a single night, but Montague is the

only man I know whose white hair in a single night turned dark through courage."

I should be sorry for the man who cannot understand the unutterable beauty of "that incommunicable gift of personality" that distinguishes it. In his preface to Mr. Nevin-son's book, John Masefield says that "no better autobiography has been written in English in the last hundred years." It is the record of a great knight-errant, the work of a born literary craftsman. It is that rarest of rare things—an epic in prose by a journalist.

It is more than a description of places and persons. Here we have in these pages, the picture of a noble crusader and a brave fighter who has seen everything worth seeing, known everybody worth knowing, and written something which will not "go down" like journalism but survive as literature. There is one chapter in the book—the last one—which is written in "the style of music." Mr. Nevinson now and again tells us that he has never bothered about style. Really it is the least part of the man. And what a man!

As the organisers of the luncheon held in his honour in London on June 30, 1934, said—they included men of the eminence of Norman Angell, H. N. Brailsford, W. P. Crozier, J. L. Garvin, Julian Huxley, George Lansbury, Harold Laski, G. W. Russell (A.E.), H. G. Wells, John Masefield, and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru—"seldom have gifts so rare been used with such disinterestedness on behalf of those who could not speak their thanks." Journalism exposes a man to any number of risks—and Mr. Nevinson had his share—but brings him few or no rewards. Fortune has, however, been kinder to Mr. Nevinson who finds the causes which turned him into a robust warrior with the pen, victorious. Upon the Mount of Olives, he "sorrowfully repented" of all

the things he had not done, but a grateful world remembers all the things he had.

He nothing common did nor mean
Upon this memorable scene.

(ANDREW MARVELL)

WOMEN WHO DREAMED AND DARED

By MRS. LAKSHMI N. MENON

Seven Women against the World. By Margaret Goldsmith. Methuen 10/6.

History is so full of the details of men who have succeeded in doing that there seems hardly any space for the women who dreamed and dared for a juster social order and made it the sacred cause for which they lived and died. Great movements have swept the world at different times—the French Revolution the Paris Commune, the Russian Revolution and the Spartacus experiment in Post-war Germany. Each has brought along its stormy trail women of outstanding ability whose sole interest was the destruction of a social order which attempted to perpetuate injustice. Both women and men have guided the storms but unfortunately the women's contribution is often forgotten.

Margaret Goldsmith in this book vividly portrays seven of these women whose lives are full of deportations, conflicts, imprisonments and persecutions. They represent a long interval of time from the French Revolution to Post-war Germany and include young women obsessed by a single idea of emancipation which rushed them to the scaffold and women of mature intellect and deep human sympathy who, in spite of inhuman treatment and constant defeat, went bravely forward with their exacting and unremitting tasks. Four of them are French women; Charlotte Corday who

killed Marat to rid France of a Despot calmly and courageously met her fate thus teaching the men how a woman too could die for a cause. Theorigne de Mericourt was of a different type; and in her we find the rare combination of an ardent revolutionary and exacting feminist. While her primary aim was to "educate the people to an understanding of the dignity of their rights," to "display before the people the advantages of revolution" she believed that class war was not all; but that there was the sex war also which must be waged. It is perhaps not a mere coincidence that Flora Tristan should also have believed in women's equality with men as a prior condition to the emancipation of humanity. Her greatest contribution to socialistic thought, however, is the idea of the solidarity of the working classes which really gave them a basis for future action. How well the working classes understood this new rendering of Liberty is seen in the words they engraved on her tomb in Bordeaux "Liberte-egalite-fraternite-solidarite." Louise Michel, the sanest of the French women, believed with astounding accuracy that the rich would not surrender their privileges unless forced to do so "and that deliverance from oppression will not come by itself but they must take freedom by force instead of begging for it."

Both Vera Figner and Emma Goldman are Russians; both professed anarchist principles and are women of undaunted courage. Even the twenty years of solitary confinement in the Russian prison which sent many of Vera Figner's fellow prisoners to agonising death, did not allow her spirit to flag but only re-affirmed her determination to devote her whole life to revolutionary activity. Ardent believers in human liberties, keen enthusiasts in alleviating human misery they even believed in the manufacture and use of bombs as a means of realising their ideal. Vera Figner

has found a home in collectivist Russia. The irrepressible Emma Goldman, also champion of the cause of birth-control in America has found at last a temporary home in England.

In Ross Luxembourg we have undoubtedly the finished product of uncompromising Marxism. With the incomparable genius of her race she combined a robust intellect, keen imagination and brilliant style. An ideal revolutionary, no personal interests or consideration or emotion would deter her. With the wide outlook of a born intellectual she criticised rigid methods of organisation. It is a pity that the author does not deal with Rosa's differences with Lenin. Her demand for "freedom of dissent" in the Bolshevik regime showed more than anything that to the last point of vision she was an intellectual with firm convictions arrived at by constant study and conscious discipline and by the positive soundness of a practical doctrine which Marxism has given to the world. Founder of the Rote Fahne and the soul of the Communist party in Germany it is no exaggeration to say that she was one of the greatest minds of the Socialist movement, 'of the type of the wise who soar, but never roam'. It is one of the ironies of fate that she should have been killed by one of the very class that she was strenuously trying to emancipate.

In increasing degree we find the women whose lives are described in the book more and more humanitarians and collectivists. In the last chapter dealing with the question whether there is a revolutionary type the author says that they are often found in the Catholic countries where women have least civic rights. Whatever it is, one thing is obvious. It is in countries where oppression is unmitigated by popular education and reform, and where reforms seem so hopelessly futile that anarchism flourishes. For political doctrines are

very much shaped by economic and social conditions. Both Vera Figner and Emma Goldman are anarchists, the only difference being that the former's views are tempered, so to speak, with collectivism. There is no widespread belief in the use of bombs among the French Revolutionaries; on the other hand, there is a more mature and saner understanding of the economic causes of social injustice which could be rooted out only by conscious discipline and organised attack.

What amazes one is, that out of the confusion of a decadent social order in which women were worse than slaves, that such outstanding "heroic fanatics" should arise, defying conventions, riding roughshod those rules of conduct which Bourgeois society holds so dear, and staking everything for the cause for which no sacrifice is deemed too great. Nor is it correct to exploit the seeming analogies of their unhappy lives and say that a repressed childhood and unhappy marriages are contributory causes to the shaping of these unique lives. Unfortunately, repressed childhoods and unhappy marriages are so common, but revolutionary women of the type presented in the book are so rare. Rather, one is led to believe that the unhappiness of their domestic life is due to their revolutionary dynamic temperaments which must necessarily cause conflict with static social laws. Nor is there anything irreconcilable in their great love of human liberties and belief in the use of force to win them. Indeed the world owes its greatness of achievement, not to those peace-lovers who turn their faces away from pain, but to those whose hearts are seared with pain for the suffering of their fellow-beings and who, with determination arising out of deep devotion to principles and scorn of consequence, venture along the tortuous path of persecution, struggle, suffering and death for the cause of justice and freedom.

The Forlorn Nest and other poems. By Mr. K. L. Sahu,
The Indian Press Ltd., Allahabad.

A review of the sheaf of poems sailing into your view under the aegis of a couplet from Robert Bridges,

I too will something make,
And joy in the making,

may be a task of doubtful virtue; the poet may determine to create and his exclusiveness is little attenuated if the reviewer writes him down, and his joy less emphasised if he writes him up.

Mr. Sahu's sheaf is, like the curate's egg, good in parts. Brilliance, in the shape of "The Two Refrains," "The Maniac", "Woman", "Logic" and "Omarkhayyam", alternates, alas too often, with mediocrity. There is no sense of equality in this small contribution of 51 poems. The poems are of indifferent length, the longest extending to 27 lines and the shortest ending abruptly in two lines.

For the subject of his poems, Mr. Sahu's observation ranges from China to Peru, embodying such varying themes as Rupert Brooke, Omarkhayyam, the Moaning Chinese Bell (or is it belle?) and De Valera, and these "come out of little intimate things which comprise life." Even so are the forms under which these fledglings are harboured. Mr. Sahu, obviously dissatisfied with the facilities afforded by English prosody has used a few forms from Japanese poetry.

A cry of despair in the first thirty pages or so, "a pathos-laden wail", sings of the days that are gone, the days that are no more. The note of optimism, like sunshine on a misty morn, fails to shimmer through. Mr. Sahu kills his doves instead of allowing them to fly scot free; and the lines written before the coming of spring wail for the gone glamour, but do not sing joyously of the beauteous spring to come. "I

scent the blossoms once again", is the only note in an otherwise sad and painful cry.

In the sonnet group, "A Reply" with its powerful "The bards of East *shall* not be dumb", and the "Moaning Bell" full of rare filial sacrifice, are outstanding. "The Maniac" for its pathos and the sympathy which is the hallmark of every brick on that edifice, if not Wordsworthian, has at least germs of a poet of that mould.

Madness as a theme and word is dear to Mr. Sahu's heart and so this fondness is responsible for the two poems, "The Mad Bulbul" and the skit upon the moon "Drunk of Madeira".

Then comes the group which is far and above the author's best. The group may be small but it is sweet. All the three on Spring, Tagore and Women are compact and this department of Vers libre affords a great scope for the author.

One may do whatever one likes in art, if one is of the robust type of Browning, but one cannot include poems on Sunset and Logic in the category of occasional poems. Who smells not the sweet scents of Araby and Persia when he reads the sensuous couplet on the poet of wine?

But such small mistakes as asking the flower, "a mute messenger" to *teach* can be avoided to his own advantage. That he is guilty of repetition within such a short span will be borne by

The leaping lambent flames above,
and

Thy heart's fire,—that lambent flame and wild.

He is very happy in his adjectives; "exquisite aches" is of course Keats.

Alliteration, conscious or otherwise, is an anachronism and should be the last infirmity of claimants to poetic merits.

Mr. Sahu has let himself go, and so in a single poem one comes across

Steep silvan slopes,
Stands like a strong, sturdy sentinel,
Half hid hamlet,
and
Sylvan slopes sad
and again
Slily stringed in her saffron skirt.

The design for the cover and the "Forlorn Nest" drawn by Mr. J. K. Sahu go to make an attractive book.

S. S. N.

Tales from the Mystics of the East. By General Parakram Jang Bahadur Rana. Published by Kitabistan, Allahabad (India). Pp. 133+xiii. Price Rs. 2|8.

This is the second publication in the series, which has the commendable object of placing before the readers a study by scholars on mysticism, the various aspects of mysticism in many countries. As appears from the list of the publications contemplated in the series, the mysticism of Persia, India and Arabia, shall be dealt with at length. The treatises—some of them will be translations of standard books on mysticism and as such will appear for the first time—will serve as source-books for students of mysticism to draw upon.

None can deny the place that mysticism occupies in the life of to-day. This is but natural when we find men like Krishnamurti, Ouspensky, Durjeff, Sir Francis Younghusband, Yeats-Brown, Rom Landau, Angarika Govinda as its exponents. In his book, "The Modern Mystics," Sir Francis remarked:

The mystics reveal to us the conditions of the mode of life into which the human race is evolving. Their experience is the peak

experience of the race and a pointer of the direction in which it is developing.

We would endorse such an optimistic view of this system of thought as bases its conclusions on experiences. There was a time when the scientist was chary about accepting the truth of mystic experiences. Today, however, they seem to echo the thoughts of Sir Oliver Lodge who saw the limits of Science transcended by the mystic. Today, Sir Eddington and Professor Jeans lean towards seeing the absence of distinction between objective and subjective experiences.

Many are sure that where Philosophy, of the "Rationalist" School has failed, Mysticism will succeed. In his recent book, "The Secret Path," Paul Brunton has successfully demonstrated that Science is transcended by Mysticism, and its experiences are no mere hallucinations but genuine. Such being the importance of the subject, the student of Religion and Philosophy is but keen to find the solution of the ETERNAL RIDDLE, the meaning of life, in it.

In the book under review, we have the illustrations of the principles of mysticism by anecdotes and tales from the lives of the mystics of the East—Buddha, Kabir, Mirabai, Fariduddin Attar, Jalaluddin Rumi, Shams Tabraiz, Rabia Basri, Junaid and Shibli and others. Mystic principles sometimes escape the uninitiated and are styled mystifying. This is, however, not so, as amply demonstrated and proved by a perusal of the book under review. Abstruse subjects like the meaning of life, death, divine love, renunciation, monastic life, ethics versus religion, and morality have been treated well. The ideas are of the mystics themselves and IN THEIR WORDS. The author has, it appears, spent considerable time in culling out the incidents from their lives from the mass of literature available in the classics of the Orient. The range of subjects is wide, the selection choice, the translation

admirable. The book is so fascinating that one cannot resist the temptation of finishing it as a stretch.

In commending the book to the readers, we hope with the author of the book, who has written an illuminating foreword "that it shall serve the purpose of introducing the reader into the religion of the mystic and arouse his interest in the study of mysticism."

K. L.

Short Stories. By Guy De Maupassant, translated by A. G. (Mrs. John Galsworthy), with a preface by Joseph Conrad, published by P. T. I. Book Depot, Educational Publishers, Bangalore City.

This is a beautiful collection of ten short stories by Guy De Maupassant, ably translated by Mrs. John Galsworthy. The translator has done her best to keep up the spirit of the original as far as possible. A short preface to the collection by Joseph Conrad gives ably just that much of appreciation of the author which is essential to the proper enjoyment of the art of any writer.

Maupassant needs no introduction to lovers of short stories. As Joseph Conrad has aptly remarked in his preface to this book,—“Maupassant of all writers of fiction demands least forgiveness from his readers. He does not require forgiveness because he is never dull.” He has a keen perception and watches both man and nature so minutely that he successfully tackles even the most thankless subjects. And he is not a dealer in words too. In *Mademoiselle Fifi*, his first story in this collection, he says, while speaking of rain:—

It was pouring with rain, that Normandy rain which always seems as if hurled down by a furious hand, a slanting rain, thick as a curtain, or a diagonally striped wall; a lashing, splashing rain, drowning everything, a regular rain of Rouen, that wash-pot of all France.

fess to have filled the gap. His book is "an attempt to relate the functions of the Press to the functions of life in the modern world." As the political editor of the "News-Chronicle" and as one engaged all his working life in the profession of Journalism, he had great opportunities of knowing the inside story of newspapers.

Combining that intimate knowledge with commendable candour, he discusses "the serious dangers that beset the modern conception of a free press and the foundations of human liberty." He gives a graphic account of the Press in War-time and presents "the spectacle of a vast, lying and muzzled Press." He repudiates the suggestion that the American Press has no sense of responsibility, asserts that dictatorship, as for instance, in Germany and Russia, is "the most formidable and subtle menace" to the freedom of the Press and looks to the French Press more than any other to cooperate with the British Press in preventing the final overthrow of democratic institutions. The book is a powerful indictment of State control of the Press and Mr. Cummings writes both with knowledge and conviction.

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THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

THE IMPERIALISTIC POWERS—I

By B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

[In the following well-documented pages Dr. Ramchandra Rau, Professor in the Departments of Economics and Commerce, Calcutta University, traces the origin and evolution of British Imperialism and its repercussions on world affairs.]

British Imperialism

The Earl of Chatham was the first British statesman to conceive the idea of a Greater Britain as Adam Smith was the first economist to voice the Imperialistic sentiment.¹ Eighteenth century England was pursuing an Imperialistic policy and the colonial system with all its economic characteristics viz., high protection duties, Navigation Acts and favourable balance of trade formed the chief features of the economic regime of England. Both David Hume and Adam Smith pointed out the economic fallacies underlying the narrow mercantilistic system of thought. They were the first persons to sow the seeds of economic internationalism. But this current of broader ideas and expanded vision was not welcomed by the English people until the great American colony waged the War of Independence against the political supremacy of England. Her cutting the painter soon enabled them to realise the inequity and the inherent dangers of the Colonial system. The comparatively earlier industrialisation of England, the widespread development of the cotton trade, the genesis of the school of Manchesterism and the ushering in of the Great Reform Bill of 1832 led not only to non-interference or non-intervention in foreign and

¹ See Adam Smith. Book IV Ch. 7 (The Wealth of Nations).

external political affairs. The policy of free trade had perforce to be accepted. The necessity of securing world-wide custom made the Manchester School consider Imperialism as "a mere sentimental policy or fancy" instead of an "*utilitarian truth*." The realisation of the fact that *foreign* markets were more valuable than *colonial* ones changed the mentality of the people. The motto of "cheap food, cheap clothing, low rents and cheap government" could afford no place to the lofty spirit of Empire patriotism and solicitude for Empire-made things. The individualism of the Manchester School considered peace as essential for smooth industrial development. Free trade was advocated warmly by economists, statesmen and public thinkers. Richard Cobden, the then leading light of the Individualistic school of thought and the Manchester School showed absolute distrust towards Imperialism and the policy of national self-assertion in other parts of the world. Realising full well that the Colonial System with all its dazzling appeals to the passions of the people can never be got rid of except by indirect process of free trade, which alone can gradually and imperceptibly loose the bonds which unite the colonies to the parent country—he preached the folly of the doctrine of self-interest which he stigmatised as a mistaken notion. He never lost the opportunity to denounce the "bloodstained faith of the Empire." John Bright, an equally famous representative of the Individualist School of thought, always strove to free India from the clutches of the ruling class. He dissuaded the British nation from entering into colonial and world politics on the ground that it meant "expenditure of blood, treasure, increased debts, taxes and risks of war in every part of the globe." Both Richard Cobden as well as John Bright realised that the change in domestic economic policy and foreign affairs leading to the adoption of free trade by other nations would secure permanent peace between nations.

From 1815 to 1880 the British statesmen with the exception of Husskinson, Sir Robert Peel, Lord John Russell and Lord Grey regarded the Empire as a "transient trust" of a very onerous kind. Between 1830 and 1850 it was only a very few liberal statesmen who harboured the Imperialistic sentiment. Even Queen Victoria never referred to the Empire in any of her numerous letters. Mr. W. E. Gladstone considered 'colonial connexions as one of duty rather than of advantage.'² Disraeli considered the "colonies as millstones round our necks" but he made a neat volte-face in 1872. In that year Disraeli declared that "no minister in *this* country will do his duty who neglects any opportunity of reconstructing as much as possible our colonial Empire and of responding to their distant sympathies which may become the source of incalculable strength and happiness to this Island." He began to educate his party to Imperial conception and Empire unity.

Lord Palmerstone however was the first statesman who inaugurated the policy of backing up the national traders, citizens and capitalists in their claims on foreign countries.³ His historic pronouncement may be quoted in full. "As the Romans in days of old held themselves free from indignity when they could say *Ciris Romanus Sum* so also the Britisher in whatever land he may be, shall feel confident that the watchful eye and the strong arm of England will protect him against injustice and wrong." This cornerstone of Imperial Policy was soon taken up by the other powers for

² See Morley's Life of Gladstone, Vol. I, p. 359.

³ See Bulwer Lytton—Life of Palmerstone—Quoted from W. W. Blease: "A short History of English Liberalism"—p. 209, Palmerstone actually allowed England to declare war with China and Crimea (Russia) and coerced Greece and interfered in the internal affairs of Spain and Portugal with the avowed ambition of making and keeping England at the head of the world and to cherish in the minds of others that she was so. See also J. A. Spender "The Public Life"—Vol. I, p. 56.

imitation. Ever since that time the policy of the Imperialistic powers had always been in the direction of using their resources of diplomacy backed if necessary by army to protect the personal liberty, material and trading interests of their nationals in foreign countries.

At about 1870 there was a change in the balance of industrial forces in England. The centre of gravity shifted from cotton to iron and the inventions of Bessemer, Scenius, Thomas and Gilchrist revolutionised the iron industry.⁴ Agriculture steadily dwindled. Birmingham, the centre of this iron industry, soon reached its mature stage and the necessity to find markets for its increasing products led to the reversal on a change in the angle of vision of the English statesmen.

About 1880 the economic depression became acute as a result of competition of foreign countries in the English markets. The benefits of free trade were openly questioned by the advocates of the National Fair Trade League. But these pleas for import duties against foreign manufacturers and Imperial Preference in the matter of foodstuffs could not be carried out as the financial and industrial interests seriously opposed these measures. *The pound sterling* became the world's currency par excellence. The English merchants aided by the commercial banking system began to finance the entrepôt trade of England. England became the first power in the world. Her navy patrolled all the commercial highways on the seas and as a result of this naval supremacy she pursued the policy of splendid isolation from World Politics only taking care to guard the new Suez route which was so important and essential for her to maintain relations with and retain India. Thus free trade was considered to be essential to maintain her position as a world

⁴ See Eckel—Coal, Iron and War, pp. 41—58.

power. Thus could the unholy alliance between the financiers, the industrialists and the workers succeed in defeating the free-traders.

From 1880 the conception of Great Britain which was facilitated by the development of communication and means of transportation was freely discussed in the Press and on the platform. At about this time Prof. Seely published his memorable book "Expansion of England"⁵ and began to fan the political flame of the nation. Froude and Dilke⁶ returned after an extensive tour in the Dominions. The publication of *Oceana* and *Greater Britain* began to set the people's mind towards the glories of the Empire and the oft-quoted phrase "the Sun never sets on the Empire" did more for the revival of the Imperialist policy than what a dozen statesmen could hope to do by their persuasion. The poetic muse did not lag behind. Browning⁷ and Rudyard Kipling⁸ began to sing of the Empire and the exploits of the Empire-builders. A didactic tendency could be seen in their writings. They always strove to imprint on the minds of the people that the solemn duty of the Anglo-Saxon race is to civilise the black, the yellow and the other backward races on "lesser breeds" of the earth. Politicians and statesmen like Joseph Chamber-

⁵ J. A. R. Morriott considers "The Expansion of England" as the most powerful political book since the appearance of "The Wealth of Nations."

⁶ Dilke was the first writer to enunciate the dream of Great Britain a fancy which soon took the hold of the Journalist's mind. Imperialism soon becomes a fashionable dogma and is elevated almost to a philosophy. Froude writes of the Empire as follows—"neither the form of the elements nor envy of rivals, not even the folly of her servants, nor the indifference of her children would check the natural efflorescence of the time-stricken but ever vigorous tree which would cast its shadow over all the people of the earth."

⁷ See "Browning"—Home Thoughts from the Sea "—

⁸ See the Nineteenth Century Magazine—Vol. 48. "Imperial Notes" in Victorian Poetry", pp. 236—248.

lain⁹, Cecil Rhodes¹⁰ and Lord Rosebery started Association to spread propaganda of the Empire cult. Such Associations like the Imperial Federation League, the Imperial Defence Committee and the Royal Colonial Institute did much to convert the English people into champions of the Empire. Imperial Proconsuls like Lord Curzon and Viscount Milner always strove to develop the Imperial sentiment, patriotism and policy. The late Viscount Milner had an elaborate programme chalked out for developing the Imperial sentiment. Firstly, he advocated the separation of foreign and Imperial relations from local subjects. Secondly, he wanted the steady flow of the Britishers to the younger undeveloped countries of the Empire as Australia. Thirdly, Social Reform should not be neglected at home and the aim is to bring forth a physically strong race so as to bear the militaristic burden of the Empire easily. The English Missionaries also contributed their own quota in making England an Imperialistic nation. Mr. Jose says that "when England unaccustomed to direct state-action was a little dazed at the general scramble her missionaries and her traders saved her."¹¹ At present the Imperial Conferences are strengthening the sentimental and economic ties between the Colonies and Dominions and the Mother Country. The Imperial Shipping Committee and the Imperial Economic Committee often discuss special topics

⁹ Joseph Chamberlain says "We are a great governing race predestined to spread over the habitable globe and to enter into relations with all countries of the earth. Our trade, the employment of our people, our very existence depends on it. We cannot occupy an insular position and we cannot occupy ourselves with the domestic affairs and therefore foreign affairs and colonial affairs will continue as long as our country exists to be the greatest interest to the people of the United Kingdom" 30th January, 1892. See also his speeches delivered 31st March, 1892; 15th May, 1903; 4th November, 1903; 11th January, 1904.

¹⁰ Cecil Rhodes says "Her Majesty's flag is a great commercial asset in the world."

¹¹ See Jose "The Growth of the Empire"—p. 336.

and have become regular pieces of Governmental machinery. The British Empire Service League with its magazine "Our Empire" is another League having ramifications in all parts of the Empire. It is an excellent Imperial medium for extending business also. Thus the cult of economic and political Imperialism has been sufficiently well-established in Britain. As there is a change in the meaning of Imperialism the word Empire is being discarded as having a sinister notion and the glorious epithet "British Commonwealth" has been forged to indicate the real attitude of Great Britain which now seems to be that of raising her Daughters to a position of equality and partnership in the matter of defence, foreign affairs, and trading matters. This change in the conception of thought can be seen in the Imperial Conferences held now and then since 1887. The first Colonial Conference was held in 1887 under the aegis of the Imperial Federation League. It resulted in Australia's contributing a small annual subsidy for the maintenance of a naval squadron in Australian waters. The Second Colonial Conference was held at Ottawa. The result was the starting of fast line of steamers and a telegraph line to connect Britain with Australia by way of Canada. The question of Imperial Defence was not discussed. The third and fourth Colonial Conferences were held under the presidency of Joseph Chamberlain. The scheme for Imperial Council as a step towards Imperial Federation was discussed but nothing tangible resulted out of the discussions. The Imperial Conferences of 1907 and 1911 were under the direction of Sir Edward Grey who exposed the German menace and impressed the necessity of reforming the British Navy. The subsidiary Conference held in 1911 was a momentous one inasmuch as the centralisation of naval control in the hands of the home country was negatived by the Governments of Australia and Canada. The idea of constructing fleet units under the control of the respective colonial governments was

mooted. In times of war it was proposed to delegate these units to the Imperial Admiralty. The upholders of the "one sea, one navy and one control" idea criticised this independent attitude but the Dominions had their own way. Another important result was the refusal of the mother country to delegate the control of the foreign policy to the Dominions. The 1917 Imperial Conference inaugurated the policy of economic self-sufficiency. It considered that the time had arrived when all possible encouragement should be given to the development of Imperial resources and especially to making the Empire independent of other countries in respect of food supplies, raw materials and essential industries. With those objects in view the Conference expressed itself in favour of the principle "that each part of the Empire having due regard for the interest of our Allies, shall give especially favourable treatment and facilities to the produce and manufacture of other parts."

Since this time the terms have been changed from foreign policy and constitutional relations to Imperial Preference and economic matters. The self-governing Dominions have not clearly defined their constitutional position in the Commonwealth. The status of the British Dominions even in the League of Nations is not exactly defined. The Dominions have their own separate diplomatic systems. They can separately negotiate and sign treaties. They decide independently the various issues of foreign policy including the question of war and peace. By the granting of these rights the British Empire is no longer the Sovereign State it was till 1914 and now it resembles more a multi-national Association or an entente of nation-states bound together by real ties of feeling, a common outlook on public affairs, a common philosophy and a common idealistic traditions than by common material interests.

The Imperial Conference of 1923 did not settle this

status. Continuous consultation with the Prime Ministers of the Dominions and the mother country has not been working in a satisfactory manner. The foreign office of the United Kingdom does not style itself the foreign office of the "Imperial Commonwealth" and there is nothing like the Committee of Foreign Affairs in the United States of America. The development of diplomatic service, the holding of the Conference in the different capitals and the thorough organisation of a Secretariat, the presence of a Dominion Cabinet Minister in London have been suggested by the different statesmen. Of course, in the evolution of time many of these have been adopted to secure the much-needed unity of the Commonwealth. "The tawdry glamour of nationalism" or "glittering negations" of independence do not sway the minds of the Dominion people. The Parliamentary Association, the exchange of professors and lecturers under the Congress of the Empire Universities and an Imperial News Service are some of the modern links for bringing about a general understanding of Empire problems, politics and policy.¹² Imperial unity based on economic lines is the sole object. Some of the following measures as the reduction of income-tax on money invested within the Empire, the appointment of Imperial Trade Commissioners, preferential tariff arrangements between various parts as well as Great Britain and the overseas Empire and a common approximation of various branches of commercial and industrial law were designed with the sole object of drawing the colonies and the Dominions closer and closer to the United Kingdom and thus evolve a larger economic unit with growing inter-Empire specialisation as its cardinal feature.

By virtue of her Imperial-policy England has not only

¹² See Lucas "Historical Geography of the British colonies"—Quoted in Appendix I—Part I.

gained a foothold in all the continents but she has become the greatest political power in the world. The following table shows her leadership in the matter of colonial ownership. It was against her superiority in the colonial line that led to the World Imperialism from 1880 to 1900. Almost all European countries strove to secure some colony or other. Still her leadership has not been disputed seriously by any other colonial power.¹³

Powers of the World	Area Square miles		Population	
	Colonies	Mother Country	Colonies	Mother Country
The United Kingdom	.. 50	120,979	11,605,238	40,559,954
France	.. 33	204,092	3,740,000	38,517,000
Germany	.. 13	208,830	1,027,000	52,229,000
Portugal	.. 9	36,038	801,000	5,049,000
Russia	.. 3	8,660,395	255,550	128,932,000
United States of America	.. 6	3,557,000	172,091	77,000,000

But this pre-War situation as everybody knows has been changed during the recent war. The German colonies¹⁴ have been practically expropriated under the comfortable doctrine of mandates under the League of Nations and the different shares of the national and Imperial loot can be seen in the following table.

National Share (Great Britain)		Imperial Share	
	Square miles		Square miles
German East Africa	.. 1,028,190	German S. W. Africa	.. 322,480
German West Africa	.. 323,000	German New Guinea	.. 33,700
Mesopotamia	.. 143,000	German Sanwa	.. 1,000
Palestine	.. 100,000	Other Islands	.. 1,003

Besides this new acquisition of vast territory she has command over the important raw materials which form the basis of her industrialism and important sources of food supply required for her industrial population. The different volumes published under the editorship of Sir Eric Geddes by

¹³ See H. Morris—History of Colonisation—Vol. II—p 318.

¹⁴ Germany is now attempting to secure her colonies before she joins the League of Nations.

the British Federation of industries speak of the resources to be found in the Empire. Only the most important are given below.

Resources of the Empire

Coal—Great Britain, Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Foundland, India.
 Oil—Mesopotamia, India.
 Cotton—Sudan, India.
 Iron—New Foundland, India.
 Rubber—Malay Peninsula, India.
 Wheat and Meat—Canada, Australia, India.
 Hides and Skins—India, Australia, South Africa and New Zealand.
 Diamonds and Gold—South Africa, India, Sudan-Australia, Northern Ontario.
 Wool and Cheese—Australasia.
 Tin—Malay States.
 Nickel—Canada.
 Silver—Canada and Australia.
 Palm Oil—Nigeria.
 Lumber—Canada.
 Tea—India and Ceylon.
 Cocoa—Gold Coast Colony.
 Jute—India.
 Rice—India and Burma.

Besides the Dominions and the Colonies forming the Empire Great Britain can secure raw materials and foodstuffs from the following countries where the British Capitalists and investors can invest their capital—viz., China, Portugal, Holland, Norway, Egypt, Persia, Tibet and Argentina. While the excessive savings of the capitalists can find suitable employment in loans outside the country¹⁵ the problem of overpopulation has not been satisfactorily dealt with. Systematic immigration to the Dominions under State-aided schemes is resorted to. The Empire Settlement

¹⁵ See Appendix I.

Scheme of 1922 aims at furthering British Settlement in His Majesty's Overseas Dominions. Free passages are granted to children migrating under the auspices of the Child Migration Society. Farmers, single or married, going to settle on land or others intending to take up definite agricultural employment get reduced passages to Canada. Loans of whole of passage money can be granted to British emigrants to other Dominions. Private Overseas Settlement Agencies and Societies exist which advance money on fares etc. in meritorious cases. About 14 Juvenile Migration Societies exist for the promotion of Overseas Settlement of British youths. In addition to emigration birth control is advocated as a desirable solution. Restriction of birth rate by lower classes of people is also advocated by Dean Inge,¹⁶ Bertrand Russell¹⁷ and Dr. Marie Stopes. In spite of the denunciations of the Catholic Church the English society has become familiar with this idea. No satisfactory scheme however has been devised to keep the population at the economically desirable maximum.

To-day Great Britain finds herself the master of a vast Sea Empire and an enviable Land Empire extending all over the world possessing great racial variety, geographical variety, religious variety, and cultural variety. The Third British Empire as Alfred Zimmern styles the present British Empire consists of a "heterogeneous community working out widely different constitutional experiments under widely different conditions."¹⁸ Both in commerce and industries she has attained world dominance. It has already become an established habit to draw a comparison between the old Roman Empire and the modern British Empire. History is considered to have repeated itself.

¹⁶ See W. R. Inge "England" 1926—pp. 200, 208, 286.

¹⁷ See Bertrand Russell "Icarus or the Future of Science."

¹⁸ See Alfred Zimmern "The Third British Empire"—pp. 16—20.

APPENDIX I

THE BALANCE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM TRADE

The principal elements in the balance of her international financial obligations in recent years are shown in the following table. The income accruing from the investments is an important item.

(In Million Pounds)

	1907	1910	1913	1920	1923	1924
Excess of Imports of Merchandise and Bullion ..	142	159	158	343	203	341
Net National Shipping Income ..	85	90	94	540	115	130
Net Income from Overseas Investments ..	160	187	210	200	150	185
Commissions ..	25	25	25	40	30	40
Other Services ..	10	10	10	15	10	15
Total Invisible Exports on Balance ..	280	312	339	595	305	320
Income available for Investments Overseas ..	138	153	181	252	102	29
New Overseas Issues in London Money Market ..	91	207	198	60	136	134

See the Board of Trade Journal for January 29, 1925 where detailed explanation is given. For recent information the above Journal may be consulted.

CAN YOGA SAVE CIVILISATION?

By F. G. PEARCE

[Mr. Gerald Heard, whose latest book is here reviewed in the form of an article by M. Pearce, is a philosopher-journalist well-known in the British Isles for his B. B. C. talks on psychology and science. Mr. Pearce has spent over 20 years in educational work in India and Ceylon; he is perhaps best known for his pioneer work in connexion with the Boy Scout Movement for Indians, but his interests range from University education (when Principal of Holkar College, Indore, he was a member of numerous bodies in the old Allahabad University) to Infant schools (he helped to start the Montessori schools at Allahabad and Gwalior), Rural Reconstruction (the World Education Conference last year invited him to speak on Indian Rural Education at Oxford) and Public School education (he is now in charge of the Scindia School, formerly a Sardars' College which the Gwalior Government at his suggestion converted into a public school in 1933). His interests also include the study of Indian religions and the communal problem.]

An Epoch-making Book

Readers not interested in oriental religions seeing the above title may be inclined to pass over this article with the thought: 'Here's another religious crank who thinks the world can be reformed by his particularism!' I beg of them not to be so hasty. I assure them that I would have thought more than twice ere presuming to inflict any '-ism' of my own upon so important a journal as *The Twentieth Century*.

I have been impelled to write on the above subject through the publication, last autumn, of a very remarkable book, a book so remarkable that if the thesis put forward by its author is even partially true, it may well prove to be

epoch-making in the most literal sense. Under such circumstances I believe that my placing the thesis in summary form before readers of this journal requires no further justification.

The book is entitled *The Source of Civilisation*, (Jonathan Cape). Its author, Gerald Heard, is an anthropologist philosopher, well-known on account of his important book *The Emergence of Man*, for his slighter historical outline of modern times *These Hurrying Years*, for his review of modern scientific progress entitled *Science in the Making*, and for two other books *The Ascent of Humanity* and *The Social Substance of Religion* forming part of a trilogy of which the book I am now concerned with is the final part.

Mr. Heard is not the kind of man, it seems perfectly evident, who would easily be thrown off his mental balance through dabbling in spiritualism, or who would prove a likely victim to a craze for the 'occult.' Nor is he a religious crank. His outlook is strictly a scientific one; he deduces every conclusion that he puts forward from verifiable evidence of historic or scientific fact, which he clearly states. It is therefore all the more remarkable that the upshot of his careful enquiry is not merely the question which forms the title of this article, but it is a definite assertion that if our civilisation can at all be saved from violent self-destruction, it is 'Yoga' alone which can save it.

Yoga and its Aim defined

To prevent, at the outset, misunderstanding of the term 'Yoga' (which, being a Samskrit word, generally carries an association with the Hindu religion, and in particular with an occult if not an ascetic cult of that religion) let me make it clear that the sense in which our author uses the term is a far wider one.

Yoga practices [he says] are essentially attempts to use

consciousness as it is used on the outer world, but so as to explore the inner world of consciousness itself. To-day they are commonly accused of being 'escape mechanisms,' the flight of the individual from his harsh social responsibilities and from the world which he now has to recognise will not shape to his fantasies. Further knowledge has, however, shown that the moment the method is studied it is clear that this is a libel. The analytic scientist who shuts himself away to research purely into a problem may be accused of cowardly flight. Yet no one who has studied science could say that to describe pure scientists as men who flee the world and whose explorations therefore are all tainted with defeatism would either be giving a true account of the workers or their work. They have cared for truth and that truth has transformed the world. That the transformation has been one-sided is because the truth has been partial. Truth, it nevertheless, has been.

Again, Yoga practices are an attempt

to recover the direct awareness of our extra-individuality. This is not a matter of belief or dogma. It is an empirical procedure. It is an advanced psychology.

Such a procedure, he shows, though it has been systematically developed to the fullest extent principally in India, is not peculiar to India or to Hinduism. The system of Lao Tzu was essentially the same in aim; likewise the methods of the Hermetic schools in Egypt, of the Essenes, the Bonostics, the Manichaeans; later, the Catherists, the Rosicrucians; among Jews the Kabbalists, among Muslims the Sufis; while in modern times, outside the numerous attempts to revive or continue one or other of the above, Quakerism is the most spontaneous development of the same fundamental idea.

A New Natural Philosophy

The reader may well ask: 'But what has all this other-worldly stuff to do with modern civilisation, and particularly with its salvation?'

The contention of Mr. Heard is in brief as follows: The

progress of man,—nay, his very evolution from a speck of protoplasm,—has been brought about *not*, as the Darwinians thought, through Natural Selection, the blind struggle to survive, but through a directive energy in Life itself, an "inherent capacity in the living cell." That capacity, that principle, that directive energy our author calls "awareness." "The growth of consciousness," he says, "may be asserted to be the method and aim of evolution." Perfect adaptation to environment, complete specialisation for the fulfilment of certain limited functions, far from being an indication that the purpose of evolution has been achieved, is a sure sign that the species which has reached that point is doomed to extinction.

A creature which has become perfectly adapted to its environment, an animal whose whole capacity and vital force is concentrated and expended in succeeding here and now, has nothing left over with which to respond to any radical change. In the end it can do all that is necessary to survive without any conscious striving or adapted movement. It can therefore beat all competitors in the special field, but equally on the other hand *should that field change it must become extinct* (italics mine).

It is this success of specialised efficiency, leading to loss of adaptability, which seems to account for the extinction of an enormous number of species. They had used up all their resources of vital energy in adapting to things as they were. As Mr. Heard aptly says:

Like unwise virgins they had no oil left over for further adaptations; they were committed, could not re-adjust (when climatic conditions altered) and so they vanished.

If this be true (and our author's closely-reasoned argument supported by much evidence is well worth very careful reading), then, as he says,

it seems clear that all Life has advanced only so far as it has retained sensitiveness, and that it has been destroyed when it lost

that power of feeling and suffering. . . . Such a Natural History makes a Natural Philosophy, and man's values show themselves to be no longer biologically immoral but a natural development of such a growing, essential power of feeling and finally of sympathy. Man has not to 'defy the cosmic process'—certainly a hopeless and biologically unsound procedure. His task is consciously to avoid losing his power of feeling and awareness, to keep on casting the skin of his mind and the callous on his emotions, to avoid the danger of safety and security, and to dare, to dare, and yet again to dare to understand and sympathise.

Two Parallel Techniques Essential

The trend of the argument may by this time be growing clearer, and the reader will sense how it connects up with the subject of Yoga.

If indeed life advances 'only in so far as it retains sensitiveness,' then it follows that as Man gains an increasing mastery over the outer world of his environment, he must find a way of effecting a corresponding mastery over the inner world of his own consciousness, an increase of his power of sensitiveness; for, if he does not, a lop-sided development will result, which will not only give rise to the morbid conditions characteristic of psychological conflict, but in the long run will lead to forfeit of the outer gains themselves, through loss of adaptability, and, ultimately, to the same fate as has befallen other species which became over-specialised. In other words, as Man improves the technique of his mastery over the outer world, through the application of science to the production (and destruction) of material things, he must proportionately develop the technique of mastery over his inner world, the world of his own consciousness, through the application of that same power, knowledge, gained by the same means, scientific research, though in the less familiar but not one whit the less important field, psychology. And the 'technique of mastery over man's inner

world' is Yoga, neither more nor less. For is not Yoga, in the words of one of its greatest Indian exponents, 'skill in action,'—the action of the inner man, consciousness, which leads inevitably to the action of the outer?

Egypt and Sumer degenerate into Violence

It is worth while pausing a little at this point to observe the significant lines along which our author pursues the theme that

if appropriate steps are not taken to balance up and counter-weight the one-sided advance (of material progress), then intensified consciousness will and must give rise to an unquestioning individualism which will unhinge the constituent and derange society.

He proceeds to prove this from the evidence of history, and the facts he brings forward are of very special interest to us in India. Adopting the diffusionist hypothesis, he avers that the proto-civilisation was radiated (probably from a centre in the Caucasus) into three areas on the fertile mid-world crescent, those three areas being Egypt, Mesopotamia (Sumer), and the Indus Valley.

At first, the physical discoveries (arts and crafts) of the small settled communities of those regions were balanced by the psychical technique provided by their equally simple 'Life and Fertility Religion,'—with its Dionysian rites and worship of the emblems of fertility and reproduction. But as time went on and self-consciousness grew more intensified with increasing material prosperity and invention, this simple technique proved incapable of generating a sufficiently keen feeling of 'one-ness' (with the powers of nature and other members of the group) to counter-balance the increasingly vivid individualism and sense of 'other-ness.' The different groups, which had hitherto maintained peace (except perhaps for small outbreaks of quarrelsomeness not amounting

to organised warfare) without the necessity of any 'sanctions' other than those of man's "innate unconscious sensitiveness and sympathetic need," expressed in the primitive rites of religion, now began to feel the force of that 'sanction' less strongly, and, in two of the three regions of the proto-civilisation, Egypt and Sumer, the failure to develop a more advanced psychological technique, through which the inner sanction could be strengthened, led to society falling back upon the only other sanction available,—the sanction of violence. In short, true peace (based on the absence of feelings of hostility, and the presence of a sense of one-ness) was replaced by the false peace based on violence and external compulsion. It was not long before the small groups were coerced into false union; kings, surrounding themselves with all the panoply of organised violence were soon busy 'keeping the peace' with the aid of the sanction of arms and the equally degenerate sanction of priestly intermediarism. Archeological evidence, says our outhor,

will very probably compel us here, as in so many other parts of the story of man, to reverse the traditional picture of the relationship of civilisation and savagery.

It was probably not the unaggressive innocent townsmen, accumulating wealth by honest toil, who were at first fallen upon by wild nomads, but the greedy rulers of the towns who organised their forces and 'went forth to war,' coveting the wealth of the peaceful peoples of the grazing-grounds.

Howsoever that may be, the interesting point for us to note here is that it seems likely that society did not develop as a check upon man's natural inborn violence but that *violence developed as a cancer in the body of society*, man being himself by nature peace-loving, subconsciously sensitive of his unity with his fellows and with Nature.

This is, no doubt, a revolutionary idea, and Mr. Heard

has some very powerful physiological evidence, moreover, to bring forward in support of it. Not only is man's body peculiarly fitted for his "generalised and receptive nature," and his brain, his most distinctive organ, is "the largest mass of unspecialised tissue in the body," but his ductless glands are dominated by the thyroid (the gland whose secretions tend to give endurance, patience, receptivity) and not by the suprarenals, (the glands most dominant in the carnivores) whose secretions fit the body for violent conflict.

The Indus Civilisation: Cause of its Success

Mention has just been made of the fact that the early civilisations both of Egypt and of Sumer soon relapsed into warfare or armed peace, and an attempt has been made to show how this development was intimately connected with their failure to develop psychologically, as they advanced materially. To Indian readers one of the most interesting parts of this remarkable book will be that in which our author shows how the Indus civilisation flourished for a far longer period and probably on a far more extensive scale than either Egypt or Sumer. The most remarkable fact of all (and of course the one which our author uses as definitely proving his case) is that the excavations in the Indus valley have hitherto furnished no signs whatever either of city-walls, palaces, or temples, and practically none of weapons of war. In short, *this society maintained itself without the sanction of violence*. Our author would go further; he declares that it maintained itself so long and so successfully, precisely because it relied on a sanction *other* than violence. He proceeds to prove, from the evidence of archaeological discoveries, chiefly of carved seals and tablets found in the excavations, that the sanction on which the Indus civilisation relied was none other than Yoga. In his own words:

To match and balance the still more swift, more elaborate,

more purposive, more conscious command over the physical world (a command which made the individual, while so engrossed, only able to think of this focus as complete reality), Yoga, in some early form, was the corresponding invention, a deliberate psychological method instead of a tribal ritual. When the individualised mind had become cramped and even shrunken into its specialised absorption with means and the mastery of matter, then the psycho-physical exercises of reunion with its whole life would again expand it to its full and right stature and dilate the narrowed focus of consciousness until it could again see the whole, and itself as part. So self-consciousness in one direction would be complemented by increasing consciousness in the other, and man would advance in awareness and yet remain whole; he would grow in deliberate power but also in deliberate purpose; he would gain knowledge and yet also attain wisdom.

This psychological achievement of the Indus civilisation, declares our author, not only enabled that civilisation to outlast and outdo in peaceful happy accomplishment the contemporaneous civilisations of Egypt and Sumer, but its effects have persisted in India to this very day. It is, he says, due to the persistence of the Yoga tradition in various forms, that Indian society has survived, radically unchanged despite repeated inroads of invaders, frequent change of rulers, violent overthrow of dynasties. Based as it was upon an inner experience of union, not a mere theoretical assertion of unity, it needed no other sanction for the maintenance of its integrity; violence passed it by, bending without breaking it to pieces.

Europe's Failures

In a rapid survey of the subsequent history of man, Mr. Heard then proceeds to show how one after another the different civilisations have arisen, have developed power over material things, and have crashed into ruin because they could not find a way to gain a corresponding power over themselves, a way to control and to transcend the individual-

ism which increased power over material things had brought inevitably in its train. He shows, too, how in every age and many lands, great souls have striven to find that way and to inspire others to follow it in their company. Such souls were Buddha, Plato, Lao Tzu; such too was Jesus; but though men paid lip service to them (and not even that in the lifetime of many of them) few followed their way, because it seemed an irksome way, a way for the patient and the self-effacing, while the way of violence was swift and attractive, giving an immediate sense of power.

Gibbon the historian, after describing how the Roman Empire fell, a victim to 'barbarism and religion', concludes his vast work by exulting that modern civilisation is safe, and human progress assured, because the world now contains no vast reservoir of barbarians to descend upon us like a flood, while the growth of reason safeguards us from the disrupting fanaticism of religion. Gibbon did not realise, says Mr. Heard, that

the savage is not an economic product but a state of mind; not a fossil creature safely buried far down in the deeper archaeological horizons of history, but lurking just beneath the threshold of contemporary people's consciousness.

Has not the subsequent course of events proved this to the hilt? Was it not proved even within a year or two of the completion of Gibbon's own work, when the genteel Paris he admired showed "how the latest enthusiasm could deal out mob violence and massacre to the educated, the urbane and the intelligent?" Has it not been proved in ten and twenty-fold measure by the massacres, tortures and violences of our own time?

The Technique of Salvation

The way we are going, thinks Mr. Heard, is not merely the way of certain destruction of our civilisation, it is the

way of doom of our whole species, and "it may well be of the whole adventure and effort of Life itself" of which Man is the crown. And there is literally no other way of escape, he believes, except the way of psychological development, to restore the balance, to increase the sensitiveness, to create the sense of one-ness which alone, if possessed with sufficient intensity and by a sufficient number of people, can serve to impel men away from the path of violence they are so madly pursuing to their own and society's destruction.

That there exists a widespread and powerful subconscious often semi-conscious yearning for such a release is clearly indicated by the large increase in the last few years in the number of people interested in religious movements. Too often, however, these are sought simply as means of escape from the terrifying prospects of reality. No religion, not even Yoga itself, if entered upon in this spirit, will save us from our doom,—rather it will hasten that doom, as Buddhism is said to have helped to bring confusion to India more quickly, when in the hands of anchorites and ascetics it became merely a religion of escape.

It must be emphasised, moreover, that it is not simply psychological *knowledge* that is needed, but psychological *practice*. The former without the latter is useless, while the latter without the former, though not suitable for people at our stage of development, need not be wholly ineffective. Even in India to-day, pupils are often instructed in the practices of Yoga without having the entire rationale of those practices explained, and undoubtedly this must often have been the case in earlier times.

Surely it is not without significance that within the last few years, the exceedingly rapid advances that have been made in the science of psychology in the West have been accompanied by an increasingly widespread interest in Eastern psychology and systems of Yoga on the part of western

scientists and students of practical philosophy.

Can Yoga Avail?

But how, it may well be asked, can such an interest (remote as it appears to be from the grim affairs of the seething tottering world in which we live) exert any real influence on those affairs, much less render any tangible service in saving civilisation from the destruction with which man's increasing violence menaces it?

The answer is: now, as ever, man is not at heart a lover of violence; he is, by nature, by physiological structure (as has been shown), peace-loving, and sensitive not only to his own suffering but to that of his fellows. He takes to violence only when, in ignorance and despair, he can see no other possible course before him. He hates himself the more, intensifies the more his own inner conflict, when he wrongs those who, subconsciously, he knows to be his own self objectified. And that self-hate, as always self-hate does, drives him to still more despairing madness. Already, his growing humanitarianism and the not-yet-wholly-forgotten horrors of the last war have half convinced him that the way of violence is no way out at all. But, knowing no other way, what can he do? Show him that there is another way, that it is a natural way and a way that has worked and can work again, and, in many cases surely he will be ready to try it.

But, once more, it is not enough to be shown, and to know. Proof comes only with the attempt to perform. Once the attempt is made, those who have themselves made it can testify that it brings proof enough to encourage further efforts. The very nature of the attempt, moreover, is such as to produce an immediate effect on the mental outlook of him who makes it. Yoga, as we have defined it at the outset of this article, is "an attempt to recover the direct

awareness of our extra-individuality;" it enables us to know and to feel, not merely to believe, that we are one with our fellows, with Nature, with God (if it helps us to use that word surrounded as it is by so many old and not always helpful associations). Even the first hint of that knowledge, the first suggestion of that feeling, which may arise from our first conscious attempt to achieve it, is enough to set our minds upon a course which, wherever it may lead, can surely never lead us towards co-operation in the violent destruction of our fellow-beings. And we know well that a few people, carrying the conviction of their own personal experience, can do more to influence others to seek that same experience for themselves, than a whole host of propagandists of mere theories and beliefs.

The Way of Proof

It may well be asked, then, by those who regard the thesis put forward by Mr. Heard as something more than a mere interesting academic speculation, what exactly are these practices of Yoga herein referred to as possessing such extraordinary potency; and where and how is one to learn them? The question is, no doubt, far less likely to be asked in India, where so many varieties of Yoga still survive, than in Europe. Mr. Heard himself says:

The people who made the first steps in this technique—record of which has come down to us—were, it seems clear, Indians. That does not mean that we are to adopt any of their many varieties of method in detail, any more than when the West took over the mathematics of India, we adopted the Indian notation.

There is an old saying of the occult schools that "When the pupil is ready, the teacher is near." It is probably always true, in the sense that if one really desires to find out a thing, one attracts to oneself the means of discovery, through enlarging one's vision by one's own efforts, if in no other way. Now-a-days, there are many declared exponents of various

systems of Yoga. Provided that the aspirant chooses one whose aim is altruism and self-transcendence, and not personal gain and self-aggrandisement, he will probably find his way without incurring too grave a risk.

The Individual Adventure

A word might be added in conclusion, in emphasis of the fact that true Yoga is essentially an individual search, an adventure, a conscious personal endeavour to increase 'awareness,' sensitiveness to the pains and pleasures of others as of oneself. If it ceases to be that, and becomes a routine, a religious ceremonial, it loses its power, as most religions have lost theirs. It is necessary to stress this particularly, because the technique of Yoga, of man's 'inner' world of consciousness, has been referred to as the necessary counterweight to be set off against the technique of his discovery and invention in the 'outer' world. In the latter, it is material objects upon which he operates, hence a uniform technique may suffice so long as the objects dealt with are not different one from another. But in the inner world of his consciousness it is quite otherwise; his material is his own body and mind, and, as no two minds or bodies are exactly alike, though the same general procedure may very possibly be suitable to the needs of many persons, yet in matters of detail, ample allowance must be made for individual requirements and peculiarities. This is, no doubt, one of the reasons, among others, why it has always been held in India that instruction in Yoga must be imparted personally by the teacher to his pupil. Whether or not the West will be able to devise some different procedure remains to be seen.

The Collective Influence

If Mr. Heard were an organiser as well as a philosopher, —a combination too unusual to be probable,—one could wish that, having rendered the great service represented (as

the present writer thinks) by this book, he would go one step further. It is probably no exaggeration to say that there are in these days literally tens of millions of men and women of good-will scattered throughout the world, who would be only too thankful to help to bring about the end of the reign of violence, if they knew how it might be done. The first step in that direction, it is perfectly clear, is that they should be made aware of each other's existence, and realise their own united strength. That such an initial step is well worth taking has been amply proved of late through the Peace Ballot which, unofficially organised, resulted in more than nine million people of the British Isles recording their conviction that collective action on the part of the nations of the League is the best safeguard of the peace of the world. Whether or not we agree with that view, it is certain that it exercised a decisive influence upon the foreign policy of the British Government, a few months back, and led to action which may have far-reaching international effects. Why should not a similar attempt be made, on a world-wide scale, to bring together all who, regardless of the innumerable ways in which they may in other respects differ, agree at least in this: that *humanity is one and indivisible*; that because this is a fact in nature, capable of verification from internal if not external evidence, we do but hasten the destruction of all that is best in life, if we deny that fact in the actions of our daily life; that it behoves men and women of good-will to seek to grow in awareness of that fact, by consciously fixing their minds upon it, and trying to make it a reality both of their inner and their outer life, in whatever manner they find suitable to them: and that, claiming for ourselves the liberty to follow, in pursuit of that aim, whatsoever methods may seem helpful to us, so long as they do not infringe the rights of others, we gladly recognise the equal right of every other human being to the same liberty,

with the same proviso, and, in the spirit of that recognition, we welcome the tolerant expression and interchange of ideas, in the interests, not of proselytism, but of the discovery of Truth.

It is true that men and women, though consciously united in support of such principles, would never be found to be unanimous as to whether a particular manner of applying the principles in international, inter-racial, or social affairs were right or wrong. If a ballot of such opinion could be taken in time, however, before an actual crisis arose,—as in the case of the the Peace Ballot,—it would at least serve to acquaint the leaders and dictators of the world with the existence of such opinion, whichever way it might go; and by its educative effect on the voters themselves it would render them less liable to be swept off their feet by the waves of mass-emotion, when the actual crisis arose.

THE INTERNATIONAL COURT

By K. R. R. SASTRY

[That in the exercise of both its jurisdiction and advisory functions, the International court paves the way for codification of International Law, is the main contention of the writer in this thoughtful article.]

The idea of World Court is an old one but the efforts which have resulted in the fruition of the idea hardly antedate the present century. General bipartite arbitration treaties were not known prior to 1850. When they became more numerous, their provisions were seldom all-embracing. The Permanent Court of Arbitration established by the Hague Conference of 1899 was a device for facilitating the creation of a tribunal and a machinery for aiding in the conduct of arbitral proceedings. The Permanent Court consisted of a panel of members formed as hereunder:—Each state may name four members of known competence in questions of international Law, of the highest moral reputation and disposed to accept the duties of Arbitrator. Valuable as were the decisions of the Permanent Court of Arbitration, there was neither the "tradition of continuity with the resulting advantage of relative certainty, nor the assurance that the law administered by it would be good law."

Art. XIV of the League Covenant embodied the idea thus. The League council

shall formulate and submit to the members of the League for adoption plans for the establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice. The Court shall be competent to hear and determine any dispute of an international character which the parties thereto submit to it. The Court may also give an advisory opinion upon any dispute or question referred to it by the Council

or by the Assembly.

In each country the group who are judges of the Permanent Court of Arbitration are allowed to nominate not more than four persons of whom not more than two shall be of their own nationality. The lists of nominees are transmitted to the Secretary-General of the League who submits them to the Council and the Assembly. From these lists, the Judges are elected by an absolute majority of votes in the Council and the Assembly.

Eleven judges and four deputies were elected by an absolute majority of votes in the League Council and Assembly for nine years. The Court was opened at the Hague on January 30, 1922. The President is selected once in three years. The second turn of elections was also finished in 1930. The number of Judges was increased to 15. The average annual duration of the Sessions for the first nine years was 243.7.

The great improvement over the pre-War arbitration courts is the *permanency* of the International Court. The Statute of the Permanent Court consists of 64 Articles which deal with the constitution and rules of business of the Court.

The compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court covers wide categories of disputes. This jurisdiction is based on the Peace treaties, the minorities treaties, the Optional Clause, the terms of the mandate, many labour, transit and other Conventions, and many arbitration treaties concluded since 1920.

The Optional Clause runs as follows:—The members of the League declare that they recognise as compulsory *ipso facto* the Jurisdiction of the Court in the following classes of legal disputes:—

- (a) The interpretation of a Treaty.
- (b) Any question of International Law.
- (c) The existence of any fact which if established, would

constitute the breach of an international obligation.

- (d) The nature or extent of the reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation.

By June 15, 1934 this optional clause had been signed by 47 States, but 26 State-Signatories have ratified subject to suspensive conditions (G. B. Dominions and India are among these) and 15 States have ratified without any condition. None of the last category are big powers.

The Court's judgments are only binding on the parties and only in respect of the particular case. Advisory opinions, on the other hand, do not even create *res judicata* to this limited extent. From 1922 to 1934, the Court had held 33 sessions giving judgments and advisory opinions and making orders. Its 63rd judgment was given on December 12, 1934 in the Oscar China Case between Great Britain and Belgium.

An unilateral application can make the Court seized of a case or a "special agreement" previously concluded can authorize the court to take notice of such a reference.

The first judgment of the Court was delivered in the *Wimbledon* case. The Director of Traffic on the Kiel Canal refused to allow the passage of "*Wimbledon*", a British Steamship, chartered by a French Company and loaded with ammunitions consigned to Poland. Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan took their stand on Art. 380 of the Treaty of Versailles (Kiel Canal to be kept open) and brought an action against Germany asking the court to decide that the refusal was unlawful. The Court decided that the German authorities were wrong in refusing to allow the passage of the S. S. *Wimbledon* and that the German government was under an obligation "to make good the prejudice for delay, detention and diversion" estimated at 140,000 francs to be payable within three months.

The *Tunis Nationality Decree's* case is an important

instance of an advisory opinion given in a dispute between two Great Powers. The French Government promulgated decrees converting certain British subjects in Tunis and Morocco into French citizens with the result that the French Government tried to enforce on them the liability for military service in the French army. On the French side it was contended that this was a domestic question outside the Jurisdiction of the Court. The British Government contested this view and this difference of opinion was referred to the court. The Court upheld the British view and the French government accepted forthwith the decision.

By its permanency and reputation the International Court has succeeded in drawing U. S. A. closer to her.

It is certainly an agency of peace. What the foreign offices fail to settle through prolonged negotiations is found set at rest by a decision of the Court. In the exercise of both its jurisdiction and advisory functions it paves the way for codification of International Law. Art. XIV of the League Covenant gives ambit for an extended scope of the work of the Court.

Brought into existence through the initiative of the League of Nations, its judges elected by the two representative organs of the League and paid out of the treasury of the League, the Court is not strictly speaking the judicial organ of the League, since it is open to states which are not members of the League.

The next stage in the extension of jurisdiction of the Court has to be reached cautiously in making the assumption of Jurisdiction by the International Court independent of the willingness or unwillingness of the defendant party to appear before it. Nor should it be forgotten that there are still a large number of "*non-legal disputes*" between states the peaceful settlement of which is taxing to its utmost international statesmanship.

SOME RECENT TENDENCIES IN POLITICAL THOUGHT

By ILYAS AHMAD

[Following is the first part of the text of a paper recently read on the above subject as an extra-mural lecture by Mr. Ilyas Ahmad of the Department of Politics, Allahabad University. It now appears in print for the first time.]

Political Philosophers

It has been said of political philosophers that they first kick up the dust and then complain that they cannot see. The suggestion behind this statement is that because they needlessly ask the 'why' and 'wherefore' of institutions, they themselves create trouble. Why should they question the *status quo*—the things as they are? An unruffled existence requires a life that flows with the current and not against it.

Human Psychology

But this view of static existence entirely ignores the vital facts of human psychology. In the first place, it tries to ignore the instinct of inquisitiveness in man thereby maintaining that its exercise would bring in nothing in our life save the troubles created by Pandora's opening the forbidden box and Adam's eating the forbidden fruit. Secondly, it entirely disregards that pleasure of the soul which man derives by thinking for the sake of thinking, what to say of any utilitarian motive. A man having the faculties of seeing and hearing cannot but reflect upon his surroundings. Thus a static existence of man goes counter to the human nature itself. Will man's life be worth living in the absence of ideals? Hence to think of the future, to wish for change,

to move forward and to progress are ingrained in the very constitution of man. Man wills change by willing change. He is by nature dynamic. Political Science, if it is to be the science of man, must also be dynamic. This is the real meaning of the Philosophy of History. It is true, as Bagehot tells us, that the cake of custom is hard to break, but it is equally true that it is as hard to resist the onward march of man. It is out of this thesis and antithesis that the synthesis of Progress has always resulted, or as Marx and Lenin would have put it, it is out of such 'contradictions' of human nature itself that the way for a further move is opened. Hence Political Theory cannot and should not neglect "what is"; and it cannot and ought not to close its eyes to "what ought to be".

Man and His Environments

The given conditions and environments have always affected human minds. Sometimes men have made movements, at others, even movements have made men. Political Philosophy too is no exception to these truths. In the whole history of political thought, we find political thinking conditioned by the circumstances in which that thought developed. To begin with Plato.

Plato

We usually say that his Republic was a mere fiat of imagination, that he was a poet of Politics, that he soared high into the air, but we never mean that he was not influenced by the conditions and circumstances of his times. Did he not write his great polemic against contemporary capitalism, against the seclusion and subjugation of women and against the prevailing unrighteousness itself?

Then, Machiavelli has been called the child of the Renaissance. The chief characteristics of this movement were its emphasis upon freedom, upon the new spirit of

nationality and, with it, on the strong monarchs as the agents of the unifying process, and these influences are to be found in the "Prince" of Machiavelli. And yet it was Machiavelli and his philosophy that created the international anarchy which only came to a close under the influence of the international law of Grotius and the resulting public system of Europe as it was settled by the Peace of Westphalia.

Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau

Next came Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau as the three great writers of the beginning of modern times, who were also influenced by contemporary conditions in their political writings. Hobbes' 'Leviathan' was not only an outcome of the English Civil War; it was also a reply to the anti-monarchist social contract writers to meet them on their own grounds. This is why it has been called a gigantic political pamphlet addressed to its own times. Locke's 'Treatises' were not simply the justification of the Glorious Revolution and the rise of Constitutional and Responsible Government but they were also the refutation of the Divine Right Theory of Filmer's 'Patriarcha.' Similarly Rousseau's political writings were not only a hollow exposition of the evils of the Ancient Regime; they also formed the Bible of Democracy and of the sovereignty of the People. In one word, if James represented the Divine Right of Kings, Locke and Rousseau specially heralded the Divine Right of Peoples, and the Bill of Rights, the Declaration of Independence and the Declaration of the Rights of Man are to be read in one context as the three great stages in the realisation of the liberty of the individual and the liberty of the peoples, in one word, of Democracy and Nationalism.

Bentham and Mill

Bentham, further, by his Utilitarian Movement as based on the individual's self-interest not simply fastened hooks

in the nostrils of 'Leviathan': he was also the greatest forerunner of liberal tendencies in all walks of life. The sovereign state was to be the public service state. If he reformed law and education, the judicial and the governmental methods, Mill, his disciple, will ever be remembered as the greatest apostle of liberty, not simply of the individual as such, but especially so of woman. He also proved himself to be the greatest theorist of the coming Democracy by writing his masterpiece on the 'Representative Government.' If Bentham thus made the Utilitarian Movement, this Movement made J. S. Mill and it is to the influences of these two writers that the 19th Century liberalism owes its progress and development. Similarly many other instances can be multiplied to show the effect of environment on the rise and development of political thought.

Contemporary Political Thought

In the study of contemporary political thought also, we cannot ignore the conditions under which that thought is growing. In India, we ourselves know how Mahatma Gandhi made the Non-co-operation Movement and yet the Non-co-operation Movement has made men like Jawahar Lal, Sardar Patel, and Babu Rajendra Prasad. In Europe, for our immediate purpose, Mussolini has made Fascism and Hitler has made the Nazi movement, and yet both of them have been made by the special conditions of their times.

The Individual and the Modern State

We all know how the Renaissance and the Reformation Movements brought the individual to importance in political life. He became the basis of our social structure. The theory of Individualism tried to build the social structure round the individual and thereby it throughout maintained a grudging attitude against the state. But the coming of Utilitarianism marked a transition between Individualism

and Collectivism for that theory contained the seeds of both of these view-points. While it emphasised the individual on the one hand, it also emphasised on the other the action of the state in bringing about the greatest happiness of the greatest number. The problems created by the Industrial Revolution demanded state action more and more so that the way was cleared for Social legislation day after day till the philosophy of Idealism and of Socialism definitely adopted State activity as the real way of guaranteeing freedom to the individual. Side by side, came the theory of Social Organism thereby making the whole in every sense prior to its parts. In these ways, state action became the order of the day and political thought from the Seventies of the 19th Century to the War was dominated by the idea of a Sovereign state with large powers. In the Great War, these powers were so extensively exercised that there came to be a reaction against the absolutist theory of the state.

Reaction against State Activity

In the first place, the idea gained ground that this greatest catastrophe of Civilisation was itself the result of the height to which this 'mortal god' had been raised by each nation. That is, it was suggested that Hegels' conception of the majesty of state could find no better actual manifestation of the Omnipotence of the state in its individuality than could be seen in this world-wide drama in which the individuality of the German Emperor as well as of the German State was significant.

Secondly, in every country, there were pacifists who did not favour war, and in England itself even men like Ramsay MacDonald had been considered as traitors. After the War, therefore, there was a reaction in favour of Pacifism and therefore against the power of the state.

Thirdly, life in the normal way had come to cease and

every walk of human activity was lying disorganised.

Fourthly, the 'flower' of every nation had been sent to the front and all other able-bodied men were ready to sacrifice their lives for the safety of the motherland. This suggested not simply the economic cost of war but also brought to notice the human cost of war.

Lastly, because of utter disorganisation of trade and industry, governments of the day began to control all important aspects of life so that after the War this encroachment on the liberty of the individual was highly resented.

Changes in Social Structure

Besides this stress of war conditions, the character of our social structure itself was fast changing. The scientific inventions all the more wrought a sort of havoc in the transformation of the old order. The state became the Great Society, the individual came to be replaced by the group as the unit of Society, and Politics itself became the Science of Society. Political Philosophy, therefore, was no longer a philosophy of the relation of the individual and the state: it came to be definitely a social theory, a theory of the relations of the individual and the society.

Attacks on Monistic State

With this change in our social order, the accepted political norms also came to be in the melting pot, and the monistic state, with all its concomitants of rights and liberty, was attacked on all its foundations. Its legal structure was upset by sociological facts, its economic activities challenged, its religious supremacy thrown to the winds, its psychological and philosophical bases upturned, and its existence in a 'circumambient void' cut as under by the hard logic of the fact of an already existing international society. The individual *versus* the state was replaced by the group *versus* the state, and the old Prophets like Mill and Spencer,

Hegel and Bosanquet were replaced by new ones in the persons of Maitland, Figgis, Cole, Duguit, Laski, Krabbe, N. Angell, Miss Follet, Barker, MacIver, Hobhouse and the Late Prof. Graham Wallas.

All of them presented a new point of view for the new times which had now ushered in.

The Great Society

It was now contended that the state is not the only society in our contemporary life to which the individual should give his adhesion. Within the state itself, the life of man has come to be organised in so many groups that he is often more interested in them than in the state. This shows that there has come to be a conflict of loyalties. The state which has thus come to be a Great Society, a group of groups, is more or less a federal process in which every group-unity has a far greater reality than we have hitherto recognised. Hence, on this basis, writers have gone even to the extent that the state has no right of supremacy over other associations. It is not even *a group of groups*: it is only *group among other groups*.

Contemporary Writers

Of the writers who have considered the state as a group of groups, Gierke and Maitland, Barker and MacIver, Graham Wallas and Miss Follet are some of the notable examples, while among those who have dethroned the state to a position of equality with other associations Laski, Cole, Duguit and Figgis are the greatest luminaries; and those who have brought down the New Leviathan from its high pedestal from an international outlook are Prof. Krabbe and Norman Angell.

The Legal Viewpoint—Gierke and Maitland

It was, firstly, from the legal standpoint that the abso-

lute sovereignty of the state was exposed. Gierke's book on the real personality of corporations was translated by Maitland in which it was held that Corporations were not simply fictitious personalities: they were real because they had a will of their own and they could sue and be sued in law. Hence to them the state was a Corporation of Corporations, existing for co-ordination and adjustment.

Duguit

Then, from the same point of view, Duguit took the cudgel by saying that it is not the sovereignty of men that is real: it is the sovereignty of law that is really true to facts. He said law is not the command of the Sovereign: it is an expression of 'social solidarity.' Hence agents of government—its different departments—are not to be treated as elements of the sovereignty of the state as much as they should be regarded as the means of the purposes of law. Law as embodying a cohesion of social interests in thus the real Sovereign of the government and its agents. The state to him, therefore, is nothing more than a collection of public services and hence the real Sovereign of the community is not an organ of the state but Law itself which has created even that organ for public service.

Krabbe

Further, Krabbe also from the legal standpoint has dethroned the state. He maintains that it is the 'sense of right' in the individual that is really at the back of all social organisation. Law to him is not the command of the Sovereign but an evaluation of social interests. For the conception of the Sovereign is in fact associated with the King of the Reformation times when he possessed in his personality all the legislative as well as other interests of the community. But with the rise of representative government, the law-making function went away to the legislature, and in modern

times, because of complexities of life, many other associations have sprung up. In any case, this much is clear that the legislature does not *create* law; it only *finds* law; it clarifies and develops and harmonises the public and private interests of individuals. It is therefore a means or an agent of law. Similarly, the Executive and the Judiciary are simply agents of law. They are, therefore, as Duguit said, no more than public services. But Krabbe maintains that even Duguit is wrong in regarding the state as a collection of public services for they are themselves the creatures of Law. Further, the associations and corporations within the modern state are not public services as much as they are the preservers of some special public interests. Hence the state should be regarded as a community which by its establishment of legal values creates agencies for the rendering of public services and the maintenance of public interests. In this sense, we shall speak not of the Sovereignty of the state but of the sovereignty of Law. In another sense also, Krabbe demolishes the Sovereignty of the state. The independence of a state in a group of other states is a relative term, for there are more or less binding body of conventions and agreements in International Law which do to some extent control the acts even of the more powerful nations and may be virtually coercive upon the less powerful. Hence Krabbe reaches a conclusion which justifies an international society based upon International Law. In these ways, therefore, from the legal standpoint the Monistic view of Sovereignty was criticised in favour of the Pluralistic standpoint.

The Economic Viewpoint—G. D. H. Cole

From the economic point of view, the theory of Guild Socialism as expressed by G. D. H. Cole tried to demolish the state sovereignty. According to this writer, the whole theory of our Representative Government which is based

upon the representation of wills is wrong. No one can represent my *will*. He can represent my *function*. Hence the Representative Democracy is to be a Functional Democracy... of producers and consumers, and each function or profession is to be organised from the local workshop to the National Guild. In the same way, other associations such as the Church will also be organised. The so-called state would then be nothing more than a political association organised from the local unit to the National Parliament. In these ways, life will become organised in its most important spheres, but for purposes of Co-ordination and adjustment, a commune will be necessary. This body will have for its membership men from the National Central Organisations as their representatives in the Supreme body. Thus though Cole does away with the Modern Sovereign state: he replaces it with another 'Leviathan' which may come out to be as powerful as the modern.

Norman Angell

Another writer, Mr. Norman Angell, also attacks the Sovereignty of the state from the economic point of view. He emphasises the fact of international inter-dependence in economic life today and cites the instances of international syndicates which have outrun the so-called national boundaries. Hence to him division on state basis has become unreal. Moreover, modern discoveries of the steamship and the aeroplane, the radio and the telegraph have already united the world and have annihilated distances by shrinking the globe so that the things of the farthest distance can be had in no time. Hence, in such an interdependent world, the hostile or the self-sufficient state is a chimera and war a superfluity. The only real thing is the oneness of the human society as based on economic unity.

The Religious Viewpoint—Figgis

From the religious point of view, Figgis pleads for a Free Church in a Free State. The rise of churches according to him is as natural as that of any other association. Churches are never made like a manufacture: they are also instinctive associations of men. Hence why should they be under the control of the state? In the modern world, there are Established Churches. This means two things:

(1) that the Established Church exists by virtue of the recognition of the State and

(2) that the State has favoured one Church against another.

Both the things are preposterous or the Church is as natural an association as the State and hence the latter has no right to control it. Secondly, there is no reason why other churches should not be treated on a par with the so-called Established Church. Hence, in the view of Figgis, if churches are not to be free at present, as they ought to be, they may at least be disestablished so that they may come to breathe the freedom they deserve.

The Philosophic Viewpoint of Hobhouse

Besides these views philosophically also, the Absolute State as based on the conception of the General will has been shown unreal by Professor Hobhouse. Beginning with a criticism of the real will and the actual will, he has reached a position by which he has shown that if it is general, it is not will; and if it is will, it cannot be general. In one word, he denies the concept of group mind, that is, the concept that the state has its own mind apart from the minds of its individuals and therefore its own will.

McDougall, G. Wallas and Social Psychology

Another writer, McDougall, has no doubt emphasised the significance of the irrational in man—the instincts, the emo-

tions etc.—but he has tried to maintain the concept of the group mind. The late Professor G. Wallas also joined hands with the anti-intellectualism of the above writers and showed the significance of the instincts etc. in the elections of democracies. To sum up, the advance in social psychology has done away with the metaphysical entity of the state.

Laski

Lastly, Professor Laski has supported this iconoclasm from a variety of arguments. He has been influenced by the legal standpoint of Gierke and Maitland, by the religious ideas of Figgis, by the economic view-point of the Guild Socialism and by the general spirit of anti-intellectualism, internationalism and the unreality of Absolutism in our contemporary life.

All these writers whom we have considered—with one or two exceptions—are all 'Pluralistic' writers believing in the fact that the State has no right of supremacy over other associations. It is therefore a 'group among other groups' of our great society.

Federative Writers

But there are other writers like MacIver and Miss Follet (to whom we have already referred elsewhere) who cannot rightfully be called Pluralistic. Their theories may better be called 'federative,' for all of them recognise the fact that the real character of our modern society has come to be federal in character; therefore, they are prepared to grant full autonomy to groups. The state, thus comes to be a 'unifying' process as Miss Follet calls it or it is to be regarded as a machinery of co-ordination and adjustment. In one word, they will also not call it a Sovereign State: they will call it only an 'Umpire' over other associations.

Recent Times and a Swing of the Pendulum

Until recently, we used to regard these theories of

Pluralism as the contemporary political thought, but in very recent years, even this line of thinking is being abandoned in favour of the old ideal of the 'Unified' state. In fact, the era in which we are living is an era of the conflict of ideals, and therefore it would be better to regard it as a transitional stage in our current history. The old idols are being attacked and an attempt is being made to refashion the new. All our cherished ideas and concepts are again in the melting pot. Hence we have not only to look at our life from a 'relativistic' standpoint, but also from the Absolutist standpoint, for there are strong leanings, both in political theory and practice, towards this form of government. Certainly, the pendulum seems to have swung to the other side. Besides this dualism of Pluralism and Monism, we notice, also an under-current of Universalism which though it may be weak at the present time, is yet real in every sense. From this point of view, we aim at a synthesis of life, and it is here that I introduce to you the latest book of Dr. Beni Prasad, I mean the 'Democratic Process,' as perhaps the only book of our times of our faith in universal democracy, for the writer tells us that the logic of history forces him to come to the conclusion that a universal democracy is a necessary result of the democratic process which has been going on advancing from precedent to precedent.

Hence whether it is a theory of relativism between Pluralism and Monism or it stands only for Absolutism or only for Universalism—in each case, the conclusions are based on the facts of our passing times. These theories reflect, in one way or another, the conditions in which we are living.

Dr. Beni Prasad

Just as Krabbe emphasised a Universal Democracy under the sovereignty of law based on the 'sense of right' and Norman Angell on the economic interdependence of nations,

Dr. Beni Prasad states his case on more reasons than one. He writes:—

Every age requires working principles and programmes of its own, and adapts its spiritual heritage at numberless points to suit its environment. The history of social philosophy is mainly a record of pamphlets addressed to the times. Our social philosophy must represent a fundamental variation from those which expressed the spirit and aspirations of the ancient empires and kingdoms, or of city states and nation states. In Europe, Politics started as the science of the affairs of the city. Later it broadened to comprise the large country state. It has now to take the final step and stand forth as the science of the world organisation.

Here Dr. Beni Prasad does not simply emphasise the universal interdependence, and the rightfulness of the League of Nations; he unknowingly makes his "Democratic Process" itself as one of the most opportune 'gigantic political pamphlets' of his own times, for surrounded by the Absolutisms of the worst type as the contemporary world is, his suggestion is to mend the League of Nations rather than end it, as in so doing man would be realising his ideal in the light of his own historical evolution.

Planning the Need of the Hour

Again, in another passage he tells us that "man is a creature of purpose and he always plans, and that political science must 'unravel' the strands and potentialities of planning in the present phase of development." And yet all of us who are aware of what is going on in the world cannot but agree to the realistic note of our Author, for in our own times, whether it is the League of Nations or a Socialistic Russia, whether it is a Fascist Germany or Italy, or a Democratic State of the type of U. S. A., all are busy 'Planning' for their social betterment. In one word, Planning is the note and the need of the hour and both in political theory

and practice, it is receiving full attention. So great in fact is the emphasis on planning that even in India in every Journal we open, we find an article on some aspect of planning—economic, political, or educational. It is not only on political platforms that planning is being emphasised, in the economic and industrial sphere it is being specially considered, and so far as the Universities are concerned all of us know how both His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal and Mr. Jayakar emphasised even intellectual planning. And now the Sapru Committee on Unemployment is also harping on the same tune.

Experts and Planning

But in all this talk of 'planning,' it must be remembered, that every body, in our present complex civilisation, is not fit to take up the huge task of reform and reorganisation. Ours is an age of specialisation and only experts and specialists in a particular line or profession should be allowed to have their say in the matter. Should we not take lesson out of the fine criticism of Faguet of 'Democracy' when he called that system of government as 'the cult of incompetence,' for it entrusted portfolios to those who had never known throughout their lives anything of the departments placed under their charge, and hence according to him "the post required a Mathematician but it was given a dancing master;" and is he not correct when we look into the working of the democratic government that a goldsmith is the Law Member, a carpenter the Foreign Secretary, a tailor the Educational Minister and a shoe-maker the Finance Member of the Central Government?

INTERVIEW WITH ENGLISH MEN OF LETTERS

II—John Drinkwater

By SHRIMAN NARAYAN AGARWAL

[As with Mr. Lascelles Abercrombie, so with Mr. John Drinkwater, Mr. S. N. Agarwal talked about several things, not excluding politics. He gives here a lively account of his interview with the famous English poet and dramatist. It is amusing to read that Mr. Drinkwater's projected Indian tour is shadowed by a curious fear of "snakes and spiders."]

I was shown into a room, which, very much contrary to my expectations, was full of jars, vases, urns and other curios, instead of books. Unlike Mr. Abercrombie's house, there was a touch of aristocracy in the room. Of course, some books also adorned the shelves of an almirah, but they served, more or less, as an additional variety to the collection. Surely, I had not strayed into the *Old Curiosity Shop*, for, shortly after, a decent-looking and even handsome gentleman entered the room with a 'Good after-noon.' So, this was the famous English poet, dramatist, biographer and critic, Mr. John Drinkwater.

After preliminary talk for a few minutes, I presented my book of poems to him with a gentle bow. This opened the stream of our long conversation which lasted for about three hours, including the talk at the tea-table.

"So you have dedicated your book to Tagore! Do you know him personally?"

"Yes, I have that privilege," I said. "Have you read his works?"

"Oh yes," replied Mr. Drinkwater. "We are very much

interested in him. Is he now strong enough to carry on his writings?"

"He is more vigorous than ever," I remarked. "He has been recently moving about in the country, delivering lectures, enacting his plays, and collecting funds for his University at Santiniketan. He has also published, of late, some of his best productions."

"How wonderful!", exclaimed Mr. Drinkwater. "Have his latest works been translated?"

"I am afraid not; because he has no time for translating them himself, and nobody else ventures to take up that task. I think they are untranslatable!"

We then drifted to the political field. I was glad to notice Mr. Drinkwater's interest in politics, because it was rather unexpected.

"Don't you think the Government of India Act is a sincere attempt to solve a tough problem?" he asked.

"It is difficult to say 'yes'," I said. "Almost the whole country is against it. In fact, people have lost confidence in the Government, and, consequently, all its acts are viewed with distrust and suspicion."

"I am sorry to hear that," remarked Mr. Drinkwater. "I thought the Indians were fairly satisfied with the measure. What is wrong with the Act?"

"The politicians think, and I hope justly, that the various 'safeguards,' and 'special responsibilities' granted to the Viceroy and the Governors, annul all awards of freedom. What is given with one hand, is taken by the other."

"Do you think the New Constitution will be worked by the various political parties?"

"The Congress, which is by far the most powerful organisation in the country, has decided to work the constitution, but only with a view to wreck it. However, much will depend upon the manner in which the safeguards are handled.

If they are too often employed to chill the Indian aspirations of liberty and freedom, the whole Act is bound to be a failure."

"Did you attend some of the recent discussions on the India Bill in the House of Commons?", asked Mr. Drinkwater.

"Yes, I did, and was impressed by Sir Samuel Hoare's mastery over facts, and the way in which he replied to the criticisms of the 'die-hards' on the one hand, and the Labourites on the other. I quite realise the difficulties with which His Majesty's Government is encountered,—especially the vested interests in trade and commerce. But, I think, it is high time for Great Britain to realise that the aspirations for self-government among the Indians are real, and demand an early attention."

Mr. Drinkwater paused for a while and then asked:

"Do Indians want to be isolated from Great Britain?"

"The Congress stands for complete independence; the Liberals want India and Britain to be equal partners in the Empire. But the real feeling behind all these expressions continues to be actuated by a keen desire for freedom. India will be glad to invite the help of Britain in developing her economic resources, but only so long as her own interests are not sacrificed. If the British Government fails to realise this spirit behind the national discontent, the whole political drama might end in a tragedy." "The Englishmen," I continued, "must try to know more about India in a sympathetic spirit. At present, I have been struck with the Englishmen's appalling ignorance about our country."

"I suppose you have seen the films, 'Lives of a Bengal Lancer,' and 'Clive of India.' What do you think of them?"

"I was extremely shocked to see these films," I observed. "They give a most distorted picture of our country. The 'Bengal Lancer' depicts the life of only the North-West

Frontier tribes, but gives an impression that the whole of India teems with such savages. 'Clive of India,' shows some most ugly and bad types of Indians, the like of whom, I must frankly confess, I have myself never seen."

Mr. Drinkwater smiled at my remark. "I am afraid, the average Englishman gathers his information about India only from films like these."

"I was extremely sorry to see the most unfavourable impressions that these films create about our country. Something must be done to control their circulation."

"And what do you think about Miss Mayo's books?"

"We have ceased to take notice of them," I said. "A few years back, Mr. Gandhi summed up the whole criticism against them by calling the author a 'drain-inspectress.' She has marked only the ugly side of Indian life, and some of her observations are gross exaggerations. We are, however, thankful to her for having awakened the conscience of orthodox Indians in regard to some social and religious evils."

"The tea is ready, darling!", interrupted a voice. This was Mrs. Drinkwater, well known as 'Daisy Kennedy' in the English music world.

At the tea-table, we had the most interesting conversation. I was introduced to the whole family, and was made to feel quite at home.

"Why not come to India sometime, Mr. Drinkwater?" I said.

"Yes, John is thinking of visiting India next winter," observed Mrs. Drinkwater.

"I am delighted to hear that," I remarked. And then came the 'crash,' for Mr. Drinkwater added: "I am eager to visit the various Indian Universities, and also see Kashmir about which I have heard so much. . . . But. . . . I am afraid of snakes and spiders!"

"Snakes! and spiders!!", I could not help laughing at

this remark. "Do you think snakes crawl along in big cities like Bombay and Calcutta? And I never thought that poor spiders also were dangerous. I may assure you that you won't have the misfortune of encountering one, in any decent house."

Mr. Drinkwater tried to smile away the point, but most probably he remained unconvinced. My surprise at his strange remark was not yet over, when another elderly member of the family who sat near me, observed complacently:

"I am afraid of going to India because of the intense heat!" "Rather, Sir!" I remarked smilingly. "But you shouldn't forget that some parts of India are also extremely cold even during summer. Any primary book on Geography will tell a man that our country is not 'boilingly hot,' for, after all, we are also human beings. If you visit India during winter, you might begin to feel afraid of intense cold in some parts."

The old man smiled; whether he really believed what I said, one can never know. I also did not think it worth while stressing my point further, for, evidently, I was not out to make 'converts.'

"Do you know Indian music," asked Mrs. Drinkwater.

"Yes, a little of it." I replied rather diffidently.

"Could you please give me some idea of Indian music?", Mr. Drinkwater hastened to enquire. "I am very eager to know something about it."

"Yes, I can give you some Indian melodies on the piano, if you like."

Mr. Drinkwater felt delighted at my acquiescence. So we all moved to the music room. I played a tune as best as I could, but it must have sounded strange to their ears with no 'harmony' in the music. Mrs. Drinkwater tried to explain to her husband the difference between Indian and Western music. But, to be frank, I could not understand the techni-

cal words she used, myself. So the best thing for me, I thought, was to keep silent. Anyway, I was glad to provide at least some entertainment to Mr. Drinkwater and his family. I committed a few mistakes in regard to 'timing,' but then, I was confident that nobody would understand my shortcomings. Naturally, I ended my tune in a triumphant spirit. I hope exploiting peoples' ignorance in these matters is not very criminal.

Mr. Drinkwater, next, showed me his own books. They were decently arranged in an almirah. "You have many worthy literary children, indeed!", I remarked. He smiled, took out one of them, and presented it to me. Of course, I expressed my cordial thanks for his kindness.

It was now getting dark. So I proposed to take leave, offering apologies for having wasted so much of his time. "I have been very delighted to meet you, indeed", said Mr. Drinkwater. "So very kind of you to have given me that privilege," I quietly returned.

"Have you met William Rothenstein? He is an intimate friend of mine, and I am sure he will be extremely glad to meet you."

"Yes, I shall certainly try to see him," I told Mr. Drinkwater.

Unfortunately, I had to leave for India before I could meet the great artist who loves and admires our country.

RAILWAYS UNDER THE NEW CONSTITUTION

By R. N. KITCHLEW

[Mr. R. N. Kitchlew, the author of "Gauge Policy of Indian Railways" has made a special study of Railway problems and contributed to leading newspapers several well-considered articles on Railway administration.]

Not very long ago a paper was circulated by the Secretary of State among the members of the Round Table Conference suggesting the lines on which Indian railways should be administered under the New Constitution. A Statutory Railway Authority was proposed. To those who are interested in the subject the purpose behind this move should have been amply clear, as also the fact that the suggestions contained in the Paper were likely to be enforced without material modification. The personnel of the Sub-Committee entrusted with the task was not such as could justify a different conclusion. Subsequent events have confirmed the worst fears, for what was then a proposal has since been embodied in the Government of India Act.

The White Paper stated that

His Majesty's Government consider that it will be essential that while the Federal Government and Legislature will necessarily exercise general control over railway policy the actual control over the administration of the state railways in India (including those worked by Companies) should be placed by the Constitution Act in the hands of a Statutory Authority, so composed and with such powers as will ensure that it is in a position to perform its duties upon business principles and without being subject to political interference.

It has been necessary to quote the above passage in full so that the official arguments in support of this measure be fairly and frankly stated.

The function allotted to the Federal Government and Legislature is one of general control over railway policy. It is, however, provided in the Act that in the event of a dispute between the Federal Government and the Statutory Railway Authority as to whether a question is one of policy the Governor-General's decision shall be final.

Even without the said provision a general control over policy would not mean much as general control is often illusory when the interests and allegiance of the actual administrators are at variance with those who are supposed to direct the policy.

The composition of the Authority is of no small significance as men are often more important than measures. The Act provides that three-sevenths of the members of the Authority shall be appointed by the Governor-General in his discretion as also the President. This being so the majority of the members will command the confidence of the Governor-General and may be relied upon to carry out his wishes. In this connection it is noteworthy that the Governor-General is given the power to dismiss any member whom he may consider unsuitable.

The above provision in practical working would reduce the Authority into an instrument for carrying out the wishes of the Governor-General and relegates the Federal Government to a comparatively humble position. It is hardly necessary to hammer at this point for it should be obvious to the meanest intelligence.

This is not all. The Act further provides that

the Governor-General may issue to the Authority such directions as he may deem necessary as regards any matter which appears to him to involve any of his special responsibilities, or as regards

which he is by or under this Act required to act in his discretion or to exercise his individual judgment, and the Authority shall give effect to any directions so issued to them.

The powers thus conferred on the crown's representative in respect of the control over railway administration seriously curtail the powers nominally transferred to popular control.

It is of the essence of democracy that all public departments, should be controlled by the people's representatives. What, therefore, can be the justification in giving to the Governor-General 'individual discretion' in preference to the will of the people as voiced through their representatives.

If it is maintained that Indian railways are to be administered in the interest of the Indian people, it is not correct to presume that on some occasions, if not frequently, the judgment of the Governor-General will be more in harmony with the wishes of the people than the judgment of their own representatives. If, on the other hand, it is said that the special powers given to the Governor-General are meant to protect British or foreign interests, there is nothing more to say.

Till a few years ago the subject of railway administration in this country did not evince much interest either in or outside the Legislature. Of late, however, our public men have realised the folly of being indifferent towards the administration of a department which has vast possibilities of helping Indian industry and reducing unemployment in the country.

Indian railways are the biggest employers of organised labour in this country, for they employ today over 700,000 men. The scale of payment to their employees varies between Rs. 10 per month and Rs. 5,000 per month. Indianisation is confined chiefly to the lower grades. The best paid appointments are almost exclusively the reserve of foreigners.

There is yet another consideration which is even more important than jobs. Railways are a big purchasing department and, if administered in the interest of India, can very considerably help Indian industry. This in its turn would reduce unemployment in the towns.

In normal years Indian railways spend between 20 and 30 crores annually (for the 7 years, 1925—31 the average works out at 23·3 crores) on capital programme. This amount is spent in purchasing wagons, locomotives, rails and other material and in construction.

Although the Annual Report on the Administration of Railways omits to give details of the firms with which orders are placed, it may be safely presumed that the lion's share of this goes to foreign concerns. If, however, these orders were placed with Indian concerns, the indigenous industry would get much impetus and would reduce the present unemployment. Further more so long as orders are placed with foreign concerns, the incentive to economy is not great. Things may be done *à la grand* as for instance in the case of the Bombay Central Station which cost the public revenues 156 lakhs of rupees.

So far the responsibility for the administration of Indian railways has vested in the representative of the Crown. The way this responsibility has been discharged amply justified a demand for the transfer of railways to popular control, with a view to protecting the interests of the tax-payer.

It is now common knowledge that railways in this country have helped to destroy indigenous industry by dumping foreign goods. The finer articles from the highly industrialised countries of Europe threw the village weaver, cobbler, blacksmith and other tradesman out of employment. The power given to railway organisations to alter rates within the maximum and minimum prescribed by Government has often been used prejudicially to Indian trade. The

manipulation of rates has frequently encouraged imports and discouraged exports. In this connection it would be relevant to quote the Acworth Committee. They wrote:

It is an Indian grievance of old standing—it was voiced in the Legislative Assembly in 1915 by a distinguished Indian, now a member of the Executive Council of Bombay, Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola—that the railways fix their rates to suit their own pecuniary interests—if indeed it be not to suit the interests of European merchants—regardless of the effect of these rates on the native industries, of India. And we have no doubt that the charge is accepted as proved by a large proportion of Indian traders.

Indian railways controlled and administered by a popular Minister can appreciably improve the lot of the people by providing means of transport and thereby finding markets for agricultural produce and mineral wealth which otherwise have little value. Sir Trevelyan Wynne, late President of the Railway Board bears testimony for this fact. In his evidence before the Acworth Committee he said:

As an instance, before the B. N. Railway was constructed the Sambalpur district was a land-locked area where rice and other grain could be had for the asking as there was no means of transport. Knowing that the railway was being made the authorities felt justified in raising the land assessment very considerably and this was done to the extent in some cases, of 300 per cent.

The above passage unmistakably shows that the railways have not benefited the people to the extent that they should. In fact foreign interests have often influenced the policy. It is also noteworthy that many of the bigger railways (Class I railways) are still managed by companies registered and having their Boards of Directors in the United Kingdom. The dividends (ranging, in normal times, between 6 and 20 per cent) go directly into the pockets of the share-holders almost all of whom are foreigners.

To allow this state of affairs to continue is evidently not in the best interests of India. This is so not only because a

good portion of the profits is drained out of the country but also because control vests in foreign companies which, not unnaturally, further their own and their national interests.

These companies, it may be remarked, have entered into contracts with the Government of India, which fall in at the end of specified periods. But even under the existing contracts Government can have a controlling hand, if they so desire. Hitherto the interests of those who formed the Government and the companies have been very much the same. If, however, the future Minister of Communication had real power and the confidence of the people, material improvement could be made.

We are, therefore, faced with the question whether or not the Minister will have such control over railway machinery as would enable him to bring about a complete change in policy so that railways may, in future, be administered in the interest of the people of India. A study of the New Constitution, however, does not encourage such hopes.

So far as smoother working of railways is concerned the existing machinery is far better for there is no camouflage about it. Every one can go about his job with a single purpose and a single allegiance. While under the new scheme of things it is highly probable that when a patriotic man holds office serious deadlocks will arise. It is not only probable but almost desirable that it should be so for this is the only way by which we can show our resentment of this measure and announce to the world that, in spite of professions to the contrary, India will continue to be governed in the interest of a foreign people.

IDEALS IN EDUCATION

By R. N. KAUL

[This is the third part of Mr. Kaul's recent extra-mural lecture in the Allahabad University on "Ideals in Education". In this part he writes in support of the theory that every educational question is ultimately influenced by our philosophy of life.]

III—Philosophy and Education

Fichte in his "Addresses to the German people" said:

The art of education will never attain complete clearness in itself without philosophy. Hence, there is an interaction between the two, and either without the other is incomplete and unserviceable.

Dewey has even gone so far as to maintain that the most penetrating definition of philosophy which can be given is that it is the theory of education in its most general phases. Herbert Spencer says, true education is practicable only to a true philosopher, and Gentile in the 'Reform of Education' has warned us that the belief that man may continue to educate without concerning themselves with the subtle problems of philosophy means a failure to understand the precise nature of education.

There is an urgent need at the present time for a reconsideration of the fundamental concepts of educational thought. If we are not to be lost in the maze of modern developments which are the result of a feverish activity that characterises every aspect of educational endeavour, we require a co-ordinating, if not a determining principle, and such a principle can only be furnished by a philosophy of education. Our real study, Rousseau affirms, is that of human destiny, and Fichte goes further and regards educa-

tion as an investigation of the Divine will. It is true that many educationists counsel us to ignore this difficulty. Thus Herbart maintains that education has no time to make holiday till philosophical questions are once for all cleared up. We must, however, rather agree with J. S. Mill when he writes:

There is little chance of making due amends in the superstructure of a theory for the want of sufficient breadth in its foundation. It is unphilosophical to construct a science out of a few of the agencies by which the phenomena are determined, and leave the rest to the routine of practice or the sagacity of conjecture. We either ought not to pretend to scientific forms, or we ought to study all the determining agencies equally, and endeavour, so far as it can be done, to include all of them within the pale of the science.

Others adopt the sceptical attitude, contending, like T. Percy Nunn, that as the ideals of life are eternally at variance, their conflict will be reflected in educational theories, and concluding therefrom that there can be no universal aim of education. This is however quite illogical; we admit when thinkers philosophise about life, they are prone to lay emphasis on one or the other of its different aspects: but the cure for these differences in philosophical points of view is not to give up philosophising, but to seek a sounder and more adequate philosophy.

The answer to every educational question is ultimately influenced by our philosophy of life. Although few formulate it, every system of education must have an aim, and the aim of education is relative to the aim of life. Philosophy formulates what it conceives to be the end of life; education offers suggestions how this end is to be achieved. An important feature of the doctrines of the great educators who are also great philosophers is the emergence and reflection of their philosophical views in their educational schemes

or in the educational systems of their time. We need only refer to Plato's Idealism and his cultural scheme of education, to Empiricism in philosophy and Encyclopaedism in education, to Rousseau's anti-social philosophy and his negative or natural education, to Spencer's Hedonism and his discipline by natural consequences, and finally to American Pragmatism and the 'Project method' in Education. This connection also suggests that the benefit may have been mutual, that in the development of their philosophical thought, the educational ideas of these thinkers may have played an important part. Our concern here is rather with the dependence of education on philosophy.

Nowhere is this dependence more marked than in the question of curriculum. As soon as we seek to fix the relative value of subjects, to classify them in order of their importance, differences of aim and of philosophy emerge. Herbert Spencer, for instance, who regards self-preservation as the highest law of life gives first place to the subjects which minister to self-preservation. On account of his naturalistic and biological hedonism he underestimates the great importance of man's social or cultural inheritance and as a result assigns too little value to subjects of the cultural type and to subjects which train a man for the right enjoyment of leisure hours. Bode in his *'Modern Educational Theories'* remarks that unless we have some sort of guiding philosophy in the determination of objectives we get nowhere at all. Briggs in discussing *'Curriculum Problems'* says:

It is just here that education seriously needs leaders—leaders who hold a sound comprehensive philosophy of which they can convince others, and who can direct its consistent application to the formulation of appropriate curricula.

The controversy recently raging among the Educationists regarding the place of Imagination in Education and the inclusion of fairy tales in the curriculum is at bottom a

problem in educational philosophy. Those who advocate the teaching of fairy tales assume that the real is material, and that only by withdrawal from the real can the spiritual part of the child find an opportunity for development. On the other hand, if the real is regarded as rational and spiritual and if the romance of the real is recognised, imagination will not have to depend on mere fantasy for its means of development. Another problem in recent times has been whether Education should prepare for leisure as well as for work. Some would assert that the programme of education for leisure is a counsel of despair. The contradiction between the two views results from a difference of philosophic standpoint. If we look at life from the idealistic point of view, we believe that work can, and ought to, be humanised, that man should be able to find satisfaction in his labour, that we have somehow to discover there a theatre for the attainment of genuine spiritual values. If, on the other hand, we consider labour as mere mechanical drudgery, we have to assume a principle of "compensation", viz. that the rewards of most of our occupations are to be found entirely outside the occupations themselves e.g., in high wages, in longer periods, excitements, interests, studies—anywhere but in the work itself. It is not without significance that almost the best plea ever made for practical work in schools was advanced by the great idealist philosopher of education—Fröbel.

Intimately connected with the question of the curriculum is the adoption of appropriate text-books and this too involves an entire and consistent philosophy of education, as has been recently recognised by writers like Briggs:

Every one familiar with the ways in which text-books are selected must be convinced of the need for ideals and standards.

As with curriculum, so with method. The outstanding problem in educational method at the present time is the extent to which, if at all the teacher should intervene in the

educative process, and this raises philosophical issues. Non-intervention is justified for two quite different reasons, either because of the nature of the pupil's endowment or because of his environment. Rousseau, Fichte and Fröbel all assume that the child's nature is good, and any intervention is consequently harmful, hence the "negative" or preventive education of Rousseau and the "passive" education of Fröbel. Madam Montessori takes the environmentalist standpoint, and assumes that as the environment, "comprising the didactic apparatus which she has prepared for the child", is ideal and perfectly adapted to evoke only the right type of response and the good impulses of the child, the teacher's intervention is unnecessary and unjustified. The one class believes that the endowment is good or right, the other that the environment is good, but it is obvious that complete non-intervention is only justified when both are perfect. The school itself is a form of intervention, and the problem is not whether the teacher's intervention is justified or not, but whether it is prudent and timely. The intervention in the new education is less obtrusive than in the old; the teacher prepares the environment with greater care and his influence on the pupil is more indirect—acting by means of suggestion rather than by instruction and admonition, but probably for these reasons not less effective. The term "*Philosophy of Method*," which has recently been introduced in educational discussions by Kilpatrick, is evidence of the intimate connection between educational method and philosophy. The teacher who keeps consciously before himself the aim of education must necessarily realise "the wider meaning of method." Method is merely the process of establishing and maintaining contact between the pupil and the subject matter, yet through failure to possess a definite aim in education, or an adequate philosophy of life, the very method which some teachers employ instead of creating in the pupil the right

attitude, results merely in repelling him from the subject. Teachers who assume that they can afford to ignore philosophy, pay the penalty of their neglect; for their efforts, lacking a coordinating principle, are thereby rendered ineffective.

Discipline reflects the philosophical tendencies of a period more directly than any other aspect of school work. Herbert Spencer says:

Along with political despotism, stern in its commands, ruling by force of terror, visiting trifling crimes with death, and implacable in its vengeance on the disloyal, there necessarily grew up an academic discipline similarly harsh—a discipline of multiplied injunctions and blows for every breach of them—a discipline of unlimited autocracy upheld by rods and ferules, and the black-hole. On the other hand, the increase of political liberty, the abolition of laws restricting individual action, and the amelioration of the criminal code, have been accompanied by a kindred progress towards non-coercive education: the pupil is hampered by fewer restraints, and other means than punishment are used to govern him.

From every angle of the educational problem comes thus the demand for a philosophical basis of the subject. There is no escape from a philosophy of life and of education. Those who pride themselves on their neglect of philosophy, have their own philosophy—usually a quite inadequate one: every man, as Schopenhauer says, is a born metaphysician. Chesterton says:

There are some people—and I am one of them—who think that the most practical and important thing about a man is still his view of the Universe. We think that for a landlady considering a lodger it is important to know his income, but still more to know his philosophy. We think that for a general about to fight an enemy it is important to know the enemy's numbers but still more important to know the enemy's philosophy. We think the question is not whether the theory of the cosmos affects

matters, but whether in the long run anything else affects them.

There is probably no worker whose practice is more affected by his philosophy than the teacher's: it consequently behoves him, as he cannot avoid it, to secure as adequate a philosophy as he can command. I. E. Miller in 'Education for the Needs of Life' claims:

One's attitude toward life may be a very decisive factor in his teaching at very critical points. It makes a profound difference to the work of the instructor whether his philosophy of life is crassly materialistic or whether it is idealistic enough to make him believe in the imperishability of moral and spiritual values. It makes a difference to his own interest and enthusiasm, and in what he selects for emphasis in his instruction.

KRISHNAMURTI AS A POET

By V. N. BHUSHAN

[The "short story" of fascinating Krishnamurti is already a part of legend. In these pages, Mr. Bhushan, himself a poet, presents Krishnamurti as a supreme singer of spiritual values.]

Krishnamurti is just a little over forty years of age; and yet he retains the charm of *eternal youth, the spirit and spell of Adonis*. Born in a middle-class Andhra family, in the Madras Presidency, his early years were one of rare privileges, romantic episodes and risky adventures. His father being a Theosophist, Dr. Besant, that indefatigable President of the Society, came into intimate touch with him and his family. Krishnamurti and his younger brother Nityananda, whom she regarded as lads of rich promise, attracted her attention, and later on, were taken by her for higher education in England. Then there came a time when, through her occult faculties, Dr. Besant discovered that in Krishnamurti dwelt the spirit of Lord Maitraeya of old; and soon she proclaimed him as the 'World-Teacher.' Her word being law in those days, it did not take much time for the thousands of Theosophists all over the World to regard and revere 'Krishnaji' as their friend, philosopher and guide. His slim book of moral maxims—"At the Feet of the Master"—became the Bible of the Theosophists, and himself an annointed personage with a veil of the mystic about him. Stories were woven round him and his extraordinary spiritual acumen. He received unprecedented publicity as a boy-prodigy, and threatened to eclipse even Dr. Besant. Then came the crisis, the cleavage between him and his god-mother,

in certain principles and policies. Slowly but surely, Krishnamurti evolved his own ideas in the light of his personal experience. Later on he declared that he did not deem himself as the 'World-Teacher' and renounced the greatness thrust on him, but retained the claim of his being a self-realised individual. He broke up the 'Order of the Star' of which he happened to be the head; and his connection with Dr. Besant and the Theosophical Society hung by a very fragile thread. They were the closing years of Dr. Besant, and who knows whether her decay was not precipitated to a certain extent by the unexpected 'ingratitude' of Krishnaji?

Whatever the details may be, the significant fact remains that both the Theosophical Society and Krishnamurti were mutually benefited by contact with each other. It is not untruth to say that with the advent of 'Krishnaji' the general outlook of Theosophy changed, evidently for the better. Before his time it was pursued as a science of the self,—as a sort of anatomy of the spiritual life, teeming with technical details and occult explanations. Such a sort of privilege and pursuit was restricted only to the limited few, the more educated and intelligent members. But with the coming in of 'Krishnaji' that attitude changed, for he believed in the idea of catering to the spiritual needs of a wider circle. The World at large does not want to entangle itself in the meshes and intricacies of Religion, but with the minimum effort, yearns for the sweet healing power of the Life-spiritual. This, Krishnamurti was able to supply through his speeches and songs. Simple, straightforward and spirit-saturated, his message is touching and universal in appeal.

Thus, while Theosophy extended its scope and outlook, Krishnamurti found for himself a sure-set pedestal whereon to stand and attract the World's attention. On account of his entry into Society, Krishnamurti was enabled to have an unusual career, a unique intellectual training and the

enviable privilege of contact with the highest of cultured circles. The foundations for a great future for him were well and truly laid in his youth. Who was it that said that in environment lies half the achievement?

As it is, Krishnamurti is a fine specimen of polish and culture. He is one of the few Indians well-known in International circles. He is a much-read, and probably, the most widely travelled man for his years. But alas! like most great men, he is much misunderstood, and much-maligned. It is a consolation to think that such has been the way of the world with its jaundiced eye and jealous tongue. Which country or century can boast of having understood and appreciated the actions and utterances of its great men?

* * * *

My intention, in the limited scope of this essay, is to dwell briefly on only one aspect of Krishnamurti, namely his poetry, and estimate its importance. But I have often heard it said that Krishnamurti does not like being called a poet. May be, but his is not the business of labelling himself. It is for others, detached from him, to try and know what he is primarily. If he is not a poet, what authority has he to gift to the world such exquisite poems like those he has written, and inspire readers to robust raptures? What else are his songs but poetry, pure and profound, throbbing with life, love and liberty?

Krishnamurti is a poet first and a poet last. He is every inch of him a poet, a poet in his dress, demeanour, speech, gestures and polish. He is a poet born, whose accents automatically run into rhyme, and whose whole being tingles with melody. These apart, let us view him in the light of the actual poems he has penned. Judged accordingly, he emerges into sight as a poet in the authentic tradition, a lineal descendant of the splendid array of the singers of spiritual values,—Chaitanya, Kabir, Nanak, Vivekananda, Thomas a

Kempis and St. Francis of Assisi,—the poets and artists of Higher Life, who have proved that 'the voice of spiritual life is not a sermon but a song.' Like Maeterlinck, the mystic and thinker of Modern Europe, Krishnamurti 'is not a lyric poet (of course, his rank is low here), but a creator of new things, a master of atmosphere and suggestion.' Krishna murti's poetry does not in any way observe the canons of traditional technique, but flows with unfettered abandon in various forms of *vers libre*. And, as Roger Fry has declared:

We have no longer any system of aesthetics which can rule out, *a priori*, even the most fantastic and unreal artistic forms. They must be judged in themselves and by their own standards.

We have it on the authority of one of Krishnamurti's early tutors, Mr. E. A. Wodehouse, that 'at the very roots of his nature was always the impulse of poetry; at the core of him, no matter how muffled and inarticulate, was ever the singer and the artist.' It is evidently this inherent impulse that has been manifesting itself in his utterances in general, and his poetic writings in particular. A worshipper of the Beautiful and the True, Krishnamurti is a lover of the ineffable song of things, a lover of the very inmost essence of the sublimity of things, a lover of that impalpable spirituality which goes to fashion a new poetry and deathless works of art.

Krishnamurti is primarily a singer, not a reformer; a poet, not a preacher; a Shelley, not a Sankara. His is the privilege of the poet-teacher (in the sense in which Plato used the term) whose message is a song, not a treatise. His is the privilege of leading his audience into vast open spaces, to reveal to them the ever-inspiring paintings on the illimitable canvas of Nature, and the ever-pure impulses in the horizon of spiritual life. Aptly then does an admirer of Krishnamurti suggest:

Let us look for the singer in him, not for the scientist or philosopher; and finding it let us be content. Nay, let us be thankful. For if the true poet be a rarity in our mundane life, the poet of the life-spiritual is rarer still. We have read much in the philosophy of the Spirit; we have learnt something of Spiritual Science. Let us now in the few years that are before us learn of its Poetry and its Beauty, and open our ears to its song.

Krishnamurti's poetry has a distinct spiritual turn, a direct spiritual intonation that strains towards a vital vision of Realities. Throughout, there is a subtle suggestion helping us to hear, faintly though, the far-off infinite spirit-song that carries on its forehead the amulet of a profound revelatory utterance. That is the song unheard 'of harps hilarious in the Inner Court of Hush,' to catch an echoing strain of which is the highest intention and the noblest aim of Poetry!

In searching for his God, his 'Companion and Beloved,' Krishnamurti does not pay heed to the gratuitous advice of the champions of the various sects; for each is a faddist, and thinks that his religion alone is the best. For instance:—

Says the Hindu:—

Read the Vedas,
Do *tapas*, meditate,
Perform rites and ceremonies,
Practice austerities and renounce,
Pray at His temple, among flowers and incense.

The Buddhist says:—

Obey the Law,
Take refuge in the Order,
Kill not, steal not and commit not sin,
Go to the shrine,
Enter Nirvana.

The Christian says:—

Read the Holy Book,
Pray at His Church,
Serve, sacrifice,
Do not judge, be merciful.

The Muslim says:—

Read the Only Book
Of the Only God,
Pray at His mosque,
At the setting of the Sun worship Him.

These are the idle boasts and empty shibboleths of those who are blind to the universal presence of Him who is in all things, in all beings and in all places. Religion is like a pathway connecting humanity with Divinity. The pilgrim, if he desires sincerely to reach his destination, should close his eyes to the false lustre of communal Cassandras, fix his gaze on the 'Light beyond Darkness,' and walk with steadfastness of purpose and strength of will. His own inherent force and faith and his stern belief in the Universality of the God-head, will lead him on safely to his goal. Krishnamurti's is such a catholic spirit, a cosmopolitan mind and a comprehensive vision, that to him, the good and the bad, the great and the low, the saint and the sinner,—all present a picture of absorbing interest, for in each one of them is Divinity manifest. He sees God not merely in Shrines or Holy Books, but in every mood of the world's movement, in every one of Life's happenings:

Oh! Thou art the round stone
That grinds the rice in the peaceful village
Amidst songs and laughter.
Thou art the graven image
That men worship in temples
With chants and solemn music.
Thou art the dead leaf
That lies torn on the dusty road,
Trodden by the weary traveller.
Thou art the solitary line
That stands majestic
On the lonely hill.
Thou art the lame and mangy creature
That comes to my door, with haunted look, hungry,

That men abhor.
 Thou art the mighty elephant
 That is gaily robed
 Carrying the nobles of the land.
 Thou art the naked beggar
 That wanders from house to house
 Wearily crying for alms.
 Thou art the great of the land,
 Thou art rich in possessions and books,
 Thou art well-fed and satisfied,
 Thou art the priests of all temples,
 Thou art learned, proud and certain,
 Thou art the harlot, the sinner, the saint and the heretic.
 My search is at an end
 In Thee I behold all things.

The conception of the universal presence of God is indeed a noble one, betokening the cultured mind and the cosmopolitan outlook. To 'see in every earth-kissed form His image burn in scarlet gleam,' and to realise that 'God is seen God in the star, in the stone, in the flesh, in the soul and clod' is a sure index to the high spiritual level of an individual.

* * * * *

The true poet-teacher that he is, Krishnamurti is a singer of love and happiness, the love and happiness that transcend all earthly limitations, and find their consummation in Truth—the glory of God 'that shall wipe out the darkness about thee.' The spirit and strength of Love exercise such potent influence that—

Drink of it, thou shalt no more be thirsty,
 Eat of it, thou shalt know of no hunger,
 Bind it to thy heart, thou shalt not taste of sorrow,
 Write it down in the tablet of thy mind,
 Thou shalt be the son of wisdom and understanding.
 Walk by the light of my love,
 Thou shalt cast no shadow.
 Love is both an end in itself and a means to an end. It

is an instrument for securing happiness, human and divine.
 The modern world is full of evil-minded machinations,—

The divisions of people,
 The oppression of the poor,
 The wars of nations,
 The exploitation of the ignorant,
 The hatred of class against class,
 The strife after wealth and the sorrow thereof,
 The intricacy of governments,
 The portioning of lands.....

These are dead weights in the onward march of humanity, and only with the aid of our inner eye can we find that

All these cease to be
 In the clothing of love.

Krishnamurti's suggestion for safeguarding against the sordid stumbling blocks of life, is the simple, yet stately word 'Love'—, the love that has been suggested as a remedy by successive seers and singers down through the ages, the love that opens up new worlds and vistas of vision-fed faith. Krishna murti is sure that every human being in his heart of hearts, knowingly or unknowingly, is in search of the unaging dream of love:—

Doth not the man of the fields
 After the labour of the day,
 Seek the shelter of love?
 Doth not the man of the multitude of things
 Grow weary of his possessions
 And seek the shelter of love?
 Doth not the ruler of the many peoples
 Suffer the loneliness of his ambition?
 Doth not the man of the temple
 Caught in the exhaustion of his worship
 Seek the shelter of love?
 Yea,

All are in search of that abode
That giveth the glory of love!

And because this is certain, our search should not be through
the 'blind alleys of sense' and the by-paths of superstition,
but along the royal route of lightened love. Hence, Krishna
murti says:—

Keep open thy heart
And let no shadows creep therein,
For without love there shall be
Desolation and a strife without an end.
Keep pure thy heart,
For with impurity
There shall be affliction and travail.

* * * * *
O friend,
The way to the heart of the beloved
Is the way of love.
For it leadeth to simplicity,
And to the faith that conquereth.
Understanding cometh by the way
Of love,
And knowledge therefrom.
Yea,
Love all and therein lose thyself!

Love and happiness are the two highest and abiding emolu-
ments that man can aspire to while on this earth of myriad
entanglements, for they have in them the scent and strength
of Divinity. Nay, Krishnamurti goes further and identi-
fies happiness with God himself and Truth:

Thou art the happiness
Of the World,
The path of happiness
Is the path of Truth.

* * * * *
In Thee alone lies

Enlightenment—
The happiness of the World!

Of this happiness, the *ananda* that is the highest aim of
human endeavour, Krishnamurti sings rapturously:—

The Happiness that is the only truth,
The Happiness that is the end of all Search,
The Happiness that is the end of all questionings and doubt,
The Happiness that brings freedom from birth and death,
The Happiness that is the only Law,
The Happiness that is the source of all things,
The Happiness that gives eternal comfort,
The true Happiness that is Enlightenment!

—a songful interpretation that, vanishing into the soporific
dream of mystic rapture and aspiration, whispers to us—
'eternal happiness abideth in thy own heart.' Yes, verily
so; the happiness is in our own selves. It will not be ushered
in on us by any outside agency. The potent power that
creates the congenial atmosphere for the possession of Happi-
ness is within us alone. All that we need to do is to make
proper use of it, not to let it rust unburnished:

As the potter,
To the joy of his heart,
Moulds the clay,
So thou canst create
To the glory of thy being,
Thy future.

* * * * *
As the man of the forest
Who cuts a path
Through the thick jungle,
A clear path
To thy freedom from sorrows,
To thy lasting happiness.

* * * * *
As the maker of images
Carves the human shape

Out of granite,
 So, out of the rock
 Of thine experience
 Hew thine eternal happiness.

Just so. Even as a flower knows not its fragrance, so too, man is not conscious of his own power. He requires some super-soul from time to time, to remind him of his inherent strength, and to inspire him with the necessary enthusiasm, which, as Emerson says, is the thing that always triumphs. This generous act of supplying enthusiasm and inspiration, Krishnamurti does to an astonishing degree through the medium of his poetry which has all the fragrance of an exquisite spiritual temper, the serene poise of a liberated soul!

* * * * *

There is an indefinable affinity between Poetry and Nature; and hence, every true poet must be a worshipper of Nature,—Nature, vast and varied, that exercises an inescapable influence over his dreams and deeds. The poetry that stands aloof from Nature lacks the vital touch and puts on the garb of artificiality. Who can segregate himself from Nature whose finger-touch thrills the strings of life, and makes it blossom forth like a beautiful flower?

So it is that Krishnamurti is a poet of Nature too. Apart from the fact that his poetry abounds in copious images and figures relating to Nature, there are also ample evidences in it regarding his direct communion with Nature. It may be significant to note here that Krishnamurti almost always holds his talks and lectures in the pure and open spaces of Nature,—in forest paths, on mountain tops, by the river brink, in the valley's lap,—choice spots of Nature that afford the atmosphere for the cultivation of that supreme spirit of detachment and devotion, so essential for spiritual growth and grandeur. The trees, the hills, the streams,—are not they the Earth's endless efforts to articulate its hidden

ambitions, and to sing its song of thanks-giving to the listening heavens?

Krishnamurti not merely enjoys and describes the scenes of Nature, but grows jubilant over them, because he beholds the object of his search, the Beloved of his life. It was not till the time of Wordsworth that a definite stress was laid on 'the holy plan of Nature,' in English Literature. But here in India, it was emphasised as long ago as the dim days of the Vedas. "We Indians," wrote Rabindranath Tagore,

meet God in Nature as Love and Joy rather than as Law. We have something in our Indian mentality which I may call Universe Consciousness, or Cosmic feeling. If we have not a feeling of kinship with Nature we lose something vital. The Universe, this earth, sky, star, all come from one, Central, Creative Personality, and this same Creative Will has its manifestation in our own consciousness; hence there issues this sense of relationship between the inner self and the outer World.

It is the same sentiment of discerning Divinity in every aspect and mood of Nature that Krishnamurti exhibits when with photographic precision he writes:

Where the soft green slopes of the still mountains
 Meet the blue shimmering waters of the noisy sea,
 Where the bubbling brook shouts with ecstasy,
 Where the still pools reflect the calm heavens,

* * * * *

In the vale where the cloud hangs in loneliness
 Searching the mountain for rest,

* * * * *

Beside the bank where waters lap,
 In the still blue skies
 Where heaven and earth meet
 In the breathless air,

* * * * *

In the shadows of the stars,
 In the deep tranquillity of dark nights,

In the reflection of the moon on still waters,
In the great silence before the dawn,

* * * * *
There wilt thou meet with my Beloved.

* * * * *

Yet another characteristic of Krishnamurti's poetry is that in it he presents the Indian thought of the ages in a glorious arc of interpretation, and draws into harness the inmost realising force of life-stress. There is a subtle delicacy and strange tenderness in his poetry of a deep personal touch, arising naturally out of his intensely realised intimacy of relationship with the Supreme. The embodiment in his creation of the highest in Eastern aesthetic and religious achievement is in tune with the ageless traditions of Aryan Thought. The characteristic trait of the quest for the Eternal does not stop short, as it very often does in the case of western poets and thinkers, of what has been in Indian experience called Realisation. There are numerous passages in Krishnamurti's poetry which reveal this Realisation, which give proof of the appeased hunger of the spirit, and the radiance of Faith's certain Illumination. This again, the realisation of the Universal individualising itself in and through the only aspect of Life and Personality, is typical of the sublimest in Indian aesthetic and religious culture. Those alone who experience the rapture of realisation can claim spiritual superiority. Krishnamurti is one such.

Keats sang for the mere joy of singing, and Sarojini Naidu because her 'impassioned heart' could not 'forget to sing.' But Krishnamurti sings because he must, because it is inherent and inevitable, because he knows and feels the spontaneous inspiration tingling in him. He does not sing aimlessly but with a clear-cut view of his path and purpose. On account of his spiritual strength he knows himself to be—

The conqueror of aching time

And its sorrowing ways;
and can say with certainty—
The veil of separation is torn,
O Beloved, Thou and I art one!
and can authentically assert—

His smile
Has filled my heart.
As the rivers of water
Make constant music,
O friend,
So my being rejoices
In the splendour of His love.

* * * * *
So the vision of my Beloved
Has made me
Pure and at peace.

* * * * *
O friend,
So have I been made glorious!

One with such sure insight is eminently entitled to say:

I love the world
And all the things thereof.
I will bring the world
To adore Thee,
To worship Thee,
For Thy beauty is Truth.

* * * * *
My love for Thee
Has awakened the love
For all.
I must bring the world
To Thee.
I must make Thee
Their eternal Companion.
They must know Thee
As I know Thee—
The Perfect,

The Simple,
The Glorified,
The Fountain of Truth.

That, in fine, is the spirit of the true teacher, the sincere singer. His is not the business to gloat Midas-like in the possession of a fugitive and cloistered virtue, but let the rest of his fellow-beings also partake of the joy and happiness that he finds in the phenomenal folds of Life and Nature; to share his spiritual abundance with others that they too might tread the path of 'imperishable Truth.' Krishnamurti is a noble soul of this type, who not merely proclaims—

I am he
That openeth the heart of man,
That giveth comfort,

* * * * *

O friend,
I show the way
That shall open thy heart
To the welcome of the Beloved.

but with charitable and cosmopolitan philanthropy, extends the hand of the host, inviting—

O friend,
Come away from the complications of belief,
Destroy the monumental superstitions of thy enslaving creed,
But grow in the simplicity of thy heart,
In the shadows of thy suffering.

All this is no mere self-pretentious charlatanism, but a conviction born out of self-enlightenment; this is not self-laudation, but self-revelation. Nor is all this mere poetic fancy and airy nothingness. An ideal of good life, as Mr. T. S. Eliott has somewhere said, if it is to have the internal coherence and organic force of a true ideal, must inevitably be aesthetic. What is religion but fancy and faith correlated and consecrated? What is Poetry but the sovereign language of the human spirit, the lyric cry of the soul in an exultant

mood? Co-extensive with Life, Poetry often rises above the level of Life, lighting up for men the paths to their goals. Poets soar above the external conditions of existence, be lords of circumstances and the free creators of Life. Look back at the mighty stream of the world's creative energy illustrated in the written word and painted image. Don't we feel and believe then, that the one sole purpose of this stream has been to wash away forever all differences between races, nations and classes, and to direct the forces of men to the frontiers of higher realms? The empire of Poetry, as indeed that of all arts and great Literature, is the International of the Spirit. This salubrious atmosphere surcharged with the bracing inspiration of heaven-winds, we find in the poetry of Krishnamurti.

* * * * *

Here then is a brief estimate of the poetry of a personality extremely sensitive to the sublime greatness of life, pure, profound and full of the fragrance that sustains the soul. Krishnamurti's is the voice of Beauty, Love and Truth, speaking in accents genuine, luminous, authentic and poetic. Near to Shelley in his bombardment of antiquated customs and unmeaning traditions, and too in his gospel of Love, Krishnamurti belongs to the esteemed coterie of the World's spiritual-singers. Unquestionably, he is one of the few true Indian representatives of the resurgence of Asiatic Culture in modern life. A perpetual pursuivant of the eternal verities, an inspirer of new creative ideals, is there any doubt that Krishnamurti is a supreme singer of spiritual values admitted to the fraternity and freedom of his fellows by an inalienable birth-right? Unhesitatingly may we say of him in the words of William Watson:

He sits above the dust and clang of Time,
With the World's secret trembling on his lip.
He asks not converse or companionship

In the cold star-light where thou canst not climb.
 The undelivered tidings in his breast
 Suffer him not to rest,
 He sees afar the immemorable throng,
 And binds the scattered ages with a song.
 The glorious riddle of his rhythmic breath,
 His might, his spell, we know not what they be:
 We only feel, whate'er he uttereth,
 This savours not of death,
 This hath a relish of eternity!

MOODS AND MUSINGS: Opportunities and Opportunism

By "PRIM"

[These are random reflections on issues, big and small, on themes, serious and light, by our familiar friend, Prim. As usual, he writes something interesting and irritating.]

Life, it is said, is a series of opportunities. An opportunity is something out of the common run—something which is really enterprising to hazard a risk—an adventure, to repeat, in the even tenor of one's existence; otherwise it does not merit our consideration. It is only when an opportunity shows us a way out of the drab, colourless environment of our being that we realise the beauty of life, and read into it a meaning that sustains us through our daily strifes—with ourselves as well as with others. Opportunity brings with it the sunshine of harmony and goodwill into a world hopelessly "broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls". It is always the hope—the eternal bliss of life—that makes attempts worth trying, even though we fail. A little less than three years ago we had a stupendous example of a good opportunity badly lost by the folly of man: the Unity Conference called by the leaders of all schools of political thought to arrive at an amicable settlement of the communal problem is a case in point. But those who strove and fought but failed may have the satisfaction of feeling that they were worthy of it. Nothing gives greater solace to a man who has experienced bitter disappointments and failures in life than the feeling that he has made use of his opportunities in the pious spirit of an experimenter

with truth. Even with best intentions we often fail to achieve that to which we keenly aspire; but the success of our efforts should not lie so much in the achievement of the end as in the honest employment of the means to that end. If every time that we attempt, we achieve, life tends to become dull and opportunity to lose its zest. Failure is really a spur "that clear spirit doth raise", and it shows a vain mind that despises failure. Rather should we try to find in it the beacon-light that shows us the rocks we must avoid. There is greater joy in feeling that our path lies through fierce tempests and howling waves than in navigating this ship of life through clam waters; for then the man—the captain of his destiny—is defeated in his own success, and thus loses the finer nature born of struggles. Such a man is a bane of human society—grossly selfish and incapable of understanding his fellow-men. Happily, in the nature of things, a great success is never achieved without great pains—and this characteristic is marked in the life of any great man worth the name, so that his life may be a model for us to "make our lives sublime", and chisel ourselves in the light of his experiences.

* * * * *

That, indeed, is a great lesson that opportunity teaches us. The victory lies not in the opportunity itself, but in the manner how we employ it; the greatness of a man is measured not by the encomia he has received from the public, or the titles he possesses, but by the way he has captained his opportunities; and he will be able to affect the mind of his generation only to the extent to which he uses his opportunities. This is the criterion by which a great man is judged. He is not a product of fate, but a genuine result, as the poet has said, of midnight toil while his companions slept. In life a man cannot take any chances; he must be sure of his

move before he actually casts his dice: in other words, he must know himself. And it is only when he does not know himself that he is likely to fail. Fate has no place in human destiny: a thief who breaks open his neighbour's house knows very well that he is violating the law for which he must suffer punishment; and it is futile for him to cling to fate as a possible chance for escape from the sentence. Howsoever we may try to appreciate the basic cause which motivated his action, there is no likelihood that in the present structure of society there is any immunity for him from the law. But the punishment may be either an opportunity or a profession, as he chooses to take it. If he is so stubborn as to continue his practice in stealing what does not legitimately belong to him, then he is doomed to eternal retribution: in that case he has not been able to captain his opportunity. But if his punishment reveals to him a greater soul that was evidently lying concealed behind the tragedy of human weakness, then he might turn it into a better and wiser destiny, provided he makes a proper use of his opportunity. A sad experience is always a stepping-stone to higher self.

* * * * *

Much in the same way man comes by a golden opportunity offered him by a kind soul that wants to benefit society by his goodness, or else by a favourable circumstance. But of what use is that golden opportunity if the receiver of such a noble gift throws it away in the spendthriftiness of his vanity? *That* unfortunately is the trouble with most men, who are so obsessed with egoism that they think that a golden opportunity as such is not a gift but a mere matter-of-course which must come to them by right. In the futility of such self-esteem many a man who might, if he could, have become a genius, has remained at best a mediocre. Such lost opportunities lead to blasted hopes that drive a man into an utter

state of desperation, if not actually to a lunatic asylum. The tragedy of man is not in the frustration of comedy, but in *seeing* too much in life where he ought to *feel*. Perhaps the history of the world would have changed and Utopia—which to-day is merely a poetic fancy—might have become a reality if humanity was not a sad record of golden opportunities miserably lost. But here again man has failed—one might say refused—to profit by experience. Time and again, golden opportunities have been cast to the winds with wanton abandonment, only to regret their loss; and yet man has not grown any the wiser: even the past could not teach him a lesson. Perhaps this is why Shakespeare has urged us to seize an opportunity as it comes, as delay may prove suicidal:

There is a tide in the affairs of men,
Which, taken at a flood, leads on to fortune;
Omitted, all the voyage in their life
Is bound in shallows, and in miseries.

* * * *

It is common experience that a thing loses its freshness when it becomes stale, and an opportunity deferred to be taken advantage of when it suits our convenience not only loses its force but may even recoil on ourselves with evil results which will completely defeat its purpose. It is only out of opportunities lost that all the crimes in the world prevail: all the cruelties of man, his selfishness, his pettiness, may be traced to some supreme occasion when he failed to avail himself of a golden opportunity. We would not have heard of wars perhaps if opportunities for peace were not abandoned for the renown of victory: as affairs of the world stand at present, peace is often merely a disgraceful alternative to victory—at best a truce to human brutality.

* * * *

The truth is that we do not enter into the spirit of oppor-

tunities that come our way; we often misconstrue them in the light of our selfishness. Often we perceive in them the deterioration of manhood instead of the culmination of its full stature: we glory more in the booties of war than in the efficacy of goodwill; we believe more in exploitation, plunder, hypocrisy, ugly conventions and customs than in the healing process of conciliation. Such is the tragedy of life!

* * * *

It may be argued that if opportunity means "a tide in the affairs of men" of which we must take advantage, then anything that furthers our end must be seized with adroitness—but here's the difference. A distinction must be made between opportunity that is noble and uplifting and opportunism that is base and degrading. Now and then perhaps, as Aldous Huxley observes, a noble end may justify a shameful means—but if the end is shameful, what then? Exploitation of the weak by the strong may seem a sound economic principle for a conquering nation which tries to conceal the magnitude of its folly under the hypocritical mask of nationalism, but will that solve the social problem on which rests the redemption of humanity? It will be diabolical even to pretend that in the struggle for existence exploitation is the only justifiable means to achieve the purpose. On the contrary, it only accentuates that which it designs to alleviate—a remedy which is more painful than the disease itself. If exploitation could have brought about millennium after which we are striving, if conventions and customs could bring us solace which religion has promised us, if hypocrisy could bring us nearer the Kingdom of God about which the priest perorates from the pulpit, then we would not have heard of wars, or communal outbreaks, or social injustices, or racial prejudices, or the like which are the products of opportunism, incited and encouraged by opportunists. Their only

excuse is this world of contradictions that preaches honesty of purpose but encourages hypocrisy in the name of religion, apparently sanctioned by the law; that advocates nobility of thought and action but permits butchery, plunder and exploitation in the name of nationalism, backed up by purest human sentiments; that worships men like the Mahatma and yet rallies round the banners of communal zealots who inspire the youth with "lofty" ideals of communal fellowship and national solidarity. It is they whom the present generation idolises as apostles of love, overflowing with milk of human kindness; their exploitation is an example of noble patriotism, their arrogance but a phase of humility. That is why we have our public heroes—communal coxcombs and murderous nationalists—who, to use a schoolboy slang, "cheek" us right and left, but who nevertheless inspire us with their "high" philosophies of butchery and rapine. It is they who merit a niche in history as those who served well their God, king and country; before them Christ, Buddha and Gandhi are pale figures in legendary martyrdom, good to read but not worthy of emulation. Indeed, our history is a record of flagrant disavowal of their teachings because these are too noble for opportunism.

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FAST MOVING STORY OF OUR NATIONAL CAVALCADE

By I. D.

The Indian National Congress is the oldest, the greatest and the most powerful and popular of our political organisations. Its history is the history of India's struggle for freedom. For half a century it has upheld, in spite of occasional set-backs and reverses,—and may it long uphold!—the honour of India. Its main endeavour, since its inception, has been to react to the changing policy of the rulers and to the changing temper of the ruled and to strive for national emancipation. If it is permissible to construct its chapters in definite historical phases, its career may be divided into three well-defined periods—the periods of advocacy or argument, of agitation, and of action. The first period was one of pioneering effort and of paramount unity. The noblest sons of the Motherland joined hands in laying the foundations of the institution on the solid basis of representative endeavour and of reasoned argument. New situations had arisen with the stiffening attitude of the bureaucracy and the divergent aims of political schools. The first rumblings of party division were heard in the days of the partition of Bengal and of the cult of Swadeshi. There was the inevitable clash of personalities. The united Congress of the days of Naoroji and of Gokhale tended to become the plaything of rival schools of politicians. At one time the Moderates had the upper hand and at another, the Extremists, and the period of argument was followed by that of agitation. More by chance than by destiny, they were 'united' at Lucknow in 1916, only to be

divided at Delhi in 1918. The Rowlatt Act, the Reign of Terror in the Punjab, the inauguration of the Montford Reforms, the arrival of Mahatma Gandhi on the scene, created a situation which left the Congress first in the hands of the 'Extremists' according to the old terminology and then in the hands of Mahatma Gandhi. It drifted from agitation to action—or to experiments in action, direct or otherwise.

It is no disparagement to the Congress to say (for it may be pure historical evolution) that, roughly speaking, while the history of the Congress was from 1885 to 1906, the history of the nation and from 1907 to 1919, the history of one or two parties, from 1920 onward it has been, more or less, the history of an individual.

In support of this analysis, the writer relies on the official history of the Congress¹ itself written with masterly knowledge and marked ability by one of its leading lights,—the learned doctor of Andhra. It was appropriate that the history of the Congress up-to-date should have been made available to the world on the memorable occasion of its Golden Jubilee, it was a happy circumstance that the task of the writing it was entrusted to, or fell to the lot of, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya. A tried Congressman, a trusted lieutenant of the Mahatma, a man of vast knowledge and of great experience, of penetrating intellect and of remarkable powers of expression, he is supremely qualified to write the history of the Congress. There is, however, "a fly in the ointment", as Elia would say. It is not Dr. Pattabhi's fault—it is only a handicap which none in his predicament could be free from. To quote no less an authority than Babu Rajendra Prasad:—

*The History of the Indian National Congress (1885—1935). By B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya. Published by the Working Committee of the Congress. Sole Agents for sale:—The Dakshina Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha, 107 Armenian Street, G. T. Madras, Rs. 2-8-0.

The author's knowledge and experience of the men and affairs of the Congress is wide. He himself has played no inconsiderable part in the later phases of its development. *He is not a detached historian writing after the events and basing his conclusions on cold recorded facts.* He has seen things with his own eyes and has himself acted and reacted on them. He is writing not only with knowledge but with faith. (*Italics mine*)

It serves no purpose to discuss here if "detachment" is or is not a vital element in the equipment of a historian. In view of Rajendra Babu's admission, it is not fair to raise, much less to emphasise, the point.

When the history of an institution is written by one of its outstanding representatives, the readers must make reasonable allowance for a little partiality and a little prejudice and must be further prepared to find sometimes important events mentioned but casually and unimportant ones enlarged upon. Historians are not after all angels devoid of feelings and Politicians who turn historians (as Trotsky within recent years) are apt to yield to the temptation of sometimes "casting their facts into the mould of their hypothesis". If anything, Dr. Pattabhi shares a general weakness. Perhaps the plan and structure of the book as well as the method of treatment in some parts are also defective. But these are defects of which the author is aware, and due regard must be shown to his candid admission that "the preparation of the book was not undertaken as of set purpose", that "it was the unwilling result of the scribbling of idle hours", and that "the work had to be put through in a hurry".

It is unfair to seek blemishes which count not "in the general blaze of excellence". Fifty years had to be surveyed; huge mass of material to be sifted, and a story of absorbing interest and educative value to be written. It is certain that Dr. Pattabhi has done it with supreme ability; it is doubtful if anyone inside the Congress could have done better. Yes,

he writes with "faith"—faith in Gandhi and Gandhism, with the result that he treats, the history of Congress of the later days, as the history of Gandhi, of Gandhian experiments and of Gandhian philosophy. But there is this justification that the Congress, as institution has been but the lengthened shadow of an individual, namely Gandhi. And who can interpret him and his philosophy better than Dr. Patabhi? Was it not the Mahatma himself that said on one occasion?—"I am the *Bania Sutrakara* and Patabhi is the Brahman commentator".

Let not the reader, however, make the mistake of thinking that Dr. Patabhi's *magnum opus* has no interest or value except as an exposition of Gandhism. For an interesting and instructive account of the political life of India during the last fifty years, for a clear understanding of the manifestations of British policy and British strategy, for a delightful portraiture of the great personalities who gave their best to the country, and for a vivid narrative of the various movements which marked (or retarded) the progress of years, Dr. Patabhi's 'History of the Congress' is an invaluable addition to Indian political literature. A fast-moving story of the kaleidoscopic changes and varying fortunes of our national cavalcade, rich in ideas and observation, irritating, illuminating, and stimulating, it is a book of blazing interest and an achievement of real quality.

THE CHINESE MASSES

By P. K. B.

Secret China. By Egon Erwin Kisch. Published by John Lane The Bodley Head Ltd., London. Price 8s. 6d. net.

There is always something secretive about China; tourists see only the glamour of the East resplendent in the reflected

glory of western civilisation; and guide-books give only a shinning exterior, leaving the ugly interior to the researching genius of a rampaging reporter. Egon Erwin Kisch, the author of these delightful sketches of Chinese life, is such a reporter. With the eyes and pen of an artist he has turned the most common observations into sublime descriptions, while his adventures in the unbeaten tracks of China are woven into romantic tales of exquisite beauty. Here is a travel book that is not only interesting to read but is also an instructive commentary on the art of reporting—not merely a passing "scoop" of the journalist, but an enduring handiwork of the artist.

It is truism to repeat that truth is the final test of literature. Judged by this criterion the book touches the inmost being of our hearts and evokes sympathy for the suffering humanity. It is not the elusive fancy of poetic creation that cheers the spirit when the flesh is weak; it is a genuine expression of feeling that spontaneously records a protest against human tyranny which seeks justification in the survival of the fittest. Thus it is that the imperialistic designs of Japan against China incite the author "at once to a delicate satire and a damning indictment." The scene opens at the ruins of Wasung where the Yellow Sea becomes the Yangtsekiang; yonder the Cathay Hotel rises high above the towering skyscrapers on Nanking Road. Here the members of the League of Nations Commission come to enquire into the affairs at Tchapei, are entertained to a sumptuous banquet "organised by the organisers the war" before they actually commence their sight-seeings of "horrid sights and shrieks and sounds unholy." Evidently the appetites of the gentlemen from the League are of greater moment to the world peace than the symbolic corpses of man's tyranny against man.

And thus started Kisch goes on through a variety of

scenes—the funeral of a criminal, an Indian controls the traffic, the execution, “Ricksha! Ricksha!”, and so on—that thrill one’s imagination with the poignancy of their pathos. Tsang Kya-Ying is executed and Kisch transforms him into a symbol—the Chinese masses that live and yet not live—a strange phenomenon of tragic paradox. And thus he describes his feelings when driving home, along the banks of the Whangpoo:

Now alive he (the Chinese) drives in front of me, runs past me, sits at the street corners; always the only living man, his blood spurts up again, his body wrestles, his eyes are staring, his face is dyed with crimson.

Again, describing the Sikhs who are not only watchmen but are also money-lenders to the Chinese at high interest, he gives a very fine touch:

With their hands full of promissory notes, they populate the law-courts all day and every day. Watch-dogs of colonial capital: blood suckers of the colonial people.

And again, how nicely he portrays the life of a ricksha-coolie:

Twelve shillings for doing this: thirty times a month, weekdays and Sundays, from early afternoon to early morning, day in, day out, down to the docks, up from the docks, from Nantao to Tchapei, from Siccawei to the Broadway, this way and that, hither and thither, up and down, walk and trot, prancing and tugging, keeping up an average of 130 yards to the minute, up to 10 kilometres an hour. The lungs are wrecked by this running; they have to serve as motor-horn too, but the motor-cars don’t recognise this signal. Almost any day you can see rickshaws being run down, and at every collision the chauffeur jumps out of his car and beats up the coolie. Over-exertion, heart disease, pulmonary consumption, danger and ill-usage are the rickshaw-coolie’s lot. For five and a half years. Then he dies.

It is difficult in the limited space of a review to give more extracts. But the few given suffice to indicate that

the author has a keen insight into human nature, which he transcribes in a fascinating style. The book is really speaking a dedication to the oppressed peoples.

It must also be added that the translator has carried out his task marvellously well.

INDIAN INDUSTRIES, PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE

Decay of Indian Industries. By P. R. Ramachandra Rao with a foreword by J. C. Kumarappa, Secretary, All-India Village Industries Association D. B. Taraporewala Sons Co., Bombay. Price Rs. 2. First Edition, 1935, pp. 142.

Ruin of Indian Industries. By B. D. Basu. Published at the Prabashi Press, 120-2 Upper Circular Road, Calcutta. Third Edition, 1935, pp. 267.

“We look back at the twilight glow of our national past and are overwhelmed.” As the wave of self-depreciation began to recede and national consciousness increased with the years succeeding one another in the present century, Indian more and more loved to contemplate the glory of her past. Before her, her leaders placed the heights of her achievements in every sphere of life, art and literature, religion and philosophy, and trade and industry, achievements of a time when most other peoples of the world were lagging far behind in the march of progress, achievements surpassed by none in certain spheres even now. National pride is the secret of national consciousness, and of national self-respect and national unity, and an encouragement to national effort. When, therefore, some of us are in a mood of impatience at the hallelujahs of a glory that was, sore at the bareness and barrenness that is, it should be remembered that the former

is a necessary stage in a people's advancement in the present and the future.

But that stage has passed and India is settling down to the task of the present. Books like Mr. P. R. Ramachandra Rao's *Decay of Indian Industries* and Major B. D. Basu's *Ruin of Indian Industries*, just now before us, however, are not without justification. India's economic development has been claiming attention more and more, and the problem has come to the forefront with the growth of middle class unemployment. Are we, by national traditions and temperament, incapable of competing with the Western nations in the economic world? And what should be the line of our industrial advance, a point on which there is perceptible difference of opinion? With these questions the books seek to deal.

A convincing answer to the first question is necessary if we are to proceed about the business with confidence, without which success is unthinkable in any field. The reply of the authors is an emphatic 'yes'. Major Basu is well known for his long and patient research in British Indian history, and the present book is not the first, and only, result of his labours. A marked feature of his writings has been the staggering array of authorities not Indian but European, with which he has always sought to prove India's case. In the *Ruin of Indian Industries*, he traces the history of Indian industries since the advent of the British in Hindusthan—how British free trade was forced on India, how transit and customs-duties operated to the disadvantage of India, how special privileges were granted to the British and British capital introduced in India, how their trade secrets were obtained from Indian artisans; what, in short, has been the attitude of the British towards Indian industries. He deals with the acknowledged quality of some of the Indian manu-

factures of the past as a contrast to the sad position now.

Mr. P. R. Ramachandra Rao goes farther back in the dim past briefly tracing the history of Indian commerce, as far back as the fourteenth century B. C., to find out the contributory causes of the decay of Indian industries. He does not pretend to present an exhaustive picture of the historical background. And for a popular work any attempt to go into the details would have been ill-advised. He believes that the "decay in our arts and crafts is owing in considerable measure to the indifference to artistic manufactures developed during the later days of the Moghul epoch much earlier than the advent of foreign trading companies or the abolition of native courts".

And he also asks as regards the future: "Are we to take after Western examples?" The question is whether what India wants is the mechanization of Indian industry, encouragement of what E. B. Howell called "the crude barbarities of the factory system." Our problem, he states, is not labour saving but labour absorbing machinery, Mr. Rao wants the revival of village industries, a decentralization of production which would distribute the fruits of labour among the workers, and, in the words of Mr. Kumarappa "do away with the need for the bayonet to force markets to consume articles."

Mr. Rao takes a view which has been repeatedly discussed in recent years. The urgent need of the revival of village industries is recognised universally, but only to provide subsidiary occupations to the peasants. Even if we further accept Mr. Rao's view, there will be a chance of success only if the political power is completely in our hands.

As it is one sometimes feels while of course we must continue to press for the encouragement of industries in India through adequate protection and the well-known

expedients in the form of tariffs, currency and exchange restored to by other countries—whether it is not worth while to investigate in what other industries Indian interests do not much clash with British just as in the case of sugar. For in the development of such industries, if there are some we could receive the whole-hearted support of the State, without which the fate of any industry in any country, must be precarious in the keen international competition in the economic field today.

ANON

Tales of Bengal. By Santa and Sita Chatterjee. Published by R. Chatterjee, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2.

There is quite a spate of novels and short stories in Bengali every year. Most of them are, however, morbid and smutty. It is therefore refreshing to turn to "Tales of Bengal"—a collection of stories by Sita Chatterjee and Santa Chatterjee. Both the sisters have won their spurs in the field of Bengali literature and are a force to reckon with.

They display consummate skill in weaving plots and characterisation. Each story is a miracle of simplicity and a triumph of artistic creation with an under-current of understanding sympathy. Here and there, they cast a tinge of melancholy pensiveness over their gentle raillery and poignant detail. Each character has been drawn to the life. The theme of the stories is almost identical and they reveal the depth of despair and anguish of a Bengali woman's heart.

Quite legitimately, the position of the woman claims their attention. The dowry system, the bane of the Bengali society, comes in for a good deal of castigation at their hands. Humour coupled with matchless insight into feminine psychology and cultivated imagination heightens the interest of

the stories.

"The Ugly Bride" stands facile princeps. Tara Sundari, the victim of her own wiles, has been drawn with a masterly hand. "The Broken Lily" reveals the grim tragedy of the life of a girl wedded to an old and decrepit man and brings into bold relief the curse of the dowry system. "The Cake Festival" gives the reader an intimate glimpse of the heart of a young widow doomed to a dull and drab existence under the harsh laws of a society, hide-bound by effete customs and crass superstition. It is also a vivid picture of a yearning mother-heart. The rest also show their power of depiction and construction of plots. These talented sisters have touched up the sleek humdrum of our pinched existence with their imagination.

The style of each story is simple, graceful and chaste, though, here and there, it has been marred by exuberance of imagination.

P. K. Mitra

Every man in Health and in Sickness. Edited by Dr. Harry Roberts. Published by J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd. 12s. 6d. net.

This instructive volume, illustrated with photographs and numerous drawings, provides a practical guide to man's health, on which depends the stamina and strength of a nation. In the present-day life of competition and hurry, health often recedes into the background of one's consideration. To stress the importance of the danger to which we are likely to expose ourselves by ignoring health as a necessary factor in our existence, the author has taken pains to deal comprehensively with all aspects of our physical body which will help to build a healthy generation.

The only criticism that one might offer is that in the chapter of "Metabolism and Food Utilisation" too much attention has been paid on what is known as the *BIO Chemistry* of food and its elaborate chemical formulae, which may not be easily understood by the laymen (for whom the book is obviously intended) who do not possess very advanced knowledge of Chemistry.

Other chapters, particularly those dealing with "Some Common Minor Ailments," and "First Aid in Emergencies" are of special value to everyday-life, while illustrations have added considerable information regarding the human structure and the correct method of doing exercises.

D. N. SANYAL

The Story of Mira Bai. By Bankey Behari, Gita Press, Gorakhpur.

Mr. Bankey Behari, whose articles on mysticism have of late been appearing in the *Twentieth Century*, needs no introduction to our readers. For some time past he has been trying to solve the mystic phenomena of life—and this perhaps is the only apology for his bringing out this beautiful publication, the story of Mira Bai. For this devotee of the Lord has won immunity from the ravages of Time: in India at least—the land of mystic philosophy—she will ever be remembered for her sublime songs dedicated to Lord Krishna, which often transported her to the mystic realm of ecstatic swoon, in divine embrace of her Lord of Brindaban. To a mundane mind attached to the ugly realities of life such transportations to divine ecstasy may not make an appeal, but even such a mind may derive great pleasure in reading the story of a life that was "at once resplendent and captivating." Those acquainted with history have no doubt read the invaluable contributions of Macauliffe and Todd on Mira, but Mr.

Bankey Behari's book, though he does not "claim for it a place as history," gives a touch of lighter vein that makes reading not only a pleasant pastime but also a useful devotion to the study of history enriched by high ideals of love and piety as against its infernal intrigues and family feuds. And it is in this that the book presents a contrast to similar books often written with a bias. Here is a story, simply told and ennobled by a devotion that transcends all barriers of human prejudices.

P. K. B.

The Root and the Flower. By L. H. Myers (Jonathan Cape. London.)

It is not the author's intention to portray specifically oriental modes of living and thinking in this novel which depicts the time of Akbar. The characters are supposed to be Indian. "I have done what I liked with the local customs, history and geography; facts have been used when they were useful and distorted or ignored when they were inconvenient," remarks the author, and it must be added that these liberties which he has taken with Indian names, places, customs and habits make the story so unreal for an Indian reader and at places where he blends Hindu names with Mohammedan prefixes, he is funny. If these imperfections are ignored, the story is powerful and written in a particularly chaste style.

K. L.

The Mahabharata: Translated by Dr. R. Raghavan, M.A., PH. D. with a Foreword by Prof. S. Radhakrishnan. G. A. Natesan & Co. Price Re. 1-4.

In sublimity of thought and nobility of character, the *Mahabharata* stands unrivalled in the historical library of the

world. It is not an epic only containing brave deeds of past heroes, but is a literary piece of great scientific value. As Sir Radhakrishnan puts it, "It gives a just and illuminating account of the Indian genius both in its nobility and greatness and in its tragic weakness and insufficiencies." We know at a glance the decaying condition of ancient India, its solidarity and strength, its weakness and its miseries. We infer that in spite of the terrible ideal 'faith and purpose had not wholly gone out of life.' The poet weaves round the clashing motives a nice labyrinth of ancient lore and succeeds in conveying a vivid picture of the 'creative principles of past epochs'.

This great account composed in fluent verse by the Sage Krishna Dvaipayana Vyasa has been condensed and presented in a readable form within a reasonable compass of 495 pages.

The book under review is an excellent attempt to bring a sacred heritage within the easy reach of every Indian who cares to read in English and in a hurry. The publishers ought to be congratulated for bringing out this handy volume of great philosophical, religious and ethical value.

I. B. S.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

THE TRAGEDY OF THE CONGRESS

By I. D.

[The views expressed by the writer in this article are strictly personal.]

Nothing has more disturbed orderly progress in the world than the passion for finality with its attendant illusion that a given political or economic system will bring humanity to its goal. This may be an amiable optimism or a presumptuous vanity, but it is a puny thing to set against the endlessly unfolding process of human destiny.

—Spender

Social injustice cannot be remedied by making economic confusion; rather in the long run it is made more unjust.

—Ibid

It is the tragedy of the Congress to have, during the last seventeen years, entrusted its destinies to the leadership of men who failed to give it the right lead. It is the tragedy of the Congress to have been left at the mercy of men whose philosophy of life the Congressmen could understand little and follow less in actual practice. It is the tragedy of the Congress to have elected leaders who could only pull different ways and initiate campaigns which inevitably led to confusion, conflict and chaos. This is the history of the Congress from Amritsar to Lucknow, or to translate it in terms of personalities, from Nehru the father to Nehru the son.

I

What heat and dust in Lucknow!—yes, as much inside the Congress as in the city. In fact, Lucknow provided ample opportunities to the Congressmen to experience white

heat and to kick up a lot of dust. Yet, the Lucknow session is a landmark in the annals of Congress history. It has installed Gandhi's successor in the Congress *gaddi*; it has given a new direction and a new turn to Congress politics and policies; it has facilitated the dark drift of the Congress from the hegemony of Gandhi who has carried on—"experiments with truth" to Jawaharlal who is an impetuous seeker after adventures.

Jawaharlal (like John Buchan's Cromwell) is "one of those well-defined, four-square personalities, who belong to a recognisable type, whose purpose is single and whose career is the product of obvious causes". With the Anand Bhawan as his background and under the banner of the Mahatma, he flung himself into the stream of tumultuous times with a courage, a selflessness and a reckless indifference to consequences that made him at once "the theme of honour's tongue". His early education in England and subsequent love for Russia have given the requisite European touch to his frame of mind. A brave fighter and a noble foe, he has won universal admiration as a man who could neither be bought nor broken. A man of learning and brilliance too. Words leap from his pen with freshness and vitality and they bear the impress of his puissant personality. His address at Lucknow reveals the two passions that characterise his life, his passion for liberty and his passion for socialism. The positive and outstanding merit of his address is its complete freedom from equivocation. There are no reservations, no delicate nuances, no half-tones. The greater is the regret that a man of such splendid gifts and supreme devotion to a cause has joined the ranks of politicians who think of society as "raw material to be stamped with the patterns of their own devising". While his address does credit to the genuineness of his patriotism, to the purity of his motive, and to the energy of his burning intellect, it is utterly barren

of political sagacity and empty of practical wisdom. A first-rate academical essay in Socialism, it has no bearing whatsoever on realities. Full of socialist jargon, egregious ideas, idle fancies and reckless thinking, it is a gospel of despair and a consummate example of extravagant futilities.

Constitutional issues don't appeal to him; communal issues don't matter at all; conflict stirs his enthusiasm; catastrophe even fascinates him. In his view political unity is of little value, compromise unthinkable, the so-called Liberals in India are the die-hards of the Conservative society and the true Liberals who correspond to the Liberals in England are inside the Congress. He welcomes class-war and pants for revolution so that he may get a chance of forcing the narrow tenets of his Marxian dogmas and Moscovite doctrines on India. The implications of his philosophy or ideology he ignores—or trifles with. It is a wise student of contemporary politics who has said:

Revolution in Russia has been written in the book of doom for a generation past, and remembering what went before we may even think mercifully of those who were its instruments, but it is beyond belief that men who know and confess frankly that those have been its consequences should wish other people to travel the same road. *Of all the manifestations of the revolutionary spirit, surely, this is the strangest and the most inhuman.*
(Italics mine)

Mr. Jawaharlal has, *however*, definitely succumbed to the spell of Soviet Russia and he seems to sing with Omar:

Ah, Love! could thou and I
with Fate conspire,
To grasp this sorry scheme
of Things entire,
Would not we shatter it
to bits—and then
Remould it nearer to the
Heart's Desire!

II

While, as Thackery said, there is always an excuse for men of the aggressive turn of mind, the blunders of the British Government have given Mr. Jawaharlal a fair field to sow his wild oats. Students of Indian politics must, however, bear in mind that if Mr. Jawaharlal's address is a challenge to British Imperialism to be on its guard against the surging tide of Socialist thought, it has at the same time led to consolidate, on the one hand, all non-Congress elements in the country against the Congress and on the other, to cut the Congress adrift from its Gandhian moorings. His Lucknow address is an eloquent repudiation of Gandhian leadership and a complete travesty of Gandhian philosophy. The old leader of yesterday and the young hero of today don't complement each other;—they may compliment each other!—they contradict each other. To sum up briefly: Gandhi is essentially a reformer, Jawaharlal is a revolutionary; Gandhi hates industrialism, Jawaharlal wants it; Gandhi derives inspiration from his own Motherland, Jawaharlal from alien acres; Gandhi derives his sustenance and strength from religion; Jawaharlal considers religion to be the opium of the people; Gandhi stands for Satyagraha, Jawaharlal for Duragraha; Gandhi is a saint and a Mahatma, Jawaharlal a "soldier" and a "comrade". Between Gandhi's "Rama Rajya" and Nehru's "Russian Paradise" there are barren wastes and endless Saharas which the Congressmen are invited to traverse. It is amazing and absurd that Congressmen who ought to know better should simultaneously seek to owe allegiance to the leadership of two men who are diametrically opposite to each other and who are poles apart. Lucknow has blessed the two-faced Janus of the Congress. It is, indeed, the tragedy of the Congress. And it is a grim paradox that the Mahatma should have foisted

Mr. Jawaharlal on the Congress as its President and then have chosen to remain silent without telling the country whether he approves or disapproves of his "philosophy of life" and action.

III

From personalities let us now turn to policies. The difficulty in serving two masters, however artfully concealed for the present, is bound to play havoc in the Congress. Perhaps trouble had already begun in the old Working Committee. It had to a larger extent manifested itself in the Subjects Committee. Its effects could be seen in the resolutions passed at the Congress. Its repercussions on the selection of the new "Cabinet" were also noticeable. At one stage the "reformists" of the Gandhi school felt they could carry a resolution in favour of acceptance of office under the new Constitution in spite of the clamorous opposition of the "revolutionaries" of the Nehru school, but they deliberately refrained from doing so lest the irascible President might tender his resignation and split the Congress. To avoid this contingency Babu Rajendra Prasad came out with his postponement formula as a crude device to conceal an obvious cleavage in Congress ranks. The agrarian programme of the Congress was a sop to the Socialist Cerberus, and it was a touching sight to see Mr. Bhulabhai Desai of all Congressmen, sponsoring it in the open session. The new Working Committee is a museum of incompatibles and irreconcilables. On what basis was it selected, it is difficult to understand. The President issued a lengthy statement explaining the difficulty in making his choice, but it seems that on being encountered with the question why a very useful and distinguished member of the old committee happened to be left out, he frankly admitted that *he* had no hand in the formation of his "cabinet" and that it was not *his* Working Com-

mittee. Omissions apart, (though they have their own tale to tell) it will be an interesting spectacle to find the Gandhian lambs and Socialist lions drinking water from the same holy stream. The non-Socialist member of the Working Committee reminds us of nothing so much as (in Garvin's words in another connection) *the contortionist who contrives to present his face and hands in one direction while pointing his feet in another.*

How long this make-believe of coalition or unity will last, the next few months will tell. If there are to be dissensions and divisions, nobody need be surprised, though one may feel sorry for. Either Jawaharlal and his Socialist comrades will capture the Congress machinery and purge it or the Gandhites will assert themselves and carry the day at Poona. This does not, however, mean that either party will leave the Congress—at least in the near future. The chances, however, are that in practical Poona, under the leadership of practical Rajagopalachariar, the Congressmen will decide to accept office and turn into practical politicians. The elder politicians in the Congress seem to have a deeper understanding of the realities of the situation. They know that the country is not prepared for civil disobedience, much less for revolution, and is even sick of heroics, and that the interests of the country will be served best by fighting the reactionaries as well as the revolutionaries on all fronts. We only wish the country had been spared this socialist interlude which leaders of the "reformist" mentality in the Congress secretly resent and non-Congress politicians openly condemn. And be it remembered that the regime of Mr. Jawaharlal as President will be about the shortest on record as the Congress will hold its next session in Poona in December only.

IV

Meanwhile, the Mahatma will remain silent, the Pandit will *not* remain silent, the Congress "loud-speakers" will be heard far and wide and the Government active in inaugurating the reforms in the provinces, and the country will pass through a period of uncertainty and unrest. The country needs, no "finalists" and "absolutists" who hold their doctrines with a more than theological bitterness, no revolutionaries who without realising that quick remedies are little better than quack remedies, gamble with the fortunes of the people, but statesmen and realists who know their limitations as well as opportunities, and face facts and problems alike—in other words, the country needs constructive engineers in politics. It is the tragedy of the Congress that it has failed to supply the need while it is the tragedy of India that outside the Congress, politicians are either silent or sullen.

After Mr. Jawaharlal's address there is no excuse for political neutrality in the country. Everybody who has political consciousness must make up his mind whether he is for reform or for revolution. It would be a mistake to think that his campaign will peter out owing to its inherent limitations. A singularly attractive and arresting personality, he is a force to be reckoned with and will gain a large following if the Government and constitutionalists will not make a persistent endeavour to remove the root causes of discontent on which alone Nehruism or any other form of extremism can thrive. Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru is a portent, a phenomenon, and it is at their peril that Government and society ignore or trifle with portents and phenomena. Let them beware of them and not forget the lesson of history. And more than the constitutionalists and reformers, the Government must realise the profundity of Junius's observation:—

The multitude, in all countries, are patient to a certain point.

Ill-usage may rouse their indignation, and hurry them into excess but the original fault is in government.

While it is indeed poor statesmanship to create opportunities for revolutionaries and then to grow restless over their emergence, it is bad generalship to bring down heroism to the level of heroics and seek to create revolutions out of resolutions.

NARAN—OBO

(Diary Leaves)

By NICHOLAS ROERICH

[NARAN—OBO is a sequel to Erdeni—Mori which appeared in the January number. In this, the famous author gives an appreciative conclusion to the Mongolian Epics.]

Above all surrounding mountains stands Naran Obo. Naran means solar. Verily the high white obo meets and bids farewell to the Sun. According to narratives this peak is surrounded with many sacred legends. From its summit, like upon the plate with the golden apple in fairy tales, all surrounding lands can be seen. From behind the hills one sees the roof of the monastery Batukhalka. Further again a row of hills and then already the sand—the forerunners of Alashan. To the south-west and west sandy expanses are stretched—all these Gobis or Shamos. To the south runs the path to Kokokhoto—there is already the tumult of crowds. To the east are the lands of the Sunits, and to the north-west runs Urat. To the north is Mumingan, what means the “Daring Thousand”. No one remembers where this standard has shown its daringness. And from where does this daringness come—from evil or from valour?

Naran Obo itself stands on the lands of Prince Darkhan Beile. In the north one can discern the ruins of a Mongolo-Nestorian ancient city. Besides Chinese and Mongolian accumulations there can be found under the foundations of these ruins also Uihur inscriptions, and who after all knows the original antiquity of these desert stones?

To the west—so people say—are the ruins of Chingiz Khan's camp. One should not miss the opportunity to visit them. This place is apparently nowhere described. And after all, how could one expect for an eminent locality to do without the great name of Chingiz Khan. There, amidst some ruins, can be found stones with carvings. Perhaps these signs—tamgas—of Chingiz Khan, or inscriptions, will give the key to their identification.

In the same direction, in one day's riding stage, is already the border of Khalka. Many diverse and conflicting stories reach us from there. Twenty miles away is an entire settlement of Khalka refugees. To judge by the stories it may be one way or another. One has seen one thing, another thought he saw something else.

Our camp stands among fantastic volcanic rocks, at the foothill of Timur-Khada, which means the Iron Rock. Again also this great name of Mongol history did not get lost. And Chingiz-Khan, the great conqueror and builder, and the Iron Timur—and above on the hill-top shines Naran Obo!

At the base of the mountain, not far from our camp, is the site of the future Mongolian capital. The site was chosen and predicted by the Panchen-Rimpoche, the Tashi Lama of Tibet, himself, who is now at Kumbum. It is quite clear that for the new Mongolian capital a new place had been chosen. Because Batukhalka, with its ancient outlived monastery, cannot be a new beginning. And the new autonomous government naturally wants to be in new surroundings. At present the government stays at Batukhalka in yuertas. But of course this can only be a temporary solution.

According to old examples of history, the Mongolians want to build. And the place chosen by the Tashi-Lama

himself is not an accidental one. The same mountains that surround Naran Obo, were at one time the capital of the famous Hun leader. Even at present one may see near the rocks certain stones, which were not placed thereby accident. A great deal has taken place on these sands. There is before us, amidst green elm-trees, the dried up bed of a river. There was water here once upon a time, but it had left the place and remained only in near by wells and isolated springs. Of course two or three artesian wells would give a new vivifying stream. Among future construction one must think in the first place of such re-waterisation.

There is no need to complain about the soil. Everywhere there were forests, now cruelly destroyed. We ourselves recently observed at Tzagan-Kure, that a willow beam of a fence sprouted before our very eyes. It means, that wherever there is the least sign of life—the soil will permit that it manifests itself.

The living power of the Mongolian autonomous Government is Prince Teh-Wang of Sunit. His task is not easy, for he desires to bring life into new governmental forms around the ancient Mongolian banners. Quite recently, during his trip to Peiping, Prince Teh-Wang made a touching speech addressed to a crowded auditorium of the University, telling them that their every advice for the benefit of Mongolian up-building will be received with gratitude. Truly, who wouldn't help the peaceful cultural up-building of a historically great country! Who could show such ignorant cruelty to contradict and impede the peaceful enlightened beginning? On the contrary, every cultural heart will resound to this sincere address. Who would refuse to give a friendly advice there, where it will be so necessary, and where it will be so eagerly listened to?

In a country, where the people are understanding,

where the depths are preserved, where improved cattle-breeding, agriculture as well as various industries are possible, could there be such heartless people, who would desire the destruction of all these obvious possibilities. Of course, the whole world is in turmoil. Every day can bring staggering surprises. Everything is as tense as during the completion of a tower or during the launching of a giant liner. Above all confusion and turmoil, everywhere is evident the search for a new world, a new life, new happiness. Much has been outlived, much has become obsolete and requires new construction. The best minds understand, that one can no longer live on old values. The most practical already renounce the centuries-old idol of humanity—gold. Co-operation is the motto of the day. People understand that every isolation, like a prison, does not lead to enlargement, does not lead to light and the sun.

In such days of an unusual world-wide tension, every desire of a peaceful cultural up-building resounds callingly. Mongolia wishes to build to-day. That same Mongolia, which contributed so many startling pages to the history of humanity, now wishes to arrange its life peacefully and culturally. Of course it would be a pity if in the process of this building, the basic foundations of the Mongolian nation would be forgotten and if someone would try to force upon something entirely alien. On the contrary, one can see, how useful is for the building much of the local material and one must utilize all creative friendliness in order that the new structure be erected on truly befitting lines.

Studying the surrounding possibilities we see, that if for ages Samarkand, the entire Choresm, all flowering Kishlaks could for centuries maintain their brilliant fertile level, it means that also the soil here is capable to produce the same.

The very facts that the soil had been resting for so long, will only help the new up-building. Every field must rest, and Mongolia has rested long enough, in order to rise again with great force for its construction.

One must see with what inspired enthusiasm every Mongol pronounces the sacred name of Chingiz-Khan; how the Mongols recall Timur, Ugedei, Kublai and other builders, stern, far-sighted, who held the attention of the entire world.

References to Marco Polo have already become common place. Not he alone, but many travellers have recorded in their writings the flourishing of local places. In their days these places were truly blossoming. From excavations we become convinced that they truly could flourish. The easier it is to imagine that the new epoch of regeneration and a still greater prosperity are possible.

To those who will point out the severity of local conditions one may reply, that precisely severe conditions so often serve as an impulse for up-building. The conditions of Scandinavia are often very severe, but it is there precisely that the unconquerable spirit of the Vikings was forged. And in both Americas, despite all the threatening torandoes and dust storms, the great Mayan culture was formed. The human spirit does not know physical obstacles.

The "Peiping Chronicle" reports, that during the Second General Conference of the Pailingmiao Council many important resolutions were adopted. Amongst them the following:

A Local Autonomy Institute should be established for the training of public functionaries in Mongolia.—Mongolian troops should be thoroughly reorganized and be further trained.—Hospitals and other sanitary institutions should be established in Inner Mongolia for treatment of the sick and for purposes of plague prevention.—The New Life Standards sponsored by

Marshal Chiang Kai-shek should be adopted in Inner Mongolia, and new model villages established.—Cultural institutions should be established to improve the education of the Mongols.—A normal school should be established for the training of teachers in Mongolia.—Productive, Trading and Credit Co-operatives should be established to develop the natural resources, assist trade and extend credit loans to Mongolian traders.—Efforts should be made for the construction of highways in Inner Mongolia.—A special bureau should be established for the installation of telephone and telegraph equipment and post offices in different Leagues and Banners in Inner Mongolia.

Mongolia wishes to have schools, means of communication, telegraphs, hospitals—is this not to be welcomed? Mongolia wishes to have a stabilized administration, wishes to have co-operative societies, desires its own industrial companies—is this not to be welcomed? Mongolia wants to have model farms, wants to improve its agriculture, cattle-breeding, forestation—is this not to be welcomed? Mongolia wishes to establish exchange of goods, financial stabilization and strives towards peaceful relations—is this not to be welcomed?

There are at present in the world so many out-of-date confused circumstances. The more so one should rejoice when one sees the desire of the people to organize themselves, to overcome difficulties and develop peacefully. For this is not easy. There is much malice and evil thought in the world. And therefore every seed of good should find sincere help and friendship. And then it is joyful to help every constructive beginning. It has been pointed out quite recently, that I like so much the French proverb: "When construction proceeds, everything goes on well." I do not deny that I like this proverb. I feel that indeed in the striving for construction many daily misunderstandings and difficult problems are solved. Therefore I call everyone

to help building up. Every up-building is not only a national task, but it also truly belongs to the world, for it increases the welfare of the world and strengthens the universal achievement.

When we hear these touchingly friendly invitations of the Mongols to help their up-building, one wants to transmit to all the distant friends of culture the same wish, the same request—to unite in active efforts for the new up-building.

New constructive beginnings should not arouse only desire for egotistical attempts, for gain or for the suppression of individuals. On the contrary the banner of up-building will also be a lightbearing unifying and benevolent concept. Mongolia does not attempt to build an Utopian Tower of Babel. The country wants to develop and stabilize itself in a natural way. No exorbitant funds are required for this up-building. The richness of the country itself is quite a sufficient guarantee for possible prosperity. Every cultural man will only rejoice, hearing that in our difficult days one more improvement and up-building takes place.

High upon the mountain glistens the obo of the sun—Naran Obo. It reminds of those spiritual possibilities, which must cement the stones of the new Mongolian up-building. At the foothills bricks are already being burnt for the construction of the future capital. All this preliminary activity prior to construction reminds me of my painting "Building a City". There where there is up-building—there is no destruction. Every construction is an increase of good.

"When construction proceeds, everything goes on well!"

SOME RECENT TENDENCIES IN POLITICAL THOUGHT

By ILYAS AHMAD

[This is the second and concluding part of the highly appreciated paper recently read by Mr. Ilyas Ahmad of the Department of Politics, Allahabad University, as an extra-mural lecture. He maintains that in spite of the many-sided assaults on it, Democracy remains unscathed and put in an eloquent plea for pacificism and the evolutionary universalism of the League of Nations.]

Absolutism

Now I turn to those circumstances and conditions which have again led people to believe in the Absolute state. Wherever we see, we find a dictatorial form of government. From Stalin in Russia, Mussolini in Italy and Hitler in Germany, to Roosevelt in U. S. A., the National Government in England, Kemal in Turkey and Raza Shah in Iran we find nothing more than the Executive exercising tremendous powers, perhaps far more than was even seen during the Great War, and yet people are obeying their rulers silently and ungrudgingly. The explanation of this abnormal condition is again to be sought in the special circumstances of the times.

The Dictatorial Idea and Italy after the War

The 'dictatorial idea,' again, is the product of the Great War conditions in the same way as the reaction against the state activities was to be traced to that era. It is certainly the tragedy of human life that two diametrically opposite babies be born of the same parents. On the one hand, the

Pluralistic theories initiated an era of iconoclasm against the Absolutist state: on the other hand, it sowed the seeds of a totalitarian state which was to be far more autocratic than any state we had so far seen. It was, in the first instance, in Italy that several factors contributed to the rise to power of Mussolini and with him Fascism. Italy could not get much out of the Great War even though it had joined the Allies. Its Adriatic policy had failed, its ventures in the Balkan Peninsula blocked and its efforts in Asia Minor thwarted, while in Africa it got nothing. Hence the sensational Fiume Declaration of Wilson put an end to all hopes of Greater Italy, and Italy had to withdraw its delegation from the Paris Peace Conference. Thus diplomatically defeated, Italy because of the stress of War conditions suffered an economic breakdown also, and the condition had reached a limit whence it was extremely difficult to rise unless a genius could come in and apply some very new measures. Here was Mussolini ready to take up the task and it is he who by his Fascist principles has saved Italy from collapse.

Other Countries after the War

Besides Italy, in more or less degree in every country, the Great War had produced abnormal conditions. Hence to meet them extraordinary executive capacity, with agility and despatch, was the need of the hour. This explains why Kemal Pasha and Reza Shah etc. acted as Dictators and therefore as deliverers in their countries. Even in India, during the civil disobedience movement, the Congress had decided to put itself under the guidance of dictators.

The Economic Depression

Side by side with these tremendous events came the world-wide economic depression which threw even countries like U. S. A. and England in abnormal conditions. Presi-

dent Roosevelt took to the "New Deal" or to what may be called a dictatorial executive legislation and in England the present National Government had to be organised.

Germany and Hitler

But it was in Germany, that the 'dictatorial idea' got most triumphant. The economic depression, the defeatist mentality, the humiliation, and above all the resentment against the Allies in not disarming themselves all created bad blood. A man of the hour was required and that was provided by Providence in the person of Hitler. Like Mussolini, he also founded a political cult—that of Nazism.

Fascism and Nazism

From our point of view both Fascism and Nazism are not simply National Socialist Movements, they have a political theory at their back. That may not have been fashioned in full, but like these movements, their political theory is also in the making. This much, however, is clear that we are already very far both from Pluralism with its federalistic tendencies and Internationalism with its interdependent qualities. We have again turned back to that theory of the state in which the only natural relation of state to state was that of hostility.

The Term "National Socialism"

The very word 'National Socialism' to me seems to be a contradiction in terms, unless it be accepted derisively along with the so-called State Socialism, for, I think, if it is 'socialism' it cannot be 'National' and if it is 'national', it cannot be 'socialism'. However, we take first the Italian Fascism.

Italian Fascism

Fascism, as Mussolini himself tells us, is a peculiar child. It does not resemble other contemporary children. It is

neither Liberalism, nor Socialism nor Democracy. It repudiates Pacifism.

War [says Mussolini] alone brings up to its highest tension all human energy and puts the stamp on nobility upon the peoples who have the courage to meet it. . . . Thus a doctrine which is founded upon this harmful postulate of peace is hostile to Fascism.' [He further said in 1914] Three cheers for the war. . . . Three cheers for Italy's war. And three cheers for war in general. Peace is hence absurd, or rather it is a pause in war.

Further, he tells us that Fascism is also opposed to all international Leagues and therefore also to Universalism, for such leagues 'can be scattered to the winds when once strong national feeling is aroused by any motive—sentimental, ideal or practical' (and this is what he is doing in Abyssinia against the League of Nations). Mussolini's dictum 'Beyond the state—nothing', is being proved literally. 'The anti-Pacifist spirit' Mussolini further tells us 'is carried by Fascism even into the life of the individual'. He has to live on 'the alternative of life or death and life to him is duty, struggle and conquest. Thus the individual in Fascist theory and practice lives far more dangerously than even Hobbes' individual in the state of nature.

Fascism is not Socialism

Fascism, to resume our discussion, is not Socialism in several ways.

(1) It denies the materialistic conception of history for it involves the conflict of interests among the various social groups, while Fascism tries to do away with that conflict. Hence *class war* to Fascism is unreal and undesirable.

(2) The changes in the development of the means and instruments of production, e.g., new discoveries of new materials, new methods of working them and the inventions of science—have their influence no doubt, but other factors are

equally important. Fascism recognises even moral factors and hence the fact that man is not to be carried to and fro by the waves of chance: he can control and sway the forces of his life. Mussolini thus does not take a passive view of life, or of a mere doctrine. He believes in action, and with action, in the formation and formulation of the doctrine.

Fascism is not Democracy

Fascism again is not Democracy. It denies some of its essential premises:

(1) It denies the wisdom of majority and therefore its guidance. It repudiates, therefore, the doctrine of popular Sovereignty, for the real sovereignty always lies with those in real power and the people follow them like dumb sheep. It is always the minority that rules. Hence if force is the idea behind the *action* of the minority and the consent of the majority, why not have the power of army, tanks, air force rather than enfranchise women and old men.

(2) It affirms inequality of man as against the Equality of Democracy. On this basis, Universal suffrage is to be condemned as a mechanical process of levelling human beings to one plane, for the 'noble training' of nature is being denied. Mussolini thus seems to emphasise the law of the survival of the fittest by saying that it is the right of the strong to live and therefore it is wrong to check the struggle for instance, for according to him it is wrong to say that 'society exists through the well-being and the personal liberty of all individuals.' In the 'plans of nature' the individual is sacrificed to the consideration of the *race*. Hence, if Democracy can be conceived in diverse forms, then Fascism is 'an organised, centralised and authoritative democracy.' Herein we find for the first time that false idea of the race emphasised which has been caught hold of by Hitler and which has resulted in the wild persecution of the Jews.

(3) Mussolini himself tells us that Fascism is not reactionary but revolutionary. In fact it is both 'revolutionary, because it regards the parliamentary government and political assemblies as irresponsible bodies, though relying in name 'upon broad and popular support.' The people in Fascism are a 'passive' force. The only active force is the Dictator and his party (the chosen few). Thus it is revolutionary also in so far as it does away with the rivalry of parties in the working of the democratic Government and adopts ultra-constitutional methods.

(4) Mussolini also maintains that the individual in the Fascism is not annulled but rather multiplied, just in the same way that a soldier in a regiment is not diminished but rather increased by the number of his comrades. To argue like this is to argue like the Socialists or Idealists that it is by complete obedience to the state that we realize freedom. Hence to us it seems that the individual has not been 'multiplied:' rather he has been 'mutilated' of his hands and feet. His hands are his rights—which do not exist in Fascism, for the individual has duties only; and his feet are his 'liberties'—which have all been confiscated under it for 'the deciding power in this question cannot be the individual, but the state alone.'

Fascism is not Liberalism:

Fascism, further, is completely antagonistic to nearly all the principles of Liberalism. The Laissez-faire economic, of Adam Smith, the political liberalism of Mill and the Scientific individualism of Herbert Spencer which are usually summed up by the term '19th Century Liberalism' have all been contemptuously treated as fore-runners of Anarchy, for under them the state must labour to make itself unnecessary and prepare the way for its own dismissal.' Mussolini, therefore, expects that the twentieth century would be "a century of authority; a century of the left, a century of Fascism. a

century of Collectivism and hence the century of the state.' The conception of the Liberal state was not one of 'directing force;' rather it was limited to the function of recording results. It was in the words of Humboldt a 'lazy' state. The Fascist state is that of an 'Absolute', in comparison with which all individuals or groups are relative. It is conscious of itself, it has its will and personality, and therefore it may be called the 'Ethic State'. As Mussolini himself tells us the Fascist State:

is not merely a guardian, pre-occupied solely with the duty of assuring the personal safety of the citizens; nor is it an organisation with purely material aims, such as to guarantee a certain level of well-being and peaceful conditions of life. . . . Nor is it a purely political creation, divorced from all contact with the complex material reality which makes up the life of the individual and the life of the people as a whole. It is a spiritual and moral fact in itself, since its political, juridical and economic organisation of the nation is a concrete thing; and as such an organisation must be in its origins and development a manifestation of the spirit. The state is the guarantor of security both internal and external, but it is also the custodian and transmitter of the spirit of the people, as it has grown up through the centuries in language, in customs and in faith.

The state, as Hegel would have put it, represents the development of the idea and therefore the 'Immanent spirit of the nation' or as Burke would have put it, and which Mussolini also says 'the state is not only a living reality of the present, it is also linked with the past and above all with the future.'

But besides this ethical view of the state, another contribution of Fascism is its 'Corporative state' from the point of economic theory and organisation. Mussolini states that Fascism meets the problems of the economic field by a system of syndicalism both in labour and industry and 'the Fascist State has drawn into itself even the economic activities of

the nation, and through the corporative Social and educational institutions created by it, its influence reaches every aspect of the national life, and includes, framed in their respective organisations, all the political, economic and spiritual forces of the nation'. Thus the Fascist state is not simply the Organic state, the Ethic state and the Corporative state, it is the 'Synthetic state' standing for the fusion of all the diverse elements in the national whole. In this sense, it is entirely antithetical to the static state: it is definitely a Dynamic state, a state that is not simply in the 'being': but which is also every minute in the 'becoming'. Mussolini clearly sets forth his view thus "When the conception of the state declines, and disunifying and centrifugal tendencies prevail, whether of individuals or of particular groups, the nations where such phenomena appear are in their decline." Thus the Pluralistic or the federative views of the state and even the internationalism are to Mussolini simply the views of fall or decline: the only view of continuous life and progress is the view diametrically opposite to the Pluralistic, the federative and the International, and that is the 'concentrated' or the 'integrated' view of the state. In one word, Decentralisation means degeneration; centralization means regeneration,—Renaissance.

The Elements and Principles of Fascism

To sum up, Fascism stands for Responsibility, Hierarchy and Discipline as opposed to the motto of Democracy as summed up by the words—Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. Though it arose as a party of action, it has continuously provided itself with a ready-made philosophy. It has attempted and aspired to build its social and political order on the imperial traditions of Rome, on the Catholic Church and on Nationalism and Syndicalism. This is why its study involves a centralised centre with a decentralised administration. In its

economic aspects, it stands for a realistic distributism as opposed to Capitalist—"that economic system which tends to concentrate the means of production into the hands of the few and to reduce the vast majority of people to the status of wage-earners."

Article of Export

Lastly, though Mussolini himself is said to have once said that 'Fascism is not an article of export', he has more than once declared for the moral conquest by the ideas of Fascism, and therefore for the establishment of a moral Empire. In this respect, it seems, Fascism has been partly successful. It has definitely invaded Germany with success and it has at least created tumult in England and on the Continent. And now, though unsuccessfully, it has come to carve out a material Empire also. Thwarted in Asia Minor and the Fiume Valley and disappointed in the Balkan after creating the Corfu affair, it has now turned towards Abyssinia and we have yet to see what comes out of this venture for this action of Mussolini has not only been an action of extreme aggrandisement: it seems to have discredited the Leagues System, and already we find dis-armament resulting in re-armament. In one word Fascism seems to prove that 'Democracy is a decaying corpse and international peace, a coward's dream.'

Fascism in Germany—Nazism

After Fascism in Italy, we may now take up Fascism in Germany where it is usually called either Hitlerism or Nazism. We have already seen how Nazism is the product of a defeatist mentality. For 16 years from after the defeat of Germany, Hitler's party was trying to come in power and now, after all, it has come in power. It does not differ much from Italian Fascism of which it may be regarded only a branch, but this much can easily be said that it is more intense, more barbarous and more terrorist than its Italian counterpart.

In its political theory, therefore, though the bases are more or less the same, we find a greater vehemence, a greater falsity and a greater dogmatism.

Nazi State—a National Constitutional State

In the first place, the 'National Socialist state of Germany is called by its theorists as a 'National Constitutional state'. These words seem to suggest to us the democratic phraseology of the Responsible government, but in fact this Dictatorial state is but another form of an anti-democratic state. The word 'constitutional' has been used in a sense in which it seems to us unmeaning. With it there comes in an era of 'Sophistic' method in politics as against the Synthetic approach of which I have already spoken, and perhaps we will have again to raise a Socratese among us to look at the glib use of modern terms and then to emphasise the necessity of correct definition. To come to the real point, 'the hall-mark of a true representation' as a writer puts it 'is seen in the personification of the will of the people in a representative who feels himself to be one with the people and so is in a position to make his own will effectively representative.' This means that the law of necessity and power are the only two values of significance in a true conception of the state.

Again, the very word 'National' has been used not in the accepted sense of the word 'nation' but in the metaphysical sense of the term, thereby bringing in an unreality in the sociological and realistic approach of politics. The word nation has been made one with an active party on the one hand and with race on the other, and race is a thing which in fact does not exist in the 20th century. In any case, the ideas of the elite, and the Aryan supremacy have been emphasised and with them the idea of the mission of the German state. It is on such false doctrines that the whole political philosophy of the state is being built and it is this conception

which has been called the new conception of History.

A Totalitarian State

Further, a conception of national socialism has been sponsored as against the International socialism of Marx thereby creating a sort of racial displeasure against the Jews for after all, it is suggested, what Marx wrote as a Jew and for the benefit of the Jews. Hence "the only dominant idea is the racial idea, the only scientific conception is the organic conception and the only political will is that of National Socialism." In this way, the new 20th century type of the state comes to be the Authoritarian state which goes counter to all the traditions of the liberal state or it is the Totalitarian state as against the democratic and constitutional forms which were developed in England and America. Its principles have been best summed up in the phrase "Authority from the top down, responsibility from the bottom up" and this is nothing but the political philosophy of an army, or as it has been called, a theory of Regimentation. Thus German Fascism is even more Absolutist than Italian Fascism and is therefore, naturally more opposed to Democracy, Liberalism, Socialism and Internationalism.

Kelsen's Theory of the pure Science of State and Law

Besides these new theories of the ultra-absolutist view of the state in contra-distinction to the Pluralistic theories, Kelson, a new Austrian writer, has developed a new theory of state and law which he has called the pure science of law. He has also been led to the Absolutist conclusions. In one word, the recent tendency in political thought as well as in institutions is not simply against democracy, it is against the pluralistic view. A unified view of state and sovereignty is again being emphasised.

Over-emphasis is both by Pluralists and Monists

But this is not all. For if we look at realities, the sup-

porters of each theory have over-emphasised their case. The Pluralists were right in recognising the federal character of modern society, but they over-stated their case when they tried to universalise their attack on sovereignty. The Monists like Austin were right in analysing the social structure to find out the supreme power, but they were wrong to universalise the conception of a determinate superior for every type of society.

Relativistic View of State and Society

Hence the only correct view would have been not to take an 'absolute' stand for one theory or other: rather an attempt should have been made to meet the different situations through which the human society was passing. In one word, a 'relativistic' view of state and society would have met the demands of the situation and it is this which is being emphasised very recently for it is being recognised day by day that the transitional character of our society and times points to a view of life which should not only be not considered in terms of rigidity, but of which flexibility and plasticity should be the main characteristic.

Thus under the Relativistic view it has been pointed out that there may arise and there already are many situations in which the monistic view of sovereignty does not exist as in the case of mandates. Hence the existence of such anomalous cases shows the need of a pragmatic and localised conception of Monism. Further, even in the most autocratic states of today, which we have already seen, a monism in central government has no doubt been well emphasised, but devolution in local and provincial government has become their chief feature, that is, centralisation has been accomplished on the foundations of decentralisation. This means the contemporary world has incorporated the Pluralistic criticism of the state and its institutions and it has become

wiser by reconciling the monistic and the pluralistic view of society.

This 'relativism' however is not simply true of Sovereignty alone I find it affecting nearly all our political terms. Thus, in Fascism, I note the following tendencies.

Relativistic Tendencies in Fascism

(1) Fascism, whether it is in Germany or in Italy, tries to build itself *on the will of the people* but this will find its expression in the *Dictator*. Hence, as Mussolini has suggested, it is a new kind of Democracy (and why and should it not be when we have already seen in history how Napoleon III had become an Emperor by a popular vote). And yet we know that *the Dictator is not responsible to the people*: he is responsible to God alone. Herein we find a transition from the Divine Right of peoples to the Divine Right of Dictators.

(2) 'Perfect liberty lies in thy service' is a homely Christian dogma, and in political life it was sanctioned both by Hegel and Bosanquet. In our days, Mussolini and Hitler have given their own view of it. To Mussolini 'Liberty is a relative term. Liberty is not a right, it is a duty. . . . The notion of liberty changes in time. There is a Liberty for times of peace and another liberty in times of war'.

(3) Fascism regards the state as organic based on general will and yet it considers itself in terms of numbers also for as I have already shown, an individual in society becomes stronger and is multiplied. In this way, the Fascist conception comes in between the arithmetic view of the social contract, and the social organism of Plato and Rousseau.

(4) The state has to see that the activities of the individuals and other groups are co-ordinated to promote general good and the individual has to see that he is not an isolated unit, that he is a member by nature and necessity of the community; and yet individuals have certain 'natural rights'

which lie at the very root of society. By infringing them the state would defeat its own end. The individual has these rights as an individual and as a member of his family. The rights of a father over a family must be respected, his private relations left to him and his private opinions allowed. The state, therefore, has no right to coerce the individual in any way beyond what is necessary to safeguard and promote the collective interest.

There is no natural right that confers on man the right to do exactly what he likes with his own, beat his wife, starve his children, spoil his property, sell himself in slavery, commit suicide, any more than the state has a right to do anything whatever that it pleases. The moral law steps in and must step in everywhere to regulate the limits of what constitutes rights one way or the other.

There could be no better illustration of the transitional period we are dealing here than this conception of relative individualism and collectivism, of rights and duties, of abstract and concrete liberties. If not the mistake of the social contract writers, surely that of Mill has been committed, and we find a return to the self-regarding action and the other regarding action, the only difference being that with Mill the emphasis lay upon the individual and with Fascism the emphasis lies upon the State.

(5) Fascism, further, does not favour federative tendencies for it regards such state a weak state, a state divided against itself. Hence it has decided to take lesson out of pluralistic criticism by making political centralisation upon an administrative decentralisation. This is nothing but a relativistic standpoint in administration.

(6) While Socialism would abolish private property, Fascism does not. Private initiative in the field of production is considered useful for the community and is therefore sanctioned as a natural right whereby the family tie is strengthened. But private property is also a public trust.

If abused in the sense that responsibility to the country is not being discharged, the individual will get it either curtailed or abrogated altogether.

(7) Lastly, even in the relations of the church and state this relativism has been maintained. In theory, the Fascist state has sanctioned Roman Catholic Church as the Established church. In practice, it has recognised the semi-independence of the Papal See.

German and Italian Fascism

These points here enumerated are not true simply of Italy: they also apply to Germany. But we must remember that there is far greater rigidity in Germany in favour of the state as against the claims of an individual, his rights and liberties, than we find it in Italy, and this is specially noticeable in the economic sphere. Italian Fascism aims at 'the maximum of planning with the minimum of government interference' (because of its corporations). The German National Socialism has proved so far 'to entail the maximum of Government interference with the minimum of planning.'

Hoover as Contemporary Individualist

Besides this via media between Ultra-absolutism and Ultra-pluralism, we find another tendency cropping up in countries which have ever been used to democratic form of government. Thus in U. S. A. it is not simply the Supreme Court which has annulled the Industrial and Agricultural Acts of the 'New Deal', the ex-President Hoover has challenged the whole dictatorial legislation as a challenge to liberty. Hoover, therefore, stands forth as the champion of individual liberty to an extreme which can only be justified by the anti-thesis of state control as applied and advocated by President Roosevelt.

Thus says Hoover, 'Liberty is an endowment from the

Creator of every individual, man and woman, upon which no power, whether economic or political, can encroach and that not even the government may deny'.

Liberty is a thing of the spirit—to be free to worship, to think, to hold opinion and to speak without fear—free to challenge wrong and oppression with surety of justice. Liberty conceives that the mind and spirit of man can be free only if the individual is free to choose his own calling, to develop his talents, to win and to keep a home sacred from intrusion, to rear children in ordered security. It holds he must be free to earn, to spend, to save, to accumulate property that may give protection in old age and to loved ones.

In short, the Programme of the 'New Deal' is a Programme of National Regimentation and is therefore the most stupendous invasion of the whole spirit of liberty that the nation has witnessed since the days of Colonial America. Thus in these words, Hoover stands forth as one of the greatest champion of individual liberty in contemporary times and just as the absolutists have gone to the extreme limit of founding an Authoritarian state, in the same way Hoover has gone to the extreme limit of justifying the abstract conception of the liberty of the state of nature, a conception which considers liberty as nothing more than the absence of all restraints upon the powers and faculties of individuals.

Summary of Recent Tendencies in Political Thought

To summarise, just as from the Reformation times to the present day, the upper current was represented by Nationalism and the nether one by Internationalism, similarly in political thought and practice today, the upper current is that of absolutism and dictatorship, but the nether one is that of Federalism and Universalism. Midway between these two, lies the transitional aspect of 'Relativism' between Monism and Pluralism, and concurrently with this, though

definitely apart, there is running yet another aspect of the so-called Individualism.

Our Transitional Times

As Bismarck would have said, certainly this is a new era, a new age. All our accepted doctrines are in the melting pot and we are busy constructing the new—sometimes maintaining the old foundations, sometimes changing their face only and sometimes erecting a new structure. In Hegels' phraseology, the spirit of man is manifesting itself in objective conditions by seeing the changed circumstances, for according to his Philosophy of History, every age depicts in its institutions the highest development of the idea and hence the monistic state represented the synthesis of an older order. From the welter of the city, state and the Roman Empire, the Feudal society and the Medieval universalism, the Renaissance and the Reformation, the national state emerged as a synthesis of life. But in our times the development of Pluralism came to be a new anti-thesis so that a new synthesis is again being attempted by Fascism and Nazism.

Universal Solidarity a Reality

But in recent times, the establishment of the League in the political sphere, and the economic interdependence as emphasised by Norman Angell, and moral unity of the world as emphasised by Kroeber in his 'sense of right' coupled with the historical, sociological, psychological and scientific explanation of a logically evolving universal democracy by Dr. Beni Prasad have already added a comma to the movement of absolutism, if not a semi-colon or a full stop. The universal opposition to the action of Italy in Abyssinia is a living proof of the growing universal solidarity among the peoples of the earth. Surely, we are living in an age of universal democracy though visibly there are reactionary tendencies as exhibited

by Fascism and Hitlerism. The only instance that I can place here is the instance of a proverb in our Hindustani Language. We say in our daily life that 'one bad fish spoils the whole tank' and this is what is being done in Europe today.

Democracy Comes out Unscathed

But this does not mean that all the fish in the tank are bad. Democracy therefore remains unscathed even in spite of these glaring violations of its principles. Every one of us remembers how Sir Frederick White said as regards India that it was undesirable to impose twentieth century institutions upon a country of the 11th century civilisation, and now the scale has been turned in Europe itself by the establishment of medieval barbarism upon a 20th century civilisation. May I ask Sir Frederick White, if Germany today is unfit to govern simply because there is no more of the liberalism of the democratic Weimer constitution of the German Republic, there is a deep-seated antagonism of man to man, for the Jew is a 'tape worm' in human organism and is therefore to be exterminated, and lastly that woman has no function beyond the rearing of children and the pleasing of man. And yet Germany has thrown off the shackles of the Treaty of Versailles and is ready with its guns to meet any adversary. Pacificism seems to be dead and we seem to hear the cry of 'rattling sabre and shining armour,' of war, militarism and aggrandisement.

But, as I have already suggested, our civilization is in a drift, and these are but passing phases. Let us hope and aspire for a better world to live in, and the only way for it is not to emphasise the 'revolutionary terrorism' of Fascism but the pacifism and evolutionary universalism of the League of Nations.

NOVEL FEATURES IN THE INDIAN FEDERATION

By A. APPADORAI

[This article is the substance of a lecture delivered recently by Mr. Appadorai, M.A., Ph.D., of the Loyala College, Madras, at the Annamalai University, under the distinguished presidency of the Rt. Hon. V. S. S. Sastri. It is mainly of an interpretative character, being an analysis of those features of the proposed federation which are somewhat uncommon in other constitutions, but partly also of constructive interest.]

I. The Federal Idea

A federation is the union of a number of coordinate states for some common purposes. It is a system of central and local governments combined under a common sovereignty, both the central and local organizations being supreme within definite spheres marked out for them by the general constitution.

The movement for an All-India federation is comparatively recent. No doubt, ever since Lord Lytton's time (1877), there have been attempts made for some sort of council to serve as a connecting-link not only among the Indian States, but also between them and British India. But the proposals were for a council in a consultative, not legislative, capacity. A suggestion for a federation seems to have been made¹ by the Gaekwar of Baroda in a memorandum submitted by him to the Viceroy in 1917; but, apparently the idea did not take deep root, for even in May 1930 the Indian Statutory Commission could envisage an All-India

federation only as an ultimate ideal.

The immediate circumstance to which, perhaps, we can trace the origin of the Indian federation is the letter of Sir John Simon, dated October 16, 1929 to the Prime Minister, asking on behalf of the Statutory Commission, whether His Majesty's Government would approve of such an interpretation of their terms as would enable them to examine the methods by which the future relationship between the Indian States and the provinces of British India might be adjusted, and suggesting the summoning of some sort of Conference.² The proposal was accepted. Events moved fast. On December 19, 1929, His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir announced in the Legislative Assembly of his State that he looked forward to the day when a United India would be enjoying Dominion Status,³ and the Princes and States will be in the fullest enjoyment of what is their due—as a solid federal body in a position of absolute equality with the federal provinces of British India!

The next stage in the evolution of the federal idea, we have it on the authority of the Marquess of Zetland³ is the series of private discussions which took place between the Princes and their advisers during their voyage from Bombay to London to attend the first Round Table Conference. When the conference itself assembled in November 1930, a declaration was made on behalf of the Princes that they were prepared to consider the immediate establishment of a federal form of government in which they would have a share. This was, in fact, a surprise for the Conference. It received general support from British Indian delegates as well as others. Many, however, were eager to have a fuller idea of federation, before they could sit down to work out the details. A second

¹ Asiatic Review, Vol. XXIX, pp. 402-3.

² Indian Statutory Commission Report, II, p. 13

³ Sir John Cumming, Political India (Oxford 1932) p. 292.

Round Table met in September 1, 1931, and sufficient agreement was reached to enable a White Paper to be presented to, and approved by, Parliament in December, 1931, embodying the three-fold principles of Federation, Central Responsibility and Safeguards. The picture was filled in slowly; the third Round Table Conference met in the end of 1932; the White Paper proposals were issued on March 15, 1933; a Joint Committee sat, 1932-3, 1933-4; the Government of India bill was drafted and introduced in Parliament early in 1935, and finally passed on August 2—as the Government of India Act, 1935.

II. The Component Units; The Federal Process

The scheme has many novel features. The most important, from which the other anomalies may be said to follow, is that the constituent units—some 600 Indian States and the eleven provinces—are of two distinct types, and, therefore, the process by which they are united into one federation is not identical.

Broadly speaking, the Indian States agree in three respects; they are generally under a system of personal rule; they are not British Territory; their subjects are not British Subjects. But here the agreement ends. In their internal sovereignty, and in their relation to the paramount power, they differ widely; these, in fact, are in each case mainly based on the Treaty Sanad or Engagement which it has entered into with the Crown supplemented by later usage. It is, in any case, clear that they cannot claim to negotiate with the Crown on an equal footing. In a, now famous, letter to H. E. H. the Nizam of Hyderabad dated March 27, 1926, the Viceroy of India, in fullest agreement with the Secretary of State, has clearly laid down the principle:—

The Sovereignty of the British Crown is supreme in India and therefore no ruler of an Indian State can justifiably claim to

negotiate with the British Government on an equal footing. . . . the internal, no less than the external security which the Ruling princes enjoy is due ultimately to the protecting power of the British Government, and where Imperial interests are concerned, or the general welfare of the people of a state is seriously and grievously affected by action of its Government, it is with the Paramount Power that the ultimate responsibility for taking remedial action, if necessary, must lie. The varying degrees of internal sovereignty which the Rulers enjoy are all subject to the due exercise by the Paramount Power of this responsibility.

While this must be accepted as an authoritative pronouncement, it must still be emphasized in this context, that technically as the Indian States are not British Territory, and as a law passed by the British Parliament cannot apply to them, their accession to the Federation is a voluntary act, i.e., they can keep out of it, if they are so inclined. Their admission to the Federation is by means of an Instrument of Accession,⁴ executed by the Ruler of each such State which joins. But it is interesting to note⁵ that such an instrument, executed by the Ruler of a State, can transfer to the new Federal Authority only the Ruler's rights in respect of those subjects which the Ruler agrees by the Instrument to Transfer. This, by itself, cannot enable the new Federal Authority to exercise full rights over them, for there are, still, in respect of those same subjects the rights of Paramountcy of the Crown, now exercised under the general control of the Secretary of State by the Governor-General in Council. These, therefore, have first to be resumed in their entirety by the Crown; and the Crown's acceptance of the Instrument of Accession implies, therefore, the delegation by the Crown in the limited field, of the rights of Para-

⁴ Government of India Act, 1935 Section 6.

⁵ Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform (Session 1933-4), Volume I part i, para 158

mountcy, to the new Federal Authority.⁶

The provinces, on the other hand, differ from the Indian states in two respects: they are now partially under a democratic and responsible government, as contrasted with the personal rule of the Princes; they are also, now, not autonomous. Though a large degree of devolution has been effected by the Government of India Act, 1919, and the Devolution Rules, India is now a unitary state, the provinces being subject, with modifications in respect of transferred subjects, to the superintendence, direction and control of the Government of India. Clearly, in a federal government, the provinces cannot derive their powers by devolution by the Central Government; these powers must be derived from an independent Constitution. The process⁷ involves, therefore, the resumption into the hands of the Crown of all rights, authority, and jurisdiction in and over the territories of British India, whether they are at present vested in the Secretary of State, the Governor-General in Council, or in the Provincial Governments, and second, their redistribution in such manner as the Act of Parliament prescribes between Federal Government on the one hand and the Provinces on the other. Briefly, when the Federation is proclaimed, Provinces will be made parts of it, not out of their choice, but Act of Parliament.

The Federation will, then, consist of two types of units, which owe their entry into the Federation to a different process. Elsewhere the units of the Federation have become parts of the whole, either by the one *or* the other process. The thirteen states of the U. S. A. were independent coordinate states who joined into one federal state in 1789, out of voluntary choice. The process in Switzerland and Australia

⁶ *ibid*

⁷ *ibid*, para. 153.

was, roughly, the same. In Canada, on the other hand, an originally unitary state was converted into a federal one by a constitution marking out the spheres of the provinces, and making each of them part of a federal state. Indian federation combines both processes.

III. *The Division of Powers*

The constitutional division of powers between the Federal Government and the units, it will be agreed, is one fundamental characteristic of a federal state; and in federations known to history the Federal Government exercises, vis-a-vis the units, identical legislative, administrative and financial powers. No difference is generally made as between one unit and another. But in the Indian Federation things are different. To take, first, legislative powers. The subjects in respect of which the federal legislature can pass laws for the Federated States⁸ not only differ from those in respect of which it can pass laws for the Provinces,⁹ but they may also differ as between one Federated State and another. This, in fact, follows from the fact already noticed that the subjects in respect of which the Federal Government can exercise authority over one Indian State are determined by *its* Instrument of Accession. The disparity as between one Federated State and another in this respect brings out most clearly the anomalous character of the Federation. No doubt there is provision in the Act to prevent wide variations, for His Majesty can refuse to accept an Instrument of Accession if it appears to him that the terms thereof are inconsistent with the scheme of federation outlined in the Act;¹⁰ there

⁸ The Government of India Act 1935, Seventh Schedule List 1, items accepted by each state.

⁹ *ibid.*, Lists I and III.

¹⁰ The Government of India Act, 1935, Section 6 (4)

is also the clear recommendation¹¹ of the Joint Committee that Instruments of Accession should, as far as possible, follow a standard form. Even assuming this is followed, it is significant that His Majesty's Government could not give the assurance to the Joint Committee that the States would accept all the subjects in the Federal List; at best they would cede to the federal authority only 48 subjects. In relation to the provinces, the federal legislature can legislate in all, including the concurrent subjects, 59+36 subjects.¹² The magnitude of the difference can be seen from the fact that under items in the Federal Exclusive List which the Federated States are not likely to accept, are such subjects as Naturalization, standards of weight, stamp duties, imposition of various taxes etc. and in the concurrent list, Criminal Law, Civil Procedure, marriage and divorce, transfer of property, bankruptcy, newspapers, factories, welfare of labour, trade unions, unemployment insurance and a number of subjects which in fact make the modern state a welfare, and not merely a power, system, and in which the need for uniformity of legislation for all India is bound to be keenly felt clearly, if the federal government were to exercise all the legislative powers, its interference in the provinces will be considerably greater than the comparatively narrow range of their jurisdiction in the state.

There is yet another differentiation: in respect of those subjects in the federal legislative list,¹³ the Provinces cannot legislate, while the States can, they, in effect, having a concurrent power in respect of them: the language of the Act¹⁴ in the Federal Legislature has, and a *Provincial* legislature

¹¹ Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform (Session 1933-4), Volume I part I para 156.

¹² The Government of India Act, 1935, Seventh Schedule. Lists I & III.

¹³ List I.

¹⁴ Section 100 (i); italics ours

has not, power to make laws with respect to any of the matters enumerated in the federal legislative list. This, of course, would have been most annoying, but for the provision¹⁵ that if any law of a Federated State is repugnant to a federal law which extends to that state, the federal law shall prevail and the law of the state to the extent of the repugnancy be void.

Next, the residuary power. Elsewhere the practice is to locate it either in the Federal Government, as is virtually the case in Canada, or in the States as in the U. S. A., Australia and Switzerland. In India the allocation of residuary powers as between the Federal and the Provincial Authorities is left to the discretion of the Governor-General, as distinct from the Federal Authority. This, of course, applies only to the provinces, the residuary powers in the case of the states being with the Rulers thereof. Incidentally we may observe that the location of the residuary power in the Indian Federation does not deserve that prominence given to it in public discussions, for here almost every conceivable power of Government has been enumerated, and there is little left. As it is, however, the existing provision must be considered a salutary one, as it is calculated to prevent unnecessary litigation.

In regard to administrative powers, again, the Federal Government have more of them over the provinces than over the states. Thus Federal laws can be administered by federal officials in the provinces; even in the administration of provincial subjects, the Governor, in so far as he exercises power at his discretion, is placed under the general control of the Governor-General at his discretion. On the other hand, in the States, federal laws may be executed by the Rulers thereof.

¹⁵Section 107 (3)

In defence of this departure from federal principles it has been claimed that the delegation will be subject to the condition that the Governor-General will be entitled to issue general instructions or make inspections for the purpose of satisfying himself that an adequate standard of administration is maintained; that the arrangement is based on approved practice in other federations, e.g., Switzerland; and that the position of the Provinces in this respect will not be materially different from that of the States, except for the fact that the Provinces will receive instructions in federal matters from the Federal Government of the day, and not from the Governor-General. This, I suggest, is a misreading of the position; can the provinces then similarly claim the right of administrative delegation? The Swiss analogy is wrong because it does not take into account the fact that the Cantons have no *right* to administrative delegation, the Federal Government having delegated its power of administration of federal laws of its own will; in India, it is obvious that the Instrument of Accession executed by the state leaves no choice for the Federal Government. Incidentally, it may be observed that we are not told what will happen if the Federal Authority is not satisfied with the instructions issued by the Governor-General at his discretion.

In financial matters, while a surcharge on incometax for federal purposes may be levied by the Federal Authority from the provinces, the Act only provides for the payment by each Federated State in which taxes on income are not leviable by the Federation of a contribution to the revenues of the Federation assessed on such basis as may be prescribed with a view to securing that the contribution shall be the equivalent of the net proceeds which, it is estimated, would result from the surcharge if it were leviable in that State. Also while Corporation tax may be levied by the Federation

from the provinces, States are exempted from it for the first ten years; and after that period, the Ruler of a State has the option to say that the tax shall not be levied in the State but that, in lieu thereof, there shall be paid by him to the revenues of the Federation a contribution equivalent to the net proceeds which it is estimated would result from the tax, if it were levied in the State.

IV. *Structure of the Federal Government*

In the structure of the Central Government, the novel features are, again, many. The Federal Assembly will consist of 375, and the Council of State of 260 members, but the distribution of these seats among the various units is essentially a compromise and does not correspond strictly to principles elsewhere at work. In the former 125 are allotted to the Federated States, to be distributed among them according to a complex scheme; the provinces have 250. The inequality which results may be illustrated from three instances: thus Khairpur, a State, with a population of 227, 183 will have one seat; Indore with 1,325,089 will have but two, Madras with 48 and odd million will have only 37 in the Federal Assembly; the average being one seat for 227, 183, 662,545, and about 13,000,000 respectively. This is a novel feature because elsewhere in the Lower House, seats are generally distributed according to population, such large diversities being unknown. The Council of State similarly reflects a compromise with a heavy weightage in favour of the States. In this respect, however, if we consider strictly the practice in other federations, the states may be said to be at a disadvantage, for in many federations the principle adopted is equal representation for the units; but a federation which consists of such divergent units as Bengal with 50 and odd million people, and Sandur with 13,000 and odd cannot obviously adopt this principle.

The large number and the unequal size of states have also rendered necessary a system of representation by groups, both in the Upper and Lower Houses. To take one instance. Three states Mandi, Bilaspur and Suket get one representative in the Council of State and one in the Assembly. To the Council of State, the Rulers of these States may, in rotation, appoint a person to fill that seat, or subject to certain conditions, appoint jointly a person to fill that seat; to the Federal Assembly, they are jointly to appoint a person to fill the seat.

Again the members of the legislature are of two different types, the members from the provinces being elected directly or indirectly, while the members from the States are to be nominated by the Rulers thereof. Its defect is that the work of a legislature composed of two elements, who derive their power from two main springs may lack that sense of give and take which is so essential for harmonious co-operation. There is also the fear that under the influence of the Political department, these delegates may "vote according to the dictates of the Crown, becoming, in other words, a substitute for the present official bloc." This fear is only increased by the provision¹⁶ in the Act which permits a member of one of the services of the Crown in India, while serving a State, to be sent as a State's delegate to the Assembly. As against this, however, must be mentioned the possibility that all State representatives are not likely to think alike, if only because their State's interests are not alike. Differences caused by regional and economic interests may be expected to lead to diversity in policy and action among them; the major States may not also submit to such interference, at any rate without protest. It is also good to be told that the traditions of the department, particularly since the war, make it

¹⁶ Section 26 (4) (b)

certain that

It will render unto Caesar only those things which are Caesar's and will have neither the desire nor the incentive to interfere in the composition or functioning of the legislative bodies.

There is, again, the anomaly that the members who come from the States will take part in the proceedings relating to all federal subjects, though a number of federal laws may not apply to the States, the authority of the Federal legislature over the states being limited by the terms of the Instruments of Accession. It is, however, hoped that a convention may be followed by which the states members may refrain from voting on subjects which do not concern them. This however, introduces complications. If a vote on such a subject is likely to involve the fate of the Cabinet, are the states' representatives to be excluded from the division? Another convention may, therefore, be necessary; a cabinet may be compelled to resign only on questions relating to subjects which every state has ceded to the federal authority.

And a final one: members from the provinces to the Lower House are indirectly elected, while those to the Upper are directly elected—a provision without precedent.

The Executive

In the federal executive one difficulty is; will a state representative in the Cabinet be debarred in intervening in purely British Indian matters? Again the Governor-general's executive is to be composed of two kinds of members, ten ministers drawn from the members of the legislature, and three Counsellors, appointed by and responsible to himself. The latter are to help in the administration of external affairs, defence and ecclesiastical matters, which are the reserved departments. In other words, there is dyarchy, which is, so far as federal governments are concerned, a novelty. It is well-known that in the provinces the sys-

tem has failed; as Lord Goschen put it before the East India Association,¹⁷ a system intended to teach responsibility has taught irresponsibility. It is, however, conceded on all hands, that for a time in the Centre, dyarchy is an inevitable transition stage to full responsibility.

V Amendment of the Constitution

There is, finally, the novel feature relating to the amendment of the Constitution. In federations known to History, barring Canada, the component units are given a share in the amendment of the constitution, to give them a sense of security regarding the powers allotted to them. Thus, the U. S. A. constitution requires the consent of three-fourths of the States for its amendment, and the Swiss and Australian constitutions require a numerical majority of votes as well as a cantonal or state majority. In India, the States apart, the Provinces have no voice in regard to amendments, except within a very limited range.

VI Critique

The usual defence of these anomalies is that the federation must be judged, not from the point of view of an ideal federation—that can but lead to its condemnation—but in relation to the particular conditions in this country. The federal scheme outlined in the Act brings nearer the goal of a unified India—an over-riding consideration in the, no doubt unwilling, acceptance of the scheme by, what has been called, a body of 'central opinion'. And some of the unpleasant and novel features of the federation, they say, are likely to remain even in a future federation. We are told constitutions cannot be invented *in vacuo*; they are adaptations to the facts of the situations. A novel situation

¹⁷ Asiatic Review, Vol. XXVI, p. 258.

can be met only by a novel expedient. The true value of a political contrivance resides not in its theoretical consistency but its adaptation to the temper and circumstance of the people for whom it is designed. In India, the desire for union, but not a desire for unity, which makes for the stability of a federation is but imperfectly developed; and the federal scheme is but its reflection.

The critic may well argue, with the same sense of realism, that this consideration has led to the making of a constitution which is a brake on the wheels of democratic progress; there are too many checks and balances. There is no doubt a place for checks and balances in a constitution, for, as Lord Acton said, all power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely. But too many checks prevent and perhaps inhibit action. The modern state is a positive, not merely a negative state, a social service, not a Police State. Government, in the twentieth century world, if it is to be serviceable, must act and act quickly. The net work of checks and balances may hinder speedy action, so essential to effective administration.

These pros and cons apart, the student of Politics is primarily interested in asking the more useful question; how are these anomalies to disappear? No final answer can be given, but the suggestion may be ventured that if they are at all to disappear, the hope lies in three directions:—

Partly the Act provides that subject to conditions resolutions relating to the size or composition of the Chambers of the Federal Legislature may be moved in that Legislature; these may be communicated to the Secretary of State, and Parliament may take suitable action. Provided public opinion is unanimous, the anomaly in respect of the mode of election of the Legislature may be altered.

Secondly, I suggest useful conventions should be deve-

loped. Conventions are usages or understandings which have played a useful part in every constitution to adjust it to the changing needs. It may be argued that conventions must grow and cannot be made. I do not accept the antithesis implied herein. The force of a vigorous personality like Washington created a precedent which has been followed unbroken that an American could seek election to the Presidential office only twice. There is no reason why conscious action on the part of able men cannot create conventions. Thus, the representatives of the States may be chosen by Rulers in consultation with the representative Assemblies existing already; within limits, the delegates from the State may be given freedom of judgment in voting on matters which do not affect the interests of the particular state; he may abstain from voting in purely British Indian questions. When the Governor-General at his discretion issues administrative directions to the Rulers of States in federal matters, he may, virtually, be guided by the advice of his ministers. When he decides that a specific residuary power is to be allocated either to the Federal Government or the Province, he may do so after reference to the Chief Justice of the Federation. Joint deliberation may, virtually, remove the duality of dyarchy. The writer does not believe that these conventions will automatically grow; but with deliberate effort, they should be made; and unless attempts to that effect are made, the anomalies will remain.

And finally, all this implies that the thoughts of leaders must, and will, be directed to the creation of truly political parties. The tendency in India to form parties on communal lines, which has been so marked in the working of the Reformed constitution, is an unhealthy one, drawing the energies of the nation into unfruitful channels. A political party, as distinguished from a communal one, is a more or less

organised group of citizens who act together as a political unit, have distinctive aims and opinions on some or all of the leading political questions of controversy in the State and who, by acting together as a political unit seek to obtain control of the Government. It provides a common platform where members drawn from different communities can work for the service of the nation. Otherwise, a legislature will tend to become, in a classic phrase 'a congress of ambassadors from different and hostile interests, which interests each must maintain as an advocate and agent against other agents and advocates'. In particular, such parties will provide a means whereby the sectionalism introduced by state barriers may be overcome. It is interesting to note that the operation of the party system in the United States of America and Australia, has had precisely the same effect.¹⁹ And, may it be noted that there is one recommendation in the Joint Committee Report, which favours this process, whereby a member from a State may belong to any party, though it might be distasteful to the ruler of the state concerned. The member of the Legislature appointed by the Ruler of a State will not be required to vacate his seat, if called upon to do so by the Ruler of the State before his normal term is over.²⁰ This is a salutary provision. A member with the courage of his conviction has the opportunity to make himself independent of the nominating authority for a fixed period. There is of course the danger that this will only make the Ruler careful in his selection of delegates.

¹⁹ Laski, *Grammar of Politics* pages 333-334.

²⁰ Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform Vol. I. para 210.

THE HINDU VIEW OF HISTORY

By S. ŚRIKANTHA ŚASTRI

[In this thoughtful article, Mr. S. S. Sastri of the Mysore University discusses the Hindu view of history and states that according to it, "history is made to illustrate ethico-social principles and principles are not subjected to Procrustean treatment to suit individual notions of history."]

It has been the fashion, in discussing the sources of Indian history, to assert that the Hindus produced no real history and lacked the historical temperament of the Arabs and the Greeks. The Purāṇas, once dismissed as tissues of fairy-tales, have now obtained a grudging recognition as possible sources of historical data to be carefully scrutinised and analysed before being accepted as facts of history. Several semi-historical works like those of Bāṇa and Kalhaṇa belong more to the Kāvya literature than to genuine Itihāsa.

This raises the question whether the so-called idealistic and pessimistic trend in Hindu thought was responsible for neglecting to record the passing and the perishable. Early history is no doubt biographic and eulogistic—the product of the vanity of a ruler and his family. But soon the philosopher of history generalises from the individual facts and professes to reveal God as and in history. In the crypto-materialistic view of Alexander, God has become a mere emergent product in the spacio-temporal continuum. Even Professor Toynbee in expounding his philosophy of history has come to adopt such a view. Other frankly materialistic views of European historians are based on the assumption that civilisation is a word for a certain degree of intellectual but not moral development and that in New History the

emphasis is not on the individual but on the environment which conditions progress.

But Hinduism has always repudiated the idea of a Deity evolving and emerging, dependent on the cosmos. Creation, whether absolutely real or unreal is due to *Lila Kaivalya* of a free causality. Therefore Itihāsa and Purāṇa are considered to have been projected like breath even as the Vēdas were, on the model of previous creations, having no origin in point of time. This is not a cyclic theory of World-as-History—a never-ending vicious circle of infinite activity, but conditioned by Will and wilful action. Hence the Purāṇa is real History inasmuch as it expounds the eternal laws of Dharma and Karma as revealed in *Sarga*, *Pratisarga*, etc. Chronological sequence is not necessarily the logical sequence, for a chronological series even when well-worked out, falls short of a perfect synthesis. The dialectic movement from thesis and ante-thesis to synthesis is not continuous, for in the synthesis the interest is shifted on to a new series. Therefore History is no "concrete sociology", nor "statistics in movement", nor "a series of biographies."

The Utilitarian view of history which unfortunately has found expression in the works of European nationalists, is due to a queer mixture of patriotism and prejudice. The materialistic view of Marx criticises the idealistic view of history as "a science of deceit which has been formed for the purpose of maintaining views that are the survival of primitive conditions of mankind" for the exploitation of the proletariat. It puts forward a goal of human development which has no existence outside an imagination observed by anthropomorphic ideas. The historian in short has become a propagandist and publicity agent and is no longer the captain of his own soul. Hence many western historians

have consciously or unconsciously been content with stating bare facts as they find them, leaving deductions and generalizations alone. The result is that History is no longer a "Clio—a Muse" but a filing bureau of facts. The effect is seen in a mentality that has produced and perpetuates dictatorship. Curiously enough the materialistic view of history has itself become a sort of theology, with its dogma that the hedonistic view alone is consistent with human activity. Not teleology, but causality is the law of history—the cause being increased endeavour to satisfy ever-increasing wants. Man's activity in short is due only to the desire to escape pain and preserve life.

The Hindu view of "purposive" historical activity differs radically from the western view. The word *Cbit* stands both for activity and awareness, just as *Sat* stands for both existence and truth. The historical process is neither deterministic nor indeterministic but self-determined and hence we do not subscribe to the notion that there is a continuous drift in the material universe back to disorder as is implied in the second law of Thermodynamics. Causality is ultimately a pragmatic and relative postulate, and as Max Planck says there is absolutely no real causality in Nature. It is rather a heuristic principle to guide us in a wilderness of facts. Therefore the two notions of *nimitta* and *upādāna* are inherent and inseparable in historical causality. The *Māyā* principle is capable of assuming two modes of infinity—uncountable infinity of cantor to be equated with the notion of *Nirguṇ* and countable infinity with *Saguṇa*—less than one and more than zero.

From this is deduced the Hindu philosophy of History. A mere test of one to one correspondence in the empirical world is bound to result in a materialistic view of history. Spengler's view of Destiny is that it is but a synthesis of cause

and effect and causality is a logic of space only and not of time. But though there is no time in the eternal and time is a *Kārya* or an effect according to certain Hindu schools and thus non-eternal, yet the notion of sequence implies time and is conceived in time. Sequence therefore is an abstraction having validity in its own sphere and especially in the social sciences, the sequence system is of vital importance.

It is the ordinary experience of a teacher of history to be asked since history is supposed to repeat itself, why does not the world by the study of history avoid past mistakes and benefit by previous experience. To say that the lesson was not impressive and bitter enough is no adequate answer. It is a radical change of attitude towards writing and learning history that is required. A philosophy of history that refuses to deal with abstract theories and confines itself to things as they are, can never do real good. There is no need to be apologetic about emphasising the ethical aspect in tracing the evolution of human society. The very passion for applying mathematical formulae to social sciences is but a manifestation of this method of abstraction and generalisation. New science can confine itself to a closed system and all developments are due to this profoundly historical spirit which envisages a dynamic universe.

Humanity is a part of the natural order which is not a haphazard concatenation but guided by the law (*praśāsana*) of the eternal (*Akshara*). The relational universe is also rational. To Bertrand Russell on the other hand "the universe is all spots and jumps, without unity, without continuity, without coherence or orderliness." But sequence is not entire causality though it is embedded in it, and is grounded on it. Though causal connection is ultimately *anirvachanīya*, yet in the physical world-picture the uncertainty is reduced in the process of translation from aware-

the orders and both are carrying out His mandates. Both are proving the existence of the King, and manifesting Him by exhibition of different acts, in pursuance to His mandates. Nothing can be proved without denying its opposite, nor shall a discourse be appreciated and enjoyed fully without such objections. There must be present somebody in the audience who puts forward vehemently the opposite view at all stages. It is then that the speaker tries to establish the right. It is then that the audience becomes keen and relishes the discussion and the discourse. Similarly is this world also a Hall of His manifestations. It would not be worth living happily if there were not persons of opposite shades of opinion living—the heretics and the believers, side by side. The believer and the heretic are both making the Truth manifest.

In fact, creation is a necessity.

As things can be known only through their opposites, Being can only be known through not-being, wherein as in a mirror Being is reflected. This reflection is the phenomenal Universe, which accordingly has no more reality than a shadow cast by the sun. Its central point is man—the microcosm which reflects in him all the divine attributes. Blackened on the one side with the darkness of Not-being, man bears within himself a spark of pure Being.

Five Theories of Creation

Various theories of creation have been ascribed to the Sufis. The principal ones briefly are five:

- (a) Theory of Pantheism (*hama aust*)
- (b) Theory of Panentheism (*samad*)
- (c) Theory of all existence making up the universal existence (*wabdatulwajud*)
- (d) Realm of transient existence overshadowed by one universal existence (*alam-a-shahud*)
- (e) Theory of emanations (*Tanzilat*)

Apart from them is the Semetic Theory, which at times is also ascribed to them. It is briefly: God said "Be" and the world came into existence (*kun-fi-kun*). Compare the Biblical theory of the World.

An Indian scholar from Calcutta has very ably summed up in his Lectures to the Calcutta University on Mysticism, the generally accepted Sufi theory of creation or better the evolutionary aspect of it as follows:—

God is conceived by the Sufi as the Ocean of Unity (*dariya-i-vahdat*). Love cannot, according to him, remain in abeyance. It is active in its nature. . . . When the breeze of love passes over the ocean of Unity, its surface is ruffled and ripples become visible. Thus various phenomena force themselves out on the surface and the creation with all its variety of forms, shapes, colour etc becomes manifest. The splendour and majesty of God keep them in check from outstripping their bounds. His beauty attracts them (centripitally) and preserves their solidarity. Thus the whole creation is evolving out of the Ocean of Unity, remains on it and disappears in it. What is hidden becomes manifest and then disappears. In this way the process of emanation or properly speaking manifestation is going on. The absolute existence of God is *baqi*, those manifestations being *FANI*, appear and disappear. (p. 39).

In the *Lawa'ih* of Jami the matter is dealt with at length. The above-named author at p. 36 of his book sums up the position saying "as emanation proceeds from the divine being, it becomes grosser as it recedes from the source and takes particular shapes and colour as it passes through the different planes."

Avicenna speaks of the descent of the soul thus:

Unwilling it sought thee and joined thee and yet though it grieve,
It is still more unwilling thy body to leave.
It resisted and struggled, and would not be tamed in haste,
Yet it joined thee and slowly grew used to the desolate waste. .
Then in its descent a discipline wise but stern,
That the things it had not heard, it thus may learn.
In this view, the things emanated are of and from the Divine Being. A reed is not a pen nor a pen a reed, though a pen is made of reed.

In man, the Sufi sees the microcosm in the microcosm, a whole Universe within, and a Universe of a far higher order

that he had been conceiving of. Within him he sees the seven spiritual planes, which are:

1. Plane of Humanity (alam-i-nasut) *i.e.*, relating to this phenomenal universe.
2. Plane of angels and spirits (alam-i-malkut).
3. Plane of majesty and glory (alam-i-jabrut).
4. Plane of Divinity (alam-i-lahut).
5. Plane of Absolute (alma-i-hahut).
6. Plane of attribute (alm-i-bahut).
7. Plane of higher attributes (alam-i-rahut).

And every one of these planes has its stages (maratib) and its signs, that is the miracles that one sees and witnesses when he reaches it. A devotee on whom has devolved His grace has to pass through all these stages before he reaches the Ocean of Divinity and where the ego is annihilated finally. On the part of the disciple effort and faith in Teacher and obedience to his mandates and instructions is absolutely necessary.

One who reads of these stages will remember the various stages of the Theosophist in his occult practices. The Vedantist too has his corresponding stages; *bbub: bbuva: svab: mahab: gyanab: tapab: satya: lokas*. There is a graphic description of these various stages given in verse in Farid Uddin Attar's *Mantaq-ut-tair*. Those who are versed in sufism can at once know the merit of a person coming to them by looking at him and understanding the stage to which he has attained. It is like a touchstone to them. The adept has to adhere to the tenants of the Quaran, to follow the required ceremonials and to act according to the *Shariat* (religious rules) up to a certain stage in his spiritual flight. But once he has annihilated the various selfish egos (*Nafs Ammara, nafs lawama and nafs-i-mutmaian etc.*) and has attained to the third plane, wherein Truth has dawned upon him, he can even transcend these religious scruples. This

last stage is the stage of *Fana-fil-allah*, that is the stage of complete effacement of self. It is this stage where Mansur cried "I am the Truth" (*anal haq*) and further "I have become a heretic from the faith of God. This heresy is good in my eyes but in the eyes of the followers of Islam it is bad." (*kufrat ba din allah wa kufr wajib ucin wa andul musulmin qabih*). It was Bayazid who having reached similar heights proclaimed "Praise to me, what an exalted dignity is mine!" (*kai subhani ma azam ushani*). Junaid similarly proclaimed "I speak and I hear. Is there anybody except myself?" (*ana uqqaul wa anaussama wa bilfiddadin ghairey*). Such being the spiritual heights attained, it would not be far wrong to say that one who dwells in such a high plane, for him it is but natural to express himself like that. But if such expressions were to come out from the dwellers on the lower planes, it would be heresy and such breach of the rules of Islam laid down for the novices would be condemned. This attitude explains why Shamsh Tabraiz and Hallaj and others were branded and crucified. Their accusers, dwelling on a lower plane, could not follow them and were interpreting the aspects of higher planes by tests of the lower ones. Maulana Rum has thus discussed this aspect in his *Fiha ma Fiha* (p. 163):

Whatever Mansur says is a secret and mystery and will soon be forgotten by people. But Mansur himself could not bear its heat and blurted out the Truth. What he meant to convey by his expression "I am the Truth" was that the whole world is obedient to and tied to the chain of His orders and God's orders are held by the devotee who holds the reins, and the devotee speaks them out and makes no secret of them.

While it is so difficult to follow these elementary talks of these great sufis, to follow their classifications of the Unity (Tauhid) is still more difficult, and to apply it to the lives of the great sufis and thereby to appreciate their merits is for

an ordinary person well-nigh incomprehensible in practice.

Unity of Divinity might for example be classified under four heads: (1) *Tauhid-i-imani* which implies a firm faith in the oneness of God. (2) *Tauhid-i-ilmi*, finding unity and seeing it in all things by intellectual knowledge and (3) *Tauhid-i-hali* which is finding the state of oneness in ecstasy. This state is the effect of the partial realisation of the divine unity. The veils are gradually set aside and divine influences seem to overpower and to work on the seeker. (4) *Tauhid-i-Ilahi*, which might be defined as absorption in the Divinity and complete effacement of the self.

Some others have classified it into *Tauhid-i-wajudi*; *Tauhid-i-Shabudi*; *Tauhid-i-ghaibi* and *Tauhid-i-zilli*.

A third set of thinkers have classified it still further:—

Tauhid	{	1. Tauhid-i-shariat.	{	Tauhid-i-afali.	
		2. Tauhid-i-tariqat		Tauhid-i-sifati.	
				Tauhid-i-zati.	
	{	3. Tauhid-i-haqiqat		{	Martaba-i-tanzihi.
					Martaba-i-wajudi.
					Martaba-i-shayunani
					Martaba-i-tamsili.
					Martaba-i-sifati.
					Martaba-i-Ismai.
					Martaba-i-afati and others.
		4. Tauhid-i-marfat.			

For those who desire to pursue the subject further, a study of *Tazkarat-ul-Ghausia* (pp. 129|146) will prove to supply the requisite information.

Leaving the classification apart, Ghaus Ali Shah has at one place described the condition of one who has touched the fringe of the Ocean of Unity in the following lines:

When the devotee reaches the state of Oneness, then he ceases to have a separate existence, neither he nor the oneness exists, neither unity nor multiplicity is traceable, neither the self nor God has separate entity left, neither the devotee nor the object of his devotion,

neither self nor attributes, neither the angels nor the holy book, neither the Prophet nor the Prophethood, neither the Name nor the One to whom it could be ascribed, neither the external nor the inner self, neither heaven nor hell, neither darkness nor light, neither proof of existence nor non-existence, neither heaven nor earth, neither stages nor places, neither desire nor the desirer nor the desired, neither love nor the lover nor the beloved, neither man nor Satan, neither heretic nor the believer, neither the condemned one nor the respected one, neither the prescribed nor the detested object are left (*Tazkaratul-ghausia* p. 307). Even sin and piety are forgotten.

Knowledge and meditation, everything is left, the company sits silent.

There is no distinction between the lower and the higher, everything quiet.

At this stage, the lover, love, the idol that is worshipped, he who witnesses and the witnessed one are all one.

In the Kaa'ba, the temple, the mosque, at every place the Beloved is one,

Come out and watch in the garden of Unity, all is one.

Here in this place, the beloved and the lover, the rose and thorn all are one

And who else can possibly be visible at this place:

In reality, the seen, the seer, that to be seen are all one.

I am surprised, what remains then to be seen!

It is true that the pilgrim on the Path has to proceed further on this road. He has not to stay in the middle. Hazrat Ghous Ali Shah thus speaks of this effort:

The acts of the sufis are at times divorced of all ceremonies and beyond all traditions. They are not required by the followers on the Path. For them only immersing ones' self in craving for the love, for the lord and remembrance of his name all day and night long are necessary.

The parallel to the Vedantists' state of Oneness is, as we have seen, available in the sufi's creed also. It is known as *Alam-i-dar zat-i-basit*. It is that stage of the descent of the

emanation where the devotee forgets himself in ecstasy. And it is at this stage that the susceptibility to physical pain even is lost. Of Mansur Al Hallaj it is stated that when at the time of the crucifixion of Hallaj, his dress was removed from his body, a scorpion appeared from underneath it. People wanted to kill it. Mansur stopped them from doing so, saying, he had lived there for the last 20 years as a dear friend. It is such a statement which was envied by Junaid. The latter yearned that he could also attain to such a state as Mansur did. And when he did attain to it, it was only a few hours before his death. When that state of oneness was reached, he was seen weeping and crying 'alas! all life was wasted in idle disputations and hair splitting investigations. Had I unravelled this knot, I would not have wasted my life'. Shah Mansur had undergone terrible penances.

The tragedy is that common people do not follow what it means. As stated before they crucify their martyrs. When Mansur was crucified and his body was cremated, his ashes were thrown in river Dajla. Instantly the waters rose. People informed Imam Muhammad of the happening. Iman Sahib approached the river and thus addressed it:

Hear, O Mansur, we know that you are honest in the path, but if we have condemned you against the dictates of the Holy Book, do destroy us, else you can do nothing evil to us. At once the river subsided.

But this is a very high stage in spiritual development. A few realise it. When Aurangzeb learnt that Hazrat Sarmad was always absorbed in the ocean of unity, he approached him and addressed him:

O knower, where is thy existence and non-existence,
Thou hast ignited the fires of love in thee, I see not however its smoke.
You have bestowed your heart, your life, your faith on your Beloved.
This is all a madness, tell me what does it profit thee?

Hazrat Sarmad replied:

I was non-existent, but came into existence, yet I do not know what is that existence.
I have become the spark but I do not know what is the smoke like.
I bestowed my heart, my life, my faith;
If in turn came madness, I do not know what other profit could there be.

In this state, man sees God Himself. This is the stage beyond the third eye or the cross. When these two eyes turn within, they meet the third eye and proceed upwards, it is the stage of the Cross (the Vedantist's Tirkuti and the Sufi's Nasira Mahmuda). It is after crossing it that it has the glimpse of the sea of unity. Everyone says that

the believer, the Fireworshipper, the Jew, the good and the bad,
All are going towards the One Being.

But few realise and appreciate the meaning behind it:

In the kingdom of God, O friends, if one exists, it is ourselves.
In the constructions of both the worlds, O friend, if one exists, it is ourselves.
I tested it over and over and in the end I saw this,
We are the coin current and we are the genuine stuff.

The main conditions are thus described. Up to this stage the Teacher can take the disciple. But beyond this stage the disciple proceeds himself and it is possible that the Teacher may not even be aware of the attainments of the devotee. This is because the Ocean of Divinity is so deep that nobody can ascertain its depth. This is well illustrated by the account of the dispute between Raidas and Kabir.

Kabir was a great devotee of the Impersonal God. When his fame spread and reached Raidas, who believed in the Personal God, the latter wrote to the former scornfully:

Born of a low caste mother and a weaver father, the son claims to possess the knowledge of God,

He knoweth not about the beginning and the end, thinks only of what passes in his mind.

Kabir thus replied to it:

Without knowledge of Brahman, without knowing Braham's essence, this body cannot be purified.

He the Perfect One is present everywhere, no one else exists.
My eyes are not the shoemaker's.

As chance would have it, both met once and a discussion took place between them. Kabir said that his devotion surpassed Raidas's. Raidas on the contrary asserted that he was superior to Kabir. Now, who was to decide? Raidas, to establish his superior claims, thought of God, Shri Ram Chandra, and at once He appeared, riding a horse and with a bow and a quiver of arrows in his hands, and told Kabir, "Why do you not accept the authority of Raidas as being thy superior in his devotions?" Kabir retorted "Well Sir, go take care of your consort, Sita, do not dabble in our affairs. It is a matter which concerns us two, we shall decide for ourselves." Shri Ram Chandra Ji stood silent at a distance. Raidas next remembered Krishna, and mounted on a steed he soon appeared, putting on a peacock crown and with a flute on his lips. On his intervention and remark similar to Ramchandraji's, Kabir remarked

Please go and look after the milkmaids of Brindaban, do not concern yourself with our affairs. We shall settle it ourselves. He too, stood apart. Kabir next thought of Mahadevji, and he appeared with the trident, and on suggesting Kabir to accept the superiority of Raidas, Kabir again gave the impertinent reply to him to go and look after his consort, Parvati. On hearing the remark Mahadevji lost his temper, and growing furious aimed his trident on Kabir. Kabir however disappeared in the great ocean of Unity. The gods stood silent, unable to do anything in the matter. Raidas besought them to establish his superiority and take Kabir to task. They replied Kabir has gone to that stage where ourselves can exercise no influence on him and we are helpless in the matter.

Thereupon Raidas remarked, then to no purpose is this personal worship of mine, I shall now pray to the Impersonal one, and sought the instructions from Kabir.

These idols, these rosaries and pilgrimages are a mere waste.

Rama and Krishna are all useless nor can the Vedas teach anything.

Rama is dead, so Krishna, and also Lakho Bai.

Why then do you not worship Him who is eternal and does not die?"

(Tazkarat-ul-Ghausia pp. 258|259)

When the aspirant realises, He finds Him nearer than his own self; and says:

He is my heart and my heart is in His hand
Like the mirror in my hand, and myself
reflected in it.

To know this much or, better to experience this state, is to know one's own self. The poets and seers have all come to this conclusion and expressed it as such:

Speak to Him thou, for He hears, and
Spirit with spirit can meet.
Closer is He than breathing
Nearer than hands and feet.

(Tennyson)

I am so close to Him, as is the perfume to the rose.
And He is by my side and yet separate from me.

(Zauq)

He is like the sun and we, like the shadows.
We are inseparables, like the light and the shadow.

(Khakani)

The Beloved is nearer to me, than I to myself.
And this is stranger still that I am far from Him.
What should I do, and to whom should I say
That He is by my side and far off from me.

(Anon)

There is a treasure in my heart, I do not know poverty.
The Ruler of the worlds, what cares He for our world?

from human plane through death will lead me to the dignity of the angels. Then from the angelic state, I shall soar higher and become what no mind can conceive, for then I shall merge myself in the infinity, as has been said by the Lord Himself:
 "From God we came—to Him all of us will return."

THE ARTIST AND THE BEAUTY IN ART

By BHABES CHANDRA CHAUDHURI

[In this article Mr. Chauduri deals with the function of the artist, his contribution to life, the beauty in art and its enduring qualities.]

Do we want absolute reality in painting or for that matter alone the creative joy that the artist feels in the art of making his objects? Merely painting a tree with all attention to Botany is in art an affair of tale-tell; but when the tree under the mystic hue of the artist assumes an exotic blossom, the canvas turns into a fairy-land and charms us more than the tree itself. Herein, therefore, lies the excellence of the artist in making a reality look so really different, yet so pleasing; and that again consists in creating a piece of delight and beauty couched in the best expressive and colourful language of art. Every artist has his own language, his thoughts and characteristics, just as every nation has its own. Hence, to understand the artist, we must know him, just as to know a nation we must know its language. Everybody must have been horrified at the reality of a gangster murder, but when enacted on the screen does its gruesomeness tell upon our nerves? We are rather amused. What is the secret that is so much unlike in effect, yet so really alike in essence and which verily makes murder look so enthralling? It is the magic brush—the Wonderful Lamp of the artist that with all pigments and colour combined with tact and talent work into a unity and thus casts a spell on the eye and the picture charms. But it must be observed that in order to be really successful, the tone of the picture should be good or

else however appealing it may otherwise be, it would be found wanting in expressiveness or language. Herein, therefore comes the element of technique which is an alias for a staunch sense of individualism and implies that the artist should be of imaginative turn and that his works must bear the impress of a full-fledged mind. But there is limit to imagination, beyond which reality fades into the visionary. The artist, therefore, is very cautious in making use of his imagination and is probably the last man on earth to make an elephant of a mouse or a bison into a buffalo. Hence comes the question of proportion. The artist is unquestionably precise, just and proportionate in the use of brush and has a balanced sense of colour composition. Imagination, as referred to, is as fragile as ductile and so the artist, in order to ensure a successful finish and a ready appreciation by the connoisseurs, must be as sparing in the use of brush as in the display of idea.

We often hear a good deal of ill-balanced criticism against the paintings of the great artist Dr. Abanindra Nath Tagore. As it is, he draws pictures of unusually longer finger-tips. At the first sight his picture may seem to be queer, or meaningless; but a few moments after, and a mindful search thereinto, you feel unity, harmony and colour gradually returning to it till at length, you are convinced that his picture is live, charming and quite symmetrical too. That is the key-note of Dr. Abanindra and his great creative genius. To know him, therefore, you should beside calling in aid the pair of visual sights, requisition the use of a third eye too, namely mind, and unless you do so you are surely to discover in him nothing else than the patches of a soggy brush! In this connection, an interesting story may be cited. Once Ruskin, the famous art-critic, chafed Whistler, the famous painter by a sarcastic remark

about the latter's picture "In a night." Whistler sued Ruskin by going to law court. The Judge asked Whistler "Does the picture refer to a bridge?" "That may or may not as it rests on the man who saw it. I painted the bridge as it appeared in a certain night" replied Whistler. The judge asked again "And those coloured patches on the bridge are so many men!" "Thanks and glad too, you have at length recognised them!" replied the angried artist. This story warrants the fact, therefore, that unless one is acquainted with the characteristics of the artist or his techniques, his picture is liable to be misunderstood, if not at all understood. And what is this technique? This is almost the same thing as the style in literature and may be called the self-expression of the artist's individuality. There are in his technique what may be called the creative skill, the sense of colour synthesis, smartness of finish and an atmosphere breathing in an air of the artist's own temperament. Without even a faint acquaintance with these essentials the picture appears to be meaningless and stupid just as many are wont to do Dr. Abanindra without knowing his high technique. In the matter of technique the Chinese and the Japanese have been extolled universally. Indeed, they are often admired for painting fairy-tales with their brush! But the wonder is, their theme is mostly insect, bird or the landscape. Yet, that has only been possible owing to their superb technique and a powerful sense marked by an inexorable zest for the beauty, truth and an innate idealism of the picturesqueness. Any picture lacking in these fundamentals of art has reasons to be less impressionistic.

There are many pictures which belong to the modern school of painting in Europe and are done up in such a novel technique that it is sometimes felt even harder to make a head or tail of them. Rumour has it, that a certain critic

there under the spate of emotion drew forth a volume of praise respecting such a modern picture. When on a careful observation it turned up that the said panegyric was the outcome of the head of the picture having gone a little topsy-turvy! Such events are not wanting in our land and the only remedy against such stilted criticism is in gaining an unbiased insight in the realm of art. In India, we have been experiencing a renaissance in art, under the Oriental painting. This is, of course, an improved version of the classical art of India. Unlike the various branches of the European art like cubism, impressionism, or the primitism, the Indian has made a distinct debut. The ancient Indian painting was mainly symbolic in so far as its iconography is concerned; and the artist of that time had to labour under the restraint of religious cult of the art. Their productions therefore were the patterns of uniformity and lacked in diversity of technique. The trunk of an elephant to a mythological God, the addition of a pair of five hands to the goddess Durga besides a set of rules for the measurement of chest, finger, and head were then the accepted standard in vogue for painting and sculpture. Thus Valmiki mentions that to be an ideal man, he must have a well-developed chest, the shoulder of an ox, the waist of a lion, the eye like lily and the fingers like the petals of the flower *Champaka*.

It is rather very heartening to observe that much of what we see today as the products of the Oriental art, are the outcome of the harmonious combination of the ancient Indian art. Of course, as might be presumed, the modern school of Indian art is experiencing a so-called schism being caught in the eddy of the Western current of thoughts. The old school is pressing for adoption of old standard, while the new school is urging for a simple type of non-violent non-co-operation between art and religion. Is the artist merely a

parrot to learn by rote a few standard formulae of human anatomy and then repeat them for pleasing his religious masters? Or should he be tutored into the belief that he has no free language wherein to give expression to his idea of the beautiful? Thus has cropped up the modern school of Oriental art on the pantheon of the ancient cult which while imbibing all that is best in Europe is by no means blind to the classical art of India.

Every picture is to some extent decorative in its essential aspect, be it a portrait or a painting. The difference that exists in Europe between the realistic and the decorative art is not so acute as we have in India in so far as its Moghul and Rajput paintings are concerned. The reason being this, that the Indian artists always sought to copy nature without any critical eye and so failed to make their objects nature-like. Their works therefore suffered from sameness of make-up and were more of the nature of a replica than a real piece of art, the reason being that probably they had no skilled-eye for colour effect nor learned to aesthetise art, just as the European artists in the mediaeval age did with success. The same landscape that appears today, when painted and compared may look just the different outwardly, but both are beautiful and delight the sense when we spy the artist's workmanship. Every artist has different taste, sight and sense and when he sets his hands to compose his idyll in terms of the different elements of nature like, water, sky, cloud, forest, field and the river or the ocean and shape them in the mould of imagination—his subject gains a new colour as contrasted with natural objects. His object therefore becomes more than a natural picture that we are prone to call it: on the otherhand it becomes nature-like.

The artist is the priest of the beautiful. It is he who rescues the truth from its ugly defilement and gives us a drink

out of the perennial fount of joy amidst the fret and stress of life.

The beautiful is scattered through the universe like the auriferous sands and be he a king in helmet or a tattooed nomad in the forest, it is all pervading and accessible to all and exists on the mural decoration of the hovel as well as on the varnish of the murderer's sword. It is the artist again who has explored all these gems of beauty through ages and sought to make our life divine.

History has faded into fables, or kings into mummies but the beauty in art has always stood the test of time. Thus Phidias has long gone to dust, but his Jupiter stands, Raphael is dead but his Madonna laughs and Sha Jahan is no more but his Taj is ever beautiful.

THE IMPERIALIST POWERS—II

By Dr. B. RAMCHANDRA RAU

[Dr. B. Ramchandra Rau of the Calcutta University who has, in his earlier article in this series, dealt with Britain as an imperialist power, now turns to American Imperialism.]

American Imperialism

It has already been pointed out that Imperialism is the unfailing consequence and ubiquitous result of a certain frame of mind misnamed Jingoism. It is goaded by economic pressure such as the accumulation of finance, capital, intense industrialism and widespread growth of commerce.

By 1900 the United States of America became industrialised and was on the point of exporting capital on a large scale. American manufactured goods invaded the European Continental markets. In order to protect themselves against this "American Invasion" Signor Luzatti proposed in 1902 to convene a European Customs Conference to devise methods of common defence against "the American Peril".

Coincident with this era of industrial expansion there was the colonial movement arising out of the Spanish-American War. Cuba was occupied. Hawaii, Guam and the Philippines in the Pacific were secured. Porto Rico in the Caribbean Sea was occupied. Her victory in this war gave her scope for extra-continental extension of territory.

As soon as the economic gains arising out of Hawaiias' a sugar producing island and the Philippines as a base for commercial expansion in the Pacific Ocean were recognised they were kept under American tutelage to provide a field of activity to American merchants and capitalists. The regime

of protection was soon extended to the colonies. The "Open door policy" which she professed to maintain was clean forgotten¹.

The economic prosperity of the country soon enabled her to export capital. Between 1900 and 1902 big loans were floated by England and Japan in the New York Money Market². The financial crisis of 1907 held her economic progress under check for a while. But the habit of considering the Caribbean Sea as her sphere of influence was not given up. Dominica continued to be her "financial protectorate". In all subsequent dealings of the U. S. A. with the Central American powers the right of foreign powers to deal with them was restricted. Needing capital, enterprising men and daring explorers to tap their economic resources, the South American Republics have turned to the U. S. A. which fortunately possesses all these factors in abundance. Her advice is freely taken in these matters of economic development. The political sovereignty of these republics is however safeguarded. The recent Great War gave scope to American capital to penetrate Europe in a similar manner as she has done in the matter of the South American Republics. Political control might follow the footsteps of financial investments.

The United States of America has arrived at the cross-ways. According to some critics she has already crossed the Rubicon and has espoused the Imperialistic policy in defiance of the solemn promises made by her famous statesmen. The Monroe doctrine with the policy of "America for Americans" "and non-interference in world politics" has received a new extension³—and interpretation. The megalomania of an

¹ Walter E. Weyl—American World Policies—p. 47.

² See A. D. Noyes—Forty Years of American Finance—1909—Ch. AI—pp. 281 and 321.

³ The Pan-Americanism of President Harding is an elastic economic interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine. It denotes a scheme for leaguering North and South America under the leadership of the U.S.A. Peru,

Imperial frame of mind has bitten her already⁴.

In support of their contention these critics point out various steps in the development of this policy. Having become a colonial power, having developed its industries to a high pitch of efficiency and productiveness, having amassed a large amount of profits and having expanded its commerce to all the remote corners of earth she has embarked or forced to embark on the self-same policy of economic Imperialism which other Imperial forerunners have pursued. They have invested a large portion of their capital in North America and South America. Some shrewd observers naively remark that Canada is an economic complement of the United States of America. Having become a creditor⁵ power she is advancing loans to the Republics of South America and her financial hegemony is established over the Dominions of Honduras, Nicaragua, Santo Domingo, Alaska, Panama and Hayti. Her economic or financial control is extending over the Islands of the Caribbean Sea and the countries of the Latin America. Wittingly or unwittingly the first Act in the drama of Economic Imperialism has been enacted.

The second Act consists in strengthening the military, naval, and aerial defenses so as to make her word a formidable one backed by an imposing array of martial resources. Cuba is a naval base. In the other republics her economic interests are protected by military forces. A naval mission to Brazil is a meaningless episode if the U. S. A. has no ulterior diplo-

Chile, Bolivia and Argentina alone strongly oppose the Pan-American Policy.

⁴ See G. H. Blackslcc—The Recent Foreign Policy of the U.S.A. p. 71—128.

⁵ In 1913 the U.S.A. owed Europe five billion dollars and in 1920 Europe owed the U.S.A. 4.3 milliard dollars in commercial debts and 8.5 milliard dollars in war debts. *The suddenness of this national transformation from the state of debtor to creditor has no parallel in history.* See

matic aims in protecting her financial interests therein⁶. America is now engaged in constructing a navy which would be second to none in the world⁷.

The third Act describes the attempts of the Filipinos to regain their lost political freedom. Until quite recently this was denied to them⁸. Costo Rico and Mexico would one day or other fall into the maw of the American financiers. American money is fast becoming the medium of circulation.

Profits and Politics—p. 139. By R. D. Charques and A. H. Ewen.
(*Italics mine*)

⁶ In return for the U.S.A. loans Brazil, formerly a financial vassal of Great Britain was persuaded to withdraw from the League of Nations.

⁷ The Naval Conference of Washington held in the U.S.A. agreed to a particular ratio—namely 5 : 5 : 3 : 1.75 : 1.75. But naval expansion was not stopped. The second naval Conference was held in Geneva in 1927. Italy and France did not care to attend. England did not care to extend the ratio to cruisers and other types of vessels. The original ratio was retained for capital ships. The third naval conference was held in 1930 in London. Italy and France quarrelled. Japan was unwilling to extend the ratio to cruisers. A three power agreement was signed here. The World Disarmament Conference of 1932 to 1935 came to nothing. There is practically speaking a quantitative disarmament. Qualitative disarmament suggested by France was not agreed to.

A rough idea of the naval strength in 1932 can be obtained by studying this following table.

State	Battleships	Cruisers	Torpedoes	Submarines
England	15	60	150	60
U. S. A.	15	30	250	85
Japan	10	40	125	75
France	9	25	65	110
Italy	4	25	110	75

⁸ See T. F. Millard—Conflict of Policies in Asia—Herein he gives an outline of the American attitude towards the Philippine Islands. He prophetically remarks that the real objective is to make the Filipinos attain independence as early as possible. Another American writer says "the Philippines are ours not to subjugate but to emancipate, not to rule in the power of might but to take to that distant land the principles of liberty, of freedom, of conscience, and of opportunity which are enjoyed by the people of the U.S.A." See also the Wood-Forbes Report, pp.42—46—President Coolidge was recently compelled to make the Filipinos live for some time to come under the flag of the U.S.A. See New York Times—March 6, 1924—p. 1—Colonel Thompson's report criticises however the military administration of the Philippines by the U.S.A. He truly remarks that for securing increased efficiency it should be made a Civil Administration and carry out the recommendations of the Philippine

Their railways are being built by American engineers and bankers. Their economic problems are being solved by Committees under the presidency of American economists like Prof. Kemmerer. The financially weaker neighbours are helped and are in turn inevitably controlled in several ways. Her distinguished statesmen like Secretary Hughes arbitrate in the unfortunate domestic squabbles of the A. B. C. Republics of South America. Her educationists have taken the philanthropic burden of educating the people of Latin America. Her doctors are establishing hospitals in every town of Mexico. The presence of American missionaries needs no elaboration at this stage. Will not "the Bible and rum" act as advance pickets of national expansion or political agents for the conquest and annexation of the uncivilised people as they did in case of the countries of Asia?

The defenders of American foreign policy exultingly point out certain features which explain away the financial urge which compelled her to take action. The Pan-Latin movement, the League of Nations, and the Latin American League may exert their best endeavours in vain to stem the tide of American financial supremacy. It might be true that the United States of America might not care to obtain political control and supremacy in these states which might be safely reckoned as belonging to her colonial empire. So long as the following raw materials such as coal, iron, oil, wheat, sugar, rice, gums, resins and tropical timbers are to be had it matters little who is the ultimate master of the political situation. American Imperialism might not be of the type of politico-military Imperialism. But her Imperialism can be

Legislatures. At last the Filipines have been granted a new constitution thus proving to the world the sincerity of the American motive in civilising the islanders. A commonwealth with a constitutional Government has been established by President Roosevelt. Complete Independence will be granted in course of ten years (*i.e.*) in 1946.

safely considered as economic imperialism⁹.

America's new economic status resulting out of the recent war has to be grasped in this connection. It has nearly half the world's gold supply and more than a third of the world's wealth. It is fast becoming the world's chief money-lending power, the world's principal mortgage holder and the world's richest treasure house¹⁰. While the United Kingdom might be described as the World's greatest political power, the United States of America can be reckoned as the world's economic centre. It has already become the most portentous industrial rival of Great Britain. The export trade of the U. S. A. has been steadily increasing since 1870 right up to this date. America produces 51 per cent of the world's pig iron, 66 per cent of the world's steel; 43 per cent of the world's coal and 62 per cent of the world's petroleum. It has now 120 million of people with high average of activity and efficiency. It has established close relations with Latin America in the South and has control of the Panama Canal. The balance of trade, the payment of international debts, the importation of gold, the development of a discount market, and the reorganisation of her banking system are well-known features of her active economic life. Her overgrown industrialism is forcing her to develop her export trade. The home market being narrow the markets of the East are sought far

⁹ See "dollar diplomacy" by Scott Nearing and Freeman—pp. 219—244 to 280.

¹⁰ For a rough idea of the total investments of America one can read *Dun-American Investments*—See also the U.S.A. Statistical Abstract—1922—p. 555—In 1910 America was a debtor country. She had Dollars 500 mil. worth of foreign securities but about dollars 6,000 mil. of foreign investments chiefly in Railways were held in the U.S.A. Even in 1913 she was a *net debtor* to the outside world though she was slowly improving *her creditor* status. The Great War stimulated her financial investments and American contributions to financing the outside world amounted to dol. 21,851 mil. The flotation of foreign securities in 1923 and 1924 amounted to 398 mil. and 1208 mil. respectively. To these must be added the short-term advances made by the American bankers. See the U.S.A. Federal Reserve Bulletin—Vol. 10, p. 96.

keenly¹¹. The immigration restrictions have been unfortunately tending towards non-expansion of the domestic market. The decline of the birth-rate accentuates these conditions and positively reduces the number of people making an effective demand for her finished mass products. Hence the cry for foreign markets is insistent¹². With a change in trading methods, with lowered cost of production, with slight adaptability on the part of the manufactured product to suit the Eastern markets and tastes America has a brilliant future for her trade in the Middle and Far East. Japan in spite of her industrial efficiency manufactures goods of lower standard or quality. Great Britain is unable to reduce the cost of production and the colonies of the British Empire find it impossible to absorb the better quality goods produced at a high cost. It is of course easily apparent that American conditions are ripe for the development of a policy of economic imperialism. Capital holdings have increased very much. New Financial investments have been made to a certain extent¹³. Industrialism has advanced by leaps and bounds. "Her sugar and rubber requirements are forcing her", say some of the American publicists, to continue her economic hold on the Philippines. Military and naval forces are being trained. It would be no wonder if it were to follow the lead of the other Imperialistic Powers and begins

¹¹ "Hoover prosperity" has been the term used to denote the export surplus sent abroad under the direction of the Debt of Commerce organised in 1921 by Mr. Hoover.

¹² By 1923-1924 the home market was saturated. Outlets for important overseas investments had to be secured to maintain the pace of capitalistic expansion.

¹³ Germany, Poland, Italy, Spain, Persia and China soon provided the favourite areas for the investment of American capital during 1925—1930. The total American investments have been estimated in 1929 to be amounting to dol. 16,000,000,000 of which one-third was in America, a quarter in Canada and another quarter in Europe.

to assert its aggressions¹⁴.

While the economic factors are conducive towards such a step the non-economic factors which produce the drive of economic Imperialism are somewhat latent or even absent. The supreme characteristic of the American people is that in their almost hectic pursuit of wealth they do not care much for spreading their national characteristics on the backward races of the earth.

Again it must be admitted that her Imperial excursions have not gone far. Her deliberate non-interference in European politics and her refusal to free European civilisation from the debacle of the Great War shows the sincerity of her non-interference policy. Although of late she is taking a growing interest in outside affairs than before it is not in the direction of securing political suzerainty or overlordship with a view to mercilessly exploit the conquered or subjugated territory. The Wilsonian idealism which prevented the clash of War among the Five Powers in China is leading towards economic internationalism.

Besides most of the American people believe in an internal development policy under the guidance of her leaders whose inborn gifts and unexampled energy are patent to everybody. Some of them do not worry themselves at this juncture about world or external markets¹⁵. They are not fired with the aggressive zeal and vigorous ambition to become a world power. Hence it is impossible to believe or assert that the U. S. A. would soon become an important

¹⁴ Since these lines were written in 1925 American economic machinery has received a great set-back during the days of the world-wide depression. The stagnation of her economic life is being stemmed by President Roosevelt.

¹⁵ American thoughts are turned inwards at present since isolation can scarcely make internal matters worse and holds out a distinct prospect of gain.

factor in world politics.¹⁶ Fortunately for herself she is rid of the necessity of developing the policy of economic imperialism as a means for securing existence for her people or of increasing and maintaining the prosperity of her people. This forecast of the morrow may actually prove futile but her internal economic conditions free her from the necessity of sitting at the diplomatic chess-board making cautious moves to secure a balance of power and preserve her national existence. At any rate there is no gainsaying of the fact that if there is any country in the world which can display *the international mind* it is the United States of America. Psychologically viewed the American people are devoted to humanitarian pacifism. They are a strange mixture of commercialism, chivalry and idealistic sentiment.

But an early revival of American prosperity might mean a struggle for markets, for American production of cotton, tobacco, copper and wheat is far in excess of home demand. Fifty per cent of cotton, forty per cent of tobacco, thirty-five per cent of copper and eighteen per cent of wheat require external markets. The old Anglo-American rivalry¹⁷ and American-Japanese rivalry might reappear in the neutral markets of the world. There might be a revival of old imperialistic policy carefully masked under the spacious "Monroe Doctrine" of hers. The depreciated dollar and the general reflationary policy are fast increasing the competitive capacity of the rapidly reviving American industries. Bri-

¹⁶ American economic problems are being solved within the limits of the U.S.A. itself. Since her refusal to co-operate with the other powers at the World Economic Conference of 1933 she has been pursuing this policy.

¹⁷ Anglo-American clash of economic interests covered mainly four important topics—(1) Oil interests, (2) Rubber supply, (3) Tin production, (4) Copper output—The American Cable Telephone monopoly has been the subject of much resentment on the part of the British interests. Britain shipping interests are adversely affected by the development of American mercantile marine arising out of the government subsidies.

tish as well as German export trade would surely suffer as a result of this competition. Neither the American bankers nor the Congress are willing to cancel the British War debts. This can be used as a bargaining factor with Great Britain in order to secure better prospects for her industry.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

GLEANINGS

Aims of German Education

Dealing with the system of "Education under the Nazis" and its implications, in the American Quarterly Review, *Foreign Affairs*, Mr. Charles A. Beard observes:—

If the Hitler regime continues for several years, the German people will be a people almost totally ignorant of the outside world and indifferent to all ideas and interests not contained in the Nazi creed. It is difficult to see how opposing ideas can make any headway in Germany against this system, unless there is an economic crash or a disrupting war. In fact the scheme of education, coupled with other propaganda, is designed to prepare the German people for hunger and misery and to glorify privation in the interest of Hitler's State. The whole case is summed up in the formula: "We can do without butter, but we cannot do without cannon."

Besides bringing up a generation predisposed to war and prepared to serve the military State when it is ready to strike, Nazi education shuts Germany off from intellectual intercourse with other nations. With independence of research and thought destroyed in German universities, students who once flocked there by the hundreds turn elsewhere. Except for branches specifically physical and mathematical, German learned publications which once circulated throughout the world have dropped in quality and lost the respect that they formerly commanded. Nor do German students, apart from the exiles, expect to find a friendly reception in other coun-

tries or to derive advantages from study abroad. Turned in upon themselves, nourishing deep resentments, and lashed to fury by militant system of education, the German people are conditioned for that day when Hitler, his technicians, and the army are ready and are reasonably sure of the prospects of success in a sudden and devastating attack, East or West. To cherish any other conception of Hitler's State or of the aims of German education is to cherish a delusion.

Italy's Example

Writing in the *Fortnightly Review* (April), under the caption of "The Powers and Raw Materials", Mr. H. St. John Philby sheds light on the dissatisfaction which the leading Powers have with the shape of their maps:

The claim of Italy to a place in Ethiopian sun threatens very seriously to become a text for the justification of imperial expansion the world over. Mussolini has at least been downright honest in the statement of his case. He is greedy of gain and intends to come by it if he can. There is still, strange to say, a goodly part of the earth's surface not occupied by the great Powers. Towards those "empty" spaces he looks yearningly. Today it is Abyssinia. Tomorrow it will be the Yaman. Beyond that doubtless he looks darkly as in a mirror.

The fact remains that Italy might have had a large slice of Abyssinia with the exclusive control of a further slice without going to war at all—with the approval of the Assembled Nations. Only it was not enough for Mussolini, who wanted more. And still the nations are divided on the issue of offering him more as the price of peace or risking the contingency of his getting more by the method of the sword. Abyssinia the victim, is left with the alternatives of surrender, destruction or victory. No dog would surrender his bone in such circumstances to the strongest challenger. So

the war goes on.

But the example of Italy, accompanied by the proclaimed nervousness of the League, has given more definite shape to ambitions elsewhere, partly dormant and partly in process of realization by different and ostensibly more peaceful methods than those favoured by Mussolini. Japan, earlier in the field than Italy and safer from interference, is evidently finding the present confusion of world opinion helpful to the more vigorous prosecution of her claims. And the action of Japan brings Russia more clearly into the picture as a claimant to some share in the Chinese spoils. But the greatest threat to peace on the colonial issue arises in a direction from which hitherto we have no more than a voice crying in the wilderness. Germany is ready to receive back her colonies peacefully, but she is making no secret of wanting her colonies back. There is unmistakable evidence that the frustration of her peaceful ambitions may lead to more practical demonstrations of her will to satisfy her crying need.

Thus four of the great nations of the world are dissatisfied with the shape of their maps and determined to rectify their deficiencies by any process within their means—not excluding war, if war be necessary.

Threats to British Predominance

What is Britain's way in World Politics? Discussing this interesting question in the April number of "*Current History*", Karl Rodek dwells thus on the dangers with which Great Britain is confronted:

Although Great Britain extended her colonial possessions during the World War, there is now for the first time in the British colonies a growing movement for independence. The economic development of India and Egypt has created in those countries a new proletariat whose historical mission it is to lead the peasantry, ruined by imperialism and feudalism,

in a mutual struggle for liberation from native and foreign exploitation.

Simultaneously with this revolutionary ferment in the British colonies and with similar movements in the colonies of all the other world powers, Japan, Italy and Germany, "the belated imperialist powers" are looking forward to a struggle for redivision of colonies. British imperialism will seek to direct this struggle against other countries, but the *care* Italy has shown that success in this matter is not certain. Great Britain with colonies all over the world, cannot avoid becoming a target for the expansionist powers. Hints such as those made by Sir Samuel Hoare in his speech to the League of Nations on September 11, 1935, on the possibilities of equitable re-distribution of colonial raw materials are simply words without meaning.

A radical alteration has taken place in the position of Great Britain among the other imperialist powers. Never before in her history has she been faced with the danger of a coalition of so many strong powers nor threats at so many points throughout the world. Even if at the present moment it is thought that there is no likelihood of war between Great Britain and her most threatening economic competitor, the United States—this situation may change suddenly—it is clear that all the three expansionist powers (Japan, Germany, Italy) threaten British predominance.

"War Need Not Come"

Maxwell Garnett concluding a survey of world politics in the *Contemporary Review* (April) with the observation that the tragedy of general war may be averted by Governments pursuing a consistent long-range policy based upon fundamental principles, and by public opinion being educated and organised to expect and to demand such a policy as the only proper method of conducting world affairs, sug-

gests "an immediate programme somewhat as follows":

1. The war begun by Italy in defiance of her treaty obligations must be stopped by the organised collective action of the League of Nations.

2. This triumph of the covenant must be repeated in the peace terms in order to show that aggression does not pay. Apart from some cession of Abyssinian territory, in *bona fide* exchange for access to the sea in Eritrea, the territorial integrity and existing political independence of Abyssinia must be preserved.

3. The British Government must endeavour to persuade the League's Council to set to work, with the help of Germany and in the light of Herr Hitler's proposals, to rebuild the foundations of peace on the basis of the covenant, having regard especially to the need for

(a) strengthening collective security so that the League shall always be overwhelmingly stronger, spiritually as well as materially stronger, than any likely aggressor;

(b) reducing and limiting armaments;

(c) creating reliable machinery to remove discontents and remedy injustices by a process of peaceful change; and

(d) European states becoming and remaining members of the League with equal rights.

4. If, however, Britain is unable to persuade the League to act as the British people think right, Britain must join in action which League as a whole thinks right.

"The fatal mistake at the present moment would be for Britain or any other country to use its vote upon the council so as to prevent a unanimous decision to take whatever action the Council thinks will best safeguard the peace of nations and serve the interests of the whole world."

No Shifty Transactions

In the course of an article entitled "Hitler's Challenge" in the current number *The Nineteenth Century and After*, William Harbutt Dawson sounds a note of warning to Britain against shifty transactions:

Our attachment to France has proved, both politically

and morally, a great and harmful entanglement. What our Governments should do is to steer clear of alliances and hazardous engagements of every kind. It is the fashion to look back on our old policy of 'splendid isolation' as a sort of antidiluvian anachronism, yet so long as it continued we were never in danger of war. No sooner had the Lansdowne Declaration of April 4, 1904, been concluded than that security disappeared. Although on the British side the honest intention of that convention was to remove all grounds of friction with France, the statesmen of that country had far other ideas. Owing to their pertinacious efforts, its purpose was perverted so completely that at last we found ourselves bound by moral if not contractual obligations which in 1914 landed us in Great War. How in the years immediately preceding, France and Russia bargained together behind the back of our foreign office, the one for Alsace Lorraine and the other for Constantinople, which it was admitted would only be possible after a war, and how in pursuance of this conspiracy the French Press, was bribed by Russian money, M. Poincaré, undertaking its distribution, is a discreditable story told in the Siebert collection of diplomatic documents as exchanged between the governments of those two countries and their representatives in European Capitals. Yet at that time the retention of Constantinople in Turkish hands was still a cardinal policy of British policy, and the recovery of Alsace Lorraine by France had never been even a subject of discussion.

To put ourselves in the power of statesmen who can resort to shifty transactions of that kind is unspeakably dangerous. No country in the world knows so clearly what it wants as France, or fails so seldom to get it, and that is why attachment to her involves so great a risk—there is no knowing to what it will lead. It has led Russia to ruin

once and it remains to be seen whether the new Franco-Soviet pact will have a happier issue. Let us be as friendly to France as the claims of other nations to our consideration will possibly allow us, yet remembering always that there is only one European country on which Great Britain can at all times and in all circumstances rely—it is Great Britain. All our foreign relation should proceed from the recognition of that fact.

I would earnestly appeal to our Government to cut all our present foreign liabilities to the utmost, and not to give for the future, to France or Germany or any other power, guarantees and insurances without ample reciprocal protection. We must close our ears to the perpetual cry for 'security' by the spokesmen of a country which is panoplied by alliances as none ever was before. France should learn that peace must come before security and justice before peace. Let justice be done, and the international status which will ensue will need no Locarno conventions or pacts of non-aggression, but be its own guarantee.

Demilitarisation of the Rhineland

The April number of *Berliner Monatshefte* contains a hitherto unknown "expose" by David Hunter Miller, Member of the American Peace Delegation in Paris and Versailles on the subject of the demilitarisation of the Rhineland. On March 29, 1919, Mr. Miller wrote to Mr. Auchincloss, another member of the American delegation, regarding the proposals for the demilitarisation of the Rhineland:—

"It is only a century since Europe was moving France back from the Rhine in order to prevent aggression by France. It seems to me obvious that no such provisions as those contained in the paper could be hoped to be permanent." Of particular interest is a declaration by M. Clemenceau in the French Senate in 1912, mentioned in this

article of Mr. Miller's:

"Following the invasions from the East, there has been established in the course of centuries, an ebb and flow of conflicts on the borders of the Rhine, and it would be of the greatest interest to civilization to have these conflicts cease, that a proper regulation, which should be greeted with joy by the whole civilized world, should put an end to these alternatives of peace which are always followed by fresh massacres after the victories of one or the other party.

"This will only be possible, however, when a victor shall be found who is superior to his victory, a victor who will be a hero of moderation. Napoleon was not a hero of moderation. Germany is not more so. It is a repetition of the famous dialogue of Pyrrhus and Cineas. Pyrrhus wants to conquer lands, and because he is going to Rome Cineas persuades him to promise that from Rome he will pass on to Sicily, from Sicily to Egypt, and from there to India. There are always lands to be conquered in front of a landowner who wants to enrich himself. There are always peoples in front of the warrior who seeks to conquer other peoples."

POEMS

WHY THESE TEARS?

(Translated from *Niraja* by M. Verma)

Wherefore, O heart this fluttering; why these shivers,
racing along the warmth of the limbs; why this welling tears
in the eyes?

Now bloom the shy *Shephali* buds; now the sap of life
in the *Moulashri* branches runs drunken with a sweet weariness;
now the young leaves in shady bowers wear skeins with
threads of light.

The air is heavy with a myriad scents. The tiny fire-
tinged *Srinagar* blossoms descend upon the flowered earth.
Why, O dear, on such a day tears gather fast in my eyes?

The plangent song of the nightingale throbs like an ache
through the still heart of the night, making the flower-moths
restless with desire; the aureate cloud sheds a glory of soft
perfume upon the surging waves of darkness, smearing it
scarlet like a bride's forehead.

The balmy Night paints its eyes, mirrored in the lake,
asleep in her sable arms. Why, O dear, on such a day are
my eyes pearled with tears?

My tears are bright like stars; fragrant flowers spread
soft perfume within my heart. The bamboo-clumps sway
and whistle in a cadence of pathos.

The melancholy night flits about me, vaguely gustful,
returning with sheaves of dreams. Why do the tears spring
in my eyes to-day, idle and unresisted?

The Universe spreads around me, white, vaporous, vast
and spangled, ever new and filled with the fine spray of a

million twinkling lives, with Love like a gorgeous-coloured rainbow stretched across.

Come into this bright cloud of Life like a track of lightning, O my heart's guest!

A SOLILOQUY

Thou unknown despair of my youthful days,
Dost thy dead heart no interest find?
The many visioned fancies that other eyes lure,
Whence! dost spring their hope giving life;
If that elusive secret I could earth
Of faithful love I'd make no dearth:
What unparalleled devotions I'd capable be,
It surprise my Heart, to know it for thee.
But Alas! The cause what can it be
To lead my faith lost being,
From realms of Indifference—Deathly bare
To e'on—the Life of Despondency?

PURNIMA

The Twentieth Century Library

THE PROBLEM OF KENYA

By One Who Had Been There

"Kenya (Contrasts and Problems)" is a very interesting book and well worth perusal. It is written by Dr. L. S. B. Leakey, M.A., Ph.D., son of a distinguished missionary who went to Kenya many years ago. Unlike almost every European who has written about Kenya, Dr. Leakey was, as he tells us, born and brought up in that colony and has spent the greater part of his life there. Unlike too the ordinary European resident in Kenya he knows one of the principal native languages, viz., Kikuyu almost as well as a native. With these advantages he writes a little book in popular style descriptive not only of Kenya as a country but of the natives and in particular their relations with the administration and the European settlers. While giving credit to the administration and many of its officials as well as not a few settlers for honesty of purpose, he sharply criticises both classes in a manner as refreshing as it is unusual in a colonial-born European. In short he is frankly pro-native.

He refers to the ignorance of the average European official in Kenya of the languages and customs of the natives, and rightly attributes this to the amazingly frequent transfers of officials in a country where a degree of permanence is essential for successful administration. If anything he is somewhat unduly severe on the officials, who, it must be said to their credit, in spite of their natural sympathy with the settlers, who are men and women of their own race and blood, have from time to time incurred unpopularity on account of their refusal to side with them in every important

issue. Though there are good settlers who are just to the African, the general tendency of the European non-official in Kenya as in South Africa is to look upon the African as a hewer of wood and drawer of water. The native is to be tolerated as long as he is a squatter and can supply cheap labour for the settler, but the latter has no use for the independent, land-possessing or educated African. An equitable settlement of the land problem is one of the crying needs of East Africa and even more of South Africa.

The vast and in places fertile area of the highlands has been exclusively reserved for Europeans, both the native and the Indian being excluded therefrom. The result is deplorable both from the political and economic standpoints. Such exclusion raises acute racial issues, and, since the Kenya settlers number only about fifteen thousand, the result is that large areas of good culturable land are left in an undeveloped condition.

Dr. Leakey is justified in thinking that the permanency of European colonization in Kenya is doubtful. Any thinking person who has visited this interesting country will agree with him on this point. It is not possible in this respect to compare East Africa with South Africa. The latter country is mainly situated in a temperate zone with an European population of nearly two millions as against a native population less than four times that number. Kenya, on the other hand, lies on the equator and contains an oasis of white men outnumbered by Indians by 2 to 1 and by Africans by more than 150 to 1. Further, the countries surrounding Kenya contain large numbers of Africans, some of whom, for example in Uganda, are making rapid progress in education and westernization. Dr. Leakey's solution is that the European should work in a spirit of co-operation with the Kenya African. Ideally this is right. In practice, however, history and experience show that it is not possible as ruling races

nowhere voluntarily accept the principle of equality and co-operation. The future outlook, therefore, in Kenya is gloomy.

Towards the end of his book Dr. Leakey has a few interesting pages dealing with the Indian population of Kenya. Unlike the vast majority of Kenya Europeans, including even those who may be termed pro-native, Dr. Leakey writes of Indians both with knowledge and sympathy. He rightly points out the large part that Indians played in the early development of Kenya. "There is no doubt at all", he writes "that the country could not have been developed in the way that it has been, if it had not been for the Indian artizan worker". He refers to the keen commercial instincts of Indians combined with their ability to live at a low cost and to carry out business in areas where the European trader could never have succeeded. Through the Indian trading stores scattered throughout the country the African has been considerably benefited. And yet with all his sympathy with the difficulties of the Indians Dr. Leakey thinks that their future prospects are poor. They are being gradually displaced by Africans both in trade and in work as artizans, while the European frankly dislikes them and prevents them from possessing land in the highlands. Much of this is correct, but as has been the case with Indians in other colonies, their industry, thrift and patient endurance have stood and will stand them in good stead. In spite of hardships and disabilities the Indian is likely to remain. In any case it will be a long time before he can be ousted from Kenya, although every attempt to make his life unpleasant there will be made by the European and no doubt to an increasing extent even by the African.

Dr. Leakey's conclusion that Kenya should remain under the Colonial Office is perfectly sound. Every right-thinking man and certainly every Indian and African will warmly

espouse this suggestion. To hand over the destinies of millions of non-Europeans to a few thousand European settlers would be a crime of the first magnitude. Once again we commend Dr. Leakey's thoughtful book to the consideration of those who are interested in the problems of Kenya.

Federalism in Government. By M. Venkatarangaiya, M.A. Waltair 1935. Rs. 2.

The Federation of India or How it will be governed by P. R. Lele, B.A., LL.B. Bombay Book Depot, Kshatriya Dnyati Nivas, Charni Road, Bombay No. 4. Re. 1.

Sir Samuel Hoare said at the close of the Third Round Table Conference that at the time when the idea of federation was broached at the First Conference, there was a rush on the London book-shops for books on federation. Obviously the rush was then from the Round Tablers; the need for manuals on federation has only increased with the conclusion of their labours, and the passing of the Government of India Act, 1935. That Act is a legislative marvel; it is not only exceptionally long but contains so many novel features that to be intelligible, it must be studied not only in the light of the special conditions in India but also in the background of federal theory and practice elsewhere.

Mr. Venkatarangaiya's book is an able attempt to satisfy this need. Basing his study on standard treatises on political science and on the constitutions of leading federal states like the United States of America, Canada, Australia and Switzerland, he has aimed at providing 'one book which serves as an introduction to the subject'. He tells us in simple and clear language the essentials of federalism, the division of powers, and the freedom of the component units and of the centre from mutual control and encroachment in the exercise of their powers; the circumstances

under which federations come into being; the different modes of the division of powers, legislative, administrative and financial; the influence of federalism on the structure of Government, the legislature, executive and judiciary; the methods provided for the alteration of the constitution through formal amendment, judicial interpretation and usage, and the value of federalism, its merits and defects. At every stage, our author also discusses the values of ideas and institutions; and occasionally makes, or at any rate stresses, suggestions which are of value in the development of federal theory. Thus he rightly points out that there is no necessary connection between the strength of a Government and the location of the residuary authority in it—the value of assigning the residuary power to one or the other is to satisfy the requirement of precision and clearness in a constitution; the idea of representation of units as units is not essential to federalism; the power of judicial review, while it is no doubt essential, may well be restricted to the interpretation of the clauses which have a bearing on the enumeration of powers.

The value of the book is enhanced by the fact that the author has throughout kept in mind the special features of the conditions in India and has tried to interpret the theory of federalism in the light of these conditions; he also devotes a final chapter for an examination of the Indian federal experiment.

This last is the special province of Mr. Lele's *Federation of India*. Here is a critical summary of all the relevant clauses in the Government of India Act, stripped of their technicalities; the most important provisions have also been bodily reproduced; the practising lawyer will find this specially helpful; such phrases as 'at his discretion' and 'in his individual judgment', which sometimes bewilder the ordinary reader, are all lucidly explained. He also supplies a short and

suggestive introduction in which he analyses the real meaning of such expressions as provincial autonomy and responsibility of the executive in the context of the Act, helping the reader to know what he cannot hope to learn by a mere study of the provisions of the Act.

These studies, finally, make clear the truth of an observation made at the Federal Structure Committee 'Compared with other federations, there will be inherent in this federation, a great many anomalies that we do not see elsewhere'.

A. APPADORAI

Loyala College, Madras

English Fantasies. By Redwood Anderson (Oxford University Press, London). 6 Shillings.

Mr. Anderson is the author of two earlier volumes of verse, *Transvaluations* and *The Human Dawn*. In them he had definitely ranged himself on the side of the philosophers. If he is sometimes obscure and frequently difficult, he is never trivial. In the book before us he adopts as his motto Browning's line, "Fancy with fact is just one fact the more". Actual events are here the theme. We may cull a few extracts to illustrate this: From "Wheeldale Ghyll":

"There was no human dwelling there—and yet
Plainly I saw them, the low-browed huts of stone
Round-built and wattled; and at the doors old men
Telling old tales for a slow hundredth time,
While from the roof rose idly the thin blue smokes of evening
fires."

Or another:

"The whole scene passed and all was as before:
Save that indeed the sun had set, and now
A copper moon from every bush and stone
Pointed a long lean finger."

In these and numerous other extracts that could be quoted Mr. Anderson shows that while he is in the direct line of descent from Wordsworth, he is so with a difference. The Copper Moon pointing a long lean finger is a picture of which Coleridge, but not Wordsworth, was capable.

The second section, "Standing Waters" is a sequence of ten poems, and contains some very pretty pictures and pleasant thoughts. There are interspersed profound reflections and fantasies: In the poem entitled "The Lake in the Park" we have:

"Howbeit, all things have their phantasies:
Day-dreams, in which the impossible puts on
Brief actuality... how else could men
Endure?—or captive waters?—anything
That bears the bondage of civility
and cries a *No!* to Nature?"

In the bewildering and agonising mass of modernist poetry, a volume like this is like a breath of pure air in an overcrowded hothouse.

A. J.

A Thousand Miles Up the Amazon. By A. S. Wadia.
Published by J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., London. 8s. 6d.
net.

A chance advertisement in an English Weekly has resulted in this pictorial volume. The author, Mr. Wadia, is certainly an enterprising writer, who commands, to boot, a fascinating style. But this particular work of his—though to all intents and purposes it is meant to be a travel-book—lacks the sparkling observations of an Aldous Huxley or the more daring interpretations of an Egon Erwin Kisch. At best it is a beautiful essay on a cruise up the Amazon, written by a master of the craft—an achievement which may do

credit to a first class student of literature. But even in the description, the cruise itself takes less than half the space of his narration, which appears more of an incidental inclusion than a planned scheme of his mind's outline. Evidently the author, in his ecstasy of poetic fancy, is charmed more with the farewell of the "light-winged Dryad of the trees" and the elusive "Moon Maiden" than with the hard facts of this world. Romance to him is a matter for deeper cogitation than the economic problems of this age of machines, which he has tried to dismiss in a kind of melodramatic allusion to Romance as being "older than Adam and younger than youth". Such observations, one regrets to say, serve no practical purpose either as a rational solution of modern problems or as more immediate requirements of a guide-book.

Subject to this criticism, the book is certainly a charming volume with which one may regale an hour or two over a glass of cold drink on a summer eve. A book so romantic in its background needs a similarly delightful atmosphere—and what better atmosphere can one suggest? Rich in imagery, the thoughts now and then are caught in high philosophic moods, which often subjectively soothe the spirit but hardly strengthen the flesh. The photographic studies are very commendable both from the point of view of selections and artistic designs. In these the photographer has got the better of the literary artist.

P. K. B.

Soviet Sidelights. By M. R. Masani. Foreword by Jawaharlal Nehru. Published by the Congress Socialist Publishing Co., Ltd., Bombay. 1936. Price As. 12.

Much has been written about Russia. This book, while it does not pretend comparison with work like that of Sidney

and Beatrice Webb, is a welcome addition to the literature of that much-advertised country which has embarked upon—and perhaps even achieved, though only to a limited extent—one of the most daring of human experiments. It is well that the author has confined himself mostly to "random impressions" without attempting to engage himself with academic discussion of the practical utility of the Russian plan. At this stage of its infancy it is but natural that the Russian scheme should entail a few contradictions and that it may not always be able to "soothe the socialist conscience." But the time is not yet ripe when judgment can honestly be pronounced one way or the other.

Altogether, Mr. Masani's book makes very interesting reading. But for the conclusion, which, by the very nature of the experiment, is bound to be hypothetical, this short volume gives a faithful picture of Russian life. One only regrets, however, that the get-up is not at all attractive, and that printing mistakes are far too many.

P. K. B.

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IN LITERATURE

By A. K. SEYNE

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THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

WHOM TO PLACE IN POWER?

A Survey of The Present Situation

By AN OBSERVER

[This article is essentially a survey of the present political situation, as created largely by the recent address delivered at Lucknow by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru from the Presidential chair of the Congress. Our contributor, "Observer" raises here some questions of far-reaching and vital importance which ought not to be overlooked.]

The nearer we are approaching the forthcoming election under the new constitution for provincial legislatures, the greater the interest which is being evinced by individuals, groups of individuals, well organised parties, and parties that are in the making. One thing is clear, and it is that it is no longer possible to ignore the Constitution. You may express your strong disapproval of it or your disappointment with it, you may curse it and condemn it, you may repeat your vows from day to day that you are going to break it or wreck it, but you have got to take notice of it, and the most effective way of taking notice of it is by entering the new legislatures. Whether those who are cursing it and condemning it at the present moment, will actually be able to carry out their threat, that is to say, whether they will be able to wreck or sabotage it, is a question for the future to answer. Between now and the day of sabotage, many things may happen, many influences may come into operation, many counsels may prevail, party alignment may change, new loyalties may spring up, new hopes may inspire people, and new fears may seize their minds. In the present

stage of confused thinking, still more confused by prospects of success or failure at the forthcoming election, it is somewhat difficult to say with any degree of precision, as to what policies will be evolved, and by whom.

The outstanding fact of the situation is that the Congress has decided to contest the elections. Throughout the last two years during which language of vacillation, evasion and equivocation has been freely indulged in by the opponents of the Constitution, particularly Congressmen, the conviction has been growing in the minds of others, that Congressmen will not decide to remain in the wilderness, and that ultimately they will seek entry in the Councils. No one can blame them for the decision that they have now publicly arrived at. Nobody can pretend to be surprised by it, and no one need be unnecessarily alarmed by it either. The first councils under the Montague-Chelmsford scheme were boycotted by the Congress. The Moderates decided to enter the councils and shoulder the responsibility of working the constitution. Whether the Moderates were wise or unwise in entering the councils under that scheme with which even they were not satisfied, is a question which may best be answered by what happened at the next election in 1923. The Congress about that time gave birth to a new party called the Swaraj Party, and these children of the Congress, then ousted the Moderates from their seats in the Assembly at the centre and later in some of the provincial councils. They occupied the field for a full period of seven years at the centre. Their leader, Pandit Moti Lal Nehru who showed rare gifts of leadership, and who in spite of the label of the Congress that attached to him, and in spite of the contempt that he showed for the Moderates, was himself essentially a Moderate in politics, and he moved a resolution in 1924 asking for the establishment of responsible government *with*

certain reservations, for a period of transition. He even suggested a Round Table Conference at that time. If the Government of India had been wise in their generation, they should have accepted it then, and they could thus have prevented much of the mischief of later years. But no one can question the right of the Congress or the Government of India to go wrong. For seven years or so the Swarajists were in the centre of the picture. In 1929 Lord Irwin proceeded to England and came back and made his famous announcement on behalf of His Majesty's Government. Congressmen were dissatisfied. A conference with Lord Irwin took place on December 23, 1929 which was attended by the Mahatma, Pandit Moti Lal Nehru, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. Jinnah and the late Mr. Vithal Bhai Patel. It failed. It was followed by the Lahore Congress which may be said to mark a definite era in the history of our politics. "Independence" jostled out "dominion status" so far as the Congress was concerned. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru delivered a clarion call to action. The era of resolutions was over and the era of direct action had begun. It began under the banner of the Mahatma. Its first visible manifestation was the famous Dandi march. Salt laws were broken everywhere. The fat was in the fire. The country was in a disturbed state for nearly a year. Again the Swarajists decided to leave the Assembly and the Councils. Pandit Moti Lal Nehru resigned. So did many others and so did at a later stage Mr. Vithal Bhai Patel. So did Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and so did Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru in protest against the repressive action of the Government. The Mahatma, Pandit Moti Lal Nehru, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru and many others not less distinguished with thousands of the rank and file were lodged behind the prison bars. Meanwhile the first Round Table Conference took

place in the midst of this storm. It was at that Conference more than at any other that there was the maximum amount of agreement between Indians themselves and between Indians and the Britishers. It was not however to be the final conference. It was felt both by the Labour Party, who were then in power, and many of the Indian delegates that if the Congress could even then be persuaded to be a party to the settlement, no stone should be left unturned to achieve that end. The delegates returned, the prisoners were released; then followed the short-lived Irwin-Gandhi Pact which again talked of responsible government at the centre and a Federation with safeguards consistent with Indian interest for the period of transition. Mr. Gandhi and the Congress agreed to go to the next conference. When the time came for the delegates to proceed to the next conference, the Congress at first hesitated and then declined to go. While the delegates were still on the high seas Mahatma Gandhi saw Lord Willingdon and conveyed to him that he had decided to go as the sole representative of the Congress. At no conference, however, were there more differences between Indians and Indians and between Indians and Britishers than at the second conference in which Mr. Gandhi participated. The entire Indian hopes were shipwrecked at what might be called the 'Minorities Rock.' Upon a true examination of facts it is impossible for Congress to wash their hands of the Round Table Conference. They took part directly in the second session of the Conference. Mr. Gandhi returned to an India which was again in the throes of trouble. The sky was already overcast. Again perhaps that was no fault of Mr. Gandhi. During his absence some of his lieutenants, not the least important among them being Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru himself, had raised a storm which Mr. Gandhi found it difficult to quell

on his return. Mr. Gandhi wanted to see Lord Willingdon but Lord Willingdon would not see him. Then followed the second campaign of civil disobedience with arrests and detentions and all the accompaniments of civil strife. Ordinance followed Ordinance. Executive action was the order of the day. The Congress did its worst. The Government equally did their worst. For a whole year again there was a state of turmoil. Meanwhile the Communal Award came. It was welcomed by the Muslims and denounced by the Hindus. Mr. Gandhi entered upon his fast unto death over the question of the depressed classes. His life in jail hung by a thread. Again he was the centre of world's attention. Leaders met at Bombay and Poona. Some sort of a settlement was arrived at with Dr. Ambedkar and his colleagues; for the moment it satisfied every one. The fast was broken and Mr. Gandhi's life was saved. Then followed the usual counting of cost. The Bengalis revolted against the Poona Pact, so did several others but the British Government accepted it. Shortly after Mr. Gandhi was a free man. Mass civil disobedience was suspended—not abandoned. Individual civil disobedience replaced it. Again Mr. Gandhi went to jail and again he came out of the jail.

The experiment of civil disobedience—mass and individual—had been tried. It had failed to achieve any results, except perhaps psychological. If it achieved any psychological results in the case of the Congress and the country, it also produced certain other psychological results in the case of the British. By that time the British had come to have a fair idea, first, of the strength and the weakness of the Congress, and next, of their own real or potential strength in the country. It was in the midst of these conditions that the third Round Table Conference met and later in 1933—the Joint Parliamentary Committee sat for

months to consider the White Paper and produced a voluminous report. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru submitted his memorandum; others also collectively submitted a joint memorandum. It is one of the strange ironies of politics that when these memoranda were submitted they failed to attract any notice in the country; they were brushed aside with contempt. Now when all the criticism of Parliament by Congressmen and non-Congressmen is examined, it is the failure of the British Government and Parliament to give effect to the recommendations contained in these memoranda which figures as one of the severest counts against them.

While all this was happening, the election to the Legislative Assembly was approaching. It was impossible that the thoughtful among the Congressmen should not review the situation in their own minds. They did review it. They had the precedent of their predecessors of 1923 before them. If 1923 could produce a Swaraj Party, 1934 produced a Parliamentary Board. Mr. Bhulabhai Desai stepped into the shoes of Pandit Moti Lal Nehru. The Congress once again decided to re-enter the Assembly. It won the election, and has been functioning as the Opposition in the Assembly. For sometime past public mind has been exercised as to whether Congress will decide to contest the election to the provincial legislatures under the new constitution in 1937. No one who had his ear to the ground could have had any doubt as to the intentions of most of the Congressmen. It was clear to the meanest intellect that direct action was out of the question. The adoption of any militant policy by the Congress in any foreseeable future is out of the question. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru sees no near prospect of direct action on a national scale.

The Congress has, it is clear, set its heart on capturing the councils. The reasons for this decision may not always

be the same in the case of all. The wiser among them put it on the ground that it is far better that they themselves should be in the councils rather than that they should allow the weak-kneed moderates or the reactionary elements to be there. Others, with a weakness for heroics, put it on the ground that the constitution must be wrecked and if it has to be wrecked, it cannot be wrecked more effectively than by themselves. Put it on any ground, the fact remains that the Congress has officially, at its Lucknow session decided to contest the elections. Parliamentary life has again cast its spell upon them, so much so that there need be no special body like the Parliamentary Board to run the elections and to control the activities of their elected members in the legislatures. The Congress must directly hold itself responsible for conducting the elections and controlling the Congress members in the legislature. This then is the latest development and its significance should not be lost. Once again events have proved that when parliamentary bodies exist in any country, howsoever weak or circumscribed they may be, it is they, and not any outside organisation, which effectively attract people and become the arena of political fights. This has happened in other countries. It has once again happened in India.

Will the Congress succeed at the next election for the provincial councils? It is difficult to answer this question with any degree of certainty. Taking possibilities into consideration one may say that in certain provinces such as the Punjab and Bengal, the prospects of the Congress are not very bright. In the Punjab, Sir Fazl-i-Hussain has once again reorganised his forces. He is an opportunist in the best sense of the term—a cool, collected and calculating politician who knows his mind and has a clear idea of his objective. Theories and ideals never make a slave of him.

He moulds them to achieve his end. Mr. Jinnah cannot coax him or stampede him. He will not walk into the parlour of any one else. In Bengal the position of the Hindus is neither happy nor strong. Education, intelligence, wealth, public spirit and experience place them in a position of advantage, over the Muslims though the latter may be in a majority. And yet, they cannot be sure of their position. It is true that the Communal Award has hit them harder—harder than perhaps the Hindus anywhere else. If only they could make up their mind to compose their internal differences, they could yet face the future with hope and retrieve much of the lost ground. But Bengal's misfortune is lack of leadership. W. C. Bonnerji, Surendranath Banerji, Sisir Kumar Ghose, Motilal Ghose and C. R. Das have left no successors. Time was when Bengal controlled All-India politics. Time is when it cannot control its own internal politics. In Madras, the Congressmen may fairly hope to acquire a majority. The Justice party and other non-Congress parties have lost their old-time vitality. Something has happened which has damped their ardour or weakened their solidarity. In Bombay, a considerable part of the Deccan is still in a state of revolt against the Congress. Gujerat, the most powerful factor in Indian politics now, will follow the lead of Mahatma Gandhi—or to be more accurate, of Mr. Vallabhai Patel and Mr. Bhulabhai Desai. But Bombay is the nest of Socialists, and though they may be in a minority now, they are sufficiently vociferous and have the advantage of the leadership of a vivid personality like Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, who has just advised them to suffer the right wing, if only to avoid a split in the Congress. On the whole, it may be safe to predict that Bombay will give the Congress a majority. The C. P. is supposed to be a safe preserve for the Congress and though official opinion in Bihar still thinks

that the big landed magnates and Sir Ganesh Dutt Singh may succeed in keeping the Congress out, Babu Rajendra Prasad is a serious factor to reckon with. He is very different to Jawaharlal Nehru. He has created no enemies. There is hardly a Congressman who commands the same respect or influence as Babu Rajendra Prasad does, in his province in particular. In Bihar, therefore, the success of the Congress may be anticipated without much difficulty. Assam is not a very serious factor to reckon with. Orissa is too new a province to enable one to form any certain judgment. Sind is, however, as indeed it was intended to be, a Muslim province. The Muslims of Sind, however, unlike the Muslims of N. W. F. P., have not been affected by the Congress. The N. W. F. P. is rather a peculiar province. Predominantly Muslim, and though at present under the control of Sir Abdul Qayum and his party, it has come under the spell of the Congress and may return a Congress majority. The crux of the election will, however, lie in the United Provinces—the homeland of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and the zamindars whom he wishes to wipe out. The Congress has the advantage of a close-knit organisation. Its man-power can not be ignored. Its electioneering experience is certainly greater than that of any other party. Its finances, however, are not very abundant and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's recent speech has opened the eyes of many capitalists and zamindars who, at one time, supplied the sinews of war to the Congress. On the other hand, the only party which has parliamentary ambitions is the National Agricultural Party, led by the Nawab of Chhatari. Professedly, it is not a communal party but actually it is a suspect in the eyes of the Hindus for two reasons: First, the Hindus who are in an overwhelming majority in the province, do not relish the prospect of the Nawab of Chhatari, who has connections

with the Muslim Conference and also with the Muslim League, forming the Government. Secondly, the party itself has not got much of a party fund. It has practically no organisation, no programme of a progressive character. It is predominantly a zamindars' party and is supposed to be favoured by the Government. Nevertheless, the Nawab's influence among the zamindars is not negligible and the sense of self-preservation may prevail over personal jealousies and rivalries and enable them at the last moment to unite and give battle to the Congress. Further, most of the electorate comes from the villages. The Congress claims to have pierced through the villages. Congress representatives or 'volunteers' are to be found or will be found in most of them. Congress leaders feel confident of securing from a hundred to a hundred and ten of the seats in the Legislatures. These facts must be noted, but it must also be noted that the zamindars are still a power in the villages, except in some districts, and if there is any body of men who can give battle to the Congress and wrest victory from them it is they, provided they set their house in order and adopt a thoroughly progressive programme. No one can yet, however, speak with actual confidence as to what may happen in the U. P., but the U. P. will be the test and touchstone of the strength of the Congress.

Let us assume, however, that the Congress does secure majority in certain provinces. Will it then form governments in those provinces? On the question of what has come to be known as the question of office acceptance, the Lucknow Congress recorded no verdict. Perhaps from its own point of view it was right in not doing so. There is, however, a very substantial body of men among Congressmen, who are anxious to accept office. Of course, you can not expect these men to say that they will work the consti-

tution, in the spirit in which it should be worked—that is, to yield the best that it is capable of yielding and to bring about changes which may complete the circle of self-government. They would not be Congressmen if they were to say so. You cannot expect them to lower their flag nor can you expect them to lose caste with their own brethren, but these are human factors in the make-up of politicians which should never be lost sight of nor need they necessarily form articles of indictment against them. The one important factor to note, however, is Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's attitude. He does not want Congress to accept office. Office, in his opinion, at the present moment has a demoralising effect. He does not want reforms, he wants a revolution. He has an undisguised contempt for reformists; he wants people to cultivate revolutionary mentality. His political paradise is in Moscow. He sees "no way of ending the poverty, the vast unemployment, the degradation and the subjection of the Indian people, except through Socialism." But what does that Socialism mean? It is not the socialism of the vast majority of the British Labour Party and it may be doubted, whether it is even the socialism of Sir Stafford Cripps, who is found often in these days to be blessing what Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru says or does. What his socialism is may best be given in his words:—

That involves [said Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru] vast and revolutionary changes in our political and social structure; the ending of vested interest in land and industry as well as the feudal and aristocratic Indian States' system. That means the ending of private property, except in a restricted sense, and the replacement of the present profit system by a higher ideal of co-operative service. It means ultimately a change in our instincts, habits and desires. In short, it means a new civilisation radically different from the present capitalistic order. Some glimpse we can have of this new civilisation in the territories of U. S. S. R. Much

has happened there which has pained me greatly, and with which I disagree, but I look on that great, fascinating unfolding of a new order of civilisation as the most promising feature of our dismal age. The future is full of hope, it is largely because of Soviet Russia and what it has done, and I am convinced that if some world catastrophe does not intervene, this new civilization will spread to other lands and put an end to wars and conflicts which capitalism feeds.

This is at once a confession of creed and a challenge. The creed, it is not difficult to understand. The resuscitation of Karl Marx in recent years, the development or the adaptation of his theories in Russia, are matters of common knowledge. The amount of literature that has been appearing on the subject month by month, in England and other countries, is simply amazing. It is also conflicting. The latest to write about Russia are the venerable Lord Passfield (Sidney Webb) and Mrs. Webb. Lord Passfield, however, was not, so runs the report, disposed very favourably towards India's claim for self-government when Mr. Ramsay MacDonald was in power. For Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru it is possible to re-enforce all that he has read about Russia by referring to his visit 8 years ago to Moscow for a week or less. But Moscow has changed and is changing. It is gradually losing its horror of private property in any shape or form. Nevertheless, some interesting questions arise out of this confession of faith. It is difficult to believe that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru thinks that the owners of private property—not merely the zamindars in Bengal, Bihar and U. P.—but also the peasant-proprietors in the Punjab, the ryotwari-tenants in Madras and Bombay, certain class of tenants in the U. P., the big industrialists of Ahmedabad and Bombay not a few of whom have contributed to the coffers of the Congress, the holders of Government securities, and other capitalists, will readily yield to his seductive gospel,

and enter the paradise to which he invites them. Big business in Bombay is alarmed and has issued already a manifesto. Among the signatories are men like Messrs. Walchand Hira-chand, Mathura Das Vissanji, M. Shroff, Sir Chunnilal B. Mehta, Sir Naoroji Saklatwala and Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas.* Even Mr. Birla's paper—the "Hindustan Times"—already feels unhappy. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru may be right, or may be inspired by the noblest ideals or by the most selfless love of the masses and the most uncompromising hatred of the capitalists and the present civilization. That is not the question. The question is, how is he going to give effect to these ideals. By preaching with the zeal of an evangelist or by drawing the sword like the leader of a revolutionary party? By following the non-violent soul-force philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi or the short-shrift and the nearest-tree policy of Lenin or Mussolini or Hitler? If as a revolutionary he will not shudder at the idea of force if it should become necessary to use it, he will find that the unbelievers in his philosophy are not yet so deficient in their resources as not to be able to protect their rights. To establish a new civilization such as he envisages, to bring about a change in our instincts, habits and desires, he must first, like his prototype in Moscow, abolish the authority of religion in India. Has he the Red Army behind him to do it? It is difficult to imagine the Hindus and the Muslims agreeing to see their temples and mosques converted into museums. Nor is it very easy to envisage a time within a measurable future

*The younger men among the Indian merchants of Bombay have declared for Jawaharlal and the latter has lost no time in pouring contempt on the signatories to the manifests by describing them as Liberals in disguise—the word "liberal" being in his political dictionary a word connoting the greatest contempt. It would be interesting to know how much capital do these young merchants control in their home life as against the older men.

when the Hindus and the Muslims of India will readily shed those ethical or moral ideas of domestic or social life the roots of which lie in our history. Life cannot be divided easily into two watertight compartments—(a) economic, and (b) social and religious, certainly not in India.

A revolution like this cannot be ruled out as a possibility, but it cannot be treated as more than a mere possibility in human affairs. The trouble is not that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's ideas can be given effect to, or that they will be allowed to be given effect to in the near future. The trouble is that he is fomenting class war, strengthening the forces of reactionaries and compelling many others to make common cause with those who are opposed to India at any time attaining freedom. Pandit Jawaharlal's views, if carried out, will not establish a democracy, they will extinguish such democracy as exists in India, and prevent its growth in future. The bourgeois may be wiped out, the capitalists may be liquidated, God may be abolished, and a new secular morality inaugurated, but that will not mean democracy. Will it be even proletarian dictatorship? That too may be doubted. Lord Passfield and Mrs. Webb (or the Webbs) whom he quotes say

we frankly confess that we do not understand what was or is meant by this phrase.

They do not understand what Marx meant by the phrase, but the authors quote from Lenin who says,

the essence of dictatorship is to be found in the organization and discipline of the workers' vanguard, as the only leader of the proletariat. The purpose of the dictatorship is to establish socialism, to put an end to the division of society workers, to make the exploitation of one human being by another for ever impossible. This end cannot be achieved at one stride. There will have to be a transitional period, a fairly long one between capitalism and socialism.

Is it then to be the proletarian dictatorship as understood by Karl Marx, (which the Webbs do not understand), or as understood by Lenin? Is it to be the dictatorship of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru? And yet the irony of fate is that civil liberty having been strangled in this paradise of Moscow, or the hells of Berlin and Rome, the future Indian Lenin should be thinking of establishing a union for the protection of civil liberties.

It is no injustice to say what he has himself said that he is a revolutionary, and a revolution such as he wants will not be brought about by the spiritual methods of Mahatma Gandhi, but by the sword. His is a hymn of hate against (1) British Imperialism, (2) Capitalism, (3) Zamindar and Indian Princes, (4) Indian Liberals. The British Imperialists must however rejoice in that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has thrown such a timely apple of discord in his own country. The capitalists, the zamindars and the Princes must rejoice in that he has been so frank in giving them a timely warning. The Indian Liberals must rejoice in that even *he* has been compelled to take notice of their despised selves.

He wants the Indian problem to be treated as a part of the world problem. Dominion Status will not interest the rest of the world. But if India claims and works for independence, the world will, we are told, feel interested in it. When the two campaigns of civil disobedience were started, the world, that is to say, America, France, Germany and England sent some of their Press representatives, and Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru himself were very good "copy" to press representatives. The world, including Russia, did nothing more for India. When the actual issue of self-government was raised in London, it was well-known in influential circles that France, Japan and Holland, Capitalistic and Imperialist countries no doubt,

were rather anxious that the British were too precipitate in granting India any measure of self-government.

The President of the Congress has put the reformists and the unbelievers in communism and the Russian system of society on their mettle. Nobody need challenge the sincerity, earnestness and depth of feeling of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. But he has no right, moral or political, to expect any support, direct or indirect, from those who want freedom and self-government, but not a Marxian system of society or the Moscovite form of Government where liberty is conspicuous by its absence. If there was an Indian leader who has done damage to the cause of progress and even sober socialism and made people think that the socialism of which he talks is but a euphemism for the communism of Russia, it is Jawaharlal, and if Jawaharlal should succeed in converting the Congress to his own point of view, the Congress will cease, as it must cease, to be treated as a National Congress. It will be nothing more than a Communist Congress. Meanwhile the question which ought to interest the country at the present moment is, whether the Congress under the leadership of a declared socialist, or as the present writer would prefer to call him, a communist, ought to pave the way for the Congress (unless it authoritatively disavows its affinities to communism) to a position of power, when that power is going to be used for the break-up of our social and economic system which, however defective, has shown the vitality of existence for centuries, and is capable of adjustment to modern needs without the performance of this Caesarian operation which Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru suggests. This is precisely the time for all non-Congressmen to unite and combine, not for personal advantages, but for bringing about those economic, social and administrative changes, which can be brought about, under the constitution and for bringing pressure to

bear upon British opinion to alter those features of the constitution which constitute a subtraction from full self-government. Pandit Jawaharlal has done one good service. He has accentuated, with the frankness, sincerity and courage characteristic of him, the issue between reform and revolution. Neither the reformists nor the revolutionaries can any longer fight shy of their convictions. He has already divided the country into two camps. Many of his Congress friends recognize this but do not say so for easily understandable reasons. With them a United Front is more important than these fundamental differences. As against the issues that he has raised, the rest of the issues pale into insignificance. The unsatisfactory features of the constitution, the disappointments caused by them, the acceptance of office or non-acceptance of office by the Congress, the Communal Award and its effects, recede into secondary places as against the vital issue raised by him in his presidential address.

No doubt the next few months will be months of a great deal of mud-slinging. In all political conflicts this is inevitable. Political elections, nearly everywhere, are not characterised by much urbanity of language or charity of judgment. We must be prepared for all that, but still the question is—shall those holding different opinions and convictions, consciously and deliberately, put the wreckers—not merely the wreckers of the constitution but the wreckers of Indian society—in power?

MISCELLANEA

By I. D.

[A causerie on men and matters, from the writer's individual point of view.]

May proved to be a month of heavy losses for India. In quick succession three men of outstanding ability and great position passed away, leaving the country much poorer. Verily,

One woe doth tread upon another's heel,
So fast they follow.

* * * *

Who expected—who could have expected—that when Dr. Ansari left Dehra Dun for Delhi, he would reach, not his destination as designed, but the very end of his life's journey? But God (if it is permissible to refer to Him in these days of new ideologies) willed it so, and we can only bow down to the inevitable.

A Muslim by birth, Dr. Ansari was an Indian first and a Muslim next. A doctor by profession, his interests in life ranged far and wide. A life-long Congressman, he was no narrow-minded doctrinaire. He always placed the country before the community and the nation above party, which is to say that he was a Nationalist in the true sense of that much-maligned term. His distinguished appearance reminiscent of the ancestral portraits of the Nababs, his noble bearing, his unimpeachable dignity, his innate courtesy, his personal refinement, his genius for hospitality, and his disinterested

work in the country's cause, raised him head and shoulders above his colleagues. In matters relating to Hindu-Muslim unity he was the Mahatma's right-hand man and "infallible guide", while in regard to the issue of political unity, he was a born conciliator who could combine strength with delicacy. In the latter-day politics of the Congress he was lured into the pursuit of policies which had not his whole-hearted approval, but he gracefully subordinated his personal opinions to party decisions. It was not a little due to his judgment and personality that the Congress had returned to parliamentary activities, and it was no secret that he stood for acceptance of office as the logical corollary of council-entry. It will be recalled that he presided over the Congress session at Madras in 1927 when the cry of "independence" was first raised. He was one of the few leaders in the Congress who had not lost the warm regard of political opponents in the bitter stages of controversy and in the more bitter stages of conflict. Altogether his was a remarkable record: great success in his profession, an honoured position in his own community as well as in the Congress, a long and honourable political career, distinguished by political and moral integrity which nobody ever doubted. Irrespective of community or party India mourns his death as an irreparable loss.

* * * *

The death of Sir Rajendra Nath Mookherjee removed from the industrial life of Bengal, its foremost captain. He was a giant among businessmen. His rise from the obscurity of orphaned poverty to the pinnacle of wordly success was romantic: yet it was essentially the result of hard realism and practical wisdom. He avoided the beaten tracks of life and opened his own pathway in a field where Indian reputation was more often marred than made. He gave to Bengali

enterprise a new meaning. He was the architect of his schemes. The history of Martin and Co., was the history of his personal triumph. His activities were not, however, confined to his own business interests. He served on various committees with distinction. The chief value of his life lay in the use he made of his success. A shrewd critic observes:

But the judgment on the successful man may be reversed by one consideration. How did he use his success? That is the test by which we give him his sentence or his discharge. His success he could not help: his use of it he could.

Success in Sir Rajendra Nath Mookherjee—and he had such astounding success—presented a good front as he combined prosperity with philanthropy.

* * * * *

Another veteran whose death evoked wide-spread regret was Sir M. Rama Chandra Rao who had laboured hard in the cause of the motherland for about four decades with a selflessness which it would be impious to question. For variety and volume of work—work at once industrious, earnest and disinterested—he set a great example to Indian public men. A Liberal in politics—and he was a Liberal of the most esteemed type—he had to his credit a splendid record of legislative work in the Madras Council for a long number of years and in the Assembly for a lamentably short period. Of his meritorious services in the provincial council, no more need be said than Sir Harold Stuart hailed him as “the Gokhale of Madras”. An Indian public man could not have asked for greater recognition or reward. In the Assembly—the Assembly of the days of Motilal and Malaviya, of Rangachari and Rangaswami Iyengar—he became the Deputy Leader of the Independent Party and distinguished himself as one of the

most well-informed and level-headed members. Irrespective of parties, the House thought highly of him and had a tremendous regard for his knowledge, judgment and character. He was one of the best committee men—and the number of committees he served was legion. His knowledge was encyclopædic and it covered a very wide range of subjects—civics, co-operation, prohibition, banking, finance, education, defence, franchise, federation, parliamentary procedure, what not. There was nothing superficial in his mental make-up. He was a glutton for facts and figures. He browsed on blue books and hoarded all the secrets they yielded. And he had an enormous gift for wrestling with the intricacies of any problem. He was endowed with the qualities of a statesman.

But for his unavoidable handicaps—he was an Andhra and a Brahmin—and for the defects of his qualities—he lacked decision, ambition and masterfulness—he would have gone much farther. He had acute disappointments in public life. He missed some of its glittering prizes. But he was content to render public service “without smelling many of the bouquets which showered on less significant mortals” for he believed that in silent and fruitful work lay its own reward. There were occasions when, filled with a sense of the bitter futility of political strife, and conscious of his own limitations in rough-and-tumble politics, he felt like retiring. But good, useful, honest and near-at-hand work invariably claimed his attention. Nevertheless there was in him a sense of detachment, if not of remoteness, and he looked somewhat forlorn. Friends and opponents alike readily recognised him as a restraining, harmonising, and cleansing influence. His enormous constructive work in varied fields had the quality of true statesmanship, while his sweet reasonableness, his suavity, his austerity, the purity of his private life and the loftiness

of his personal exactitude and public duty marked him out as a great gentleman. Sir M. Ramachandra Rao will be sorely missed as one of the last few of a vanishing type of publicists and patriots whose unostentatious and monumental work is a sharp and refreshing contrast to the louder talk and noisier schemes with which we are so familiar in the political world.

* * * * *

It is a healthy sign that Congress leaders now talk, not of civil disobedience but of civil liberty. And when they talk of civil liberty, they naturally turn their eyes to England or America, not to Russia—the new heaven on earth. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's move for starting a Civil Liberties Union on an all-party basis is very attractive. But can it be really effective? Before the idea is pursued further, as no doubt it should be, the President of the Congress will do well to give his earnest consideration to the points raised by leaders of the eminence of Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru in their replies to his circular letter, instead of hastily dismissing them as one more illustration of "reformist" mentality.

It is difficult to forget and unwise to ignore that the widening gulf between the Congressmen and the Liberals—and it *is* widening—was largely the creation of political acerbity as revealed by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's attitude and utterances. Either he considers the Liberals worthy of co-operation or he does not. If he does, he should show greater restraint, if not fairness, in his speeches and writings. If he does not, he should simply leave them alone. It is odd and unfair to them as well as to himself that he should invite their co-operation on certain issues when he has nothing but unconcealed and positive contempt for them in regard to their whole outlook and objective. Nor does he believe in the

salutary maxim (which Morley ascribes to Gladstone) that if one has unpalatable views to declare, one should not make them more unpalatable by the way of expressing them.

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We are told by the Congress papers that all is well with the Congress, that there is no "tragedy" whatever, that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's leadership is the best that can happen to the Congress at this juncture, that his coalition cabinet will show wonderful team work and that its agrarian programme will bring its members nearer to each other and the country nearer to salvation.

... Yet I freely confess
That the lyrical raptures in the press
Will awake in my breast but a faint repurcussion
So long as those "details" remain for discussion.

AN APPROACH TO HISTORY

By MRS. L. RAY

["History is change and the record of change. Let it teach us how to change!"—that is the conclusion and key-note of this short and stimulating article.]

History is at once the most sane and insane of sciences. It lends itself readily to abuse and half-truth. Each historian shows the past and views the present in the light of his own peculiar nationality, class and period. A completely impartial and just history is still a dream of the future. Until we have it in concrete form each of us must separately strive for a correct idea of the coursing forces that have shaped the past and are shaping the present. A knowledge of the tides is of no more importance to a mariner than a knowledge of history to those who wish to live well. No mariner would think of studying the gulf stream from bottles of warm water. Yet we like our history bottled and romantically labelled. Thus to tear out incidents and trends from their environment is fatal to the historical sense. We must be forever on our guard against historians who by so doing would lead us astray into the stagnant pools of racial arrogance or social snobbery. If we can only get the right hold on history at the beginning we will find no other subject so eminently fitted to maintain a just sense of proportion and at the same time encourage effort.

History begins in man's mind. It has been created by his power of memory. Other animals also remember, some of them vividly and accurately. But they give no evidence of being able to measure a span of time between an event

remembered and the present moment. It is this power that has given birth to history. Events first impress themselves upon our minds automatically by the nature of their consequences; for instance, we involuntarily remember that fire burns. Then man found that he could remember by an exertion of his will. This effort of will gradually involved the ordering of his mind and the arrangement of his memories in a methodical fashion. The lore thus accumulated was communicated by the elders of the race to the young. Finally it was written down. Without the powers of recalling and recording, the deepest experiences of man would vanish without a trace like sparks in the wind, or just possibly leave a small residue of instinct. No other kind of living thing is aware of history, perhaps not even very aware of the passage of time. Then let us begin with the history of the creator of history, man. What does man know about himself? Where has he come from and where is he bound to?

Man's environment is the earth and its atmosphere. His destiny and the destiny of all other living things is inextricably bound up with this background. We know the earth is by no means the stable thing we would like to imagine it. It is full of stresses and strains and actually alters its shape in response to the pressure of internal and external forces that act with the regularity of tides. Its surface upon which we dwell rises and falls to a geological pulse comparable to the act of breathing, very slowly but surely. The seas advance and recede, submerging old contacts between the continental blocks and revealing new ones. Land is broken up into smaller bits or bared to form larger mass units. As we all know the Himalayas were once the bed of the ancient Tethys sea, land stretched between India and Africa, a continent lay in the south Atlantic, and where the Mediterranean now lies there was land.

By comparison with the unsolid earth our atmosphere is milder than we might expect. The strange sky-ceilings, Gerald Heard describes in his book *"Science in the Making"*, serve to keep us in a sort of hothouse outside of which terrific and for us, deadly, cosmic rays rage like high winds, the mere impact of which keeps the upper reaches of air at white heat. These 'ceilings' do not prevent cosmic rays from pouring in upon us. They act rather as filters, proportioning the strength of the heavenly radiation to the strength of living things. Inside our hothouse we have, however, as great variations of climate as we can well stand. And in addition electric tides sweep down from the north and up from the west with diurnal and annual pulses, as though the air were a sort of sea and we the fish at the bottom. The mysterious lights which play about the earth's two poles are also presumed to be of an electrical nature.

As the earth cooled to a temperature compatible with life, creatures moved in increasing variety into this 'lila' of fluctuating forces. Dwellers-on-land clung to whatever strip of earth happened to be upper-most. As the background changed they also changed; old species died out or mutated into forms more suited to the new circumstances and thus new species were born. Man is the result of long ages of slow differentiation from the general stock. He was not created suddenly by any god. In the remote past he was not even distinguishable as a species but became so gradually as certain characteristics grew more marked in him than in the other anthropoids. In them the same traits developed more or less or differently, (the hairy skin of the apes more, their brains less, and the bonal structure of thigh and foot differently.) These specializations as yet constitute only 30 per cent of man's make-up and it has taken him about 250,000 years to acquire them. The most remarkable is his brain, a

sort of glorified organ of sense and the physical counterpart of his mind. In it man has a supreme instrument with which to gain the knowledge and experience necessary to enable him to shape his own destiny in accordance with evolutionary law. If we continue at the old rate of progress we may expect to remain predominantly anthropoid for at least the next 500,000 years, granted that the Simian stock itself does not change during all that time which is most unlikely. Mr. Heard assures us that the earth and its atmosphere will continue at a temperature suitable to life for several scores of millions of years. Time, then, is not lacking but that is no excuse for continuing to conduct ourselves foolishly any longer than necessary. As things are at the moment all our claim to uniqueness lies with our meagre 30 per cent. It is the hall-mark of our species. Every human being is possessed of it regardless of race or colour of habitat.

Yet man is identical neither individually or racially. Anthropologists trace three primary types, using hairform, the most stable physical characteristic, as the basis of classification, i.e., the woolly-haired Negro, the smooth-haired Mongol, and the wavy-haired Caucasian. Other features such as colour, stature, shape of head and mould of face vary so widely that they cannot be pigeon-holed. Race and nation almost never coincide and the dictator of a political unit, when he begins to shout about racial purity and unity betrays a remarkable, if not wilful, ignorance.

If bodily characteristics are as changeable as our changing earth, social and intellectual qualities are not more stable than the atmosphere we breathe, for the stuff the mind is made of is more plastic than organic life. Certain general differences are fairly clear still though they are becoming less and less so as races and cultures intermingle more and more. The dark-skinned Caucasian races for instance, have hitherto

produced all the great religious leaders of mankind, Buddha, Christ, Mohammed, Zoroaster and many others. Though no group of men has a monopoly of any quality they have tended to become what their natural environment demanded, developing those qualities most which the particular soil, climate, food, and modes of production made essential. Man's mind, even, seems to have taken on a sort of protective colouration, perhaps in obedience to the same natural law that gave the tiger its spots, the snow-rabbit its white fur and the fish a darker upper and a lighter lower half. For man's brain is his defence. It has developed in proportion to the diminution of his other means of self-protection. And these specializations of outlook have profoundly affected languages, arts and crafts, and personal living habits.

The differences between any two groups are less than the differences between the extremes of any one group, however, and are adequately accounted for as the natural effects of prolonged dwelling apart. On the other hand the phenomena of parallel evolution, i.e., the tendency for descendants of a common ancestry to undergo parallel or even converging development, applied to human races, not only accounts for our great similarities but also points a prophetic finger to the future. It may well be one of the forces which are at present working to bring the races of mankind together. It may even be drawing them towards a point of convergence to further the purposes of evolution. Certainly our several groups are meeting and mingling as never before. The great mobility conferred by machines has freed us to a large extent from the moulding pressure of our local environment and it is now possible for us to become universal in our culture and see beyond the particular colouration of the racial mind.

Evolution has ever been the handmaid of circumstance; man has never deliberately controlled it except to a limited

extent in some animals and plants. To all appearances it has been haphazard, full of contradictions, sometimes seeming retrogressive. Re-capitulating the old, interpolating the new and adapting both. But the new is there, it is being worked into our stock and is giving a new impetus to the current of our life-force. Nature is ever at work to mould her creatures into harmony with their environment. Those who resist or follow eccentric paths of development (such as the Dinosaurs or Triceratops in size and bone) eventually die out. We possess many faculties which are definitely very young and others, such as telepathy, which appear to be in the process of incarnation as it were and are still tentative.

History itself came into being as a concept in man's mind only some ten or fifteen thousand years ago (this is a date which must necessarily be speculative). The tendency to regard contemporary life historically and history as a more or less exact science is recent and one of the chief features which distinguish our age.

The history of man may well be, as the theory most familiar to most of us maintains, a progress. From the simple to the complex, from the general to the specialized, from the crude to the refined, from ignorance to knowledge, from clumsiness to skill . . . but to say from primitive to civilized is like saying from ugly to beautiful. Each exists side by side, the presence of one implying the presence of the other. Civilization is essentially a personal, rather than a racial or national attainment, as each man must achieve it afresh by his own effort.

History is change and the record of change. Let it teach us how to change!

THE CINEMA IN INDIA

By 'NARAD'

[This is a critical study of Indian films. While maintaining the immense possibilities of 'filmic documentation' in the country, the author deplores the colossal indifference—or is it ignorance?—of the producers to 'filmic realities'.]

If the silent cinema in India was still-born, the talkie was strangled at birth by a string of songs round its neck. While the silent cinema never revived, the talkie after years of delirious singing shows signs of losing its throaty voice and settling down to grope a painful and arduous path to the fulfilment of the new medium of expression. The Indian producer, in general, failed to profit from precept and the experience of the older school of cinema producers and has taken on himself the task of suffering from experience and making the cinegoer suffer from endurance. Hardly had the talkie found its voice, when it broke into song and lost its speech. It became opera without any music, it became stagey without a living stage tradition, it became imitative of Hollywood without the saving grace of Hollywood's slick methods and sometimes slick minds. The Cinema in India has devastated all mythology, ravaged all the essentials of the cinema and debauched the growing sensibility of the contemporary mind towards the cinema as a new art of human expression. But it refuses to die. On the ashes of yesterday it builds the pyre of today and clears the ground for its burial tomorrow but it refuses to live and grow. It remains a challenge to all the essentials of the cinema, the human mind and all art forms. It has not only ceased to

grow but what is much worse, it has not moved from where it was a decade ago, it is as ludicrous as a pigmy but it suffers from the assurance of the pigmy who never fails to draw a crowd round himself. It is proud of being a pigmy, of exhibiting its antics, its infantile tumbles and leaps, quietly forgetting that the public to-day wants a new set of antics, a new set of values. But one cannot leave it at that, one has to make a decent effort to get it by the hand and ask it to learn how to tumble and twist without twisting the sensibility of the public or twisting its own back in the process.

Producing units spring up like mushrooms after a shower and die without adequate financial roofing to their heads. Actors and actresses, they go about calling themselves artistes, present a spectacle of stupidity and woe that is almost painful. Intelligence and imagination are taboo and the international market the cherished dream of all producers. It conjures up in their minds visions of premiers in all the European capitals and cheques bulging with the noughts of their rabid dreams but beyond imagining world premiers, they have no idea of how to bring it about. The story writers and set designers are always stealing plots and sets from foreign films and reproducing the same with all the vulgarity they are capable of. The entire cinema industry is in a morass from which there seems little chance of escape without a film Napoleon muscling in and smashing their entire set of values and building anew. Bigger and bigger sets, lesser and lesser imagination, the triumph of music over mind and the supreme triumph of money over all things, this malady is partly universal in the cinema world except perhaps in Russia where the State controls both production and the methods of mass persuasion.

In the early days the Indian cine-producers just bought a camera and started cine-photographing mythology, the

themes provided were infinite and there was no question of copyright and one was sure of catching the majority of the Hindu public throughout the country. The Ramayana, the Mahabharatha and all the smaller epics were filmed and thrown in chunks to an eager public, waiting to resuscitate their ancient lore in a new visual form, the moving peep-show where the great Hanuman leapt across the ocean. Their appeal was universal and the harassed epics were slaughtered in turn with the ruthlessness of a Genghis Khan till the talkies came, blaring and bugling and the producer with the hoarded wealth of years, hastened to buy up sound vans and importing players from the stage, with manners and methods of the theatre, a non-existent tradition in India. The silent film died without a groan and the producer was lost in a world of sound, nay, noise. The epics having done their turn, the attention of producers was drawn to the classics, the more recent works of some of the Bengali novelists and Aga Hassar Kashmiri, one of the best known Urdu dramatists and when the output of modern dramatists was run out, the thematic problem was solved in an outburst of music. The public wanted music, the producer gave it to them and the musical tradition is still playing havoc with the cinema. The most unmusical social dramas and stories, have been twisted to render music of any sort, with the result that the heroes and heroines break into song in moments of poignant tragedy and if some crazy producer took it into his head to film Hamlet, the chances of the Prince of Denmark rendering his soliloquies in song, are not remote, a super musical with, if such were possible, John Boles as the melancholic prince and Jeannette Macdonald as Ophelia, Tauber as Polonius, Tibbett as Mercutio and perhaps Ethel Merman and Bing Crosby as the Queen and the musical ghost. The imagination of the Indian producer

always runs away with his balance and lets the public down time and again, again and again.

Coming down to filmic realities, India is perhaps one of the richest fields for documentary subjects. There are many to-day who shudder at the name documentary but it remains the foundation of filmic experience. With the enlargement of the strictly documentary sphere, one can embrace human life in all its varied and infinite moods and reactions, to document human life in terms of facts and frames. A little visual imagination, an idea of filmic continuity and a camera, would make it possible for more than one enterprising man to make a living and build up a filmic future that the country needs so greatly. The possibilities of filmic documentation in the country are immense and entirely unexplored. But there is not one documentary film that has been attempted so far, the name is unknown and unheard of. The only Indian film that would capture the dreamt of international market of the producer, would be a cleverly documented documentary. Instead we have Basil Wright taking back with him the 'Song of Ceylon' under the aegis of Grierson, a gem of film documentation. In this connection one might mention the work of Mrs. Stan Hardinge, an American lady, who has made a serious study of the Kathakali, the only record of a dying tradition that still remains supremely the most expressive known to humanity. Mrs. Hardinge has with her a series of standard sized films depicting the Kathakali in all its richness and splendour. But the Kathakali is one of the many extant traditions that offer filmic possibilities but the documentary field lies virginal, unexplored and undiscovered. The Flaherty freres also promise to take back with them more than 'Elephant Boy' but studies of Indian life and if Flaherty sets out to do a documentary of anything, one knows what to expect for he remains one of the greatest documentary artists known,

with a visual imagination that made 'Moana', 'Tabu' and the 'Man of Aran'.

Bereft of any filmic experience whatsoever including a study and appreciation of the methods of the early Swedish, German and Russian schools, the Indian director and producer starts on a film career with no clear cut or any ideas of film technique or the possibilities of the film as a medium of expression. He is stunted with his limitations not merely of filmic experience but also another, equally great, that is thematic limitation, the thematic limitation of Indian society as it is constituted today. The first limitation hampers his sense of filmic continuity, fluidity and rhythm while the second limits his choice of themes. Lacking any ideas of the function and the possibilities of the film, the cinema in his hands, ceases to be cinematic, the visual values are narrowed down to the strictly photographic and the film becomes merely a series of picture postcards strung together on a strip of moving celluloid like the peep show boxes that thrilled our childish hearts. Added to this limitation, his efforts are further disfigured by patches of superimposed film technique copied without understanding or appreciation or imagination. The camera moves and moves round the sets, it is tilted and turned and angular shots and such only add to the bizarre effects instead of accentuating either the thematic or mental reactions. The mythological dramas, retaining as they do their universal appeal, provide a means of easy escape from all filmic responsibilities and the cinema suffers in consequence and is reduced to being merely a series of shots without cohesion or continuity.

Indian society as it is constituted today allows little scope for the full and free play of human forces and the social dramas thereby suffer from their inability to present humanity in all its humanities and seems cramped according

to Western standards. In saying this I stand to be contradicted but even judged apart from Western standards, Indian social life is hedged in with restraints that limit thematic possibilities. The so-called romantic interest is either subdued or made fraternal or has to be transferred to the domain of the hetairae, who is free to offer passion in full-blooded glory and the dramatic twists that human relationship offers. The love interest has to be shifted to the dramas of mythology where greater latitude is given to the characters but the mythological drama is so far removed from reality and our values of today, that they cease to be representative of human life. With this limitation, the Indian producer has either to resort to the rather mixed jumble of the American college drama or to choose themes that are distorted with imported human values so unlike our own. The mixed theme has its drawbacks and a banal theme seldom makes a great film. Efforts in this direction have resulted in the vulgarisation of all human relationships and the representation of life that is neither real nor fictitious. Sarat C. Chatterji, the premier novelist of today, has coped with the social theme with a dignity that is not found in other novelists and has maintained in his novels a true picture of Indian society while preserving the essentials of social limitations and decorum. The attempts of a young school of directors from Bengal to film these novels, open new avenue for the Indian cinema but it is yet not strictly representative of the Indian mind. They have however succeeded in preserving the social relationships without injuring either the film or the author of the theme. The efforts of the same group to make a film version of the life of Chandidas, a poet of the 14th century, has also met with success from the point of view of film presentation of a social theme dealing with the love affair of high-class priest with woman supposed to belong

to a lower state of 'social purity'. The film as a medium for the propagation of cultural or educational or reform idea, has not been attempted so far but human society in general bereft of the point and purpose of human life as constituted in Soviet Russia, cannot and will never be able to act as a cultural medium without cultural ideas or ideals. Shaw remains a filmic problem, the orientation of human themes to a planned theory of social evolution with a view to social reform, fails in its purpose with an audience expecting little but entertainment in the worst sense of the word from the cinema. It refuses to accept anything that has a twang of the reformatory school about it unless the entire audience is imbued with ideas of social or other reform and the cinema in general and the Indian cinema in particular can never aspire to be truly educative for the betterment of human relationships without an ideal of social values. The cinema remains strictly an entertainment pandering to the repression of society by the presentation of the banalities of Hollywood. Sex-appeal has usurped all other appeals and values and warped us from a true appreciation or understanding of the functions of the cinema.

The surge of cheap foreign films, on the other hand, leave their stamp of banality on the embryonic cinema in this country. The banality of imitation has found its apotheosis in certain actors and actresses calling themselves the Indian Douglas or Charlie or Laurel and Hardy and Indian Crawford but even here aspiration is apt to run away with commonsense and the mass of cinema performers show little or no sign of filmic sensibility but import to it all the traditions of the stage including dialogue in rhymed couplets coupled with histrionic gestures that remain the same throughout their lives. With limitations such as these, there is properly speaking no Indian cinema, no distinctive method

to distinguish it from the American, German or the Russian school. With the advent of the talkies the lingual limitation and the narrowness of the field of operation, is made much more apparent. The Indian public, though it has shown wonderful agility in shifting over from the forty reel adventures of Pearl White and Eddie Polo to the sophisticated fooling of the modern American cinema, has somehow missed the point of the scope of cinematic expansion and seems content with whatever comes their way in the way of Indian films. Public taste has certainly undergone tremendous change in the last years and a growing minority seems conscious of the possibilities of the cinema as a new language. They know a good film from a bad one when they see one. They vaguely realise that some films drag while others go off with a swing, they have begun to distinguish one director's methods from that of another but they display a curious insensibility when faced with Indian films. They demand little and they get much less but the Indian producer who is willing to invest roughly forty to sixty thousand in making a picture with a borrowed scenario and without any imagination, is more or less always sure of success. He is always sure of catching the mass of picturegoers with the noose of song and two or three musical numbers can atone for ten reels of sheer nonsense. The international market still eludes the producer but a filmic masterpiece never depends on the language used to put it over. Sound is and will remain supplementary to the shadow and it is the picture that counts, not the words spoken. The medium of cinematic expression still remains dumb, language is juxtaposed without accelerating either the tempo or emphasising effect. The film in which supplementary sounds is rightly used and no attempt is made to borrow the methods or submit to the tempo of the theatre, the film that remains essen-

tially silent, still holds the field either here or in Mars. The Indian cinema producer having quietly missed the first essential of the film, pleads lingual limitation for his dismal ignorance of film methods. In Bengal there has arisen a new school of writers, who, at their best, smack of Lawrence or Huxley but they do go to show a breakaway from the traditional writing forms but in the world of the cinema, even imitation is limited by ignorance. The school of Bengali directors have to their credit some serious efforts, they provide fascinating studies in experiments but the box-office hinders their growth and some of their best efforts are liquidated as the result of their having to submit to the demands for songs. The value of experiments with the documentary film is emphasised by these considerations. It still remains the supreme school for understanding the essentials of the cinema and creating in the minds of those that experiment, a sense of filmic values and the methods of filmic representation.

Coming to the technical side of the business of producing films, the efforts of a Bombay unit to make a film with foreign directors and technicians, brings home the point of the utility of foreign technicians. 'Jawani-ki-Hawa' is technically the finest the country has produced so far in spite of a third rate senario and mediocre direction. The value of foreign directors in this country is open to grave doubts. It is a different matter for a Swede or German or Pole directing a picture in Hollywood or Elstree, the set of values and reactions are more or less uniform throughout Europe but they differ greatly in India and a foreign director, however good, would find it rather difficult to appreciate the reactions of a people so far removed from his own in their cultural traditions and mental reactions to a certain set of circumstances. The basic reactions are different and the further

attempts of this Bombay concern would be watched with interest. India has still a lot to learn from foreign technicians but to develop a national attitude to the films, the need of Indian directors is foremost. The so-called avant garde cinema of the West has contributed a great deal to the development of the cinema as a whole. Many of their methods have been discarded, many of their attempts are forgotten but it has produced a school of cinema-minded directors and discovered new talent in the field. The avant garde producer was never a capitalist in the true sense of the word, he merely experimented and the contribution of Dryer and Cavalcanti and Epstein, Germaine Dulac, even Rene Clair, remain genuine efforts of film expression. The filmic education of the minority that expect and want better films, remains incomplete. There is yet in India no film society that would bring film masterpieces to the discerning. The age of the cinema like the scientific age, has left India untouched. We have accepted the radio and television and the cinema with easy complacency, without questioning and without a second thought. Our sensibility to the new world of filmic expression is dulled by this complacency and amateur experimentation with the cinema is non-existent. The future looks gloomy enough but one waits patiently for something to happen, for a film Gandhi to turn up, a producer who understands films and strives to attain filmic reality in a world where human values are warped in a mesh of miasmatic insensibility.

LIFE AND MANNERS OF THE 18TH CENTURY MARATHAS

By S. S. GALATGEKAR

[The writer of this article gives an interesting account of the social life of the people of Maharashtra in the 18th century, from the scanty and scattered records available of the Maratha rulers of the period.]

With the opening of the twentieth century, the age of speed has set in with its dramatic developments in the world of physical and moral sciences and with all its concomitant social aspects while its predecessor is so rapidly receding into oblivion that a few years hence the last decades of the nineteenth century will only be a subject of investigation by research scholars. This is a feature of modern times which makes the immediate past fade into historical vagueness and threatens the historical past with a still more fatal obscurity. These are considerations which give added interest to a study of the social life of the bygone periods of Indian history. But the material leading to the various avenues of this aspect of history is, except in very few cases, fragmentary and disconnected as it is scattered through records of political importance. The records of the Maratha period provide ample material for a study of the life and manners of the Maratha rulers, though it is very difficult to write a thorough and accurate survey of the social life of the people as the published material deals with the work of warriors and statesmen. It is not, however, too much to hope that the life of these Maratha rulers will, at least to some extent, enable the reader to visualize life as lived in those times.

Boyhood and Early Training of the Maratha Princes

The scarcity of books and the feudal character of society had their effects on the education of the youth of the Maratha aristocracy. The tenor of life ran in fixed grooves which were foreshadowed by hereditary occupations. In such an age there can be neither variety nor elasticity in education. The system of training was exotic, idigenous to the soil, and so well adapted to contemporary needs that no conscious planning and revision were ever attempted. Books there cannot be many; there were the ancient literary classics which were in manuscript form. Hence the work of procuring books speedily and easily was a difficult one. Princes and Sardars had sometimes to search them by ordering their deputies in distant provinces to hunt up the desired copies. A member of the pilgrim party of Saraswatibai Patwardhan writes from Benares that he could not procure the required copy and that he had arranged with some one in Allahabad to copy out the whole book! (*Aitibasik Lekh Sangraha* Vol. VII Edited by Khare). A letter from Pilaji Jadhav states that three chapters of Ramayana were despatched per Peshwa's orders. A regular correspondence follows in the trail of a copy of the Vedabhashya; charges and countercharges are made by the reputed possessors of the book; a Brahmin is said to have disposed it of for money; and a furore is raised over it! (Selections from Peshwa's Daftar Vol. 9, p. 41). What is in our century a marketable commodity within the range of the man in the street, was in those old days a much coveted rarity to be unearthed from obscure recesses. This state of affairs must have circumscribed the movements of the intellectual life of the age within very narrow limits and the cultural aspect of a standard course of education was limited to a study of the old classics only; and the necessary education consisted of a

mastery of Marathi reading and writing, especially the Modi script, a nodding acquaintance with revenue accounts, and the classical works on culture. Physical exercise and manly sports formed no small part of the day's schedule; and the aristocratic youth seems to have developed a special fancy for riding, archery, wrestling, fencing and other sports. Raghoba, while still a young boy of fifteen, arranged wrestling matches, and was a very keen horseman. Young Raghoba writes a letter inquiring the result of a wrestling match (Selections from Peshwa's Daftar Vol. 18). The boyish impetuosity, the keen sporting zest, and the prudish seriousness over an altogether ordinary affair peep through every word of this letter. But the youth of those times learned lessons in quite another way. The world was its great university and everyday life was a new page, which moulded the mind at a time when it was most pliable. Life itself was a great school where everything was imparted by the direct method. Military expeditions, political transactions, pompous and elaborate festivals, association with great celebrities of the time—statesmen, generals, administrators—these were matters of daily occurrence which shaped the plastic mind of the youth for the great role which he was to play in life. An interview between Tukoji Holkar and the boy Peshwa Madhavrao II is a case in point. In the world of princes, every small domestic incident has to pass through an elaborate course of refined court etiquette. The young Peshwa attended by a hundred members of the nobility received Holkar and his party in the central hall of his palace which was specially furnished for the purpose. After the preliminary formalities were gone through, "Would you like to see my archery?" asked the Peshwa. He ordered his bow and arrows and hit the front wall with some ten shots. Then he showed eight sheets of his own handwriting. Holkar

was given dress of honour and the function was over after the distribution of *Pan* and *Attar*. (*Aitibhasik Lekh Sangraha* Vol. VII p. 3576. Edited by Khare). The Maratha princes accompanied military expeditions even when they were young boys. In the Maratha war of 1818, the Holkar Durbar was in great confusion. The Raja Malharrao was a young boy and the war party headed by Ram Din and others took the field against the East India Company, and fought the keenly contested battle of Mahidpur. But young Malharrao was personally present on the scene of action, and contemporary observers state that he maintained a very commendable equanimity amidst the nerve-wrecking horrors of the battle-field. Grant Duff states that Bajirao the Second Peshwa had accompanied his father on his military mission to Delhi.

The aristocratic Maratha, born and bred amidst these environments of the palace and the field, breathed the refined air of an elegant and polished court,—cultivated a taste for manly sports and arts of war, and had his nerves used to the ghastly din of the battle-field, before he was called upon to play the role of a ruler or an administrator.

Their Daily Life and Social Functions

Being brought up in an atmosphere which was replete with the polish of the palace and the stern life of the battle-field, the Maratha was wanting neither in a taste for the pleasures of the drawing-room nor for the thrilling sensation of the hunting ground and the wrestling arena. The palace of Maharaja Shahoo must have been a veritable zoo, for his love of animals and birds did not ignore even the rare species of the Himalayas. His correspondence displays the strenuous activities of his agents and ministers in securing the select types of animals and making arrangements for his hunting

parties. They ferret out the villages for the required breed of dogs; they make enquiries far up in Kashmir for a Himalayan bird; now ordering Berhanpur twine, now giving instructions for the arrangement of the hunting camp, there is a stream of nervous letters passing to and fro amongst his officers. Wrestling matches between famous Pehelwans was another pastime in which the princes of those days took a very keen interest. Madhavrao Peshwa is reported to have arranged these matches very frequently. Famous wrestlers from all over India visited the capitals of the Marathas and received royal patronage. Care of domestic animals, training of horses, planting new trees, the games of chess and cards called Ganjif and concerts of musicians came amongst the favourite hobbies of those days. Sakharampant Bokil, who was kept in custody by the order of the Peshwa Madhavrao I, was playing at chess when the agent of the Raja of Nagpur came to see him. Sakharampant communicated a secret message to the visitor through the language of the games. (Peshwa's Chronicles (Marathi) Edited by Sane). Articles of European make had, by this time, found their way into the palace of the Marathas, and there are frequent references to their agents in Bombay and to Angre for such things as broad cloth, carpets, glassware, gold watches, binoculars, and candles. Rare objects were collected from all over the country. Ivory fittings of bedstead, elk-skin, trousers, and musk were eagerly sought for. Festivals like Ganesh Chaturthi, Dusserah and Sankrant were performed with royal pomp and combined religious devotion with colourful ceremonies. They were matters of absorbing interest which formed the centre of palace activities. A very lengthy list of singers, songstresses, Hardas and others mentions the emoluments for their performances during the Ganesh Chaturthi celebration at the Peshwa's palace

(Selections from Peshwas Daftar Vol. XVIII p. 70). These festivals were great social gatherings. They cemented socialities, encouraged social virtues, patronised art and sport, and the whole scene stood against the superb canvas of religion. The Hindu religious observances may be roughly divided into two classes, namely, the daily and the occasional ones. The daily rituals like Puja, etc., and physical exercises formed the important items in the daily programme of the Maratha prince, and performing sacrifices, feeding Brahmins, and various other functions were the occasional observances. One of the letters in Selections from Peshwa's Daftar (Vol. VIII p. 30) states that Shahu distributed alms for the recovery of his queen from an illness and also presented elephants, cows, camels and buffaloes to Brahmins. Ranoji Shinde is stated to have arranged an Anusthan for rainfall as he was ordered to do so by the Peshwa (Selections from Peshwa's Daftar Vol. XVIII p. 20). There is a letter in which Bajirao expresses his surprise that the deity was not pleased in spite of the rite and remarks that there might have been something wrong in the manner of performing the same. Letter No. 36 of Vol. 18 describes the various religious and charitable acts of the Peshwa in Benares such as building Ghats and temples, feeding Brahmins etc. The various functions of this type reveal to us the expression of a prayerful mind, manifesting itself into concrete examples of a spirit of self-surrender, coupled with acts of benevolence and conducted under an elaborate system of ritualistic code.

The Position of the Ladies of the Royal Household

The ladies of the Maratha royal families occupied a position of great respect and honour. They ruled the domestic side of life and the counsels of some of them were treated with great consideration. King Shahu showed great regard

for both his queens; not only that, they appear to have exercised considerable influence over many of his affairs. Radhabai, the mother of the Peshwa Bajirao, wanted her grandson Sadashivrao to come to Poona on a short leave. He was attached on duty to the Court of Shahu, and in order to help him to get the King's sanction to leave Satara, she instructed him to convey her personal request to the queen to relieve him for a few days. (Selections from Peshwa's Daftar Vol. p. 32). Whenever the King was slightly displeased with his feudatories and other dependents, one of the queens would put in a word and the person would be saved from an unpleasant situation. Letter No. 86 Vol. 18 of the Selections from Peshwas Daftar records such an intercession in favour of Babuji Naik Baramatikar. In a feudal age when personal estimation of the ruler was a great asset to the competing rivals, it is quite natural that the great feudatories of Shahu carried on a mutual war of diplomacy to oust each other from the king's favour. They had their agents at Satara who always kept their masters informed of the important developments affecting their interest. The Peshwa's agent writes to his master that Ranee Sagunabai treated Raghoji Bhonsla of Nagpur with regard and kindness. It seems that the writer attached much importance to this event as it was likely to affect the position of his master in the Court of Shahu. Thus it seems that the views of the queens were matters of great concern to the great feudatories of Shahu. Radhabai's letters to Bajirao and Kasibai's letters to Nana-saheb counselling them on domestic affairs and sometimes on state affairs show the respect commanded by them. Saras-watibai Patwardhan went on a pilgrimage to Benares, and on account of the difficulties of long journeys in those days many prospective pilgrims took this opportunity of royal support, and joined her party. Thus by the time she reached

Benares, the total number of her party swelled to 10,000, but she took care of all the people on the way and showed great regard for their comfort and convenience. Ahalyabai Holkar, the saintly princess of Indore, is well-known all over India, for her piety, her anxiety for the good of her people, her charity and benevolent administration. Her name—a symbol of charity and piety—has become immortal in India. Baijabai Shinde was the regent Ranee of Gwalior after the death of Daulatrao Shinde. A writer in the *India Gazette* of 1832 remarks:

The Regent Bace conducts the affairs of the state with great regularity, much better, I understand, than what was done in the time of the late Maharaja Quoted by Parasnis in his "Life of Maharani Baijabai Shinde") (Marathi).

Lady William Bentinck and many other European ladies visited her and all of them are unanimous in recording their high appreciation of her simplicity of life and dignity of manners. There is a large volume of contemporary European opinion regarding her administrative ability and noble character. Thus we find that the ladies of the Maratha Royal families were not mute and unwilling spectators of the procession of life, lifeless appendages of an autocratic world, but had scope enough to make themselves felt in its various activities. Now receiving homage from subordinates, now performing their religious functions, sometimes advising the younger princes on matters of a social and personal nature, sometimes planning a pilgrimage to Benares, we find them helping the dependents liberally and using their wealth and power in a very benevolent manner.

Justice and Prisons

These subjects, though not within the range of the social life of the Maratha rulers, throw some light on the life of

the common people and help to realise the moral standard of the community with respect to legal rights and obligations. It appears that the prevailing tendency was to refer a dispute to the arbitration of elders if the parties thereto could not arrive at an amicable compromise. A sentence of Shivaji Maharaj quoted in the *Bharat-Itihasa-Sanshodhak-Mandal Series Book XII* epitomises in a nut-shell the judicial system of the age:

Maharaja Shivaji asked a litigant to choose one of the three following tribunals: (1) A Committee of his castemen, (2) a Panchayet of another place, (3) a Committee of village officers and Calutedars.

When the litigants approached the Government Officers, they were referred to a Council of elders. Expert opinion was sought for by the elders in important cases, where technical questions of law were involved. The Government charged sums called Haraki and Gunhegeri from the litigants; the former to be recovered from the complainant and the latter from the defendant as a punitive measure. Elphinstone remarks in his report on the Maratha provinces:

In some towns there was a judicial officer called the Nyayadesi who tried causes under the Peshwa's authority; and any person whom the Peshwa pleased to authorise might conduct an investigation subject to His Highness's confirmation. (Quoted in Mill and Wilson's *History of British India*).

Such a system of Judiciary, crude as it may seem in comparison with modern codification and technicalities of procedure, was well adapted to the conditions of the time and Elphinstone is of opinion that the people "seem to have been exempt from some of the evils which exist under our more perfect Government."

There is a long list of prisoners kept in the Miraj fort, specifying the crimes and the punishments therefor.

(*Aiti-basik Lekh Sangraha*). On an analysis of the list, it seems that criminals can be divided into the following classes:

Ordinary villagers committing excesses on account of family disputes over immoveable property; Daredevils who had taken to a life of brigandage; persons guilty of petty thefts and other misdemeanours; Village Revenue officers and others who had embezzled Government monies; and professional thieves—these last being very few.

Imprisonment was the common punishment but mutilation was practised in very grave cases.

Travel and Communication

Social life and the general outlook of the Maratha period might show at least in some measure, traces of continuity with the present state of affairs; but so far as travel and communications are concerned, it strains one's imagination to resuscitate mentally the eighteenth century conditions. Despatches from military camps, letters describing preparations for hunting expeditions and pilgrimages from a motley collection from which we can obtain a glimpse of the difficulties of those days. Exasperating delays caused by difficulties of transport, depredation by famine-stricken beggars and gangs of bandits, authorised and unauthorised exactions by State Officials, seem to be the besetting dangers of long journeys, travels of aristocratic parties were immune from many of these difficulties, but frequent references to these and other troubles indicate the hardships of ordinary people. The large number of letters written from Saraswatibai's pilgrim camps *en route* to Benares, give a very vivid idea of such long journeys. As we skip through the letters, a whole array of horses, dolries, pedestrians, joggling ox-carts and armed guards flits before the mind's eye. This pilgrimage may be taken as a typical example of how the ancient Hindus organised their trips to

Benares. Saraswatibai, a lady of the Patwardhan family started on a pilgrimage to Benares from Miraj in the Deccan. As the route lay through various jurisdiction, letters were written by the Maratha Rajas to the respective States to make arrangements for the party. Armed guard was supplied by many chiefs while passing through their territories; valuable information was given regarding the dangers of the route; strict orders were given to officers to advance all possible help to the party. Ordinary people, who could not expect these arrangements, joined the party in thousands. An itinerary of the journey from Tonke to Benares, a route covering 1000 miles, shows that it took them two months and a half as they went on performing the rituals at sacred places on the way; but the writer adds that in ordinary course it would have been a matter of only 45 days.

Camels and bullocks were the principal carriers of baggage. A strong muster of camels was ordered for the carriage of the baggage of Shahu on his pilgrimage to Jejuri. Bullocks seem to have been principally responsible for the internal transport of the country's merchandise. Caravans of camels and very long tracts of bullocks used to serve the armies on the field with the transport of their baggage and forms convoys of their supplies. It must have been an imposing sight to see 60,000 bullocks of "Branjaris" busy carrying grain for the British armies in the Mysore War. (History of Mysore by Wilks). It seems that these grain-dealers were common in those days for Elphinstone mentions that at the time of the third battle of Panipat,

convoys, each of many thousands of oxen, are also brought in from remote countries, banjaras, a sort of camp grain-dealers, who partake of the character of soldiery, more than of the mercantile body.

Durbars, receptions, and other Court functions

The records of Maratha history, though profuse with accounts of military expeditions are punctuated with functions of another sort also—functions which reveal softer and pleasanter vistas of their Court life; and here we have to disgorge the mind of the associations of war camps and charging hosts and revive in our mental world the splendid suits of colourful tents, tussah-silk, rich carpets, velvet curtains held by silk cords, royal greetings and gaily attired assemblage of noblemen. Mahadaji Shinde brought from Delhi to Poona, the emperor's firman investing the Peshwa Madhavrao II with the office of Vakil-i-Mutlaq. Grant Duff gives details of the investiture ceremony and the function is known as one of the grandest in Maratha history. The Peshwa's procession to Shinde's camp formed a gorgeous array of elephants, richly caparisoned horses, a crowd of Sardars and retainers. He was sitting in a howdah on an elephant and was followed by other elephants carrying Shinde, Nana, and Phadke, all the Sardars formed the rear of the party. In front of the Peshwa's elephant were marching the various classes of armed retainers, the whole party being led by sentries called Bhaldars and Chopdars who announced their master's arrival. Near Shinde's camp a grand suite of velvet tents was pitched and at the further end of these splendid apartments a throne was erected to represent the Moghul emperor. The Peshwa made three obeisances and offered 101 gold Mohurs as Nuzur. After receiving the Khillut (official robes) he repaired to an adjoining room, and returned dressed in it. Nana and Shinde offered Nuzurs of congratulations and after the function was over, the Peshwa returned to Poona amidst salvos of guns and volleys of musketry. On his arrival from Hindustan, Shinde requested the Peshwa to review his troops. His

horseman had beautiful necklaces and were clothed in rich robes; there were elephants with howdas, troops trained by Frenchmen, the whole line stretching for six miles. On important occasions, the Maratha capitals were galore with illuminations and decorations. Poona accorded a royal reception to the Maratha armies on their return from the battle of Kharda. The whole city was en fete; and celebrated the success of Kharda with great eclat. Streets were lined with Chirakhadan (oil lamps supported on bamboo frames) and their floors were decorated with colourful drawings. The writer of the Peshwas' chronicles states that silver and gold flowers were showered on the Peshwa as he rode through these streets. Important items of princely reception of distinguished visitors were distribution of Pan and Attar, and presents of dress, jewellery, elephants and horses. Radhabai, the mother of Bajirao I, while on her way to Benares, was honoured by the Rana of Udepur, with a pearl necklace, gold bangles and an elephant. A letter giving an account of Nana Farnavis's visit to the camp of the Nizam states that the Nizam's son came out to receive the party and was honoured with jewels, dress, an elephant and a horse. The writer specially mentions that the Nizam personally gave Pan and Attar to the principal guests.

There are references to many other functions of a similar nature; and a perusal of these records unfolds a world of splendour—grand banquets, elaborate formalities, gorgeous processions and royal receptions—scintillating at every step with the warmth of feelings, dignity of manners and the magnificence of the Court.

ON AUTOGRAPHS

By P. K. B.

[One feels flattered when one is approached for an autograph. It is an amiable weakness of our so-called "leaders" who not only flourish their signatures with alacrity but also give a message—their own or others'. P. K. B.'s article is a delightful skit on autographs and on, what may be called, "the spirit of the thing."]

What is this craze for autographs? To say that it is a phase of hero-worship is truism. And yet reason offers no rational explanation beyond dismissing it as a sentimental hobby that pleases our fancy. It is human nature to treasure souvenirs, and an autograph is one of those kinds of souvenirs that one may like to possess. Thus it is written in the autograph of a young lady which curiosity impelled me to pry into:

My album is open to all.
And yet before you look
I must extract a promise
That you will add into this book—
A verse, a couplet, anything,
A song or drawing small—
No matter what is already there,
My friends, I prize them all.
And when perchance in after years,
My eyes may careless stray
On kindly sentiments expressed
By dear ones far away;
And memories of my girlhood
Shall come back to me;
I shall bless my album
For the memories linked with you.

Certainly it makes very interesting reading, and its object is equally ennobling. Here I find a treasure of noble thoughts enriched by the "spoils of time", which is not only a delight to read but invigorating to ponder over—sentiments that express humanity at best. Some quotations from our friends of old. Some extracts from contemporary wisdom. An ingenious phrase of an original thinker. Some mere plagiarisms in spurious brilliance. All these crowded together on the coloured leaves of an autograph in a kind of literary medley.

This does not, however, encourage me to think any the better of autographs because they are not primarily books of quotations which we read for the enlargement of our knowledge. Those hackneyed quotations have lost all beauty owing to constant repetition and hardly afford any intellectual recreation. It is perhaps a brilliant idea that life is like a soap-bubble, beautiful while it lasts (this is what Sir C. V. Raman writes in an autograph), but what a sad thought it is to feel that life is an ephemeral phenomenon which mocks at beauty and pines at love. To a scientist a soap-bubble may be a thing of beauty, worthy of study; but to an ordinary man in the street, worn out by hard kicks of life, it affords no more consolation than the hallucination of a distant mirage to a thirsty deer. And similarly the advice to shun idleness because it is rust that attaches itself to most brilliant metals may not always prove wholesome: for there are times perhaps when much may be said in praise of idleness. But even if it be an evil, there is the promise of a final good—that fair promise which has sustained the universe in its darkest hour.

Whatever, therefore, may be the value of an autograph, it is certain that it is not and cannot be an intellectual pastime. To be precise, it is the reaction of a snob to another

snob. For you must always know that when a person offers you an autograph for signature, he or she presupposes that you are a snob to begin with, that you are so unapproachable to common humanity that to obtain your signature is a triumph for himself or herself. And in that triumph lies his or her snobbery. In this respect girls are generally greater snobs than boys, for their emotion in conspiracy with Nature connives at their snobbery. To a girl of sweet seventeen nothing perhaps is a greater pride than to feel that her autograph is a storehouse of signatures of great men. It is true that her autograph also contains signatures of her dear and near ones, but they are, all said and done, more of a shadow than substance. For, indeed, the dear and near ones are all obscure creatures of circumstance, not annointed marionettes of history—and that makes all the difference! In the one case it is often the first infirmity of a mean mind; in the other, it is supposed to be the last infirmity of a noble one: and, therefore, if the one is welcome, the other is sacred, something to be worshipped in the shrine of one's heart—not so much in abstraction as in embodiment.

It is only when such an embodiment refuses to be drawn into that shrine except as an abstraction, pure and simple, that a man is called a cynic. It is said that G. B. S. is such a cynic, but there is a method in his cynicism. If politicians had a little of Mr. Shaw's cynicism, we would have had fewer political madhouses. A stubborn realist that he is, he has realised that if his signature, as one of the greatest playwrights of our time, has any value, it must be paid for, even as his works are paid for—every line of them, nay every word. There is nothing that jars so much on his socialistic sense of fairplay as a service rendered gratis, even if it were to oblige a young girl for a mere signature of his. No, it is his duty as a conscientious member of his fraternity

to see that the rights of his fellow authors are not jeopardised. Maybe that in this matter he stands alone, but he rejoices to be in a minority of one than in the majority of fools. That's the genius which is typically Shavian. And there is nothing that he despises so much as the hollow vanity of other authors who readily sign an autograph because it is flattering to their sense of importance. Now and then of course he is generous, as when, writing to Frank Harris about certain facts of his life, he humourously remarked that the latter could sell his letters and have a "spree with Nellie". But that is a mutual understanding between him and his friend.

And here is our Mahatma who has no objection to sign your autograph if only you give him a donation for his Harijan Fund or promise to spin *khaddar* yarn for a certain length of time everyday. But in extracting the latter promise he is not always successful, while I am not able to vouchsafe for the former. However that may be, there is not much fundamental difference between his and Shaw's outlook, except that G. B. S. is perhaps more successful in his adamant resolve than Gandhi.

Between these two great minds of the modern world come the lesser luminaries who will sign your autograph for the mere asking. Often they append an impromptu to their signatures as a mark of their genius; but where such attempts fail, they borrow—sometimes even steal—a line or two from those who have gone before to convince you of the validity of their passport to the "highest circle of human intelligence", for which reason you cringe about them for autographs. These are men of light and learning—writers, painters, poets, politicians and statesmen—who, while they preach liberty of body and soul, allure you into that slavish instinct of the herd which accounts for most of our miseries.

THE LIMITATIONS OF THE EXPERT

By PRAKASH CHANDRA

[There is a huge demand for expert knowledge now-a-days. But it is not always that experts prove to be a blessing. They have their own limitations. On this subject, Mr. Prakash Chandra of Victoria College, Gwalior has some interesting observations to make.]

There is a danger in the position which in the present age the specialist has acquired. He is of course a modern growth, having arrived on the scene with the Industrial Revolution. But the currents of the eighteenth century have been deepened and multiplied in the nineteenth and the twentieth. It is not only industry that has become specialised but specialisation has overtaken all spheres of human knowledge and action. There are scientists who devote their lives to the study of a microbe; there are also historians for whom some obscure half-forgotten medieval monastery has a strange fascination.

It is perhaps satisfactory that such a development has taken place. The world has become so complex that you cannot find your way about without the aid of some person familiar with its labyrinths. To decide about the merits of the Gold standard or the causes of unemployment, subjects in which everybody is interested, you must follow the lead of some economist; nor can a proper appreciation of the political situation of today be secured without reference to some authority.

But while it is clear that specialists must be consulted, it would be suicidal to abide wholly by their opinions.

Imagine a person who took a fancy to visit the medical specialists in various branches of the science, and the conclusion is irresistible that he would not care to embark on a similar venture subsequently. The dentist would assure him that he needed a new set of teeth; the specialist in pulmonary diseases would tell him that one of his lungs was affected, the psycho-analyst that there was nothing wrong about his physical body but that he suffered from a neurotic disorder.

For the plain fact is that specialists have their own limitations. They have pursued their callings with such intensity that the edge of commonsense has been dulled. Their absorption in their own particular field has led them to overestimate the importance of their own sphere, and to undervalue everything which lies beyond it. They have lost, in short, the sense of proportion. They suffer, secondly, from an unwholesome fear of novelty. What is new for no other reason than because it is new, they conclude, must be wrong and so must be resisted.

The lawyers have been the oldest as they have been the staunchest opponents of social change. They have refused to recognise institutions whose growth was unmistakable, and when circumstances have proved too strong for them have pretended to evolve new formulae out of old precedents. This is what happened in England during the constitutional battle of the seventeenth century, and the attitude of the judges towards the trade unions at the turn of the present century is another striking illustration. The brilliant obiter dicta of the late Mr. Justice Macardie on questions such as divorce and birth control were regarded in legal circles as half amusing half mischievous. The opinion of Parliament, it has been wittily said, is the opinion of yesterday, the opinion of judges of the day before yesterday.

It is possible to offer some apology for this attitude of

the lawyers. They are a great stabilising factor in society, and it is good that they do not accord their sanction to institutions before they have stood the test of time. But what is strange is that in science where practical demonstration is easy, new ideas should have been received with so much opposition and antagonism. The persecution by Rome of Galileo and Giordano Bruno has become proverbial. Wheatstone was ridiculed when he declared that a doll of his construction was made to dance with electric wire; yet most curious and diverse are the uses to which electricity has been put in the modern world. Charles Darwin and Pasteur suffered much at the hands of distinguished medical men. The great paper on the law of heredity submitted by Mendel in 1865 to the Natural History Society of Brunn was shelved aside and continued to gather dust for over thirty years. The specialist is not a man of the world. It is, therefore, rare that he has displayed first-class business ability or proved a successful administrator. Lord Kelvin was a great physicist but his record as the director of a cable-laying company is by no means bright. Sir Walter Scott, whose prolific output astounded the world, was partly responsible for the ruin of the publishing house of Constable and Ballantyne. Sieyes, the celebrated constitution-monger, had none of the organising, practical gifts of his fellow-director, Carnot. By all accounts Sir John French was a very distinguished cavalry officer whose work on tactics was wholly admirable but in the Great War he failed as the chief of the British Army and had to be replaced by Douglas Haig. The defects of the experts are shared by bureaucrats in the realm of government. While perfectly at home in normal times, they are incapable of coping with a new situation. Within a limited field they are masters of every detail. Their industry is marvellous, their memory never-failing, and their

patience inexhaustible. If a certain scheme has been put into operation in the past, they know all about its success and its failure. But if a new proposition is set before them which is alien to their experience or conflicts with their assumptions, they are not quick to grasp its significance. They have remained buried so long in files that the fresh air of novelty serves only to irritate and disconcert them. The future for them has no validity save in so far as it is an extension of the past. They keep admirable control so long as the machinery is in running order, but when it develops some radical trouble, they cannot set it right.

Persons who are nurtured in office, [said Burke] do admirably well so long as things go on in their common order; but when the high roads are broken up, and the waters run out, when a new and troubled scene is opened and the file affords no precedent, then it is that a greater knowledge of mankind and far more extensive comprehension of things is requisite than ever office gave, or than office can ever give.

Sir Surendranath Banerjea has a similar passage in his 'A Nation in Making':—

Bureaucracy is always unequal to a new situation or to an unexpected development. So long as things go on in the normal groove, bureaucracy, deriving its light and leading from precedents and from ancient and dust-laden files, feels happy and confident. But when the clouds appear on the horizon and when there is the ominous presage of stormy weather ahead, the bureaucratic mind feels restive; the files afford no guidance; the bureaucrat is disturbed; he loses his equanimity; his uneasiness slides into resentment, and imagining dangers where there are none, he adopts heroic measures, which engender the very troubles that wiser and more pacific counsels would have averted.

New situations require not so much the departmental efficiency as the gift of leadership. It is the power of quick and sympathetic penetration; of initiating a new

policy and harnessing the allegiance of his subordinates; of galvanising men into action which truly distinguishes the statesman from the mere departmental head.

The bureaucrat further is a bad judge of popular emotions. Sometimes he courts publicity when a policy of secrecy alone can achieve the end. He forgets that at every corner he must encounter the opposition of vested interests and that finesse is the only method to pursue. Sometimes, on the other hand, he is apt to belittle the importance of consent to administrative measures. He does not realise adequately the difficulties of enforcing an unpopular law. The British excise scheme of 1733 and the famous American Stamp Duties Act failed precisely because the reaction of the people to these measures had not been properly estimated. So also did the Partition of Bengal carried out by Lord Curzon.

The civil servant in short lacks an insight into the mass-psychology. He is familiar with abstract figures, not with men. He forgets that in the business of life fiction is more important than fact. Because he knows so much, he is prone to brush aside the objections of the common man. He is willing to ascribe to petulant obstinacy what may have been the result of honest prejudices. It is exactly here that the supremacy of the politician over the civil servant is patent. He understands the impulses which form the mainspring of human behaviour; it is even possible and perhaps essential that he should have studied life not from books or statistical tables but in the hard school of experience. He can thus better appreciate the temper of his people and perform the necessary adaptation. A civil servant is wholly for action or inaction; a politician recognises the efficacy of words. "It is with WORDS we govern men," says a character in one of Disraeli's novels, and one can recall countless

instances in which a rapid speech, a mere 'sound and fury, signifying nothing' has proved more effective than any elaborate scheme of reforms could have done.

None in the modern world held the office of minister so frequently as the late M. Briand of France. Two illustrations from his life may, therefore, be given to explain the secret of his success. At one of the meetings at which he was present the audience was singularly unresponsive and cold. Speech followed speech but without rousing it. Then Briand played this trick. He caught sight in the midst of the crowd of an honest simpleton who was listening to him with his mouth agape. "Citizen," he shouted to him, "why are you interrupting me. Come on the platform." "I?" blurted the man stupefied. But the crowd took up the cry and the fellow was dragged on to the dais and after a moment hustled away. The ice was broken and henceforth the speakers had a glorious time. The other anecdote relates to the change of residence of the popular Cardinal Richard. To avoid demonstrations on the way, Briand decided to send some plain-clothes policemen, who, when the cardinal's carriage came out of his house, vociferously cheered him, removed his horses and put themselves between the shafts. They then hurried him away as fast as they could, pretending all the time to be his zealous admirers.

Imagination then is a prime requisite of political leadership. And because the bureaucrat lacks this essential virtue, he is unfit for the task. He is indeed a very good counsellor but a bad master. He is indispensable where the problem is to work out the details of a given plan, but the large issues of policy must never be entrusted to his charge.

YOUTH MOVEMENT IN INDIA

By S. N. SANYAL

[What is this youth movement of which we hear so much and yet know so little? There are different versions and interpretations. Mr. Sanyal adds his own to the literature on the subject—and he deserves to be heard.]

"Bardolize India" said Mr. K. F. Nariman in his Presidential address at the Calcutta Youth Congress some years ago but the youth of India did not respond as much as the Bengal youth did when the first agitation was started during the "Bengal Partition" days in 1905 by Sri Auribinda Ghosh and Sir Surendranath Banerji. The Congress leaders in different provinces called upon the youth to join the ranks of the Congress during the Civil Disobedience campaign in 1931 but the response was poor, indeed insignificant. To put it frankly, the main burden for running the Congress show fell upon the upper middle class and the peasant. The educated middle class youth kept himself pretty well out of the struggle. Wherever I have been, whether in Bombay or in the Punjab or in U. P., it was crystal clear that the educated youth who had been the "reservoir of force" to Mussolini's Black Shirts or who formed the vanguard of Sun Yet Sun's Koumintang army, kept himself in the basement area in India. Not only that, the recent movement produced very little psychological effect upon him and he is as inert and disinterested as the snail within its shell. But why?

It is true that surface tension had increased and for a time revolutionary "actions" had perceptibly stirred up

youth-conscience but it only brought about a questioning attitude. It had raised questions as to how far terrorism would be useful, how far non-violent non-co-operation would be effective, how far Dominion Status would bring about social and economic justice? The result, however, was that except in Bengal youth in other parts of India made little response and have not been able to take effective part in the making of a New India.

To go back to the question why the youth have taken a secondary part in the recent Civil Disobedience movement, even a superficial study would show two things. The Congress programme and ideal have not been able to "possess" the youth and that nothing is yet on the horizon which can grip youth-mind and dynamite it into momentous action.

Sitting on the top-floor of a Parel house in Bombay Mr. T. Sheikh, the young general secretary of the Trade Union Congress remarked:

Do you know why Bombay youth has kept aloof from the Congress movement? Because Khaddar and constitution are not dynamic enough. There is nothing more tangible before the country than a few more votes and an Indian Chief Minister or perhaps an Indian Governor. But youth is essentially idealistic, generous and selfless. He sees before himself the wrong done to workers, the misery of the peasantry, the unemployment of the educated class, the bankruptcy of modern social institutions, the filthy communal wrangle, the appalling poverty of the three-fourths of our people and above all no dashing, daring programme, no energetic declaration of a desire to create a new heaven and a new earth.

It is true that Mr. Sheikh is a communist and in his enthusiasm would not wait for a long time when constitution making would be completed and an independent Indian legislature would bring about the reforms that would regenerate a fallen nation. But he too well knew that mere

constitutions and votes are no panacea for the creation of a new people; at best it is a slow patch-work business. Youth demands always a radical, idealist and pronounced change—an absolute break with the past. And it is a pity that none of the political parties have such a programme. The Congress makes no clear-cut declaration of Independence and as to what it would do when it gets the government machinery under control. Above all, its leadership of the richer classes is an ominous sign that after the attainment of Swaraj, there would be another struggle for distribution of power and the masses would be called upon to fight the battle of freedom anew. The history of the world proves that constitutions and votes are not proper remedies for poverty, unemployment, social and economic injustice.

Moreover, a constitution which is honey-combed with safeguards and clumsy communal adjustments can scarcely appeal to the youth. The youth of India has naturally kept himself aloof from the present political struggle.

To take a historical retrospect, the early beginnings of a virile youth movement in India started with Swami Vivekananda and Sri Aurobinda Ghosh as high-priests; and we find that the ideal set before the youth was the regeneration of Indian culture and religion and the re-establishment of the ancient glory of India. It was essentially religious, highly emotional and pronouncedly national in outlook. During this period (1900-1917) Garibaldi and Mazzini were our "gurus" and youth lived in the dreamland of Bankim Chandra Chatterji's *Anand Math*. They believed that a Sannyasi would suddenly emerge from the womb of the Himalayas with charmed water in his *Kamandala* and that shortly after a millennium would follow. Birds would sing the praise of the Lord and there would be no fight, no struggle and wrangle for power. The youth at this time was inspired

by a belief that spiritual realisation is the supreme necessity and other things would follow spontaneously. Nationalism was a second string to the fiddle. The important factor was the establishment of the "Dharma" as enunciated by the Gita.

Then came the Great War in 1914 followed by the disillusionment of the Montford reforms, the Jallianwala Bagh massacre and Mahatma Gandhi's first non-violent non-co-operation movement calling upon the people to boycott British goods, Law courts, Government Schools, and the return of titles. Mahatma Gandhi for the first time appealed to the youths and the masses and not merely to the intelligentsia, but he never gave his serious attention to the organisation of the youth. Except for Mr. C. R. Dass's attempt to enroll one lakh Congress volunteers, youths were neglected. Gandhi advised the youth to leave schools and colleges and take to spinning and Khaddar, but the boycott of schools was not successful and had to be abandoned later on. For some years there was nothing better and youth movement practically died down till in 1927 Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru and S. Subhas Chandra Bose made a direct and distinct appeal to the youth and gave a new orientation to the whole movement. They appealed to the youth for two-fold reasons: to fight communalism and to gain support for independence resolution.

We find that they were less influenced by the purely nationalistic idea; they were students of socialism and advocates of a militant youth movement. Their attempt was to organise Indian youths on European lines into a conscious, dynamic and mobile body with a radical programme. The new youth movement was intended to fight communalism on the one hand and on the other hand to form the left wing of the Congress, to stand by the Independence resolution passed

by the Congress at its Madras session under the Presidentship of Dr. Ansari. Pandit Jawahar Lal was quite conscious of the fact that it might be thrown out in a subsequent session but for the support of the younger batches, for the older group in the Congress including Mahatma Gandhi had laughed at the idea in the beginning. We find, therefore, that the appeal to the youths was partly due to the fear of the stalwart leaders who might have it thrown out and so we find that as soon as the resolution was finally ratified by the Calcutta Congress the youths were left behind and their organisations permitted to dwindle down. The Independence resolution was changed into a diplomatic quibble of "Substance of Independence" and in the enthusiasm of Gandhi-Irwin Truce and the Mahatma's ambassadorship to the London Round Table Conference youths were forgotten and their faith shaken in the Congress and its programme. Except for a very few in Bengal and in Bombay, in general, the youths of this country have given very little support to the Congress campaign of individual civil disobedience after 1931.

The first indication of a socialist youth movement in India was found in the formation of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha mainly in the Punjab under the leadership of Bhagat Singh and the Hindusthan Republican Party. The Sabha did turn out to be extremely militant and revolutionary and as soon as Bhagat Singh and B. K. Dutt were arrested after the Legislative Assembly bomb outrage at Delhi the Government became suspicious and got on its track. The leaders were clapped in jail, the organisation was declared illegal, its property was taken possession of and all these ultimately led to its dissolution. The effect of the Ordinance policy has been to drive it underground with a strongly revolutionary and terrorist bias.

At present the youth is mainly bourgeoisie, fickle and the

unconscious supporter of the man in power. He is medieval and not revolutionary in ideals. He has begun to ask questions but has no defined social or political ideals. Youth has lost faith in himself and in his leaders. The whole movement is chaotic, irregular and spasmodic and without co-ordination or a common end.

If we go deeper to find out the causes of this disorganisation we find that wide-spread unemployment and poverty of the middle class and the apathy of the national leaders are responsible for it. Added to these is the suspicious and unsympathetic attitude of the Government who see in every healthy, intelligent and independent-minded youth a budding revolutionary.

The unemployment question has natural psychological and social reactions. The youth asks society to bear responsibility of getting him employed because he is the product of its laws, its educational policy and social ideals. After going through the mill of school and college just as he is prepared to enter life he finds that he is in a blind alley and behind him is crushing crowd elbowing to get ahead—Where? No one knows. Our leaders have tried to silence the growing agitation by giving us the baby-soother cry that all would be well when we get responsible government. Meanwhile, youths are committing suicides or turning revolutionary or are becoming benumbed into dispirited "dumb-driven cattle".

It is true that in the beginning in no country youth movement received the patronage of the Government but during recent years all over the world it is recognised, guided and supported by responsible men and women. In India unfortunately, the steam-hammer of Ordinance has led to the disbandment of the Youth Leagues and of other kinds of similar organisations.

The new lines on which India's youth can be organised

are: (1) an absolute break from all kinds of communal bargaining. No privileges would be given on any condition because of caste or religion. (2) Ideal of the state should be on economic basis and not merely on the sentimental basis of a nation. The educated youth knows too well the evils of nationalism and the great sins committed in the name of nationalism. Nationalism is no longer a motive force for the intellectual youth who tries to face facts. Youth has found out that war is an inevitable result of aggressive nationalism and so is anti-war and anti-imperialist. History tells him that in the name of nationalism there has been going on a heartless exploitation of the poor and the helpless for a long time. He is not prepared to accept the platitude of national glory and the myth of a greater India like the myth of a Greater Germany, or Greater Italy. In short, youth in India has lost faith in traditional ideas and ethics but he has not yet been able to create a new ethics and ideal of his own. He is in the twilight region where dawn meets the day and must wait for a leader who has courage, prophetic vision and faith in himself and a grasp of the fundamental principles on which regeneration of India can be brought about. There is sure to be a birth-pang and who knows if we are not actually passing through that period.

INDIAN PARLIAMENTARY ELOQUENCE

By P. NARASIMHAM

[The platform has played a great part in the history of all national movements. The orators are a class apart. They reveal the thought and tendencies of their times in language which thrills the ear and has, even through the cold, printed page, a tremendous effect on men's minds. In India, the medium of a foreign language proved to be no barrier to public men. The more outstanding of them have won laurels both here and abroad. In this interesting article, the writer, after tracing briefly the history of British eloquence makes appreciative references to some fiery orators and finished speakers in India.]

The history of public speaking in English in India however short in its tenure and comparatively recent in its origin has nevertheless been charming and in some cases romantic and its influence on culture and the public life of the country has by no means been negligible. It is not my desire to attempt—and I have no doubt it would be impossible for me to achieve it—to give a graphic survey of the rise and growth of English eloquence during a century and a half of British Rule, to trace its progress and achievements, to summarize its tendencies and developments, to emphasize its prominent place in elevating the life of the country. To my mind the task is one worthy of being undertaken by one who has the necessary material and time for the compilation of such a treatise and within the compass of a brief article, one can only indicate some of the main currents in which Oratory or Eloquence has flown, to indicate a few lines of its development in its mother country and in the land of its adoption and to mention a few names in Indian History who have

developed the art to a high level and to draw inspiration from their example for our own advantage and benefit.

Public speaking has always held a supreme place in the life of a people from the earliest times. Aristotle expounded the art; the Athenian Orators practised it. It was not new to the Roman Academies and coming to our own hemisphere instances are not wanting of brilliant orators in ancient India who had left an indelible impression on the minds of their own contemporaries. The ancients however, treated oratory essentially as an art, an accomplishment in no way inferior to poetry or painting, sculpture or music, one that needed training and scientific study and preparation instead of being merely a ready extemporizing or a quick improvisation. They not only wrote out their speeches deliberately and beforehand but would have wondered at the idea of a good speech being delivered off-hand and without adequate preparation. The ideal of oratory as an art, a conscious attempt to write out speeches aiming at a degree of excellence rarely attained by even the finest speakers of modern times was in vogue in England till the 18th century which was essentially an aristocratic age and therefore congenial to the development of such an art. With the passing of the Reform Bills, and the constitutional changes resulting therefrom which converted the country into a democracy there was a marked change in the ideal of public speaking, its place in public life and the audiences for whom it was intended. The growth of Democracy has proved ruinous if not fatal to the growth of oratory and in its place we have what is more familiarly known as Eloquence which sets on fire the human soul as much as Oratory, if not more, though the flame kindled is of a different colour. Lord Curzon defines Eloquence as "the highest manifestation of the power of moving men by speech" and illustrates the idea by say-

ing:—

We mean that upon the head of such a man tongues as of fire have descended from heaven, that the silver of ordinary speech is turned into gold on his (the speaker's) lips, that he strikes a chord in our heart which thrills as though it has been touched by celestial fingers.

Judged from this ideal genuine eloquence is still a potent factor in elevating men's minds and capturing their imagination and is perhaps as powerful as, if not a more powerful instrument than, oratory was in swaying the governing class in Democracy in which the power is vested in the upper and the lower middle classes with no aspirations to learning or scholarship. The variety of duties of members of Parliament outside the House, the tyranny of the party machine which leaves little scope for independence, the influence of reporting in the Press, the comparatively greater influence of the platform with its capacity to make and unmake leaders, the growth of legislative work by leaps and bounds have had their effect on the decline of the old style of oratory and have brought into existence a band of public speakers who can deliver extempore addresses on any subject, adjust their speeches to the temper of the house or gathering they are addressing, exhibit all the resources of keen debaters, who are quick in repartee and enjoy a spontaneous wit to humour their audiences according to their moods. The classical quotations and literary flourishes have less scope under modern conditions than they had in the Middle Ages but the capacity for debate and quick retort have grown more rapidly than they did in the days of oratory. It goes without saying that the greatest leaders of today have need more of eloquence than of oratory though in its highest form both appear to spring undoubtedly from the same origin. As Lord Curzon observes in his Rede Lecture on this subject

Perhaps there is in this state of affairs no more than an inevitable reflex of what is sometimes called the spirit of the age. It is a temper quick, impatient, practical, business-like distrustful of periphrasis, scornful of superfluous embellishment eager to arrive at the goal. Speed and directness have ousted leisure and circumlocution. Just as the steamer has superseded the sailing ship, the railway the stage coach, the taxicab the hansom, and the motor the cart, so much the speaker get more quickly to his destination, he may not halt to drink at Pierian fountains or wreath his head with Delphian Bay.

The decline of oratory so called and the flourishing of eloquence have not failed to have their own beneficent influence on the standards of public speaking. If the highest standard of public speaking has fallen in level from what it was in ancient times, the level of the ordinary standard has risen much higher. In the Middle Ages oratory was the monopoly of a few but eloquence is the gift of several leaders of today. In fact no one without any pretensions to extempore public speaking can ever afford to become a parliamentary leader now-a-days and much less lay claim to recognition by the populace to which ultimately one has to look for creating a bright future for himself. Public speaking, and the better variety of it, still holds the keys of fortune in its lap and the man that aspires to the leadership of a party or a Cabinet Ministership still finds his passport for it in the gift of his tongue though undoubtedly character and ability also play a large part in his rising into prominence and power. Effective speech, again, has the undoubted power to change policies of Parliaments, to upset common views on political or administrative measures and has been no small instrument in shaping the public opinion of the day. The lives of the greatest English speakers, Gladstone, Bright, the Churchills, Chamberlain, Rosebery, Asquith, Morley, Bradlaugh and a host of others, and last but not least, Mr.

Lloyd George, the greatest fire-eater of modern times, illustrate in an unmistakable manner the hold English eloquence has on the imagination of its votaries and the great part it has played in the making of English History during the last century.

Coming to our own country, the transition from the classical oratory of the 18th Century to the Golden Age of Eloquence in the 19th Century in England is reproduced with some variation in the transition from the public speaking of the latter part of the 19th Century to the public speaking of the first quarter of the 20th Century. The earliest batch of first-rate orators in India after English was made the official language of the land came almost exclusively from the founders or active participators in the Indian National Congress, the unofficial Parliament of India's hopes and aspirations. Politics in those days was of the Liberal School as opposed to the extremism of later years and constitutional methods and reforms by persuasion were the order of the day. The bitterness of later years or the unconstitutional or the extra-constitutional movements of the last two decades of this century had not yet come into play. The early sessions of the Congress compared with the developments in later years were comparatively pleasant annual functions, festivals at which the cream of intellectual life in India gathered for a few days and like the English orators of the 18th Century indulged in long speeches which if not actually written out were at any rate elaborately prepared with a view to literary flourish, full of classical allusions and severely formal. The Liberal Party and its best speakers even to-day represent a school which is not shy in consuming the mid-night oil, in making an elaborate preparation and conscious embellishment of passages here and there with a literary flavour and classical allusions or quotations interspersed and

in making the speech a readable whole in contrast with the more advanced Nationalistic School with its extempore and spontaneous outpourings caring little for adornment and relying for effect more on its ready resources, a lively humour, something to catch the imagination, a little of invective and a resounding peroration which are the easiest paths to win the heart of the multitude. In our Legislative Councils and Legislative Assemblies before the Reforms and in the decade after the Reforms there is the same marked difference in the quality and level of speeches delivered, the same contrast between the more formal and the more carefully got up speeches, exhaustive in their treatment and maintaining a generally high level of expression and the more business-like, extempore and off-hand performances of later years, the same deterioration in the highest quality of eloquence compensated only by the wider circle of public speakers and the better general level of public speaking that is now noticeable as against the monopoly or a claim to monopoly by the intellectual aristocracy of former times. In the pre-Reform days education was at a low level and the general voters could hardly appreciate a first-rate speech on any matter of importance; party system was unknown and the Press had not risen into such great prominence as it is to-day nor were the speeches in the several assemblies reported so soon after they were delivered as they are to-day. The country had not yet risen from its long sleep and had to be aroused from its long accustomed lethargy and stupor and political consciousness had to be yet roused by the earliest of our nation-builders. Things have all changed at the present day. The masses have more general education than in the pre-Reform days. The vote has taught them the outstanding constitutional problems of the day. Mass meetings are the order of the day and inside the legislative assemblies of the country again, the variety

of subjects coming up for discussion calling forth the resources of ready reply and quick repartee have changed the complexion of Indian Parliamentary Eloquence. If we look to the Reports of the various Legislative Councils in India of an earlier period and of to-day we cannot fail to notice that the performance of a speaker of the ordinary legislature drawn from the lower middle class and not pretending to much of literary education, are very much inferior, less striking and more matter-of fact and business-like than the well-prepared and finished productions of an earlier period. We see in this nothing to complain or grieve about as it is an index of the spirit of the times, and I am almost certain, as in England so in India, if the genuine oratory of the classical kind is languishing we will have nevertheless in its place an equally good or better variety of it and the expanded legislatures will yet bring into existence a level of speakers whose word would still kindle a consuming fire in our souls. Having indicated the general tendencies in the growth of Legislative Eloquence it is necessary to refer to a few of our greatest orators and the level of their speeches and the mark they have left on contemporary opinion in India as well as in England.

The greatest orator India has produced is by common consent Sir Surendranath Banerjee who was more familiarly known as "the Trumpet Voice of India". His speeches recall as an English man who had heard him once remarked, 'the sonorous thunders of a William Pitt, the dialectical skill of a Fox, the rich freshness and illustration of a Burke, and the keen wit of a Sheridan'. The first Presidential address of the great orator at the Indian National Congress held at Poona in the year 1895 was all delivered by him extempore without even a reference to any notes for full four hours and as he himself informs us in his very valuable autobiography, he was able during the whole of that time to keep up un-

diminished and without flagging the attention of a vast assembly of over 5,000 people. Referring to his speech at the Press Conference in England Sir Hugh Graham, the doyen of the Canadian Press, is reported to have said that it was a model of a debating speech and another member of the same conference remarked that Mr. Banerjee 'wiped the floor with Lord Cromer'. His speech proposing a toast to the Imperial Press at the Luncheon at Manchester presided over by the Lord Mayor attracted the attention of the English Public and elicited the warmest admiration from them. Sir Surendranath Banerjee himself recounts this in his *Memoirs* most appropriately called 'A Nation in the Making'. A Press delegate who sat next to him is reported to have said 'if there are two hundred men like you in India, Mr. Banerjee, self-government ought to be granted tomorrow' and Banerjee is reported to have replied 'there are twice two hundred men in India' and as Mr. Banerjee was writing his autograph in a book kept for the purpose the delegate said to the Great Indian, 'Sir, let me tell you this, that such a speech was not delivered in this hall since it was built'. The *Manchester Courier*, a contemporary Conservative organ said referring to the same speech:—

The effect of the speech was almost electrical. To find themselves addressed in their own language by a native of India with a fluency that must have been the envy of all present and with the impassioned utterance that only a born orator can attain was an experience that happens, only once in a life-time.

Ananda Mohan Bose was another Bengalee the charm of whose speeches captivated the minds of Indian and Englishmen of his generation. He was honoured while yet a student in England by being honoured with the Presidentship of the Cambridge Union by dint of his marvellous eloquence. In England Mr. Bose was once deputed by Prof. Fawcett to

conduct a meeting and so great was the ability displayed by Mr. Bose it appears that Mr. Fawcett declared later that 'Mr. Bose would carve for himself a position similar to that of Gladstone in England'. His Presidential speech at Madras in the year 1898 is justly classed as the finest masterpiece of Congress oratory. The Congress report of the year described in glowing terms the oratorical effect produced by that master-mind and how his musical voice and graceful delivery combined to make it one of the most epoch-making. The report continues that during his peroration on 'God and the Motherland', he almost choked with feeling and that a wave of emotion swept over the audience bringing tears to every one. His speech from his death-bed on the Partition of Bengal has been justly termed unrivalled for 'its chastened and stirring eloquence, for intense vivifying power and it struck a chord in the souls of those that heard it which was everlasting'. It has been fitly termed to be his swan-song as he died very soon after the speech was delivered. Lal Mohan Ghose was another brilliant orator of the latter part of the 19th century and the early part of this century. He had spoken before large audiences in England in the presence of English orators like Bright and Rosebury and won their enthusiastic approbation as a finished speaker of remarkable eloquence and a Colonial Premier said of Mr. Ghose:

He speaks remarkably well. He speaks straight; he speaks to the point and knows where to stop.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the silver-tongued orator of Allahabad, made an impression on the public mind on account of his eloquence so early as 1886 when at the second session of the Indian National Congress speaking on Legislative Council Reform produced an effect on the audience which Mr. Hume recounts in a vivid manner in the Congress report of that year.

The speech that was most enthusiastically received was one made by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, a high caste Brahmin, whose fair complexion and delicately chiselled features, instinct with intellectuality at once impressed every eye and who suddenly jumping upon a chair beside the President poured forth a manifestly impromptu speech with an energy and eloquence that carried everything before them.

The speech was on 'Legislative Council Reform' and one sentence at least of the speech deserves to live, "No taxation without representation. That is the first commandment of the Englishman's political Bible." I am not aware that his eloquence is less effective to-day than it was nearly half a century ago or that its radiance has been dimmed by age or adversity. Sir Pherozeshah Mehta in Bombay and V. Krishnaswami Iyer of our own Presidency belong to a type of lawyer-speakers who have left an undoubted mark on men's minds of their powers of eloquence and of debate. Sir Pherozeshah was undoubtedly one of the finest speakers of his generation. He had a charming voice and his manner of delivery was very imposing and these combined with a fine and a domineering personality made him the idol of his time.

In our own presidency there was no greater speaker in recent times than the late Mr. V. Krishnaswamy Iyer who was in a variety of ways the Mehta of the Madras Presidency. Though he could not be said to be superior to Mr. Eardly Norton who was by far the finest orator we had ever heard he combined other talents which placed him at an advantage over him in the public life of the country and undoubtedly during the whole of his lifetime, he exercised an influence on the minds of the public and captivated their imagination in a manner that no other Madrasee has so far done. He had remarkable gifts of expression, great command of language, his pronunciation was fine and his delivery was graceful and

charming. He had a good and powerful voice and his delivery was said to be too rapid for the best shorthand writer of the time to cope with though on that account it never lost its distinctness or clarity. He could study his audience better than any one else and could silence them by his pointed and effective speech laying emphasis wherever necessary and letting words flow gently where it was unnecessary.

It would be wide of my mark within the very narrow limits I have to set to myself in this article to refer to every speaker of eminence in this Presidency or in the others or to refer in detail to the flowers of their eloquence and the masterpieces entitling them to the gratitude and everlasting admiration of posterity. Nor would it be proper for me to refer to our finest living public speakers of present day and our Pattabhis, our Jayakars and Chintamanis, our Reddys and Radhakrishnans and a host of lawyer-politicians whose forensic and legislative eloquence have marked them out from the rest of their countrymen and whose place in the gallery of public speakers is assured. I cannot close this rapid sketch however without reference to three persons two of whom are happily with us to-day and the third of whom left us only recently after serving her land of adoption with a patriotic fervour and zeal which would do justice to the greatest patriot born in the land. I refer to the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Dr. Besant and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu.

The Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri has been termed the greatest orator of the British Empire whose eloquence of a silvery voice is said to have kept Monarchs and Ministers, Premiers and Professors alike spell-bound. The musical cadence of his voice and the infinite grace of his style are at once the admiration and envy of the best speakers in the land. His flaming eloquence has been compared to that of John Bright. He exhibits all the essential requisites of a trained

speaker in clearness of his voice, the selection of appropriate words, the manner and style of his delivery, reminding us of the orators of old. Dr. Beasant's oratorical powers were of a high order. She combined reason with sentiment and employed her gifts of eloquence almost exclusively for the country of her adoption. Srimati Sarojini Naidu's eloquence is of a different type. It is more musical and poetical than Dr. Beasant's and perhaps unsurpassed in the richness of its imagery and the sweetness of its diction. Both of them would have done credit to any country and have added immortal lustre to the good name of India in the kingdom of eloquence in the world. The place of eloquence in regenerating man and enriching the public life of a country cannot be exaggerated. In India the scope for its development and proper utilisation in the making of a freer and happier India are infinite. I can do no better than close this brief survey of the story of our Indian eloquence by alluding to the advice and counsel of our Indian Demosthenes, Sir Surendranath Banerjee, in regard to this all important faculty:

Let no one aspire to be an orator who does not love his country; love her indeed with a true and soul absorbing love. Country first, all other things next, is the creed of the orator. Unless he has been indoctrinated in it, baptized with the holy fire of love of country, the highest intellectual gifts will not qualify him to be an orator. Aided by them he may indeed be a fluent debater, an expert in the presentment of his case, a fascinating speaker able to please, amuse, and even to instruct but without the higher patriotic or religious emotions he will not possess the supreme power of moving men, inspiring them with lofty ideals and the passion for the worship of the good, the true and the beautiful. The equipment of the orator is thus moral and nothing will help him so much as constant association with the master-minds of humanity, of those who have worked and suffered, who have taught and preached great things, who have lived dedicated lives consecrated to the service of their country or of their God.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

RHINELAND: TINDER BOX OF EUROPE

By Y. G. KRISHNAMURTI

[The German Remilitarization of the Rhine land is one of the most important European problems of the day. This article is based on the records of three discussions on the subject held recently at Chatham House, London, and issued as a special supplement to "International Affairs".]

I

A famished house painter, who begged for bread in the streets of Berlin, to-day sits on the throne of the Caesars! Trunked in brown breeches and a riding whip in his hand, the compressed lips showing his grim determination of purpose, with his tooth-brush moustache, but yesterday, a waif and a wastrel, now almost a Divinity, whose lightest words are heard with apprehension by Baldwin in Downing street, Roosevelt in White House, Mussolini in Palazzo Venezia and Stalin in grim Kremlin, Adolph Hitler, has mesmerised Germany, which is in an extremely neurotic state of mind.

"Hitler is Germany and Germany is Hitler", is indeed a truism growing truer everyday. The wand of Prospero was not half so enchanting as the persuasive eloquence of Hitler. His speeches pulsating with eloquent appeal, abounding in flashes of light and beauty have got an incomparable charm and youthfulness.

He can rouse the dull, inspire the learned and his influence is irresistible. The call of Hitler is not the charming notes of a lute but the call of the trumpet from live lips:—

"The sweetest sacrifice we can offer to the skies is the blood which one day we may be called upon to shed for our beloved Fatherland". When he pours out his blatant effusions women weep, children kneel and the inspired multitude cry "Heil Hitler."

Hitler is pre-eminently a man of sensations. He is an irradiating centre of mysticism. He has a mission to perform, a duty to fulfil. He has consecrated his endeavours to a positive task i.e., the elevation of the prestige of Germany to Olympian heights. To-day the German soul feels the regenerating vigour of a new vitality pervading it. It feels the resurrection of its former self. At the core of his political creed, there is a faith, a healing principle, the fruit of painful experience.

A teetotalarian, a hermit who eats a dinner of herbs, a bachelor who hates the company of the fair defects of Nature, Hitler has become the cynosure of all eyes.

Strange as it might appear Hitler and Gandhi have some traits in common; the same ascetic self-denial; the same extreme truthfulness; the same passionate sincerity and the same disinterested patriotism. But Gandhi is a saint by habit, who is the living embodiment of *Ahimsa*. He is the sweetest soul that ever lived in human clay. Hitler verily represents Nietzsche's philosophy of violence.

Hitler is not a foreign office expert but he is an exhibitionist. He will not do anything commonplace or dull but striking and spectacular. Every year he will make three stunts. His sending of 30,000 troops into the demilitarised zone inhabited by 14,700,000 Germans is his latest political stunt which has set the Rhine on flames.

II

There is no subject on earth on which more "dangerous nonsense" is talked of than the Rhineland and Germany. To

understand the German point of view the cruel injustices of the Versailles Treaty, the background of the Locarno Pact and the backdoor through which France was able to invade the Ruhr, these three factors must be borne in mind.

There was all quiet on the Western Front. Germany beaten and baffled was like a deer encircled by a band of greedy hunters, thirsting for its blood. Germany was deprived of her colonies. Her rich coal mines of Lorraine, the Saar Valley, subjected to plebiscite, of Silesia were handed over to the other states. Her overseas trade was entirely annihilated by the ruthless seizure of her mercantile marine. The heartless victors struck at the root of her enormous news service by seizing the cables. The Polish Corridor was introduced as a wedge, giving Poland access to the sea and cutting off East Prussia from the West of Germany. The hypocrisy of the Allied Nations reached its acme when they imposed the humiliating "War-Guilt" on Germany. She was held to be morally responsible for the 7,000,000 dead lie buried in Europe and the 20,000,000 who carried on them the wounds of the battle. The conquerors laden with immense booty marched leaving behind them a bleeding and defenceless Nation and a starving and humiliated multitude. Germany with her wings clipped could only hop and could not aspire to fly.

Just at the moment when Germany, exhausted and beggared was recovering from the swoon the French did a notoriously unjust act by occupying the Ruhr. It was a gross and crying injustice. It ruined the middle-class and raised "the suicide rates to prodigious heights". Germany accepted the demilitarisation of her Rhineland frontier Zone as "a guarantee against second Ruhr invasion".

III

By Articles 42 and 43 of the Versailles Treaty, the strip

of common territory on the left bank of the Rhine, together with a fifty Kilometre Zone was "demilitarised in perpetuity". In the Treaty of Mutual Guarantee concluded in 1925 between Germany, Belgium, Britain, France and Italy the High contracting parties, collectively and severally, guarantee the observance of the aforesaid articles concerning the demilitarised Zones. Further they agree in the case of the occurrence of a breach the matter should be placed before the League Council. Other provisions of the Treaty empower the aggrieved party to immediate armed action if it considers that the breach complained of constitutes an unprovoked act of aggression. The other contracting parties will come to the aid of the aggrieved party

as soon as the said power has been able to satisfy that, by reason of either of crossing the frontier or of the outbreak of hostilities or of the assembling of armed forces in the demilitarised Zone, immediate action is necessary.

The Mutual Guarantee Treaty contains an obligation between Germany and France to settle by conciliation or by Judicial decision any dispute between them which cannot be adequately dealt with by the normal methods of diplomacy.

On March 8, the German Government announced to the consternation of France that it considered the Locarno Treaty as no longer binding and had sent troops into the Rhineland. It declared that the Franco-Soviet pact of Mutual Assistance was incompatible with the Locarno Treaties. Further she contended that France had already violated the Locarno Treaties and hence they were no longer binding. The German Government offered to conclude for twenty-five years, a Treaty of Non-aggression with France and Belgium to be guaranteed by Italy and Great Britain.

An extraordinary meeting of the League Council was held in London and after a heated debate a resolution was

passed declaring that Germany's action had violated the Locarno Treaties and the Treaty of Versailles and it was decided that the League Council should adjourn until the Locarno Powers had come to some definite conclusion.

IV

Can Germany's action be justified. Yes, she has occupied a territory by force which belongs to her by right. The chancellor of Germany thinks that the Versailles Treaty is founded on a tissue of lies and every clause of it is morally invalid. Says Herr Hitler,

No honour without battle. I am force, because in force I see strength and in strength the eternal mother of rights.

Though the method adopted by Hitler fails to win the approbation of the constitutionally minded individuals still the principle underlying his action is incontrovertible.

A German politician pithily expressed the whole issue as follows, "A widow woman has four children and they are kidnapped by bandits. She screams and she screams until the bandits say to each other; "Let us give her back one child to stop her screaming; so they give her back one child, but she goes on screaming for the other three, and the bandits say again that she is very unreasonable, but they finally give her back two more. Then she still goes on screaming for the fourth and the bandits say "This woman is impossible, we have given her back three children out of the four, and still she goes on screaming for the fourth child."

But when the fourth child will be given she will not go on screaming for the fifth for it will not be hers.

In this connection it will be instructive to know the French attitude. They are an extremely pacifist race who dislike war. But their every fibre is shot through and through with mortal terror. In the last fifty years she has

been defeated twice by Germany, once in 1870 and again in 1914. In both cases she was not able to drive out the enemy from her home without aid. Therefore she is not willing to the ending of discriminations against Germany. There is a widespread feeling in France that equality for Germany spells her ruin. She believes that peace can only be maintained in Europe through the overwhelming military preponderance of one side. That is why she has made alliances with Poland, the Little Entente, Italy and Russia. Alliances are more deadly weapons of warfare than torpedoes and submarines.

V

Clouds of War are looming large in the horizon of Europe. Racial animosity is fanned into flame. Storms in the tea-cup are assuming the threatening proportions of desert gales. The race in rearmament between Nations is going on at an amazingly rapid speed. For some Dictators International brigandage has become an honourable profession. The system of collective security has experienced the rudest shock in its life. Europe, a political madhouse is seething with blood and rancour. The League of Nations, the weedy hot-house plant of Geneva, is too weak and impotent to face these grim realities.

When an author of International repute went to Geneva and asked a citizen his opinion about the League, the Genevan exclaimed, "Don't mention that damnable thing. At first we hoped, then we laughed, now we weep". It has not only become a laughing stock but also, if I may be permitted to coin the expression, a weeping stock. Proceeding the author approached a worker in the building of a sky-scraper and asked him the purpose for which it was being constructed. He replied "we are building a hospital for the wounded in the next war." Erelong the League will sink into the limbo of

oblivion.

The present figures of the armies and air forces of the world benumbs the soul and freezes the blood of a pacifist.

	Army	Front line Aeroplanes
France	530,000	1670
Belgium	86,000	200
Poland	266,000	400
Yugoslavia	200,000	400
Czechoslovakia	200,000	400
Soviet Russia	1,300,000	1600
	2,822,000	6420
Germany	550,000	900
Hungary	340,000	..
Bulgaria	30,000	..

In the event of a conflict between Germany and France there will be nearly 2,800,000 men and 6000 planes on the side of France and her Allies and on the other side 600,000 men and 1500 planes. The "shining armours" in the Rhineland corner is making the French lion to lash its tail into fury. Hitler is for an opportune moment to wreck his vengeance. For, vengeance is sweet for Gods!

Mr. Harold Nicolson suggests that the German people are suffering from neurosis and the most effective way of teaching them a lesson is to say "we are sorry we will not come to the Olympic Games, if you knew the German mentality you would know that it would be far more valuable than blocading Kiel". But cheap sneers are after all poor substitutes to reasoned arguments. The only hope of humanity lies in the Revision of Peace treaties.

The Rhineland is the tinder box of Europe and a spark might ignite it into a terrific conflagration.

A SHORT STORY

THE FIRST NIGHT

By SHYAM SUNDAR ANAD

It was the first night—not the first night of her wedding, but the first night of her widowhood.

As she lay awake, all sorts of images rose in her mind. There was the image of her dead husband as he was when she first met him. She saw him as if he were present; his face and his eyes rose before her; she heard him speak and laugh and pour love into her ears. She remembered herself as she used to be—young and beautiful and merry. She remembered how every night he sat playing the guitar at her feet, and how full of love for her he had been. She saw, in her mind, the place where she was married, the priests, and the people standing around; the merriment and the joyousness of the occasion, all the three years of her happy married life, and her premature widowhood. Love, romance, and tragedy—all rose in her mind's vision one by one. And the thought of them all made her so miserable that she sobbed and sobbed.

"Oh, how cruel! How cruel is this night!" she cried. And leaving the bed, she frantically moved about the room. Suddenly she stopped as she found her own reflection in a large mirror hanging on the wall. So utterly strange had her face become that her own image terrified her, and her lips involuntarily given out a shriek. She stood there in that mirror, her hair dishevelled, her face deathly pale, and her sari carelessly thrown over her body. There were no bangles on her arms. Yes, they had been broken over the dead body of her husband

only that day. And the vermilion mark on her forehead—it was no more there as well. It had now been forbidden for her forever, alas! As she looked at herself into the mirror, she remembered that other night—her wedding night—three years ago, when, having dressed herself in her finest clothes and ornaments, she had looked into the same mirror. And, oh, how handsome then she had looked! And, to-night! To-night how haggard and ugly she appeared in the same mirror. The night, too, was much the same. Yet how different was this night from that other one—the wedding night. But to-night she was a widow while three years ago, she was a wife!

The sight of that mirror was too much for her to bear. So she turned her face away from it and fell down in a chair near by. Amidst sobs, she involuntarily took hold of a book lying on the table in front of her, and carelessly opened it. It was "Torrents of Spring" by Ivan Turgenev, the Russian author. Her eyes involuntarily rested on the following lines in it and she read:—

"Years of gladness,
Days of joy,
Like the torrents of Spring
They hurried away."

The tragedy of her life was never at its highest. She hurled the book away from her and left the chair in a desperate mood. In a state of frenzy, perspiration rising all over her face, she ran out of her room, down the staircase, and coming into the garden outside, threw herself on the ground.

The moon shone full in the sky. She looked at it—the full moon that painfully recalled to her a night like that some three years ago when her husband had first pledged his love to her for ever and she had felt so happy. She dared not

imagine further. Her imagination had already weighed too heavily upon her. So she determined to think no more. It was so painful to recall the past. But her mind seemed to revolt against her resolution, for image after image of her past reminiscences rose before her vision. In despair she rose to her feet, and falling on her knees, prayed:—

"O God! Now take me away from this world! Was I born to suffer such endless pain? For what sin of mine hast thou inflicted such a cruel punishment upon me? Is there no justice in thy kingdom? Dost thou judge arbitrarily? No, no! I shall not ask for thy help. Thou art cruel and unjust. I shall no more implore thee for thy hand. I shall pray to Death and seek his arms.

"Come, O Death! Lift me up and embrace me! How loving and timely will thy embrace be! How kindly, how sympathetic will it be now more than ever when no one else can save me from this wretched existence!

"Come, O kind Death! Take me in thy arms, and carry me away from this wretched world to where my lord now lives. Oh, why does man call thee cruel when thou can save him from the miseries of this world? Come, don't delay! I have awaited thee enough Oh, now I see thee descending from the heaven! Thy long arms extend to me as thou approacheth me. Oh, come! come soon! But why dost thou stop now when I pray to thee to descend and kiss my life away in a single embrace? Wait! If thou wilt not stoop to kiss me, I shall myself rise to embrace thee. But, why dost thou now ascend higher and higher away from me? Cruel, tyrannous being! Heartless, unsympathetic creature! Death to thee, O Death! Thy name is justly cruel. Thou approacheth those who abhor thee, and avoideth them who adore thee!

"But, no! Thou canst not be an unmixed evil. Thou

wilt surely take pity upon me. Come, O Death! Swiftly bear me away in thy arms to my lord! To-night is the best night for thee. The moon is full. On a night like this, my lord pledged his love to me and I was happy in his embrace. To-night he is no more with me. But my heart is merging itself in the memory of that night's happiness! Come softly, O Death! To-night more than ever seems it rich for thee to steal upon me unawares when my heart is singing forth its love song, and all my senses are around it listening."

Calling upon Death in words ardent as these, that little victim of fate, having wearied itself out in prayer, sank there on the grass and fell fast asleep. Thus, though Death did not listen to her prayer, Sleep, his younger sister did hear it and took pity upon her.

When morning came, the people still found her sleeping there on the ground.

"It's but natural," remarked an old woman. "It was only her first night. By and by she will calm herself."

The Twentieth Century Library

INDIA'S INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS

By V. V. GIRI

"**Industrial Organisation in India**" by P. S. Lokanathan.

George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London.

At a time when the Government of India are engaged in drafting legislation amending the Companies Act with special reference to the Managing Agency System, this book comes as a timely publication dealing principally with the history of the managing-agency system in the evolution of industrial organisation in this country.

The author shows how the industrial development in India was in the hands of men who were keen businessmen and not technical experts. From one industry, they turned to another. The history of some of the managing agents like Martin & Co., Andrew Yule & Co., Killick Nixon & Co., or W. H. Brady & Co., shows how some persons who first came out to India as representatives of some foreign trading companies, started jute mills and then collieries, finding jute mills were good customers for coal; then again some floated boating and inland steamer companies and then tea and so on.

The American Civil War stimulated cotton trade activity in Bombay presidency. Many public joint stock companies essentially private in character, the bulk of the shares being held by only half a dozen persons, were floated. India afforded training ground for British merchants. While managing-agency system initially was responsible for founding new business activities, the Bombay Stock Exchange Enquiry Committee showed that managing agents were not

wholly immune from the charge of wasteful promotion and reorganisation.

The author devotes a useful chapter to localisation of industry and shows how the railway freight policy was not a little responsible for encouraging concentration of important industries in the ports and how development of hydro-electricity in future would cause a redistribution of industries away from the present available power sources.

There is a chapter dealing with the factors affecting the size of industrial units in India. From the information available in the Tariff Board Reports, he gives useful facts regarding the uneconomic working of various textile and metal factories.

Considerable part of the book is devoted to a detailed description of various questions of industrial finance in India with a comparative survey of the position in foreign countries. While admitting several deficiencies of the managing system, the author is not for the fashionable method of complete abolition of the system. He feels the Board of Directors is an anomaly in the Indian system, pleads for recognition of a Board of Supervision as in Germany and Holland with specific powers and makes several proposals to avoid the conflict of interests between Managing Agents and share-holders.

The wealth of facts and figures adduced by the author can be easily used to show that without Planned Economy directed by a Socialist State, the question of most economic types of industrial organisation in a given country cannot be satisfactorily solved and waste is inherent in a capitalistic chaotic method of industrial management.

The last chapter deals with the question of wages, standard of living and efficiency of industrial work in this country. Figures of comparative cost efficiency and output efficiency are given in regard to certain typical industries.

At one place it is given that the average number of looms tended by one operative in Japan is 5.5 as against 4 in England and 2 in Bombay and Ahmedabad and one in other centres in India but in two mills in Madras, a weaver minds 6 automatic looms! It is also quoted that cost efficiency if not output efficiency is in favour of an Indian jute mill worker due to low wages. But this is not the case in regard to other industries. The author's remarks regarding trade union organisation and welfare work are sweeping and general. He has not got one good word to say regarding the working of the trade unions, not even Ahmedabad Textile Unions which won praise from late Whitley as being superior to even English organisations.

On the whole, the book is an intelligent and instructive digest of facts and figures available in several Blue-books such as Tariff Board Reports, various Commissions and Committees Reports relating to Indian industries, banking and finance, labour, etc.

A Visit to America. By A. G. Macdonell. Macmillan, London.

The following informative note appears inside the dust-jacket of this book: "*A Visit to America* is a record of three months' travelling in the United States. The author, who had never crossed the Atlantic before, visited New York, Baltimore, Boston, Chicago (where he saw no murders at all), the farm-country of the Middle West, the mining-country of the North-West, and crossed the Rockies on his way down to Salt Lake City. Thence he went to the Pacific Coast to San Francisco, visited Robert Louis Stevenson's house at Monterey, fled screaming from the horrors of Hollywood and Los Angeles, and duly admired the giant redwood trees.

He played golf in a thick fog in California's 'best climate in the world,' and was saved from sudden death in a motor car by Santa Barbara, the patron-saint of gunners. He crossed Arizona and Texas, risked his life again by rooting for Harvard in the Yale Stand during the great football game of the year, and finally escaped by the skin of his teeth from three months of concentrated American hospitality. The book does not contain a description of either Niagara or the Grand Cañon."

The book, in fact, tries to follow the tradition of Aldous Huxley's very entertaining *Jesting Pilate*, but it must be admitted that it only does so *longo intervallo*. For, though the author echoes Huxley when, in speaking of the beauty of San Francisco's harbour he declares "The whole fantasy of America is in that mighty panorama, the majesty and the absurdity, the vast impressiveness and the comic triviality, the quality of eternity and the quality of an urchin," one cannot escape the feeling that his book suffers sometimes from his own lapses into "the quality of an urchin." When a traveller from poster-strewn and smoke-screened industrial England tilts tirelessly at the ugliness of American centres of modern industrial vulgarity, his cent per cent American host may justifiably retort with a *tu quoque*. And this seems to have happened to Mr. Macdonell, on his own showing, especially at Boston, where memorials of English "brutality" are reverently preserved.

But to breathe this little criticism is not to deny that *A Visit to America* makes entertaining reading, and contains many clever epigrams, and some wise remarks. The author has enunciated the subtle truth that while the American is always obsessed by the belief that America is a new country, he cordially hates the foreigner who hints at it, or is even egregious enough to agree! Mr. Macdonell rightly points out

the American's incongruity in neglecting to maintain the numerous genuine antiquities of his own country, going back to the times of the Pilgrim Fathers in the North and the Spaniards in the South, while assiduously importing Tudor cottages and Gothic churches from Ye Olde Countree. But of American hospitality and geniality the author speaks with unstinted praise, though he claims to have embarked homeward just in time to escape annihilation! He does not, however, conceal his strong Nordic bias, of which the following example has a topical appositeness. In speaking of the collection of criminals whom he saw during a visit to New York's Police Headquarters, he says:

At least half of those deadly killers were Italians. Some of them were first generation Italians, men who had been born in Italy, almost always Southern Italy or Sicily, and had come to America during the boom years after the war, and the rest were second to third generation Italians. Next in numbers after the Italians came mixed Slavonic blood, and after them came Negroes, then Germans, and finally Americans of the Anglo-Saxon stock.

The latter alone, so it seems, are entitled to be called Americans! So much for the Melting Pot!

In one important respect Mr. Macdonell's book is very useful. In its easy, racy manner it is a corrective to many of the absurd misconceptions about the States that are kept alive by the sensational press. His visit to Chicago was not punctuated by bursts of machine-gunning in street battles; nor did he surprise the population of Salt Lake City in the raptures of polygamous dalliance, although the seraglios had apparently overflowed into the streets. For he tells us that "there were more pretty girls to every square yard of pavement in Salt Lake City than in any city I had yet visited." Although Mr. Macdonell professes to be interested only in Life, not in high sounding things like philosophy, anthropology, or politics and economics, he does dispel the bogey of

an America of humbug and hypocrisy, and give us a balanced and almost sober view of a kindly people and a vigorous and manifold culture. He is most like an urchin when he deals with the noises of Manhattan, or the New Yorker's pride in his city's arithmetical street-nomenclature. In the same spirit he quotes the opening sentence of his Railroad Guide's description of San Francisco: "The greatness of Rome is somehow associated—whether correctly or not—with the fact that it was built on seven hills. How much greater, then, should San Francisco be, standing on fourteen hills? To which Mr. Macdonell deliciously replies, "Twice!" He gives a fascinating picture of the farmers of the Middle West, those vague figures who seem to European eyes to be responsible for every apparently unsporting failure on America's part to be mixed up in the Old World's tangles. He is equally interesting in his account of the placer-miners and the relics of the old gold-rush and pioneering days. But he is poetic when he is faced with the beauty of nature. For though he had the courage not to visit Niagara or the Grand Cañon, he could not resist the grandeur of the mountains, or forget "the murmur of the breakers upon the shore."

If "it is better to travel than to arrive," the reader will find himself amply repaid if he sits down beside Mr. Macdonell in the observation car of a Trans-continental American Express. In a very different sense from that in which the phrase is applied to the curate's egg, we can safely say that *A Visit to America* is, indeed, very good in parts.

B. D.

The Western Chamber. A Chinese Play written in the 13th Century. Translated by S. I. Hsiung. With 21 illustrations. (London: Methuen & Co., Ltd.) 8s. 6d.

One is inclined to take up the reading of this play with a feeling akin to that with which one enters a curio shop. Yet, what surprises await the reader! Mr. Hsiung has brought a new orientation to the English stage. His earlier rendering of a Chinese play, *Lady Precious Stream*, proved a great success, not only in book form but also on the London stage where it had a whole year's run. He had warned the public that he was offering them merely a popular melodrama without much pretention to artistic achievement, and had promised to follow it up with a version of a drama enjoying a classic rank in the literature of his country. *The Western Chamber* is produced in the fulfilment of that promise. For eight centuries this drama has been admired in the country of its origin. It has run, we are told, into thousands of editions, which only the Book of Confucius can rival. It had been banned for many years because of an intimate scene describing the meeting of lovers. That did not stop its circulation. Says the translator in his introduction: "Our elders used to forbid us to read such obscene books, as they called them, but none of them could not recite the complete play!"

The story is a simple one, and is based on an earlier tradition. Madam Ts'ui, widow of the Prime Minister, is taking up her quarters in a monastery in the company of her adopted small boy, and her beautiful and accomplished daughter Ying-Ying, aged 19. They are surprised by an army of bandits who are intent on forcibly capturing Ying-Ying to be the wife of their leader Sun. Madam Ts'ui, in her extremity, announces to offer the hands of her daughter to whoever induces the rebel host to retire. Chang, a student, with noble connections, who is staying at the monastery on his way to

the capital, and is already smitten with love for the girl, arranges to slip a message to his friend, the powerful General Tu, who arrives and relieves the monastery from the attack of the bandits. Madam Ts'ui, however, goes back upon her promise about the marriage. It is through the assistance of the maid, Hung Niang, that Chang is able to exchange love letters with Ying-Ying, and a meeting of the lovers is brought about in a western chamber of the monastery. When Madam Ts'ui is apprised of the secret union, she has no way out to avoid the scandal except to offer the hands of her daughter in marriage to Chang. But marriage is postponed until Chang has obtained an official position by success at examination, and he proceeds to the capital to sit for the examination. The romance comes to a happy ending by Chang passing the examination and returning to claim his bride.

A play that has captured the imagination of a sensitive people for centuries is fully deserving of being explored for its qualities of permanence. We are familiar, to some extent, with the elaborate technique of a modern western play. Here is offered to us something in delightful contrast. The theme being traditional, the audience knows all about its subject matter beforehand, and surprises or novelty are ruled out. The actors, as they appear on the stage, introduce themselves, and straightforward tell you where they are and what they are about to do. It is not sought to create illusions or to give you a peep into character. The effectiveness of the drama comes from another source altogether. That source is its sublime and enchanting poetry, with which the whole long piece is freely interspersed. Not to create illusions or cause surprises but to bestow understanding is the aim of such drama, and in that it is nearer the spirit of our own Sanskrit drama.

Mr. Gordon Bottomley who has contributed an appreciative preface to the work hails Mr. Hsiung as a benefactor, and

recognises the many lessons which the English theatre needs to learn from China. "Chinese drama", says Mr. Bottomley, "seems to be the only drama that has kept the activities of its theatre whole and complete, as the theatre of Greece was whole and complete; and on this account it has everything to tell to the British theatre, that the British theatre most needs to learn—or remember. Our theatre has not been without workers who have surmised this for a generation; but the beneficent activities of Mr. Hsiung were needed to clarify and make certain his country's message to us." A deserved tribute!

R. C. T.

Struggle. 1914-20. By Sir Evelyn Wrench. Ivor Nicholson and Watson Ltd. London. 15 Shillings net.

Sir Evelyn Wrench has added one more delightful volume to his memoirs. "Struggle" follows "Uphill" with a sense of inevitability, and we are now conducted through the second stage of his strenuous life—a stage more interesting and eventful than the earlier one. 1914-20—what momentous years they were! They marked a definite period in the world's history—a period essentially different from the one that preceded it and from the one that followed. In this book Sir Evelyn has tried to recapture the atmosphere of the war by means of old diaries and letters. He had premonitions of the coming storm. On the eve of the war he received the following telegram from Northcliffe:

Return at once and come round to
Printing House Square, France mobilising.

Thus hustled into the Paris office of the *Daily Mail*, the author watched from its windows the preparations France made for the great clash of arms. Those were days of strain when he felt like a "wrung of sponge". His own parents

were marooned in Bad Nauheim, near Frankfurt. From that place, and from day to day, his mother wrote to her three sisters all that she saw and heard. Her war diary is a truly wonderful record. It now appears for the first time in print and enhances the value of Sir Evelyn's book. The correspondence which reveals so much of simplicity and directness makes the whole thing realistic and vivid. The author's own narrative is not without striking qualities. In a few, short, simple sentences, he can create a tremendous effect. Let us hear for instance, what he says about his reaction to the world at the pre-war week-end:

The war divided the lives of my generation into two halves. "Before the war" was one era, "after the war" another. I had witnessed the passing of Victorianism. I had taken part in the hectic Edwardian years; "pre-war" for me signifies youthful struggles, enthusiasms, ambitions, follies, failures, and successes. It was an age of self-confidence in which we repeated "God's in His Heaven; all's right with the world", and believed it. When King George came to the throne, an era of undreamt prosperity and glory seemed, despite the pessimists, to lie ahead of the British race—the people of destiny.

"After the war" to me sums up great fervour, disillusionment and a new hope. Different values, a renewed consecration of purpose in a world in a state of flux. Gone is the easy assurance of pre-war days. There is a greater realisation of the complexity of life. But as the years pass a growing Faith.

There are many such bright patches in the book. Sir Evelyn owes so much to Ireland and to his Irish upbringing that he devotes a section to "Mother Ireland". He wanted Ireland to have far horizons, to forget wrongs, and to look to a better future, and unto that extent he endeavoured, though without success, to organise the Irish Unity League.

Sir Evelyn Wrench acted for some time as Private Secretary to Lord Rothermere when he was the Air Minister and later was in charge of the British Empire section of the

Ministry of Information.

His close-up of Lords Rothermere and Beaverbrook reveals acute study of their personalities and is an example of delightful pen-portraiture.

There are several others of distinction who figure on his canvas—Lawrence of Arabia, President Wilson and "Pussy foot" Johnson, to mention but a few.

The main interest of this book, however, lies in Sir Evelyn's strong faith in, and great work for, the unity of the British Empire and co-operation between British and American commonwealths. These are the two causes that he really cared for, and his services in their direction, reveal him as a practical idealist. "Struggle" has a particular value to persons who initiate big movements, and they can learn much from his experience and example. His observations repay perusal:

The practical idealist lives in two worlds—the world of the spirit and the world of hard fact. It is not enough to play upon the emotions. Enthusiasm is evanescent. The paucity of result compared with his dream is baffling. The joy of service must be sufficient reward. He must not for ever be measuring up life's journey with a tape measure. He must get a true sense of values by withdrawing from the practical world to the realm of spirit.

This is garnered wisdom. "Struggle" is altogether a lucid and stimulating chronicle of considerable interest.

I. D.

Rajmohan's Wife. By Bankim Chandra Chatterjee. Published by R. Chatterjee, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta. 1935. Price 1-8-0.

Bankim Chatterjee is one of the few literary men in India whose fame transcends provincial borders. Probably there are many others of the type who are not known

except to those who read and write their languages. In any case, the fame of Bankim Chandra is fully deserved. The novel under review was the first work of the author and strangely enough it was written in English. It was only later when presumably Bankim Chandra had obtained some confidence in himself that he took to the happier medium of his vernacular. The story itself is simple and is as native to the soil of India as the Ganges herself. In subsequent attempts the author could handle intricate situations easily but in the present one it looks as if his speciality lies in the development of character and in the art of story-telling both of which reveal considerable precocity in a youth of barely twenty-five. Babu Ramananda Chatterjee deserves to be congratulated on this publication.

S. P. SHARMA

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

DAY-DREAMS OR CONCRETE ISSUES?

By AN OBSERVER

[Once again "Observer" seeks to clear the air by bringing to bear his critical mind on the political questions of the day. "Day-dreams or Concrete issues?"—is at once a powerful indictment of the intoxication of ideas and phrases in our political life and a strong plea for constructive effort and statesmanship.]

I

On the whole the last month has been comparatively calm. After finishing his tour in the Punjab, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru attended the district conference at Unao where nothing very great seems to have been done, and all that was done was a reiteration of the Congress creed and the new Socialist cry. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is taking rest to which he is amply entitled. His rest, however, has been broken by a sense of the necessity of replying to his critics, and particularly those who have refused to join his Civil Liberties Union. He must hold them to opprobrium because they are supposed to favour the British Imperialist view regarding the suppression of Civil Liberties. What that view is, he does not say. The Liberals however have no reason to feel aggrieved by his criticism. It is one of his jobs to denounce them. Like King Charles's head, they appear in almost every chapter of his book. But when he talks of the Liberals, it must not always be understood that he means only those who are known as members of the Liberal Party. In his political dictionary, that is a term of the highest denunciation, and all those who do not believe in Socialism or Communism, belong to that accursed race.

Patriotism has come to mean a very narrow and limited thing in the intellectual field. To be a patriot you must believe in classless society, you must give no quarter to the middle classes, you must put all political power into the hands of peasants and workers. You must surrender private property (except to a very limited extent). You must bring about the extinction of Indian States—the last refuge, according to him, of mediæval feudalism and unabashed autocracy. If you do all this, and much more in that line, you are a patriot. If you do not do this, you are a helper of Capitalism, of British Imperialism, a traitor to the country and a reactionary. You must treat the forthcoming constitution as nothing but undiluted humbug and the only truck you are allowed to have is that you may enter the portals of the Council Chamber, but not accept office for, by accepting office, you help British Imperialism and support Capitalism. You must do all this, however, on trust—trust in his power and the power of his comrades,—to bring about the millennium of which he dreams by night and day.

How that independence is to be achieved, he has not vouchsafed to tell us in concrete terms or in intelligible language. He wants to have the best of the two worlds—the world of Gandhi in which peace ever reigns and non-violence is the mainspring of action, and the world of Lenin in which there is no use for the cobwebs of Gandhi's philosophy, no use for charka, no use for Khadi, no use for pieties which betoken a soft nature.

"Violence" he says, "is undoubtedly bad, and brings an unending trail of evil consequences with it," and yet he cannot make up his mind between violence and non-violence. His reasoning in this matter will do credit to any jesuitical schoolmen of the Middle Ages, and yet he cannot suppress

his real feelings.

In any event, [says he] some form of coercion seems to be inevitable for people who hold power and privilege do not give them up till they are forced to do so, or till conditions are created which make it more harmful to them to keep those privileges than to give them up.

All this is in the tradition of Moscow. He then says:

Conversion, of course, there must be on a larger scale, for so long as large numbers are not converted, there can be no real basis for a movement for social change.

This is very reminiscent of Gandhian philosophy. But again he goes back to the Lenin doctrine when he says:

Coercion over some will follow. Our final aim can only be a classless society with equal economic justice and opportunity for all, a society organised on a planned basis for the raising of mankind to higher material and cultured levels, to a cultivation of spiritual values, of co-operation, unselfishness, the spirit of service, the desire to do right, goodwill and love,—ultimately the world order.

The witches' cauldron in "Macbeth" could not have contained more mixed ingredients—Christian brotherliness and service, Hindu philosophy, and Marxian order of a world State. But having said this he goes on to say, again relapsing into the Lenin mood,

everything that comes in the way will have to be removed, gently if possible, *forcibly if necessary*. But if force is used it should not be in the spirit of hatred or cruelty, but with a dispassionate desire to remove an obstruction. (*Italics mine*).

It is as well that he has given us this warning. We must be prepared for coercion and force when the time comes for Socialism to assert itself. It is no use discussing the claims of violence against non-violence, or vice versa. The fact must be noted and carefully pondered over by all those who do not belong to his way of thinking, that they must be

prepared for the use of coercion or violence, if and when the time comes for men of his way of thinking to translate their convictions into action.

The alliance between the Gandhian philosophy of non-violence and his Marxian philosophy is for the moment nothing more than a marriage of convenience. A doctrine like this may be easily understood in the West. It is not so easy for the average Hindu, wrapped up as he is, in his ancient clothings of spiritual life and the more modern trappings of the Gandhian doctrines of non-violence, to pierce through this philosophy of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. The Congress may for the moment furnish a convenient platform for those who believe in Mr. Gandhi's doctrine of non-violence and also for those who do not. But a clear line of distinction must be drawn between the two. Gandhi's philosophy makes no appeal to the average Westerner. He is mystified by his philosophy, by his life, by his methods. Jawaharlal's accents are familiar accents to the Western ear. He talks of this world. He is interested in this world. When he talks of poverty, he is not using the language of Christ or of Gandhi; he is using the language of Karl Marx, Engell, and Lenin. His methods for conquering poverty are methods to which a long-drawn conflict in Europe has accustomed the European. Hence it is that Jawaharlal has attracted much more notice and attention in recent months in England and certain other parts of Europe than the Mahatma. The average Indian who wants freedom, Self-Government, but who is not prepared to part with his property or to replace the social and economic structure which he has inherited, for a new one which he cannot visualise, is not bound to take the Westerner's view of the matter. When a few weeks ago, the *Statesman* reviewed Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's presidential speech in a leading

article, under the significant caption "An Englishman Speaks" it said nothing but the truth, though the vain among the Congressmen took it as a compliment. Jawaharlal Nehru is not, in his mental make-up, an Indian. The fact that there is such abject poverty in the country, or that the peasants' and workers' lot in India is hard, is no new discovery. That has been the theme of all Indian politicians since the days of Dadabhai Naoroji. The fact that he prescribes a certain remedy for the removal of the poverty, the method of Communism, is a new element in India politics, and although for years past Communism has been the creed of a growing number of men in industrial areas in India, and it has become the fashionable creed of all those who are attracted by the new, is not of very great consequence. It has now the vivid personality of Jawaharlal Nehru behind it—and that is important. It is his intellectual force and his personal character which have invested this new element with dangerous potentialities in India.

In one way, Jawaharlal Nehru has done great service. He has made people think on economic lines. When he delivers a speech or a message, the Congress papers are swept off their feet. For the first few days they write admiringly. Then follows the reaction. He can command huge audiences, as indeed he has commanded them wherever he has gone. And though the audiences have consisted mostly of the disinherited, yet they have not been wholly devoid of men whom he would describe as middle-class bourgeois and they have admired him from a distance—confident in the hope that the thing he wants is not to be in the near future. It is men of this latter class who do not mind if the deluge comes after them, who require waking up and thinking for themselves. Signs are not however, wanting that such awakening is coming.

If Bombay mill-owners and capitalists have entered a caveat against his new philosophy, the Punjab also is not lagging behind. The Punjab is a very peculiar province. It is not an industrial province in the sense in which Bombay is, it is essentially a province of peasant-proprietors and Hindu money-lenders. Naturally the Hindu money-lenders are alarmed. They are not disposed for very obvious reasons to favour the wiping off of debts due to them. One almost hears whisperings of approval from Muslim debtors, and that too for very natural reasons. The average Punjabi would like him to talk of independence and denounce Imperialism, but there he must stop. He must not cast his eyes upon private property.

More or less, the same feeling is growing up in the United Provinces, a province of big Zamindars and landlords. Unfortunately, however, the landlords in the U. P. are groping in the dark. Two of their leaders, the Nawab of Chhatari with plenty of political and administrative experience behind him, and Nawab Sir Mohd. Yusuf, who entrenches himself behind an immobile conservatism, have just disentangled themselves from commitments to Mr. Jinnah's Muslim Parliamentary Board. It is very natural, and nobody can blame them, that they should be anxious for the success of their party at the polls. They are however afflicted by doubts and uncertainties, and would like to keep in countenance the Muslims, the Hindus, the officials and the non-officials. These are not precisely the qualities of leadership which inspire confidence or arouse enthusiasm. They have yet to see things clearly, and act accordingly before they can hope to win the election. They have also to realise the importance of organisation and propaganda. Organisation they may have. In the last resort all organisations depend on the capacity to spend money. Individually

neither of them lacks money, collectively they, and the rest of the Zamindars, have yet to learn the lesson of pooling together their resources for a common object. Their real difficulty will be in the matter of propaganda. For no propaganda is likely to succeed unless they adopt a thoroughly progressive programme—a programme which seeks not merely the well-being of their own class, but also the moral and material well-being of the masses. Again, the Sphinx-like silence of Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava is a factor which introduces complications. He is with the National Agricultural Party; he is also with the merchants of Cawnpore, but what is more important is, he is not irresponsive to the call of the Hindu Sabha. If Mr. Jinnah whose pride and glory was that he was a Nationalist first and a Nationalist last, can openly lead an election campaign on a communal ticket, why not, so runs the Hindu argument, Hindu leaders who have also shared the pride and glory of being Nationalists?

The Punjab Hindus have already thrown away the mask of Nationalism. They are going to form, if they have not already formed, a Hindu party. If the Punjab, why not the U. P., why not the other provinces? The argument is attractive but not sound. Unfortunately, however, Nationalism in India has lost its old moorings. These are the days when communalists can pose as Nationalists and they do it very successfully. Nationalists on their part want to breathe the free and the more universal atmosphere of Internationalism. And then there is always the excuse available that there can be no unity between the two communities unless Independence is first achieved, that is, to say, unless the British have been driven out. Frankly, the position is comico-tragical in its essence. We think in terms of abstractions, not in terms of realities.

The position in the Punjab and the U. P. has already

been referred to. But voices have been raised in Bihar and Madras which cannot go unheeded, and which have their own lessons to teach. Babu Rajendra Prasad in Bihar has been assuring Zamindars and all concerned that confiscation of property is no part of the Congress programme. Sirdar Vallabhbhai's voice has not yet been heard, but his views on Socialism are well-known, and he may well be grinding his teeth over the follies of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and the weakness of Mahatma Gandhi for him. Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, the one man whom Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has not deigned to notice in his "Autobiography" has come out into the open. He has tried to set the mind of the propertied classes at rest by saying that

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has made it perfectly clear that Socialism cannot be achieved until we have first secured political independence. The merits of Socialism apart [says he] the issue is irrelevant.

He has, however, not told us how that political independence is to be achieved, nor why should people, not belonging to the Congress fold, help in achieving that political independence, when Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who is much younger than Mr. Rajagopalachariar or Mr. Gandhi is going to make use of that independence for the purpose of establishing a new order of society or a new communistic or socialistic state. Anyhow both Babu Rajendra Prasad and Mr. Rajagopalachariar may be taken to reflect the growing feeling among Congressmen, that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has overshot the mark, and the result of his reckless advocacy of Socialism may lead to affect the chances of the Congress at the next election. Pandit Jawaharlal himself, one suspects, is beginning to realise the danger. The emphasis is now more on Independence than on Socialism.

There is, however, an idea of considerable importance

which emerges from Mr. Rajagopalachariar's statement, and it is that "the British perhaps hope that the Congressmen will quarrel over this, but we hope to disappoint them". Whether the British alone hope for a quarrel among Congressmen, or they share the hope with many other Indians, is not a question of very great importance. No one who has carefully followed the whole history of the Congress during the last few years and the growth of the socialist group among them, can come to the conclusion that a split among Congressmen is likely. And it would be foolish for anyone, British or Indian, to build hopes for the future on the possibility of a split among Congressmen. That the Congress is not going to split over the programme of Jawaharlal Nehru may now be taken as a certainty of the future. Even if it showed signs of any split, the inexhaustible capacity of Mr. Gandhi for devising formulas to reconcile conflicting opinions may be depended upon. He commands a personal loyalty from Congressmen at large and from a large circle of non-Congressmen which is the biggest asset of the Congress—its strongest weapon of offence and defence. If therefore the challenge of the Congress, whether of the orthodox section of it or the Socialist group of it, has got to be accepted by others for the purposes of election, it must be accepted on its own merits and met by organisation and counter-propaganda. To cherish hopes for the future on the possibility of division among the ranks of Congressmen would be the height of folly. It would be equally foolish, if not worse, for the non-Socialist elements of the population to rely upon the supposed obvious sympathy of the official Government with them. So long as the Congress works as a party to wrest victory from others at the elections, it is completely entitled to do so. But if others want to wrest victory from the Congress, they must make a conscious and organised effort, and not

depend upon good-luck or a chapter of accidents that may favour them.

II

The time has arrived when our politicians must cease to dissipate their energies in academic discussions about Independence or British Imperialism on the one hand or about the ugly features of the new constitution on the other. They must address themselves now to concrete issues and try to solve them as best as they may in the imperfect environments in which they find themselves and with such instruments for the betterment of the country as they possess. To wait until the ideal state is born or until they are able to command the most perfect instruments for the execution of their policy, can only tend to paralyse their capacity for action and to lead to further deterioration of the situation. The economic and social problems must in the case of India, as in the case of every other country, occupy the first place.

British opinion is touched to the quick if Indian politicians draw attention to the abject poverty of the masses. It reads in such criticism a reflection upon British purpose and British policy and British mission in India, and Sir James Grigg, like so many of his other countrymen, at once begins to quote authors to show how wretched the condition of India was in the eighteenth century or before, and how defective the machinery or administration was to cope with the condition of famine or pestilence. Authors and statistics can be cited on both sides but they serve no useful purpose. The contrast between the present and the past either from the British or the Indian point of view is no guarantee for progress in the future. Such arguments do not stimulate action, they provoke controversies, they inflame passions, they blind us to the necessity of the situation. The fact

must be acknowledged, freely and frankly, that India with all its resources is a poor, a very poor country. The existence of a few flourishing millionnaires in Bombay, Calcutta, Karachi or elsewhere or the reference to the import and export figures, may be very good debating points on the question of the economic condition of the country but they are no answers to the stern reality of life which one observes in our villages.

There is no doubt that the conditions of life in the villages will do no credit to any civilised Government, much less to the British Government. The houses in which our tenants live are worse than pigsties. Sanitation and public health activities generally are conspicuous by their absence. Transport facilities in large parts of the country are yet an aspiration for the future. Education in rural areas has yet to be pushed with missionary zeal. The tenant has got to struggle against adversity. The failure of a single monsoon means to him stark starvation. He and his wife and children are ill-fed and ill-clothed. It will not do to throw the whole blame on him. It is true he is ignorant and superstitious, but so were we in the town areas until about sixty years ago. What have we done to remove his ignorance or to free him from the thralldom of superstition? It is no use also saying that he is improvident or extravagant, that he spends money beyond his means over his daughter's marriage or his grandmother's funeral. The grandmother does not die every day and daughters are not married also every day. The grandmother's funeral and the daughter's wedding are debating points which have done their duty in our controversies. The entire field of agricultural conditions has been surveyed in recent years by a Commission of which no less a person than the present Viceroy was the Chairman. It is a happy augury for the future that the Chairman of

that Commission happens to be the occupant of the Viceroy's House at present and that he is busying himself with bulls and cows and questions of nutrition and things of that kind, than with arid questions of politics or mere administration. He must stir up the bureaucracy and the local administration everywhere. It is true that there is the village uplift movement which occupies so much of public attention at present. But no policy of village reconstruction can produce any far-reaching and appreciable effect in a country of the size of India unless it is adequately financed and zealously led. The crore of rupees granted by the Government of India for the whole of the country is like a drop in the bucket and one almost hears stories of some provinces not having made the best use of their share out of this grant. The provincial governments are living from hand to mouth. The Neimeyer Report may be helpful in the inauguration of Provincial Autonomy but it is altogether a depressing reading. And one cannot look forward with confidence or much hope to the future. If the Viceroy is anxious, as no doubt he is, for a big drive in the economic field, he must first tackle the financial problem and rescue our Railways from the financial muddle into which they have got and in doing so he is bound to come up against so many interests at Simla and Delhi and Whitehall and in the city. Development loans at which Lord Lothian has just hinted in the House of Lords are financial heterodoxies for India which Simla and Whitehall will not suffer.

In the provinces themselves questions like village uplift or rural reconstruction or agricultural improvement or unemployment in rural or urban areas, are treated more as departmental matters than as matters of over-shadowing national necessity. There ought to be new ministries of

reconstruction dealing with economic matters and questions of unemployment in every province, and then and then only can these serious problems be tackled in the spirit in which they should be.

While the cry of confiscation of private property or the extinction of Zamindaries, may be a very good battle-cry for our Socialists, it would be absurd for any one to deny that our big Zamindars with honourable exceptions everywhere, have yet to realise their responsibility to the peasantry. The Zamindars themselves as a whole are an uneducated lot. They are not the counterparts of the English landlords. They have got no ambitions for the development of their estates, no ideas, no plans for the development of their estates, nor the necessary energy. They have yet to realise their duty to themselves and to their tenants. They can do a lot if they will only make up their mind to do so, or if the necessary stimulus can be applied to them. The laws governing the relations between the landlord and the tenant are out-of-date, if not antiquated. They breed wasteful litigation. They are a perpetual source of conflict between the landlord and the tenant. It would be interesting to examine as to how far the indebtedness of the tenant may be traced to the temptations for fight afforded by law. If this is the condition in village areas the conditions in town areas are not very much better. In big industrial areas conflicts arise, as they are bound to arise, between labour and capital. These are matters, however, which are inseparable almost everywhere from the conditions of the present economic structure. But a wise capitalist seeks to avoid these conflicts by timely action and a more generous treatment of those whom he employs.

There is a growing demand for the development of big industries in the country. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru wants

the industrialisation of the country on a large scale from one definite point of view. Sir M. Visweswaraya wants it from another. Capitalists have their own point of view. We are not so much concerned with these points of view as with the fact that there is a demand for the growth of big industries. Capital, skill, expert knowledge, and organisation are necessary, but no less is it necessary that the Government of India should have a definite policy for the protection of nascent industries against foreign competition. No doubt, the consumer's point of view cannot be overlooked, but to take shelter behind the consumer's point of view, howsoever meritorious in itself, may very well mean to discourage national industries. A wise and farsighted policy alone can steer the middle course.

It is not the object of the present writer to discuss anyone of these specific issues minutely or with any degree of detail. The object is to draw attention to the urgency of these issues. Mention has been made of the growing interest in these economic issues which the Viceroy has been taking since his arrival in India. Again it will not do for our public men to look upon the Viceroy as a sort of earthly Providence. We must have our own definite programme, policy, plans. Imperfect they are bound to be; and surrounded with difficulties, internal and external all such programme is bound to be for sometime to come. Conflicts of opinion there are bound to arise. Nevertheless, politicians must apply their minds to these problems and think in concrete terms rather than indulge in day-dreams. The trouble is that fifty years of regular and constant political agitation have accustomed us to a critical mode of thinking and a suspicious frame of mind. We have to develop a constructive mind, and those of us who aspire to political power, howsoever limited it may be, are now called

upon to develop that constructive mind. If we cannot afford to wait until the millennium of a classless society is realised, we cannot also afford to sit quiet and take things as they are without the will to make the best of a bad situation.

COMBATING IGNORANCE (Diary Leaves)

By NICHOLAS ROERICH

[The following ardent appeal for education and enlightenment is powerfully sounded by Nicholas Roerich—the world Leader of Culture.]

The extermination of ignorance should be carried out on a world scale. No nation can boast that it is sufficiently educated. Nobody has sufficient strength to conquer ignorance single-handedly. Knowledge should be universal and should be supported in full co-operation. Ways of communication know no limitations. Thus also the path of knowledge should flourish through exchange of opinion. One should not think that somewhere enough has been done already for education. Knowledge spreads to such an extent that a constant renewal of methods is required. It is horrible to witness fossilized brains, which do not admit new achievements. No denier can ever be a true scientist. Science is free, honest and fearless. Science can change instantaneously and can enlighten upon world problems. Science is beautiful and therefore is infinite. Science does not tolerate prohibition, prejudice and superstition. Science can find the great even in the quest of the small. Ask great scientists—how often the most astonishing discoveries took place during ordinary research. The eye was open and the brain was not dusty. The path of those who know how to investigate without limitations is the Path of the Future. Verily the struggle against ignorance is undeferrable, as against decomposition and decay. Combatting evil ignorance is not easy, for it has many henchmen. It lurks in many countries and is clothed in various garments. One has to apply courage and patience, for the battle with ignorance is the conquest of chaos.

Already five centuries before our era there came from the East the blessed words: "Ignorance is the worst crime".

Later on also the great hermits of the first centuries of Christianity ordained that "ignorance is hell". Truly all fratricidal crimes have their origin in this dark abyss. The same evil source pollutes the world with lies and darkness, which create the most ugly, the most cruel and abhorrent evil-doings.

To swallow food does not yet mean to live. In the same way to be literate does not mean to be educated. Literacy is a natural food, but we see that as food it may be either useful or harmful, because it can serve both good and bad. Education and culture are synonymous. In both is contained readiness for infinite cognizance. In the furnace of such a constant rejuvenation of consciousness the very essence of man is being purified. Through honest and unlimited labour of knowledge, people are ennobled and begin to understand the concept of service to humanity. The true scholar has an open eye and is moved by freedom of thought. But as everything in life, the eye and thought also must be educated. From the first steps of education an enlightened admission and broadening of the horizon should be laid at the foundation of primary schools. Knowledge should be freed from conventional limitations. Knowledge is the path to joy, but joy is a special wisdom.

The scientist and the artist know the meaning of the word inspiration. They know, what is realization, which opens to them new refined forms and reveals subtle energies, previously unnoticed or perhaps forgotten. From antiquity there came the realization that thought is an energy, that thought is lightbearing. For ages certain people knew that thought can be transmitted. But even such an old axiom has only lately entered the scientific minds before the very eyes of our present generation. We all were witness, how quite recently the ignoramuses scoffed at so-called magnetism

and hypnotism. It went so far, that the same force, under various names was accepted differently. Mesmerism was ridiculed and condemned, but the same force under the name hypnotism received a certain right for existence. There are peculiar reasons why some pills have to be gilded and medicine phials have to be adorned with special attractive labels. And one can understand why some chemicals, which are now fully recognized, had to be veiled by the alchemists under the names of eagle phoenix and many other symbols.

We all remember how at the foundation by Prof. Bekhtereff of the Neurological Institute, every sceptic ridiculed his experiments of thought transmission. The fact that the name of Bekhtereff was widely revered and renowned did not save him from derision and not even from most formidable suspicions. Ignoramus organized a whispering campaign stating that a whole institution could not be devoted to the research of the nervous system and thought alone. They whispered of some political intrigues, about some love affairs and even that Bekhtereff had become insane. Such were the colossal allegations invented by ignorance. I remember how during this whispering campaign we painfully remembered the book by Gaston Tissandie "Martyrs of Science". Verily, where are the limits, when during our present generation a certain Academy called the great Edison a charlatan for his invention of the phonograph and certain Universities did not admit women to higher education. I repeat that this happened not during the mediæval ages, but before our very eyes; and that such shameful actions were committed not by illiterate savages, but by people bearing the conventional official label of a scientist. Let us not enumerate the endless row of true martyrs of Science in all countries, but since we quoted the persecution of education for women, let us also recall the case of the mathematician genius, Sophie Kova-

levska, who was not admitted to any university and yet received world recognition for her work on higher mathematics. And there are not a few excellent scholars and physicians, who being prosecuted by their fellow-colleagues, were compelled to leave their own country.

The world is proud of the name of the great physiologist Pavlov; everywhere are being affirmed and admired his formulae of reflexes and other ingenious solutions of biological problems. But even this glorious international achievement crowned by the Nobel prize, calls forth in certain circles a contemptuous shrugging of the shoulders. Amidst the latter one will also discover ignorance. Verily no uniforms and robes, no dead scholastic labels can cover human hatred, envy and bigotry. It is far easier to combat illiteracy than to annihilate the sinister hydra of hatred, with all its many heads of jealousy, doubt, slander and all hidden campaigns, which the forces of darkness so cunningly manipulate. The forces of darkness, the forces of ignorance—these shameful synonyms—are closely united. Of all feelings, love and hatred are the most powerful and unifying.

Of course, in spite of all ferocious attempts of ignorance, enlightened knowledge progresses in the whole world. Let us remember the recent achievements which made the world rejoice. Let us remember the remarkable discovery of the great biologist Sir Jagadis Bose concerning the life of plants. Professor A. H. Compton states that human thought is the most important factor of the world. Prof. S. Metchnikoff of the Pasteur Institute makes most important research in the field of immunity and immortality of protozoae. Dr. Kotick investigates the transfer of sensitiveness. Dr. Walter Stempell of the Muenster University proves the existence of invisible radiation of all living organisms. Dr. Paul Dobler of the

Heilbronn University affirms the existence of earthly radiation and its relation to the divining rod, which has upto recently been ridiculed. Prof. Harry M. Johnson of Virginia University arrives at interesting conclusions regarding insanity. Dr. Otrian, in charge of a meteorological station in Germany investigates extraordinary cosmic influences. L'Abbe More, the French astronomer, makes most interesting conclusions about sun spots. The American Biologist, Bernard Proctor investigates special life conditions on heights. The French scientist, Dr. Levy Valency warns of possible epidemics of insanity. Dr. Riese experiments with the effect of rhythm. Dr. Bernard Reid, a British scientist, draws a parallel between ancient medicine and modern vitamine research. A Hungarian scientist discovers rays for invisibility. Everyone knows of the experiments of Professors Richet and Gilley and the research of Sir Oliver Lodge. Prof. V. van Haas of the Leiden University proves the impossibility of an absolute zero. Dr. Kennon of Harvard speaks of the element of luck in scientific research. The chemist Mingley gives a bold prognosis of future discoveries. Prof. J. B. Rhine of Harvard and Prof. William McDougall reach astonishing results at Duke University in the field of extra-sensory perception and thought-transference. How many wonderful achievements! In every country there are enlightened scholars, who untiringly and fearlessly pioneer in the field of science. And still such great men remain solitary and are subject, everyone in his field, to undeserved obstacles.

One can quote pages of research conducted lately which widens the frame of conventional thinking. Nature itself comes to aid every thinker. Sun spots with all deductions around them, of which the greatest authorities like Sir James Jeans of Cambridge and Dr. C. G. Abbott of the Smithsonian Institute, remind us that the time is not far, when ridiculed

Astrology will turn out to be nothing less than a formula of Astrochemistry and thus yet another branch of science will no longer be denied. People will understand that they are surrounded in life by powerful chemism and that they themselves represent the most refined and mighty chemical laboratory.

Everyone has read of the recently conducted experiments with the chemism of human secretions and radiation from the finger tips; some of these radiations are so powerful that they can kill harmful bacteria. Let us also remember the experiments of Prof. Yurevitch which prove that the energy radiated by man is a conductor and a connection which enables the combination of certain elements. And did not the famous experiments of Keally, which were so unjustly persecuted, prove the same. Thus the investigation of human radiation and psychic energy imperatively calls humanity towards an amazing transfiguration of life.

Ignoramuses like to scoff at the yogi of India. For them the walking on fire, sitting on water, the consumption of terrible poisons without effect, the stopping or acceleration of the pulse at will, the burial alive and return to life after several weeks—are but skilful tricks and charlatanism. But in the last number of the "Modern Review" there is an article, supported by photographs, on fire-walking in Mysore. The journal quotes this in connection with the demonstration in London of the Kashmiri Khuda Bux, widely announced through the press of the whole world. The sitting on the water of the Ganges was regarded as charlatanism and even people, who had witnessed it, whispered carefully: "who knows, perhaps they were supported under the water". But quite recently the British press reported the case of a woman, who lost her weight to such an extent, that this manifestation on the

water was quite easy for her. The whole world was amazed to read about the striking phenomena of Theresa Neuman of Bavaria and now the newspapers were filled with astounding accounts of Shanti Devi in Delhi, a girl of nine. This unforgettable case was verified by many reliable people.

From Latvia there comes news of the extra-ordinary ability of a girl of eight to read thoughts. There has also been registered a case of the reception of radio-waves by a person without a receiver and the astonishing faculty of two Italian boys to see through walls and other opaque objects. No doubt, during the time of the Inquisition all these unfortunate persons, owing to their abilities, would have been burnt at the stake. But even nowadays the man who could catch radio-waves mentally, had to go through a lunatic asylum! Let us also not forget the remarkable prevision and clairaudience of St. Joan of Arc who saved France, but who for her abilities, was burnt on the pyre by the contemporary evil ignoramuses.

But not only the persons themselves who owned these extraordinary faculties, but also those who conducted research in these fields, have been subjected on the part of ignoramuses up to now to endless persecution. Let us also remember the unjust scoffing to which the Society of Psychic Research was so often subjected, whereas the aims of the Society deserve full support. Every nucleus of a new unprejudiced scientific conquest is attacked. This creates an ugly sight. On one part there are being opened new educational institutions, which by their very appearance seem to invite new research; yet on the other part every unusual manifestation, which did not enter into the elementary textbooks, is not only ridiculed but also prosecuted. It means that the hydra of ignorance dwells not only in illiteracy but also in fossilized perception and in human hatred.

Every denial of Truth is ignorance and is harmful not only to the negator himself, but to space as a whole. Opposition to Truth poisons space. But there exists a still more abhorrent action, when people, who have also cognized Truth, later turn away from it. Such a shameful retreat into darkness is insane. One can find in the history of humanity that sometimes particles of Truth were realized, but afterwards because of crass ignorance, certain pseudo-teachers tried again to conceal from people these immutable facts. And actions resulted which in the future will be regarded as the most shameful pages of history. And without any proof of their inaccuracy, it was ordered to deny the obvious facts. As if a disbelief in the existence of the sun was commanded, because somebody due to weak eyesight could not look at the sun. Thus owing to ignorance and egotism, someone forbade others to cognize reality. Let people remember how many apostates reveal themselves at various epochs. Perhaps such remembrances will lead humanity to honesty and justice.

Thus everyone, for whom Education and Culture are not empty words, should in his field, as far as he can, fight ignorance. Let no one say that he has no possibility to do so—this would be untrue. Helas, open and hidden ignorance in all its cunningness, exists everywhere. In every household a clear mind can discern where dust and rubbish have to be removed. And to-day when in the world there thunder guns and poisonous gases compete with each other, now the combatting of ignorance is imperative. A defence of the best, most beautiful and most enlightened will be needed.

If anyone will not succeed in his noble efforts, still it will be a heroic attempt and not an abstract intention. Besides in every effort there is already a vital element of action. Therefore every effort is already beneficial. No doubt some servitors of ignorance will whisper, that precisely now words about culture and enlightenment are out of place. This is their typical trick, in order to find at every moment of life a reason, why exactly at that hour a striving to culture and

education are untimely. By this their formula the henchmen of ignorance betray themselves. Mime always reveals himself. But Good, Culture and Education are needed at every hour.

There can be no such a state of consciousness in which it is untimely to be humane. And only human hatred could whisper denying this Truth; hatred—this horrible monster, in the darkness of its cave, always dreams of transforming mankind into beasts, which should devour each other.

Verily, from small to great, everyone can and it is the duty if everyone to bring his mite to the cause of combatting ignorance. Uniting in groups and by himself everyone can somewhere stop the evil doings of the monster of ignorance. Every labour already contains the striving to perfection and enlightenment. Only ignorance can belittle labour as such and can shamelessly scoff at the quest of science. In just indignation against every grimace of ignorance, the worker for Culture will find a vital thought and thundering word and will record by beautiful deeds the victorious path of enlightenment.

Glory to the Knights of Culture! Glory to the heroes of labour! Glory to the Courageous!

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

THE MAN AND HIS BOOK

By I. D.

[Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is the most discussed man in the political life of India today. The large, and still growing, demand for his Autobiography is an index of the interest he has aroused in this country and abroad by his personality. This article is a critical estimate of the man and his book.]

Whatever may be her failings, India has not lost the breed of noble bloods. In recent times she has produced men of real eminence in various spheres—men who have made a notable and distinctive contribution to art and science, to literature and philosophy, to thought and culture. No subject country has within living memory given greater proof of the divine spark which manifests itself in myriad ways towards the consummation of high ideals and lofty aspirations that constitute the core of civilized life. Even in the present day when her fortunes are at a low ebb and her affairs in a muddled state, India can proudly boast of an apostle of humanity like Gandhi and of a laureate of humanity like Tagore. But what sort of man is this Jawaharlal Nehru who has within eight years presided twice over the National Congress, has unfurled the banner of complete independence and is to-day dominating the Indian scene as its most dynamic political leader.

I

He was born in Allahabad on November 14, 1889, in an aristocratic family of Kashmiri Pandits whose "ancestors came

down from that mountain valley to seek fame and fortune in the rich plains below." As the (only) son of Pandit Motilal Nehru who was the acknowledged leader of the bar and about the ablest political leader of his generation, Jawaharlal was born and brought up in a house which first dictated the fashions of the city and of the province and later governed the politics of the Congress. As a boy he lived in westernised surroundings and had the luxury of an English governess. At eleven he had an Irish tutor with Theosophical bias under whom he developed a taste for reading and a liking for poetry. Thrilled by the magnificent oratory of Mrs. Annie Besant, Jawaharlal joined the Theosophical Society when he was thirteen though he soon dropped out of it. His boyish enthusiasm was deeply stirred by Japan's victory over Russia and for a while he was lost in Japanese history and the knightly tales of old Japan. His youthful imagination was fired and he began to muse of Indian freedom and of the larger Asiatic freedom.

It was at such a period (in 1905) that he went to Harrow and found himself amidst English boys who, with a few exceptions, struck him as dull. He felt himself greatly interested in the General Election of 1906 and happened to be the only boy in his form who could give his master a complete list of C.-B's cabinet. Apart from politics he was fascinated by the early growth of aviation. For his good work at school he got as a prize one of Trevelyan's Garibaldi books when he obtained the other two volumes of the series and browsed on them with the result that visions of similar deeds in India came before him. Finding Harrow too small a place for his big ideas, he left for Cambridge, but he was unhappy to leave Harrow of which he had grown rather fond. As an undergraduate (in the Trinity College) at Cambridge he spent three quiet and pleasant years and read a

good many books on literature, history, politics and economics. He used to attend the 'Majlis' (the Society of Indians in Cambridge) and hear the discussions on political problems but he could not overcome his natural shyness and diffidence and participate in them. After obtaining a second class honours in Science tripos examination in 1910 he left Cambridge for London where he was called to the bar in the summer of 1912. In the succeeding autumn he returned to India, "a bit of a prig".

Having returned to India, after a stay of over seven years in England he found himself in surroundings old, yet new. That year he attended the Congress session at Bankipore and found it to be "an English knowing upper-class affair where morning coats and well-pressed trousers were greatly in evidence" and more as "a social gathering with no political excitement or tension". The only person who impressed him as one who took politics and public affairs seriously was the late Mr. Gokhale.

He soon joined the High Court and found himself, "engulfed in a dull routine of a pointless and futile existence". In these years he felt attracted to the Servants of India Society but had not thought of joining it as for one thing its politics were far too moderate for him and as for another he was not prepared to give up his profession. He however joined the Home Rule Leagues started by Tilak and Dr. Besant. It was at that time that Jawaharlal found his father, chiefly due to Mrs. Besant's internment, drifting away from the orthodox moderate position while on the other hand Motilalji had been closely watching Jawaharlal's growing drift towards extremism. It was in 1916 that he met Gandhi for the first time—interestingly enough at about the Lucknow Congress where exactly twenty years later he was to preside over the Congress with Gandhiji's blessings and promulgate policies which had

in them the hint of a conflict between the two. He was filled with great admiration for Gandhi's heroic fight in South Africa and saw that he was prepared to apply his methods in India. It was in the same year that he was married to that noble lady (Kamalaji) who had, till her recent death, followed in his footsteps with exemplary courage and amazing fortitude.

II

With the end of the world-war there began a new phase—new for Gandhi, new for Jawaharlal and new for the whole of India. The Rowlatt bills, all-India hartals, the massacre of Jalianwalabagh, martial law in the Punjab, the Khilafat wrong—all changed the entire political complexion of India. There was a nation-wide upheaval. Motilalji presided over the Congress in Amritsar in 1919, the first Congress in which Gandhi took an active part. The changing conditions seemed to demand a change in leadership. Gandhi entered the stage, occupied it, dominated it. He took up leadership on his own terms—rather he dictated them to a too obedient Congress. He had his own message, his own method, his own technique of fight. Satyagraha non-violent non-cooperation, civil disobedience, are more or less variations on the same theme. The Gandhian period of leadership is a matter of recent history. Let us now see what part Jawaharlal Nehru played during this period.

In political records the main interest of a personal story [says Morley] must lie in the points at which it chances to touch weighty things besides the familiar matters of today. What arms did your man carry in the serried conflicts of his time? Did he let them rust, and trust for safety to his shield? What pace did he strive to keep with the revolving forces of his age?

These are relevant questions to answer which, and to

have a deeper understanding of Jawaharlal whose early career has been briefly outlined above, we must go to his own monumental autobiography.* We find that under the magic spell of the Mahatma, Jawaharlal Nehru was transformed from a dreamer of dreams into a doer of deeds. It was under his leadership that he fought the battles of the Congress, faced the blows of the 'lathi' and suffered the hardships of imprisonment, no less than seven times. Yet there was no whole-hearted agreement between the lieutenant and the leader. Often he was assailed with doubts as to the wisdom of the master's policies and actions. In prison he had many doubts—doubts about Gandhiji, about his colleagues in the Congress, about other men and matters. He, however, seemed to sing:

But though I may doubt all beside me
And anchor and cable may part,
Whatever—whatever betide me
Forbid me to doubt my heart.

Nothing could ever shake him from his high resolve to play for high stakes. The greater the danger, the greater was his courage. He brings to bear an inquiring mind on all the problems before the Congress and the country, and he discusses all these in his book with refreshing candour.

III

The world knows Jawaharlal Nehru as essentially a political leader—a man of ungovernable impulses, of imperious will, of indomitable courage, but little of his other qualities which are so lovable and attractive and of the range and diversity of his interests. His references to the members of his family throughout the book show what a wealth of affec-

* Jawaharlal Nehru: *An Autobiography*. The Bodley Head, London. 15s.6d. (Indian edition Rs. 7/-).

tion he has. And about his father he tries to clear away some of the barnacles of legend, but legends are a hardy growth.

Jawaharlal Nehru is widely read. He has kept himself abreast of the times in the literary world. Of his intellectual and literary gifts his autobiography is the most eloquent example.

Even in the cell, the beauty of Nature slides into his soul and he turns to the clouds, the stars and the moon and the blue canopy with a poet's love. He has a passion for mountains which proclaim "the everlasting creed of liberty". To have many more glimpses of this fascinating personality one must read his "autobiography" from cover to cover.

IV

The book is called "An Autobiography". Technically it is not, lacking as it does the technique of an autobiography. About himself he just tells us what he wants to, and withholds from the reader what he does not choose to tell. The book is a mixture of memoirs and musings. For many the memoirs will be more interesting than the musings (on current political problems) which have a tendency to turn controversial and acrimonious. Gandhi in particular, Congressmen in general, the Liberals—all come under his knife. While critical of Gandhi, he is on the whole just to him, and he never forgets that he has climbed to power by the Gandhian ladder. Malaviyaji is not spared. And whenever he writes of the Liberals, he does so irreverently.

Always the hissing word is there
The insupportable remark.

He reveals a personal dislike for Mr. Sastri which is indefensible. It is pure "debunking". But we should not forget that the book was written during a particularly distressful

period of his existence when "the taint of an eternally confined space is in his lungs". He dissects Congress policies and Gandhian paradoxes ruthlessly and tries to make out a strong case for his socialist fancies. On Imperialism he lets himself loose

Like withering blast
Of scorching flame,
Like hurricane
Upon the sea.

The book has its faults which a more careful craftsmanship could have avoided; there are words which are overworked, some ideas which grow tiresome with repetition, but its merits far outweigh the faults. It is the merest fudge to dismiss the book as of no consequence or a sustained nightmare. It cannot be denied that his dissertation on Liberalism, however exasperatingly one-sided, has in it the elements of a vigorous challenge to Liberal self-complacency while his dissertation on British Imperialism and British Rule in India, however disorderly, does not fail to stimulate thought. He conveniently disposes of the Indian problem by assuming, by a characteristically modern perversion, that Socialism (of the Russian brand) is its only remedy. It is certainly the weakest part of his political argument and detracts from the value of the book.

I have read the book though with occasional irritation, altogether with blazing interest. Jawaharlal's narrative is very vivid. In simple and crisp prose he recaptures the atmosphere of his youth. As the story unfolds itself—it has colour and movement—we seem to hear the pulse-beat of Indian Nationalism. There are passages salted with epigrams and some exceptionally bright patches which linger in the memory. But the most outstanding quality of the book is the triumph of his personality. It is a memorable record;

the record of a man who has not only used his voice and pen in the advocacy of noble causes, but also run innumerable risks and suffered great hardships in the cause of liberty, with courage,

The courage never to submit or yield
And what is else not to be overcome.

And too, it is the record of a man who is gifted with a pen which eminently suits his stirring career—a pen, flexible and brilliant, if occasionally mordant. It is, however, unfortunate that the personal narrative has been allowed to be subordinated to, and obscured by, political propaganda from the Communist view-point, which is the Pandit's obsession.

He is still on the right side of fifty and surely he will have occasion to write another volume or to write a postscript to the present one (let us hope) in mellowed wisdom.

V

Jawaharlal Nehru's future is one of the most interesting speculations in modern Indian Political History. He has succeeded Mahatma Gandhi as the leader of the Congress. In fact, Gandhi nominated him as his successor. But will he succeed where Gandhi has failed? One indisputable thing about Gandhi (irrespective of his failures) is this, namely that he was entirely original in his outlook and methods. When he came on the scene, Nature broke the mould. But no such claim can be set by Jawaharlal Nehru. He has hardly been able to seek his emancipation from the absurdities and credulities of Moscow. Nor has he been able to break away from Gandhi. Is he then destined to play the role, as Mr. Slocombe fears he would, of "an agnostic Lenin meekly obedient to the precepts of a Christian Tolstoy". Or will he

readjust his mind to realities and harness his energy to wholesome policies? His autobiography is not reassuring on this point as he is bent upon being a Socialist doctrinaire in a country which has a honour of the real implications of Socialism of the brand he favours. Whatever may happen, whatever paths he may choose to tread, it is clear and certain that Jawaharlal will continue to be one of truest and most valiant fighters in the cause of India's freedom and will be long remembered as a synonym for knightly valour.

We eagerly look forward for the day when he will add to his enlivening chronicle, a book of "running accompaniment", or it may be, a revaluation of ideas and impressions. Meanwhile, one may usefully turn to his construction in letters, of the fine fabric of adventure and of excitement, for it is a pleasure to read and a duty to understand Jawaharlal Nehru.

SOME IMPRESSIONS OF AUSTRALIA

By M. A. THIRUNARAYANA CHARI

[In the following article, packed with useful information, Mr. Thirunarayana Chari records his first-hand interimpressions of Australia.]

Very few Indians have visited Australia and I presume that the impressions I gathered personally during my recent visit to that country will not be without interest to my countrymen. Many people in India seem to think that the treatment accorded to them in Australia is similar to that accorded to them in South Africa. It is true that in South Africa, Indians, whether visitors or settlers, whatever their position in life may be, are prevented from using the public amenities—such as trams, buses, trains, benches in the streets and public parks and are denied admittance to hotels, theatres, restaurants etc. And the five years that have elapsed since I visited that country have made no improvement. But in Australia there is no such colourphobia. Indians can use all public places and conveyances and are admitted to hotels and theatres on the same terms as white men. The only restriction is that they, and other coloured people, are not allowed to settle there permanently. While the inflow of British settlers is welcomed, the immigration of White people of other nationalities is permitted only on production of proof of means. For example, the reader may remember the recent case of Karl Hjelmstrom, the brave Swedish lad who left his ship in the captain's bath tub to cross over to the Australian coast, and who was repatriated by the Federal authorities on the ground that he had no means, though it

was generally hoped that an exception would be made in the case of so adventurous a youth. The settlement of all coloured people is banned, although they can remain in the country as visitors, or, even for considerable periods, as agents for the export of Australian goods to foreign countries. There are a number of Japanese residents who export large quantities of wool and scrap iron to Japan.

We make the journey from Colombo to Australia in one of the luxurious liners of the P. & O or the Orient. The first port of call in Australia is Freemantle, the port of Perth, the Capital of Western Australia. The distance from Colombo to Freemantle is 3120 miles, and the voyage takes ten days—the longest without a stop on the ordinary travel routes. On the way we pass the lonely Cocos or Keelin Islands, famous as the place where the Emden was sunk by the Australian Cruiser Sydney. The land which is rich and fertile and grows cocoanuts luxuriantly belongs to an Englishman, and the territory is administered by the British Government from Singapore. In their loneliness, they reminded me of the Seychelles on the African side of the Indian Ocean. From Freemantle, a four days' voyage takes us across the Great Australian Bight (or Bay) to Adelaide, the Capital of South Australia. The Bight is reputed to be very rough and its passage is contemplated with fear. On our outward voyage, it was smooth but on the return, very rough. The next stop is Melbourne, the Capital of Victoria, 36 hours by sea from Adelaide. The way lies through the narrow straits between the mainland and the Kangaroo Island, called the Backstair Passage, which present a very pretty sight, especially at nights, with three light-houses flashing away simultaneously to warn the mariner of the treacherous shoals. Melbourne itself is situated on a beautiful inland sea, the entrance to which is through a narrow gateway hardly half a mile in

width. From Melbourne the ship proceeds to Sydney, the Capital of New South Wales and the biggest city, as it is also the oldest settlement, in Australia, and is berthed in its world-famed beautiful natural harbour. The last port of call is Brisbane, the Capital of Queensland, from which the ship resumes its homeward course.

Tasmania is not included in this itinerary. It is an island separated from the mainland by the Bass Straits, and is reached by steamer from Melbourne after a journey of ten hours. But it is well worth a visit, being a rich fruit-growing country, with a bracing and temperate climate.

The big cities of Australia are those already mentioned at which the big liners call. Their population alone is nearly three millions as against the population of $6\frac{1}{2}$ millions of the whole of Australia. It is only a narrow coastal belt that is rich and fertile and well-populated. The interior is a vast arid desert of shifting sand blown about by the wind, consisting, where it is habited, mostly of sheep farms and stations. The soil is so poor and the rainfall so scanty that in many places it requires two hundred acres to raise one sheep. The farms are of an extent that seems fabulous to us.

Sydney and Melbourne are the biggest cities with a population of a million each. Both are well laid out cities with beautiful drives. Sydney, besides its beautiful harbour, is famous for its bridge over the harbour, which is claimed to be the largest single arch span bridge in the world. The main arch and steel spans in approach are 3770 feet long and constructed to carry four lines of electric Railways, 6 lines of vehicular traffic, and two footways. Adelaide, neatly laid out according to plan, each division having its parks, and the whole town surrounded by a park, is a standing proof of the wisdom of a definite plan of town-building. It is a

healthy city with a population approaching a third of a million. Brisbane has nearly the same population while that of Perth is 2,10,000. All these cities, having risen within the last one hundred years, are neat and well laid out, and avoid the slums and other defects inseparable from older cities. One other town must be mentioned and that is Canberra, the Federal Capital, about two hundred miles inland from Sydney, only recently formed and with a small but growing population. It is built according to design, which has kept in view its future potentialities, and incorporates the most modern ideas of town-planning and architecture, typified by its public buildings and hotels, and broad sweeps of boulevard and park.

Australia is in point of size a continent, its area being equivalent to that of the United States of America, three-quarters that of all Europe and twenty-five times that of Great Britain and Ireland. It is more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ times the size of India and has a population of $6\frac{1}{2}$ millions against the 360 millions of our country. This population, of which 97 per cent is of British stock, is concentrated in a narrow belt along the coast. Situated between the 11th and 44th parallels of South latitude, it presents every variety of climate from the tropical of the North to the temperate of the South. The seasons are the reverse of the seasons of northern latitudes, so that when we have summer, they have winter and *vice versa*. For example, July is midwinter there and January is midsummer. In Melbourne, the southern-most city of Australia, the temperature was below freezing point and snow was falling at the end of July when I was there. It is curious that while their Xmas day falls on a hot summer day; the Christmas greeting cards which they exchange depict scenes of falling snow and roaring hearth fires. The best time to visit the country is neither the summer nor the winter but

the spring (September to November) and autumn (March to May). Australia and New Zealand are among the healthiest countries in the world, the combined death rate being 6 per 1000 compared with 12 in Great Britain and 11 in the United States of America. Several constellations and stars not visible to us in the Northern Hemisphere are visible there, the best known being the "Southern Cross". A question usually asked of a person returning from Australia is—"Have you seen the Southern Cross"?

Australia is a Federation of the following Provinces:—Western Australia, South Australia, Victoria, New South Wales, Tasmania, Queensland, Northern Australia and Central Australia. Of these, all but the last two are self-governing Provinces, while the last two are administered by the Federal authority directly. The functions surrendered to the Federal authority are defence, customs and excise, currency, shipping, postal services, immigration and external affairs, while the States retain Sovereign rights in respect of land settlement, agricultural development, water conservation, railways, justice, police, education and other internal functions. The system of party Government prevails, based on differences between labour, land and capital. The self-governing States work harmoniously with the Federal Government, sinking individual differences. Western Australia seems to be a little dissatisfied with the Union and recently presented a petition to the British Parliament asking for leave to secede—a petition which was disallowed. Constitutionally there does not seem to be any power of secession, nor, I was told, does she really wish to secede, but it was only a gesture to show that she was not as well off as the other Provinces and should be accorded some special treatment.

There is universal adult franchise for both men and women, and every voter is bound to bring himself on the

register, and if he moves from one place to another, to bring himself on the register of the latter place. He is also bound to vote at elections. Non-observance of these civic duties renders him liable to punishment. When a change in the constitution is proposed, the opinion of the voters is taken by a referendum. Ex-Ministers continue to have the title of 'Hon'ble', and are summoned to meetings of the Executive Council when important questions have to be deliberated.

The Government is very strict in confining the coastal trade to their own vessels. Foreign vessels, including even British, are prohibited by law under heavy penalties from carrying cargo or passengers from one port of the Commonwealth to another. They have protected their manufactures by a high wall of tariffs which works out at an average of 50 per cent on all imports, with a preference for British goods ranging from 15 to 20 per cent.

Wages are very high in Australia and are fixed by the State after evidence has been submitted by both employer and employee regarding an equitable wage based on the cost of living. In February 1932, the average basic wage for unskilled labour in the six capital cities varied from £2-18-0 to £3-8-10 per week of from 44 to 48 hours. The rates in skilled trades were:—bakers £4-5-0 to £6-1-0; cabinet makers £4-0-7 to £5-2-7; carpenters £4-6-4 to £5-12-6; compositors £4-6-5 to £5-1-0*

A visitor to Australia naturally wishes to know in what respects the people differ from the parent stock from which they are descended. Considering that Australia was originally a penal settlement, and later on a place to which people who did not do well in the old country were shipped off (no one can forget that it was to Australia that Wilkins

*Note—The Australian is four-fifth in value of the British.

Micawber Esquire, and family bent their steps, and that it was there that they made good) it is a wonderful testimony to the virility, energy and enterprise of the parent race that the emigrants, in less than a hundred years, have built up a great nation, transformed wild and uninhabited tracts into rich agricultural and fruit-growing countries, and reared fine cities like Sydney and Melbourne. While they are essentially British in character and outlook, their origin and environments tend to develop in them some distinctive traits. Their out-door life and fondness for sports have made not only their men but also their women, tall, strong and athletic. They are very fond of surf and sea-bathing for which the long and indented coast of the country affords great facilities. Living in a country which produces, they eat well. They are not so polished in manners as their cousins at home. Gruff and reserved in the beginning, they improve on acquaintance. There are no class distinctions, and wealth is more evenly distributed, the average per head of population being about £500. Savings Bank Deposits average £30 per head. They are independent as between man and man, and servants address their masters by name and not as 'Sir'.

A bad name has a long start but it must be said to their credit that they have long overtaken and out-run it.

The wealth of the country consists in its primary produce, the great bulk of which is exported. It is the world's greatest wool producer and exporter, the third greatest butter exporter, and the fourth greatest wheat exporter. It produces the finest wool in the world, of the value of 50 millions pounds a year, more than a fourth of the world's requirements. Next comes wheat of which more than 189 million bushels are produced annually. There is a large export of milk products such as butter, cheese, lactogen, tinned milk etc. Europe takes a large quantity of frozen

meat and chilled beef. Fruits of every variety, both tropical and temperate, including citrous fruits of all kinds are grown and sold at prices within the reach of all. The total value of the fruits produced is 7 million pounds a year. The fruit-canning industry is a large and growing industry, while dried fruits—sultanas, currants and raisins—are exported to the value of two million pounds per year. Sugar, rice and tobacco are grown in the north of Queensland.

Notwithstanding its small population, it is the third largest consumer of British-made goods. Of its 61 millions worth of imports in 1930-31, the United Kingdom supplied 23 millions. Its exports amounted to 102 millions, of which the United Kingdom absorbed 51 millions. It will be seen that its exports exceed its imports by 41 millions, showing a very considerable balance of trade in its favour.

India imports from Australia large quantities of milk products such as butter and lactogen (Madras, I found, imported a large quantity of lactogen) fruits, jams and jellies, Jarra wood (a hard wood which resists the attack of white ants and is used for railway sleepers) and horses (the number of which has much diminished after the introduction of motor vehicles). Australia takes from India tea and coffee, gunnies and sacks, hides and skins, carpets, and other articles of fine Indian workmanship which are much appreciated.

ABORIGINES

The aborigines of Australia are in a very primitive stage of civilisation, not having advanced beyond the stone age. They live in the forests and sandy deserts of the interior of Australia, and use bows and arrows, the fire stick, the stone-knife, the tomahawk and the boomerang. A few are employed in sheep farms or live in Government supervised camps and a fewer still are to be found in the towns, but

the race is dying out. I was not able to meet a single one of them, though I wished to do so. They fled at the approach of the first white settlers. They must not be confused with the Maoris or the natives of New Zealand, who belong to the Polynesian race, having come from the Polynesian group of Islands, and represent a higher type of civilisation. It is a mystery how the Maoris, in their migration to New Zealand, overlooked the big slice of earth that was in their way. The number of Australian aborigines is 59,000 full blood, and 19,000 half-caste.

MANDATED TERRITORY

To Australia, as the prize of its help during the Great War, has been assigned as mandated territory, Northern New Guinea, formerly owned by the Germans. The other portion of New Guinea belongs to the Dutch. This Island is to the North of Australia near the equator. It is a very large and fertile country and is of great potential value. The Germans began the systematic development of the place, which, however, was cut short by the War. The people along the coast are Polynesians, but in the interior there are vast areas of unexplored country inhabited by savages, whose number even is not known.

THE GREAT BARRIER REEF

The Great Barrier reef, about a thousand miles long, off the Northern coast of Queensland, is one of the marine wonders of the world. It forms a huge enclosed sea, through which the big liners seldom venture, and the depths and pools of which teem with fascinating marine life.

All the delicately tinted corals are there, not as the dead, bleached skeletons, usually associated with glass-cases, but with all the brilliance of the living substance. There are the great violet

boquet-shaped madrepora; delicate spikey coral with branches of buff and petals of magenta; staghorn corals tinted in a thousand variants of brown, green, yellow and lilac; the *madrepora rosia*, pale lemon at the base, and flesh pink at the tips; labrinths of coarsely toothed corals, their ridges golden brown, their valleys myrtle-green; corals of pale pink, purple, brilliant rose and blue.

These are visited in a launch provided with glass panels through which one can see the submerged wonders.

THE FUTURE PROBLEM

The question has been often asked, and will be asked with greater insistence in future, how Australia with its large extent and sparse population can justify its policy of keeping out other nations from inhabiting it. One answer is that a great part of the country is a sandy desert, where the scanty rainfall leaves little chance for the sand to settle. There is thus not as much scope or expansion as the figures of the area would lead one to suppose. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that there is a great field for settlement and expansion, and probably coloured people accustomed to hard labour in a hot climate may be able to turn the vast acres to better account. Science or a change in physical conditions may in the course of time make the soil more fruitful. When there are nations who find there is no room for their growing population and are forced by necessity to find new outlets for them, will Australia be able to maintain her dog-in-the-manger policy for ever? Already she apprehends that Japan is throwing covetous glances at her large unpopulated areas. The problem will be governed in the future not by the law of nations or considerations of justice and fair play but by the laws of nature—laws as eternal and inexorable as the law of gravitation.

THE ART OF EDITH SITWELL

By M. JAYARAM

[In any estimate of modern English Poetry the three Sitwells—Edith, Osbert and Sacheverell—have an honoured place, their first claim to distinction lying in their revolt against Georgian ascendancy. In the following pages, the writer deals with Edith Sitwell's contribution to letters.]

Miss Edith Sitwell has taken the literary world by storm. This bold pioneer, without allowing either elbow room or breathing space to her victims, has flung herself into our world with her unicorns and nymphs, her bright metallic landscapes and tinsel harlequinade.

Her conception of art is the antithesis of Milton's or Wordsworth's, to whom a picture was a spiritual stimulus, a vision and an ideal, lit by "a light that never was on sea or land," "the consecration and the Poet's dream". It is not a view of life nor is it a revelation of self. It is art for art's sake, a thing self-contained and apart from the life of the artist.

She touches nothing that she does not adorn. The note of her mind is over all she does. If she were to picture for us the solar system, the sun blazing in the centre and the planets careering round it, she would depict each planet by a motor car or an apple or a shuttlecock. In this strange world "Night comes sounding as the growth of trees" and "shadows fall as brown as any peasant". In this land "pink flowers seem a sweet Mozartian tune" and the sky is studded with "straggling chickweed stars". The grass of the earth at the touch of the wind begins to quack and all the gay voices

that pass by are like a "honeysuckle nook". In the hearth—

.....with sweet and velvet lips
The snapdragons within the fire
Of their red summer never tire.

But all these things

We never could touch them, early or late,
They would chill our hands like the touch of Fate.

Everything is exotic and fantastical, mannered and self-conscious. She lives in a world in which "Dagobert, Peregrine and I"

.....Walked like shy gazelles
Among the music of their flower-bells.
And life still held some promise,—never ask
Of what,—but life seemed less a stranger then
Than ever after in this cold existence.

Yet they were always a "little outside life". She seems to see the vision as a whole and to transmit it to paper with all its instancy and freshness and momentary delight. It is as if vision and accomplishment were one action.

Her world is a small, and to some tastes, a stifling world. It is rarely possible to agree or disagree, it is quite possible to misunderstand, and that is largely because we have not been there. To say that it is an eighteenth century world with its sophistications and city things is not to say much. Miss Sitwell's world is of no particular time, or of whatever period in which the Comedia dell'arte figure, Il Magnifico said—

Pulling a fico
With a stoccado
And a gambado
Making a wry
Face: This corraceous
Round orchidaceous
Laceous porraceous
Fruit is a lie.

It is my King Pharoah's head
That nodding blew out the pyramid.

It is the whole world and not one period which she draws up for us. Whether one cares to peep into such a world is a matter of individual inclination and temperament.

Nor is her art anchored in any abiding human purpose. In general she takes her subject as a theme, not to sound the deeps, but for rhetorical display. *Colonel Fentock* and the *Little Ghost who died for Love*, both from the *Troy Park*, are potentially tragic themes. Deborah Churchill, who was hanged for shielding her lover in a duel, and Colonel Fentock, whose achievements and

All the battles this warrior fought
Were with cold poverty and helpless age—
His spoils were shelters from the winter's rage,

are intensely tragic characters. In fact, *Troy Park* and the *Sleeping Beauty* are filled with an immemorial sadness. Everything is faint and small and heart-breaking. Yet through all her poems fall rich cloud-bursts of Sitwellian laughter. To her life is not a shattering reality but a tone poem. If she has a heart, it is not a human heart nor a womanly heart, but a typically Sitwellian heart. Her intellect is bold rather than subtle, masculine rather than meticulous. She is elemental and not "precious". Her poem, *Aubade* alone leaves these impressions behind it.

She occasionally allows life to creep in as a thing separate from literature. This is an age of machinery, a wild race for time, confined within limits that are at once mad and circumscribed. Try to get out and you knock your head against materialism:

And there are terrible and quick drum taps
That seem the anguished beat of our own heart
Making an endless battle without hope

Against materialism and the world.
And sometimes terrible and lumbering Darkness comes
Breaking the trivial matchboard floors that hide
From us the Dead we dare not look upon:
O childish eyes, O cold and murdered face
Dead innocence and youth that were our own.

In this age of scepticism when the "snow lies cold upon our heart" Dante's and Milton's conception of hell has faded from our world-picture:

Hell is no vastness, it has nought to keep
But little rotting souls and a small sleep.
It has the same bright clarity we knew
In nursery afternoons so long ago,
Bright as our childish dreams; but we are old,
This is a different world; the snow lies cold
Upon our heart, though midsummer is here.

and

The country bumkins travel to the Fair
For Night and Day—and Hell and Heaven seem
Only a clown's booth seen in some bad dream.

But Miss Sitwell is an artist *sans phrase*—the most accomplished artist of our time. She is an artist in love with her incomparable artistry. The analogy of music is inevitable in speaking of her, for her art has the mobility and the rhythm of the orchestra. She fulfils the injunction of Sir Toby Belch—"Thou shouldst go to church in a galliard and come home in a coranto. Thy very walk should be a jig". There is a poem called *Fox-trot*, a bravura piece, which is a pure joy. In it she uses the most complex dance rhythms and experiments upon the effect of texture on rhythm.

Old

Sir

Faulk,

Tall as a stork,

Before the honeyed fruits of dawn were ripe would walk

And stalk with a gun
 The reynard-coloured sun
 Among the pheasant-feathered corn the unicorn has torn,
 forlorn the
 Smock-faced sheep
 Sit
 and
 sleep
 Periwigged as William and Mary, weep.....

This is a world of suggestive sound even more than of shape
 and colour. Gardener Janus in trying to catch a Naiad
 finds—

Feathered masks,
 Pots of peas—
 Janus asks nought of these.
 Creaking water
 Brightly striped
 Now I have caught her—
 Shrieking biped.
 Flute sounds jump
 And turn together,
 Changing clumps of glassy feather.
 In among the
 Pots of peas
 Naiad changes—
 Quick as these.

A delightful bucolic comedy. She is a virtuoso in love with
 her instrument, delighted in the effects she can extract from
 it, careless of everything except her astonishing art. And
 her instrument is—

..... a gentle music-box that played a tune
 Of Circean enchantments.

Miss Sitwell is hardly commonplace. In the exquisite
Troy Park are the lines:

And shall we never find those diamonds bright

That were the faun-queen Palmyra's eyes?
 Ah, dark hot jewels lie hidden from the sight
 Under dark palm trees where the river sighs
 Beyond the tomb of young eternities.

What those "tombs of young eternities" where "hot jewels lie
 hidden from the sight" may be, we do not know. We have
 simply to accept the fact. She has a smashing intellectual
 arrogance and it is from her convinced imagination that such
 a fantasy as this arises:

At the hot sand's edge
 Anchored by waters like the sound of flutes
 Our nurses sit; it seemed, I thought, they listened
 And they were black with shade, and so we named
 Asia, Africa, and still they seem
 Each like a continent with flowers and fruits
 Unknown to us.

And Malinn, the housekeeper's daughter has:—

..... reynard colour hair
 Amid the word grown sere
 Still seemed the Javanese sunrise
 Whose wandering music will surprise
 Into cold bird-chattering cries
 The Emperor of China
 Lying on his bier

Only very rarely does Miss Sitwell strike overtones and under-
 tones in a line like:

Songs no heart can understand.

Miss Sitwell asserts that the new poetry is bringing a
 new and heightened consciousness to life. "When the speech
 of one sense is insufficient to convey the poet's meaning" she
 explains, "he uses the language of another. He knows too,
 that every sight, sound, touch, the smell of the world we live
 in has its meanings." Her poems are the best illustrations
 of this extended perception:—

Baskets of ripe fruit in air
 The bird songs seem, suspended where
 Between the hairy leaves trills dew
 All tasting of fresh green anew.
 Ma'am, I have heard your laughter flare
 Through your waspish gilded hair:

When she calls the morning light as creaking or whining, she is trying to give expression to a certain quality she has discovered in the morning light which the other sense of sight is unable to convey, she combines, what Mr. Blunden calls in a different place, the "gift of mythologising" with an acute sense of rhythm. The same quality is perceived in lines like

By white wool houses thick with sheep
 Where pig-snouted small winds creep,
 With our white muslin faces clean,
 We slip to see what can be seen.

or again in—

Astronomical
 Trees where swoons
 The breeze, hide coxcomical
 Lanthorn moons
 Set in the trees
 Like bird-lime.

We have known this long ago, we have observed it in the *Rig Veda* where the "Fire cries for the light". In this world all the shapes and colours and feelings change places and slip into each other.

Are not her poems merely theatrical, glittering, painted, and reeking? may ask the reader. Smart poetry merely delights to advertise itself in twelve-foot letters. It worships success, however achieved. But Miss Sitwell never aims at success at all. Her mind never leads her docilely enough, along the beaten track to the appointed spot where the

public is waiting for her. She does not show us the familiar, instead she creates before us, like a juggler, strange and fantastic forms. And because of this her poems are irresistible, they fascinate you, hold you with the mesmerism of an unsolved riddle.

True it is an art of an artificial kind and that one feels as if in a hot-house filled with wild flowers and longs for a breath of cooler air. It is also true that when poetry has lost its sublimity it can never rise to the heights of great poetry. But it is an art of singular technical perfection within its limits.

If we regard poetry as a living and growing thing, and not as a hobby of the dilettante, we cannot do otherwise than welcome any tendency to push back the frontiers of the poet's realm. Whether in the ever-expanding greatness of English verse it is probable that Miss Sitwell's poems will live for all time, who can say? It is perilous for contemporary criticism to express itself in ultimate terms. All that can be said is that many of them will be preserved like her "frost-flowers upon the window panes" as curios rather than as vital pieces of art.

THE PATH

By BANKEY BEHARI

[For the last time we are reproducing one more chapter from "Mysticism in Islam". Readers interested in this subject will, it is hoped, eagerly await Mr. Bankey Behari's forthcoming publication.]

There is no other path, all lead to Him.
 Alas even then, none is acquainted with it.
 If you assert that He is the Guide and the Comforter,
 It follows all are on the path and none going astray.....

Who will risk his life on this Path—so vast and desolate!
 And who will purchase this misery and agnony with his life!
 In the deep sea of Oneness, who is that diver that will dare
 to take the plunge! Nazir, a well known Urdu poet has aptly
 described the condition in that state:

In Annihilation is life, O friends, there is no ther existence
 besides it,
 In forgetfulness lies bliss, O friends, there is nothing separate
 from it.
 When does the finite approach the Infinite?
 When this desolate waste is left behind, the inhabited realm
 makes its appearance.
 Nothing there exists, and yet we find everything, and yet again
 in everything there is nothing.
 Besides it there is no other knowledge (worth acquiring),
 All that the world considers an acquisition is sheer degradation.
 Vanity in the Path is the obstacle, and no other degradation
 exists.
 In the Path of Truth, O Niaz, devotion consists in becoming
 nothing,
 In being nothing is the secret and in it lies hid the mystery.

The words of the pilgrims in the Path might sound as heresy.
 The truth of the matter is that the path of devotion lies between the realms of heresy and belief.

In between heresy and faith lie's the path of devotion,
 To be away from it is in itself faithlessness.

Some of the devotees in sheer ignorance spend their lives in acquiring powers and waste their lives in displays, miracles and other vagaries. Devotion however does not consist in it and is made of sterner stuff.

Devotion is Truth and truth is not separate from it.
 Devotion transcends even Divinity itself.

There is only one path, and it is that of devotion. One may inquire what does it then consist in? The reply is,

it is that which when whispered in the ears, turns the mind from one direction to the other, one feels as if fire was injected in one's self. And the condition of bliss is instantaneously attained, it does not require effort, nor does it need prayers, penances and fastings.

His benevolence sees not your competence and merit,
 Rather, He bestows and then you become competent.

To enter this realm is to cross the threshold of helplessness and hopelessness. Many saints remained stuck up in the way struck with the dazzle of their miraculous acquisitions, and in the stages they thought was the goal reached. Those who are acquainted with the Path know that devotion is the root of all prayers. When the clothes of the devotee go into ratters, his heart opens. The dawn of this state is not a child's play. Even if one gets introduced to the teacher who is acquainted with the mysteries, the struggle does not cease. Extreme craving to meet Him alone sustains and the intensity is to be maintained throughout. The teacher is like the ladder, it helps you in the climb, it does not however make you go. That you have to do yourself.

But beware of the false teachers and their spurious

teachings. Many have donned the wool and dyed the clothes and pretend to impart knowledge which they themselves do not possess. Such a teacher and his disciple are both doomed. These teachers simply cause further mischief. They leave the disciple half way. It sometimes ends in complications, mental derangements, and even in death on occasions. One has to guard against such a lead.

Love alone is the guide. That alone lights the path and the craving and yearning leads on. The Lover's condition in itself is an index if he is proceeding rightly:

The arrow from His eyes has entered my heart my life has left its abode,

The soul unable to welcome the Guest properly has abandoned the house to the new entrant.

Of course one must know one's mind before one enters this realm. It is necessary to decide what one wants. It is imperative to understand whether it is the worship of Mammon or of God that he has decided upon. The ways of the Devil Mind are so subtle and at times so seductive that, the very moment that we are feeling that we are honest, a little cool and critical examination tells us that it is not so, our aims are not above reproach and are in fact questionable. Constant vigil over oneself, discrimination and detachment are absolutely necessary. It is attachment that stands like a mountain in the Path. Does not one see how these attachments start and grow. A study shows;

this mortal of clay, the moment he makes his appearance in this world, is the subject matter of various claims—the parents claim the right to maintain him, the teacher to train him, the employer to support him, and the wife to love him, and so on and so forth. A few however realise that in one's life the time is not far when all the attachments will turn out to be baseless and be cut with a stroke, sapped off from the root, by an unwelcome guest—death.

None will know whence he came and whither he has departed away.

To know this secret is the object of life, and not to be contented with visions, miracles and auditions, trances and ecstasies. Once Sheikh Abdulla Ansar of Herat said to his pupil,

To fly in the air is no miracle, for the dirtiest fly can do it, to cross rivers without a bridge or boat is no miracle, for a terrier can do the same, but to help suffering hearts is a miracle performed by holy men.

To the same effect is the reprimand of Rabia of Basra to the greatest mystic of her time Hasan of Basra. She warned him against such idle puppet shows.

Some devotees [says another author] on discerning the manifestations of the soul by the flash of intuition in deep contemplation (kashf) its relation with the world of phenomenon, its mysteries and incomprehensible nature, and its vastness pervading the whole of the finite things and minds, take the soul to be the protector of the Universe, and worship it as the Supreme Being.

These are disillusionments or at best mere shows on the Path and man must proceed further.

As against the Path of devotion, abstract meditation and contemplation, sometimes emphasis has been laid on the path of action (saluk). This is however a more difficult path and in the language of the mystic, this state arrives after the state of ecstasy (jazb) and is the state where the devotee steps out of his seat of contemplation and preaches to his disciples, the state of the teacher. It should not however be thought that I mean to convey that the earliest stages in the path of the mystic are any way to be styled those of self-complacency. Far from it. In fact the first step in the path of devotion begins with placing the head at the portals then the heartache which starts on seeing the first glimpses

makes one lose himself completely. Where then is left room for the ego? The path of action is greatly emphasised in some Indian systems of thought and the Indian mystics of the Islamic School only have often quoted with applause the ideal of Raja Janaka, who practised devotion with the responsibilities of the Kingdom on him. Here is for example the story recited by Ghaus Ali Shah and his observations in the mystic way of thinking:

One day Sukhdeoiji requested his father to instruct him in the final stages of devotion and lead him to the Home of Bliss and salvation. His father told him to go to Raja Janak who was the best person to help him. Although astonished yet the son went to Raja Janak. The king kept him waiting for seven days at one of the gates and then for another seven days at the other. On the fifteenth day, Sukhdeoiji was allowed audience to the king. He was shocked at the grandeur and the luxury in which the king dwelt. The thought flashed in his mind, how can this king steeped in the wordly entanglements instruct and enlighten me? The king read Sukhdeoiji's mind. He, however, remained silent over it, entertained Sukhdeoiji and ordered his servants to have festivities throughout the city to mark the arrival of Sukhdeoiji. When the arrangements were complete and the city was observing a gala day, the king ordered Sukhdeoiji to go and watch the shows, however with a cup full of milk in his hands. The soldiers who were to accompany Sukhdeoiji were definitely instructed to carry Sukhdeoiji through every part of the city and he was to miss the sight of the gaiety at none of the places. However he warned them that if any drop of milk was spilled from the cup in Sukhdeoiji's hands they would not hesitate to chop off his head at once. Sukhdeoiji, accompanied by the soldiers, went through the city and returned very late to the king. The king on seeing him safe inquired how he liked the festivities and was there any fault to be found in the decorations. Sukhdeoiji replied "O king I saw nothing. All my thoughts were centred on this cup, lest a drop fall and I lose my life. How could I therefore take off my attention to watch the festivities? I never gave a moment's thought to anything but the milk in the cup. The king replied, "that is how

I am living in the midst of the gaieties. Imagine the cup to be death, mind as the milk therein, these festivities as mere ephemeral splendours of the world. Thus I engage in this world with caution that the milk (mind) is not spilt (disturbed) and all attention is riveted on Him. For a moment's deviation from His thought is death unto me." So should action be. The same thing is portrayed in Gita and other treatises. An echo of it we have in Theosophy also. In 'Light on the Path' Master Hilarion sends the same message. . . . "Kill out ambition but work as those work who are ambitious. Kill out desire of life but respect life as those do who desire it. Kill out desire of comfort but be happy as those are who will for happiness." It is thus that one has to engage himself. Whatever the way in which one expresses oneself all point to one thing a constant and exclusive devotion to the Lord. We cannot have it otherwise; the goal is the same, the path must be the same. It might differ in externals but in its inner core it is the same. Rev. David very aptly summed up the position, when he said, "A realisation of God, of one's own divinity is the goal. Union with God, 'I and my Father are one,' that is the end. For the human spirit in essence is identical with God. That is why we love. *The divine self in me seeks the divine self in you.* That is why the wine of fellowship is so intoxicating. To all things that stir the spirit within us, we may say 'Tat Twam Asi' thou art that.

Who is it that does not realise and experience with Browning:

Truth is within ourselves

There is an inmost centre of us all.—

Caution is needed however, against a misinterpretation of this optimistic doctrine!

The first step in the path is the last step also—the annihilation of Self. The deeper you bury it, the greater is the height you attain to, a height which when once reached means no fall. It is difficult to proceed in the path without destroying this ego. But with his blessings the obstacles are removed. When the thorn of His love pricks the feet of the pilgrim on the Path, the Lord Himself comes and leads Him on. Gradually He tends the patients, slowly He removes the pain

and when once the thorns of the world are removed the rose of life makes its appearance. The world is crossed through the cross—the illusory stuff falls off, the veils are withdrawn and the beatific vision becomes the lot of the accepted. Followers of the creed warn against losing heart amidst the trials. "Courage brother" they say and add "Do not lose faith in His mercy. Seek His pardon. Repent for your sins and seek His forgiveness and always sincerely pray to Him. By His mercy out of the sins you will find a passage to redemption." God has His exquisite and inscrutable ways. He brings beautiful meanings out of apparently crude and ugly forms. This may be, because He wants that man should not lose hope. He is enamoured of humility and loves to see us feel helpless and then turn to Him for rescue. As for Him, He cannot suffer by your sins. They cannot touch Him. If you have sinned it is your doing and you have to suffer for them:

The bird who sat on a mountain and flew away,
Tell me how did the mountain improve by its perching there or
lose by its flight.

The fact is that we cannot analyse His actions. To all appearances, sins at times constitute the ways to enlightenment. Take for instance the case of a bath. The object is to warm it. All sort of ugly, dirty grass fuel and other unattractive objects are employed to generate the heat. And watch how it comforts and cleans our bodies. As to the good and evil acts, of course all emanate from Him, but to God we have to attribute only the good ones. Discrimination is employed in the case of men. The reason is clear. Because everything is from Him, by His very nature, the essence of everything must be good and perfection. As a king keeps in his kingdom everything, the prison, gallows, army, wealth, banners and drums—as these things befit his regal

position because he has to reward the good with wealth and to meet the wicked with punishment—so if you connect these things with God they will be considered his virtues, but if you take them from the point of view of an individual of the world who has no such kingly responsibilities, the gallows and the rewards cannot both be appreciated at the same time, the first stands condemned.

You must consider the world as a mountain, that answers to your call by an echo. If you act well, evil cannot be the result. How can it be possible that the nightingale should sing before it and the mountain should answer in the crow's croak? Generally speaking, let me again repeat, all things good or bad are created by Him, yet it is the height of irreverence to impute evil unto Him. For example, to address Him "Thou Creator of dirt and bad odour" would be sacrilegious and undignified. But to say "Thou creator of the Heavens and Earth and of the intellect" would be suitable words and would be bound to produce beneficial effects. Although all are His attributes but it is common to particularise some to prove that He is a selected object.

God is interested in everything—good or bad. However He likes the good only. He is like a physician. The physician wants that the sick should visit him, because he cannot otherwise display his merits. If no one was to fall sick, whom would he cure: and how would people know his worth? In his heart however he never wishes that people should fall ill. If he were to prefer their illness, why should he then treat them for it? The baker, for instance, to earn his living sells food, but never desires people to die of want of food, for else he would not deal in food. It is therefore impossible that you should want a thing and yet not like its incidents. All that is evil in this world are the attachments of the ego. It is in effect an appendage of it. Evil

too has a purpose and a meaning behind it

(Fiha-ma-Fiha p. 182-183)

All the opposites we see in this world seem to be opposed and inimical to us. But if we attribute them to the Perfect Physician, we see that they all have a place in the eternal scheme. If it is otherwise can you in proof point out, one bad person who possesses no virtues? Just imagine a person who started to kill another. In the way he fell in love and so yielded to passion and became obsessed of it that he forgot his errand and started to cherish that affection. Now, although this new passion is bad, yet it turned out to be good for it stopped the man from committing a grave crime. This shows that intrinsically good and bad are of the same origin, and are only relative terms.

(Fiha-ma-Fiha p. 215)

This is but the correct view also. The opposites do help each other. For if it were eternally night we could not work, or if it was the whole time day, our bodies would become very weak and we would suffer mentally. It follows that everything is well placed in the divine scheme, and emanates from Him. We do not understand it because of our ignorance. If you become aware of it you would become indifferent to everything. If men were to give a moment's thought, they would offer their lives with joy to realise this truth. Man is like a bow in the hands of the creator. God uses it for every purpose. The archer is the Lord. The bow is a mere instrument in the hands and a means only. Man is never conscious of God or of his self. This ignorance maintains the world. How happy and blessed is the bow that realises that it is in the hands of the creator?

Man, realise that this world is a House of Sorrow. In vain shall you seek to find one really happy:

I enquired of every one, if they had seen anyone happy,
A few tears came in answer and the reply that they had only
heard.

In this world there is nothing save pain. Pleasure is unknown. Every moment you can realise the truth of it. A moment's consideration will show the lines of death written

on every page of creation.

None is happy in this world of pain.
The heart of rose is torn in a thousand petals and the breeze
too blows distracted.

It is possible that some one of a stock different from man might be happy but as far as man is concerned pain alone is in his lot. None of the human stock is exempt from it.

No one is free from worries in this world,
And if he is, he is not human.

The worldling should not be taken to include I and you alone. It also includes those seemingly disinterested preachers of renunciation, who have apparently left behind all attachments of the world, but in their hearts still cherish strong bonds of affection:

None, who dwells in a body enjoys peace, all are in pain,
All dwellers of the world, worldlings and yogies suffer from it.

It is this illusory and ephemeral nature of the world that draws people to seek for eternal life and turns so many into lovers of God, and prompts them to pursue the path through the seven stages of the mystic, and reach the ultimate goal by realisation.

The lover who says that he has in vain traversed the Path is mistaken. For he should not lose heart like this nor should he consider the path he was traversing as not the right one. For the Path is only one—that of devotion, although a terribly difficult path.

Very rightly Yeats-Browne says at one place:

Love is the first as well as the last virtue in the Path.
You must first learn indifference, for love can only come into stillness. You must make a void and then let love flood it from the infinite source.

Others there are who may agree to bid adieu to desires and yet feel that they know not how to proceed on the Path. How to strive to remove the veils? How to burn one's self like a moth? Of course the life of the moth is enviable, so brief and yet so hallowed. Instead of avoiding it he rushes to burn himself in the candle. In his death he sees life and well does he woo it. The truth is that man is the real seeker who strives after his ideal: and round the effulgence of the Divine Candle he hovers, and Truth it is that consumes him and for ever merges him in Himself and takes him out of the ken of intellectual agnosticism into the realm of experience and actual realisation.

Absorption in Him is the main thing. But only a few appreciate it. Mansur Al Hallaj meant to convey the same idea when he cried out, "I am Truth". People however took it to be a bold and a heretical profession on his part. I am, however, inclined to say that a bolder profession is to say that "I am a slave". *I am Truth* is a show of the height of humility. For to call oneself a slave means to recognise two existences, that of the Master viz., God and of the slave, i.e. one's self. But he who says that *I am Truth* recognises only one existence, that is God, for he must be meant to convey that he has ceased to exist, only God exists. There is no other existence but His. His own self is for ever destroyed or, better, merged in the Divine Self. This is the height of humility. People, however, do not appreciate it.

He who prays to the Lord, puts himself in between Himself and the Lord. Although his prayers are for God, while he sees God he sees himself also. He cannot then be said to be absorbed and immersed in Him, for yet He can act and these actions belong to Him. (Fiha-ma-Fiha p. 49).

Briefly said, we can only join with the verdict of the mystics—

although the conversation of the mystic adopts a hundred forms, they convey only one meaning. They are all one, only the language is varied, but although the language is varied yet the meaning is always the same.

(Fiha-ma-Fiha p. 52)

THE ITALIAN CONQUEST OF ETHIOPIA

By P. R. RAMACHANDRA RAO

[In this article, the writer presents the historical and political background of the Italian Conquest of Ethiopia and considers the significance of the subjugation of Ethiopia in the proper sequence of world events. It is an interesting study of Internationalism versus the New Empire-minded nationalism.]

'Modern man' says the French publicist Delaisi 'is in truth a citizen of the World. But he is completely unaware of the fact, and herein lies the tragedy of our time.' Nationalism, says Dr. Krehbiel, is merely the historical product of a world that has over-stressed political divisions and is logically an anachronism.

Out of the debris of a war-weary world Internationalism was born. The Great War it was emphatically asserted was waged to 'end war' and make the world safe for democracy. By a curious irony, however, that War proved a veritable triumph of nationality. Out of the wreckage of empires following the War were liberated new nation-states, feeding on an inordinate nationalism bordering on primitive tribalism. The belligerent powers exalted a refurbished nationalism to a philosophy of life, a religion and a passion. This 'totalitarian' nationalism, embodying the Fascism of Signor Mussolini and the National Socialism of Adolf Hitler in its more virulent forms, engendered the authoritarian state and culminated in the nationalist dictatorships of Central and East-Central Europe. In the general demoralisation consequent upon post-War economic instability and political disorder, this neo-nationalism was the more menacing, more urgent than

pacifism or communism. The result was intermittent national friction. Arrogant nations set up economic barriers in the selfish pursuit of narrowly national interests, and multiplied national defences in a panic of insecurity. Thus, hardly ten years had elapsed before President Wilson's hopeful dream was rudely shaken and a neurotic Europe was rapidly drifting towards war.

What is the pathology of this new nationalism? It is national and imperial, military and acquisitive. It endows the state with a life and potency above and beyond the individual. Citizenship itself is synonymous with nationalism. The State is its own end and it is the Supreme Virtue. It is the Chosen People with a glorious heritage and a future 'mission.' That heritage it will unceasingly remind and impress upon its citizens. So, Fascist Italy reconstructs the ancient Roman forum and erects memorials to Caesar and Augustus. This nationalism will fulfil its 'mission' with a ruthless self-determination, dominating group and individual, and suppressing personal dissent. Its interests are national and it will pursue them even militantly. So, economic nationalism comprises gigantic schemes of hydro-electric development, extensive reforestation and the reclamation of swamp lands, a phenomenal progress of the national merchant marine, the setting up of national syndicates and corporations, and the raising of economic barriers. Abroad, the State will vindicate national honour and fulfil national ambition. So, the state is essentially militarist and the nation is pressed into universal compulsory military service. German Nationalism goes one better than Fascism in asserting an inherent racial superiority and military prowess. The Germans, says Hitler, are the superiors of their Slavonic and Latin neighbours and the Semitic Jews. These latter must be expelled lest they contaminate. The entire technique of mass-propaganda, of

compulsory public schooling, the cinema and the radio is harnessed towards spreading this nationalism. Thus the new nationalism is at once 'totalitarian', 'authoritarian' and 'corporate'. It is diametrically opposed to liberalism, democracy, internationalism and the Christian virtues.*

But the most important aspect of this nationalism is its empire-mindedness. It seemed, however, as if Imperialism was dead for a time, owing to the preoccupation of Great Britain and France with their mandated territories, the prohibition of the overseas activity of Germany, and the low level of post-War industry. But the emergence of imperialism occurred in the East, in the Japanese subjugation of Manchuria, with the resulting menace to Chinese tranquillity. The flagrant violation of international faith has at last culminated in Italy's unprovoked aggression and annexation of Ethiopia. It was the last straw.

As a socialist Mussolini had decried the acquisition of African territory in 1911. But the War and the advancing tide of Fascism changed all that. For, with the addition of a strong northern frontier, the possession of Trieste and Fiume and a kind of protectorate over Albania, Italy bade fair to become the mistress of the Adriatic. Italian population was rapidly on the increase and demanded a commensurate colonial outlet. Hence Mussolini stood forth as the champion of the imperialist phase of Fascism. So Italian nationalism goes foraying to farther Africa on a civilising mission.

The Italian conquest of Abyssinia is more than the isolated fulfilment of imperialist ambition. On the one hand, by analogical extension it brings into jeopardy the political security of the defenceless nations of the world. On the other, it strikes at the root of international morality and

*Carlton J. H. Hayes, *History of Modern Europe*, (1936).

questions the very existence of the League of Nations.

The provisions of the League Covenant for the outlawry of war are contained in Articles 10 to 17. They guarantee territorial integrity and political independence to nation-states. But the League itself is vested with no positive means to end international warfare, having neither military nor naval forces of its own. Indeed, war is not altogether prohibited by the League Covenant. A check is imposed on the precipitation of hostilities by Article 12 which provides for the arbitration of international disputes, for in no case shall the parties resort to war until three months after the arbitrary award. The much-discussed Article 16 deals with Sanctions. It obligates the League members immediately to subject the recalcitrant member 'to the severance of all trade or financial relations', and to prevent 'all financial, commercial or personal intercourse between the nationals of the Covenant-breaking state, whether a member of the League or not'. So the international machinery to prevent war is one merely of economic sanctions, being deprived of even its negative strength by the utter failure of Disarmament.

Four glaring instances of the League's futility have hitherto occurred. The earliest flouting of international mediation happened in the dispute over the city of Vilna between Poland and Lithuania, when the big powers of France and Italy deliberately ratified the seizure of Vilna by an independent covenant. The second instance was in the Italian bombardment and occupation of the Greek island of Corfu. The League was powerless to intervene despite Greece's application for rescue, and Italy scorned to surrender her sovereign rights and jeopardise her national prestige. The most astounding failure of the League was in the matter of the Japanese conquest of Manchuria, when Japan utilised the latter as a base of military operations against China. All that

a suppliant China wrung from the League was a paper report of a League Commission, while Japan straightly walked out of the League. The League's authority was flouted a fourth time over the Gran Chaco dispute when Bolivia and Paraguay went to war against each other.

The present crisis culminating in the Italian annexation of Abyssinia has set the seal on the League's ineffectuality. It raises wholesome apprehensions about the future of the League. One is apt to ask, will the League survive this storm? Will it be relegated to the limbo of finally-discredited superstitions? Or will it be replaced by a New League with a revised and strengthened machinery of international mediation? The prospects of the League are very dull. The post-War tide of pacifist internationalism seems well nigh swallowed up by an up-rising imperialist nationalism. The final answer will come in the second week of June when the League Council meets on the Ethiopian Issue.

So much of the League and the time-worn internationalism. We have other forces to reckon which fight the new empire-minded nationalism.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has said that Fascism and Imperialism are really two phases of a decaying Capitalism. Capitalism, grown strong by the progressive concentration in itself of power and plenty, wages its imperialist wars in the sacred name of a subservient nationalism. Opposed to this Capitalism, on the one hand, is Socialism and on the other, the Freedom Movements of the world fighting from two distinct angles.

The socialist solution, says Pundit Nehru, strikes at the very root of Capitalism and operating in the economic sphere does away with class war and the concomitant strife of vested interests in land and industry. It substitutes for the national profit-system of the present a system of co-operative service

which leaps land frontiers and unites the world on a common base of work and service. Thus Socialism, broadly conceived, develops out of the economic plane and transforms itself into a new economic internationalism based on a fundamental affinity of work and economic equality. Bertrand Russell concludes his book on 'Freedom and Organization' with the following words:—

It is not by pacifist sentiment, but by world-wide economic organization, that civilized mankind is to be saved from collective suicide.

The freedom movements of the world fight imperialism by a frontal battery, so constituting with the flanking movement of socialism the totality of opposition to Capitalist-Imperialism. So the Sinn Fein movement proved the ultimate triumph of Irish nationalism, leading to the recognition in 1921 of Ireland's Dominion Status. Latin nationalism in the western hemisphere wrung progressive concessions from American imperialism. The countries of Haiti, Santo Domingo and Nicaragua rid themselves of a military imperialism and set up national parliaments. In 1934 the Philippine dependency became an autonomous commonwealth and obtained from imperialist America a promise of complete independence ten years from that date. Egyptian nationalism under the leadership of Saad Zaghlul grew restive of the British protectorate and made strenuous demands for national independence. Nationalist China inspired by Sun Yat Sen (and by Chiang Kai Shek to-day) vigorously confronts the imperialist intentions of aggressive Japan. The Indian Nationalist Movement, it is needless to say, is part of this world ferment. These freedom movements though immediately working for national emancipation make common cause with the international opposition to imperialism and so subject-nationalism becomes merged with the new

internationalism constituting its political phase.

Thus the antithesis still lies between Internationalism and Capitalist-Imperialism, but it is a New Internationalism which fights a New Empire-minded Nationalism.

To sum up.

The Great War released at once the two counteracting forces of Internationalism and Nationalism. The new nationalism grounded on the common characteristic of the strenuous pursuit of narrowly national interests appeared under different forms in different countries. On the one side was an empire-minded Fascism, with German National Socialism closely behind trying to force the cork of a bottled ambition. Russia followed with an extreme type of economic nationalism, supplemented by a cultural nationalism which Lenin endorsed and Stalin fosters to-day. The constructive nationalism of Kemalist Turkey stood somewhat apart with generally pacific and conciliatory intentions. In the Moslem Near East was Persian and Afghan nationalism consolidating and reformist. On the other hand, opposed to this reactionary nationalism allied to imperialism, was the subject nationalism of the East and the freedom-urges of oppressed nationalities. Thus nationalism getting empire-minded betrayed its cause and turned upon its kin. So, the conflict lay between Internationalism and the Neo-nationalism, and the Ethiopian conquest well nigh declares the immediate triumph of nationalism.

In conclusion we might say this. Nationalism when spontaneous and non-aggressive may possibly inspire higher motives. For, the interdependence of nations is so obvious that national rivalries and national barriers are fundamentally artificial. There can be no abiding peace to the world without international co-operation. The real political unit is the world and not the nation-state. Nationalism, to requote

Dr. Krehbiel, is a logical anachronism and the historical product of artificial political divisions. But the internationalism which shall unite this world in one fellowship can only be economic, and achieved by an economic reorganization of the world. These are but hopes. For, the Zeitgeist operates with an inscrutable logic of its own, piloting the world to an unknown shore and a sometimes strange destiny. Meanwhile

war faln from savagery to fratricide,
from a trumpeting vainglory to a crying shame,
stalketh now with blasting curse branded on its brow.

ON MILTON'S SIMILES

By R. P. CHOPRA

["By the general suffrage of the civilised world, his place has been assigned among the greatest masters of the art. The sight of his books, the sound of his name, are refreshing to us", says Macaulay of Milton. In this article, Mr. Chopra of the Ramjas College, Delhi, confines himself to one important aspect of Milton's poetry.]

A simile is an explicit statement of some point of likeness conceived to exist between two things that differ in all other respects. This figure of speech has its origin in a faculty of the human intellect—the perception of resemblance between things. Its primary function is to explain an object or scene or action by reference to objects, scenes or actions of a more familiar nature. Milton, for example, compares the rebel angels to a swarm of locusts and thus conveys an impression of the vastness of their numbers. The fallen angels crowding in hell are again compared to the hordes of human invaders. The leaping of Satan over the wall of Paradise is compared to the leaping of a prowling "hunger-stricken" wolf over the fence into a sheep-fold or to the climbing in at the window of some rich burgher of a thief bent on stealing his cash. The poet thus seeks to explain the unfamiliar in terms of the familiar, the unknown in terms of the known.

But the simile serves another important purpose—it enlivens the scene by making it more vivid and impressive.

A simile to be perfect, [says Dr. Johnson in his "Life of Pope"] must both illustrate and ennoble the subject; must show it to the

understanding in a clearer view, and display it to the fancy with greater dignity.

Now this quality of the simile makes it a particularly important factor in an epic poem as it elevates the subject and imparts to it an ornamentation which is in keeping with epic dignity and grandeur. For instance, the majesty and splendour of Satan's "imperial ensign" are expressed by referring to its shining like a meteor "streaming to the wind". This comparison conjures up before our mind's eye the picture of a shooting star with its tail blazing against the sky. We may call a simile of the first kind explanatory and of the second kind pictorial.

Again, the manner of description in a simile may either be classic or romantic. The simile in the classic manner appeals to universal knowledge and feeling while that in the romantic manner appeals to strangeness of sentiment and detailed particularity of truth. The former kind of simile illustrates concrete objects by other concrete objects and occurrences by other occurrences. Satan, for instance, is compared to "that sea-beast Leviathan". The flying about of the rebel angels, under the dusky canopy of Hell, is compared to the flying about of a swarm of locusts which Moses called up with a sweep of his magic wand and which hung over the land of the Nile (the realm of Pharaoh) like an evil pall of darkness. On the other hand, in an essentially romantic sort of figure, the poet's aim being to impart a certain strangeness to the object or the scene, the process is reversed. Shelley, for example, illustrates the more familiar by the less familiar when he compares—undoubtedly with great poetic effect—the skylark to "an unbodied joy whose race is just begun", or to "a poet hidden in the light of thought". Then, the classic simile embodies a whole picture though the comparison is appropriate only at one point; the

romantic figure is not so elaborate and is frequently replaced by the metaphor. Lastly, the similes of the latter kind occur at all points of a poem and come crowding on one another, while the great classic similes occur generally at the pauses just before some interesting action creating thereby what is called "Epic Suspense".

The romantic figure was foreign to the manner of Milton. His similes are classical: they are large, general, universal, laying no stress on the truth of particulars and minute details. Take this simile, for instance, which is typical of many in Milton:—

Thus they their doubtful consultations dark
Ended, rejoicing in their matchless Chief:
As, when from mountain tops the dusky clouds
Ascending, while the North-wind sleeps, O'erspread
Heaven's cheerful face, the lowering element
Scowls o'er the darkened landskip snow or shower,
If chance the radiant sun, with farewell sweet,
Extend his evening beam, the fields revive,
The birds their notes renew, and bleating herds
Attest their joy, that hill and valley rings.

(P. L.—II 486-495)

Now note the distinctive feature of this simile. It is this that the poet has worked the simile out in all its bearings into a picture complete in itself. It gives a whole picture of the sky with large relations and a large setting. The ethereal tints and half-tints the delicate touches of light and colour that meet us in Shelley's pictures of skyscape and cloudscape are absent. Only the eye of an artist can catch the sort, subdued purple shading in a picture of sunset painted by a romantic poet like Shelley. There is no such cunning effect of light and shade here. Milton describes the coming into fresh life of the sky and earth as the clouds disappear and the sun beams forth his radiance. The picture awakens in us no

strangeness of sentiment, no emotional subtlety; on the other hand, an appeal is sought to universality of feeling.

Milton's art is also revealed in the creation of what has already been described as "Epic Suspense". He skilfully creates a pause whenever he has to introduce a striking figure. The following instance is aptly illustrative of what is meant. "Awake, arise, or be for ever fallen", cries Satan to his followers. A hush falls on the rebel-angels and Milton thus having awakened curiosity goes on to describe the condition of the angels in the following beautiful simile:—

They heard, and were abashed and up they sprang
Upon the wing, as when man wont to watch,
On duty sleeping found by whom they dread,
Rouse and bestir themselves, ere well awake.

(P. L.—I. 331-334)

Indeed, Milton's great similes are introduced "with a peculiar hush, a thrill of expectancy".

It is thus easy to see that Milton's similes are essentially classical in manner. Often Milton models them on Homer. A well-known characteristic of the Homeric simile is that when the poet says that A is like B, he goes on to describe B in detail, making mention of points about it which have little to do with A. Consider, for instance, Milton's description of Satan who

Prone on the flood, extended long and large,
Lay floating many a rood, in bulk as huge
As whom the fables name of monstrous size,
Titanian or Earth-born
. or that sea-beast
Leviathan, which God of all His works
Created hugest that swim the ocean-stream.
Him, haply slumbering on the Norway foam,
The pilot of some small night-foundered skiff,
Deeming some island, oft, as seamen tell,

With fixed anchor in his scaly rind,
 Moors by his side under the Lee, while night
 Invests the sea, and wished morn delays,
 So stretched out huge in length the Arch-Fiend lay
 Chained on the burning lake;

We may see that Milton describes exactly in the Homeric manner. While comparing Satan stretched on the burning flood to Leviathan he proceeds to describe how the pilot of some night-foundered skiff is likely to mistake the sleeping Leviathan for an island, to cast anchor in his scaly rind and to moor by his side under the lee. Now all this has nothing to do with Satan. The only point of similarity between Satan and the Leviathan is the hugeness of their bulk and size, but the name Leviathan starts a fresh train of recollection in the poet's mind, and he goes on to tell us stories and legends connected with sea-monsters, quite irrespective of the purpose for which the image was first introduced.

Thus in respect of the occasions on which similes are used, the manner in which they are introduced, the way in which the image is expanded beyond the limits strictly necessary for the comparison, Milton may rightly be regarded as a disciple of Homer. Homer's field, however, was limited. Being the child of a rather primitive civilization he could not draw his similes from the fields of history and travel. These are chiefly derived from scenes of nature and of rustic life. Virgil appears to follow the epic tradition, founded by Homer, voluntarily, for he could have easily extended his field if he had chosen to do so. Milton too introduces images from animal or rustic life. He compares Satan, as we have seen, to Leviathan; the rebel angels, as they lie floating over the surface of the burning lake, are compared to numerous sea-weed that floats over the Red Sea; the devils crowding into Pandemonium are compared to a cluster of

bees. But such figures in Milton are very few. He saw that he could not deal largely in this sort of figure. His song intended "no middle flight". With the keen sense of an unerring artist he could not accept the similes of the familiar and the common place, which would not have accorded well with the dignity of his theme. He therefore prefers, as Raleigh has observed,

to maintain dignity and distance by choosing comparisons from ancient history and mythology, or from those great and strange things in Nature which repel intimacy—the sun, the moon, the sea, planets in opposition, a shooting star, an evening mist, a will o' the wisp, a vulture descending from the Himalayas, the sea-beast Leviathan, Xerxes' Hellespontic bridge, the rape of Proserpine, and a hundred more reminiscences of the ancient world.

(Raleigh's Milton p. 234)

Even when Homeric similes come in they are artistically introduced by the poet "to give rest to the imagination exhausted by the sublimity of Heaven and Hell" and also to enhance the effect of the comparisons of the other kind.

Milton derived his similes from a variety of sources:—nature, animal and rustic life; classical mythology; Biblical reminiscences; ancient folk-lore and legend; travel; military science etc. The following are particularly worthy of note:—

Autumnal leaves (P. L. I, 302); Landscape on clearing of storm (P. L. II, 488); Moses and the locusts (P. L. I, 338); The fleet sailing for Bengala (P. L. II, 456); Sleeping sentries (P. L. I, 331); Leviathan (P. L. I, 200); Gunpowder (P. L. IV, 814); Bees (P. L. I, 768); Vulture (P. L. I, 341);

Similes constitute a most significant part of "Paradise Lost". It is remarked that "Paradise Lost" is to "Paradise Regained" what the conflagration is to the sun-lit landscape. The remark suggests a certain lack of splendour and sublimity

in "Paradise Regained". This is obviously due to the absence of similes in the shorter poem. Similes do not merely ornament Paradise Lost but also fill it with learning justifying thus Pattison's remark that "an appreciation of Milton is the last reward of consummated scholarship."

INDIAN STATES

How far Sovereign

By K. R. R. SASTRY

[Mr. Sastry who has made a close study of constitutional problems discusses here how far the Indian states are sovereign.]

The Indian States are bound by treaties, engagements and Sanads which make them more or less subject to British control. The general control of the British Government as the paramount power over Native States is exercised in the following ways:—

(1) The Paramount Power has exclusive control over the foreign relations of the state.

(2) It assumes a general but limited responsibility for the internal peace of the State.

(3) It assumes a special responsibility for the safety and welfare of the British subjects resident in the State.

(4) It requires subordinate co-operation in the task of resisting foreign aggression and maintaining internal order.

Thus, looked at internationally from the outside by foreign Powers, these Indian States are British. The Crown "has in addition to taking over the powers of external Sovereignty, undertaken to preserve the internal and external security of the States"¹.

Yet in many other respects and within the domain of private international law they are separate political entities possessing independent Civil, Criminal, and Fiscal jurisdiction. The Secretary of State for India was obliged to restate the

¹ B. Y. I. L. 1930 p. 56.

relations of the Indian States and the Paramount Power in the course of his letter to the Secretary-General of the League on September 28, 1927. Ratification of the draft conventions of the International Labour Conference at Geneva by the Rulers of the States was stated to be "the concern of the Rulers of States" and not controlled by the Paramount Power. These states which number several hundreds vary greatly in size and population and the exact relations between the various states and the Paramount Power are determined by a series of engagements and by long-established political practice".

It cannot be gainsaid pace Sir W. Lee Warner's view that the Constitutional relations between the Indian States and the Government of India have been gradually changed. As Professor Westlake put in its juridical setting "their relations have been imperceptibly shifted from an international to an imperial basis; the process has been veiled by the prudence of statesmen, the conservatism of lawyers, and the prevalence of certain theories about Sovereignty."

So far as Indian States are concerned their territory is not British territory and admittedly, the inhabitants of the Indian States are not British Subjects. Many of these states have their legislation, their administration and their Civil and Criminal jurisdiction. As was reiterated by the Secretary of State in his letter to the Secretary General of the League, the Indian Legislature cannot legislate for the Indian States.

What is the exact nature of the relations between the States and the Paramount Power? Undoubtedly, the rules regarding these relations are found in treaties concluded by the Crown with the Rulers. Nor can it be argued that all treaties of the British Crown with the third States are applicable *ipso Jure* to the territory of the Indian States. In a letter of the Marquis of Salisbury to the Marquis of Dufferin

(April 25, 1896) it is also stated thus:—"the protected states of India are not annexed to nor incorporated in the possessions of the Crown. . . . It has however never been contended that if those states had had pre-existing treaties with foreign powers the assumption of Protectorate by Great Britain would have abrogated those treaties. It could not have had and in no case has had, such consequences"².

It has also to be stated that the relationship between the Indian states and the Crown has grown up under widely differing historical conditions. In some of the earlier treaties as in those of the East India Company and States like Hyderabad, Gwalior, Baroda and Travancore, they were "treaties of mutual amity, friendly co-operation and reciprocal obligation." After 1813 the treaties were of "Subordinate co-operation, alliance and loyalty". Owing to the prudence of statesmen like Lord Curzon and the conservatism of lawyers the relationship shifted from an international to an imperial basis. "This imperceptible shifting" is indicated by the notification in the Indian Gazette (August 21, 1891) in the Manipur Case. "The principles of international law have no bearing upon the relations between the Government of India as representing the Queen Empress on the one hand and the Native States under the Suzerainty of Her Majesty. The paramount supremacy of the former presupposes and implies the subordination of the latter."

The imperialistic genius of Lord Curzon enabled him to state that the Indian States "in process of time have conformed to a single type." Lord Reading, the Ex-Lord Chief Justice of England took occasion in his letter to H. E. H. the Nizam dated March 27, 1926 to further broaden the scope of the Sovereignty of the British Crown "Its supremacy" he

² British and Foreign State Papers Vol. 89, p. 1053.

elaborated, "is not based only upon treaties and engagements but exists independently of them, and quite apart from its prerogative in matters relating to foreign powers and policies, it is the right and duty of the British Government, while scrupulously respecting all treaties and engagements with the Indian States, to preserve peace and good order throughout India."

As early as 1911, Sir F. Pollock while stating the differences of attitude between Prof. Westlake and Sir W. Lee Warner—the protagonist of the Government of India's view—stated the point thus:—

"The relations of the Government of India and the Native States are governed by a body of convention and usage not quite like anything else in the world, but such that in cases of doubtful interpretation, the analogy of international Law may often be found useful and persuasive"³.

Sir Leslie Scott appearing for the Indian States, presented their case before the Indian States' Committee thus:—"The Indian States retain their rights as independent states, except so far as they have ceded their rights to the Crown by agreement, express or implied. The Butler Committee followed a different theory. The Crown's paramountcy had grown up, according to the Committee, independently of these treaties, engagements and Sanads. It also felt impossible to define paramountcy. Paramountcy must remain Paramount. It must fulfil its obligations defining or adapting itself according to the shifting necessities of the time and the progressive development of the states." In any event in realms of external affairs, Defence and Protection, and Intervention, the Paramount Power has functioned.

³ The Law Quarterly 1911, pp. 88 and 89.

At any rate, it has been recognized that the states retain sufficient sovereignty that through only treaties with His Majesty they can be brought into the Federation. Section 6 of the Government of India Act (25 and 26 Geo. V, Ch. 420 1935) contains relevant details of accession of Indian States. The ruler has to declare for himself, his heirs and successors "that he accedes to the Federation in accordance with" the terms of the Instrument of Accession he executes. His Majesty the King has to signify his acceptance of such an Instrument.

The extent and limitations of the law-making powers of the Federal Legislature, and the exercise of the executive authority of the Federation in the acceding state have to be specified in the Instrument.

Thus, the Indian States cannot be called sovereign in its full sense. Sovereignty is *divided* between the Indian States and the Paramount Power. Though protected dependent states, the Indian States still *retain* some of the important rights which belong to separate political societies.

BALU

A story from Malayalam

By K. M. PANIKKAR

[Mr. Panikkar's reputation as a literary man is not confined to his books and articles in English. In his own language, Malayalam, he has written some admirable things—novels, stories and poems. Readers of this short story should bear in mind that till a few years ago Nayar families which were matriarchal in descent were impartible and often contained seventy or eighty members and that the servants lived with the family and the whole formed rather an extraordinary community.]

Balu, I must confess, had become an intolerable nuisance. He seemed to make it a point to obstruct me at every turn. Twice I had tried to sell the family house and the properties attached to it, as they had become difficult for me to manage. To one living so far away I had a fairly extensive practice as a lawyer in Madras the estate was more of an encumbrance than a profitable concern. Besides, to a person like myself, accustomed to look after my own affairs, the dependence on servants, which estate management from a distance involved, was highly irksome. True, Balu was a very good manager and he cost me next to nothing; but all the same I did not want feel myself dependent on a servant and twice I had decided to sell out, but by one trick or another Balu had out-manoeuvred me. This time I had started from Madras with my mind definitely made up. But Balu was again ready with his excuses. "But young master", (he has always called me 'young master') he said: "you cannot sell this family house. The sacred serpent grove is in it: and the holy ones

never forgive if regular *puja* is not offered. How can you think of selling your family serpents to a Christian who may even cut down the holy grove.

I pretended unconcern. "So much the better, I said. "These nasty reptiles, I never liked them".

"Besides", he persisted, "there are temple rights attached to this property. It goes with the house. You know, during the *vrtta* days we have to light 101 lamps every day in the temple. Who will do that?"

I was not going to stand this kind of obstruction from a servant and I believe I exploded in rather an unseemly fashion.

I still remember the day when Balu, then a dirty urchin covered with sores, was left by his aunt in my house. He was barely five years old, a month or two younger than I was. His mother had died a year before and his aunt who was looking after him had a numerous family. So he was brought to my grandmother. The whole village and my family saw nothing unusual in it; but I remember my maternal uncle remarking cynically to my grandmother, "Do you think, mother, that our house is an orphanage, that all the waifs and strays of the village should be left with us to be fed and brought up at our expense". My grandmother only said meekly: "Don't you remember how this little fellow's mother used to get all her clothes from me. Poor woman, she is dead and his father has married again". As a matter of feminine logic it was unanswerable. She added "Look, most of our servants have been brought up by me like this; that land agent fellow, who thinks he is big man now, because his son is a clerk in some government office came wandering here when his mother died of small-pox in the year of the flood, when your eldest brother was born."

Two days after Balu came to the village school with me.

I was immensely proud to have a servant carrying my palm leaves on which I was then learning to write. By some mysterious process he attached himself to me. I was happy to have some one to beat and to tease and though sometimes he would weep and sulk, ordinarily he did not seem to mind what I did to him.

When two years later I went away from home to the nearest town to join an English school, Balu's own education came to an abrupt end. He was promoted as a boy for odd work in the diary. However when I came home for holidays he did not seem to take his work seriously. He spent most of his time running errands for me. No one seemed to mind this. In fact the other servants used to chafe by calling him the young servant of the young master. He was no longer a street Arab but a self-respecting servant who knew much more about things than I did. He could clamber up a mango tree, manage small canoes, swim in the pond and do other wonderful things which made me gasp with envy. For all my pride, I had a feeling of inferiority and I took it out of him by playing tricks on him and teasing him whenever an opportunity occurred. Every time I came back from school, I noticed that he had made progress in the hierarchy of the house. When I was leaving for Europe for education, he was already a young man of whom my uncle thought a great deal. He had been promoted to be my uncle's body-servant, a position of importance and standing. But I knew I was still his *Kochu Yajman*, the young master and I saw that he was deeply moved when I took leave of my relations to go off to foreign parts.

Five years later when I returned as a young barrister, Balu was there to greet me and it was he who took upon himself the duty of seeing about my luggage. He was then in charge of the granaries, seeing to the collection, storage and

sale of paddy. Though I was still "the young master" he did not come near me very much, probably in the belief that he ought to keep his place.

I set up my practice in Madras. Though my professional work was not much in the beginning, my marriage with the daughter of an important official gave me social connections which had their results in my practice. I took my wife home for a few days during the vacation. She did not take to the place. Brought up in the town and accustomed to the conveniences of urban life, she could not appreciate the natural simplicity of the life in the village. More than all the physical inconveniences which she quite understood and was prepared to accept, she found that both my own relations and the people of the village considered her a stranger. Of course she was not "of the House". In a matriarchal family the wife's standing is according to the family of her mother. Though out of courtesy to me and fear of my mother, no one was impolite to her, it was quite clear that she was looked upon as an outsider. The exaggerated respect shown by all to my sister as being "of the House" in the presence of my wife was meant to teach her her proper place. We came back to Madras after the first week and thanked God that the Legislature had put an end to this unnatural system by giving to each member of the family the right to demand partition.

I was not slow to take advantage of the law and to ask for partition. The old family which had for so long been the centre of the village was broken up. My own share was the family house and a few hundred acres of rice fields. Balu immediately appointed himself steward of my properties and to any one who asked why he took over my share to manage rather than that of others, his answer was simple: "The

young master lives so far away, so there must be some one to look after his interests." I must confess he looked after my affairs well. The rents were collected in time, the taxes were paid without delay: paddy was sold for the best price. Balu also kept up the prestige of the family. All the temple ceremonials were performed: the necessary festivals were celebrated and whatever had been paid in the time of my uncle for local charities was paid regularly. In fact whenever I came home, I found that the people of the village looked up to me as they had done for generations to the head of my family, though I myself was only the "young master" to Balu.

But there was a fly in the ointment. Balu though an ideal manager and devoted to me kept up the old attitude to my wife. She was not the lady "of the House" nor the Mistress but the lady from an unknown house. He was scrupulously respectful to her as the wife of his master, prompt to obey, always anxious to anticipate her wishes, just as he would have been to any friend of mine. But he made it clear, in some mystic way that she was not the Mistress. He spoke of my sister always as the Mistress. The first time I talked of the Mistress, he genuinely thought I meant my sister and when it was clear that I meant my wife, he was so confused that he blurted out "Oh, the Lady from such and such a House". He saw his mistake and never again alluded to it but I knew that it was all the time in his mind.

My wife also guessed it and though Balu tried his very best to make it up to her there was a mental barrier between them. More than once she asked me to dismiss Balu. But the difficulty was to get another manager. Balu was an unsalaried servant. He met his minimum requirements as he had always done from the income of the estate and he

was able always to show a decent profit. I had sufficient knowledge of local conditions to realise that if I replaced Balu the estate would not pay. I explained it to my wife and her reply was: then sell the estate. That was the only solution and I agreed. Twice I tried but Balu was able to see that the thing did not go through.

This time I did not consult him at all. I put the business in the hands of a friend of mine, who found a Christian merchant who was willing to purchase the entire property at a very good price. I closed the deal and informed Balu only after registering the sale-deed.

Balu was desolate. He produced a hundred arguments why the property should not be sold. Even the serpents and the gods were pressed into his service. In fact I had forgotten about the Serpent Grove which in every aristocratic Nayar family was like a holy chapel. If I had remembered about it, I should have at least kept that ground out of the sale and endowed it to the temple. But the sale was already effected and there was no use crying over spilt milk. I told him that I had arranged for 5 acres of land and one thousand rupees to be given to him for his services. But he took no notice of it.

But the family serpents! where is the family prestige!

I am ashamed to say I lost my temper. I said "After all, it is my family, not yours. If the Holy Ones are angry for deserting the serpents, their displeasure will be visited on me and not on you. What have you to do with it? What is mine, I shall dispose of and I do not want your advice."

Balu uttered no word in reply. I could see that the answer was unexpected and came as a blow to him. I was myself sorry. After all, it was his house also, from his point of view. He quietly slunk away.

Early morning I was to leave for Madras. My things

were packed and I was ready to leave but Balu was nowhere. I could not wait, as I had to catch a train. It was only 6 days later that I received in Madras a letter from the new owner of my house informing me that Balu's body had been picked up from the bathing pond.

POEMS

THE QUEST

By M.

Would I could say
My companion I have met,
While yet life's sands their course had not swept!

The self is my companion,
Who through variegated hues of the rainbow shines;
Flows from the Himalyan snows,
 meandering through many a green course;
Dancing with the breeze as it blows,
To wait and watch on the high mountain tops.

My search in quest of Him began,
When struck by Fate's cruelty, my Beloved one was
 snatched,
Or the heartlessness of my love drove me to it,
As in moments, my feelings it did not reciprocate.
In sheer desperation I proceed,
To find the love that never
Lessens, knows no pain, never separates,
Never does it arouse the lament of desperation.
Alack! a wild echo yet,
 Till I find Him,
 My Beloved Self.

THE RAILWAY TRAIN

It comes like rippling streams adown a vale
 Running to read expansive world in speed,
 Compassing boundless space—a glorious deed—
 With pilgrims of the earth on railway trail.

The power of steam and iron, it sings their tale
 In striking tunes wellset to speak its creed;
 It murmurs not, but trumpets, world should heed
 When outgrown creeds and teachings are but stale.

When epics cease to speak and scriptures fail
 To comfort, preach and please the stricken soul;
 When arts cannot console the mortals pale
 And bitter miseries haunt from pole to pole—

The only solace and the last refuge
 Should be a *Railway train* to rest and muse.

MOHANLAL KASHYAP

LINES TO THE LATE KING

As a beautiful sunset thy life ended,
 Radiating the Earth with vibrant colours.
 Most loved of monarchs! Thy name
 Will be young on the lips of men.
 A man among kings thou wert,
 Thine the kingly virtues—thy dear love
 For thy Empire, thy courage, patience, gentleness.
 Thy saga will be a hymn to thy subjects,
 Thou thy people's joys shared
 And their sorrows suffered;
 Bravely, nobly, the Empire's Cross thou bore.

Till the very last, service was thy religion,
 Forever England—forever the Empire.
 A poor mortal's rest thou hast sought,
 Yet an Immortal thou will be
 Through the shadowless space of Time
 When Seasons come and go.
 Dear Majesty, thy remembrance will beat in every heart.

ADI K. SETT

MUSINGS

By B. GOPALA REDDI

- (1) While real things are constant, their shadows grow
 big only to become short and end in nothingness.
- (2) It is not lights alone that gladden us. Shadows too
 have their glorious part to play in the garden of life.
- (3) Reed, when disfigured, becomes a flute.
- (4) Reed's mute suffering when burnt into stops, finds
 expression in flute's melodious music at the soothing
 touch of a seraphic whisper.
- (5) Gaps in the bamboo are the seven gates of flute's
 musical paradise.
- (6) Fruit emerges out of the ascetic renunciation of the
 flower, in shedding its beautiful petals.
- (7) Oysters cast off shells as rubbish,
 Men treasure them as pearls,
 Who can say who is wise?
- (8) Where speech fails, smile succeeds,
 Where entreaty fails, tears succeed.
 Where light fails, love succeeds.
- (9) Love's sky is filled with lightnings of smiles and
 torrents of tears.

- (10) The tender jasmine of smiles withers in the midst of hot tempests of sighs.
- (11) Even the red-hot lip-gates hold back the fugitive smile when a dark eye beckons it.
- (12) In the Sahara of separation, vegetation of smiles grows only round an oasis of tears.
- (13) Smile is the sail that carries love's boat on the high tide of life's ocean.
- (14) From the immense store-house of sublime silence, we draw inspiration and express our joy in song.
- (15) Thoughts sprout in silence
They blossom in silence.
They find fruition in silence
They seek their deliverance in silence.
- (16) The consummation of the lullabies of the cradle is, in the still silence of the tomb.
- (17) The blazing panegyrics of stars merge and make a grand symphony of spangled silence, that envelopes the universe.

The Twentieth Century Library

THE HEROES OF MANY COUNTRIES

By I. D.

The Tumult and the Shouting. The Memoirs of George Slocombe. 1936. William Heinemann Ltd., London. 15 net.

Mr. George Slocombe is one of the celebrities of Fleet Street—the street (as he felicitously describes it) of romance, struggle, and gallant illusion. As a journalist, he has had a varied and vivid life, full of opportunities and ordeals, of fluctuating fortunes and of fleeting sensations. As a special correspondent of some of the leading London dailies, he has, like Mr. H. W. Nevinnson and Sir Philip Gibbs, roamed the world over for “copy” and distinguished himself by journalistic triumphs as well as literary achievements.

In “The Tumult and the Shouting” he sets down his memoirs, with a major part of the world as their background. Here in these pages we come across a vast array of men who have made history in their respective countries—politicians and statesmen, agitators and exiles, diplomats and dictators, anarchists and revolutionaries, a few men of letters and artists, several journalists. Mr. Slocombe watched some of them at close quarters and sometimes even gave them useful tips. He has an amazing knack of tracking the big men to their dens and beard them there.

Mr. Slocombe makes the task of the reviewer easier by writing a beautiful little description of his own handiwork. He tells us:

It is, in the main, a record of diverse manifestations of the heroic spirit in man. The heroes of many countries and of several genera-

tions are therein described. There is, in retrospect, a common touch of frustrated nobility in them all, of genius, of fanaticism, of vanity, of cruelty, of intolerance, of hope, of courage of sublimity. . . . From the tragic genius Gaudier-Brzeski to the meek destructive Gandhi, from the upright Tory individualist Sir Austen Chamberlain to the Bolshevik collectivist Litvinoff, from the arrogant Imperialist Curzon and the subtle demagogues Lloyd George and Aristide Briand to the neurasthenic Techichirin, from Ramsay MacDonald and Philip Snowden to the triumphant dictators Hitler and Mussolini, the dead romantic Dollfus, they are men like no other men who have gone before or who may come hereafter. They belong to our own time. They rise to its grandeur; they stoop to its depths. They have their own vivid, brightly coloured or stark and sombre page in history.

For us here the chief interest of the book lies in the five chapters devoted to India. It will be recalled that Mr. Slocombe came to this country in May, 1930 at the time of the Civil Disobedience Movement. As the special correspondent of the *Daily Herald* he managed to interview Mahatma Gandhi in his cell in Yervada and to wring out from him "peace terms" which created a political as well as journalistic sensation. It was Mr. Slocombe's tackling of the Mahatma that paved the way for the peace negotiations which were followed both in England and in India with animated interest. It was in those memorable days that he happened to come into close contact with the leading political figures of India. We get very delightful glimpses of them in this book and it will interest Indian readers to read how Mr. Slocombe sizes them up.

Of the Mahatma whom he astounded as the first visitor from the outside world since his arrest, Mr. Slocombe says:

I have never met any man more utterly honest, more transparently sincere, less given to the egotism, self-conscious pride, opportunism and ambition which are found in greater or less degree in all the other great political figures of the world.

He also makes an observation which has in it the hint of prophecy:

Retired although he is temporarily from the active political conflict, he is still a symbol of Indian nationalism. His moral leadership remains unchallenged. He can, alone among the politicians in India, set his own day, place and hour for his re-entry upon the national scene.

Among others, the late Pandit Motilal Nehru impressed him tremendously.

His proud profile, his thick silvery hair, his delicate hands [says Mr. Slocombe] were those of a Prince of the Roman Church. In a race of men of aristocratic lineage, of noble tradition and bearing, he stood out proud and bold, a born leader, a man of infinite subtlety of mind, of the highest Western culture, an orator gifted with all the social graces, a patriot, yet, nevertheless, no fanatic, a man of humour, tolerance and wit.

Mr. Slocombe thinks that so long as Gandhi lives, "Jawaharlal, though" "fierce, ruthless, belligerent"

will loyally accept his policy, and follow the road of non-violence: an agnostic Lenin meekly obedient to the precepts of a Christian Tolstoy.

He gives an antithetical description of the Patel brothers:

Vithalbhai, now dead, was a born negotiator, a man of peace and conciliation, a political lawyer, a man of wig and robe. His brother had the lean and hungry look of an agitator; restless, unquiet, unforgiving, a man of long memory; stern and even cold in his judgments, of unswerving fidelity to a cause and a leader, with much nobility in his eyes and much patience and self-abnegation in his firm, strong mouth. The elder brother, the politician was a man of the cities, urbane, bland, benevolent, comfort-loving and vain. The younger was a natural leader and organiser of peasants. A man of the hills and forests, burnt by the sun, muscular, hard and sinewy, an Indian Wat Tyler: nearer to Gandhi by temper than the brilliant and sophisticated Jawaharlal, but no more convinced than Jawaharlal, in secret of the ultimate success of their non-violent tactics.

Then follows a brief and telling vignette of "that most dangerous and brilliant of all women, a woman of wit and audacity, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu";

Dark, plump and smiling, an admirable cook, a cheerful and humorous companion, a cool and critical mind, she is the leaven which lightens the sometimes burdensome lump of adulation and hero-worship which weighs upon Gandhi. She is the licensed jester of the Mahatma's little court, the Radek of the Indian Kremlin, the Madame Roland of the Girondins of the Indian struggle.

Mr. Slocombe's estimate of the political elite of India is not, however, confined to the Congress camp. Though in a prefatory note he refers to them as "an army of generals without followers, men of considerable abilities, but in the main without popular appeal, still less with the almost magical insight of leaders like Gandhi into the popular mind", he records his impressions of some of them in appreciative terms in the following passage:

The best of them compare favourably with the best of our own partly hereditary legislative and administrative class. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, whose great gifts and public spirit have been rightly recognised by his nomination to the Privy Council, would have arisen to the dignity of minister in almost any country.

The Muslim Independent Jinnah, slim, subtle, handsome, has something of the restless, brilliant and aggressive spirit of the late Lord Birkenhead. The Muslim Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola and the Hindu Sir Purushottamdas Thakurdas, the Parsee Sir Pheroze Sethna, the great Calcutta Hindu millionaire G. D. Birla, are industrialists and philanthropists of an energy, intelligence, determination and patriotism unsurpassed in those qualities by any of our own captains of industry and finance. In law, eloquence and judicial impartiality, men like my friend M. R. Jayakar, like Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, like the Indian Christian Sir Joseph Bhole, like the Liberal leader Sir Chiminlal Setalvad, are not outrivalled by many in our own legal and administrative circles. Pandit Malaviya, the great founder of the University of Benares, and the leader of the Hindu Mahasabha, is a figure of learning and austerity who would com-

mand respect and admiration in Europe.

The whole book is studded with a series of vivid and brilliant portraits. Like the etcher who reveals infinity in a few lines, Mr. Slocombe reveals the man, the whole man, with a few flourishes of the pen. One should, however, turn to his book, not for profound thought or mellowed wisdom, but for close observation, interesting narrative, gentle irony, entertaining vivacity and brilliant style. "The Tumult and the Shouting" introduces the reader not only to the dominating characters on the international stage but presents before him some of the most stirring scenes in contemporary annals. It is a book of absorbing interest, delightful, even fascinating, —one which is not only readable but re-readable.

Himalayan Folklore. By Rev. E. S. Oakley and Tara Dutta Gairola. Published by the Superintendent, Printing and Stationery, Allahabad. Price Rs.3-8-0.

The folklore of a country is a great field for historical research. For, it is the folklore of a nation that reveals the manners, customs, and the political, social and religious life of the people in different periods of history. It has a historical value which no student of history can ignore. On the importance of the study of this interesting subject of folklore Mr. Gairola's words repay perusal:

My own belief is that the Puranas, the Mahabharat and the Ramayan of the Hindus, which contain their popular religion, and the Old Testament of the Christians are really the folklore of those times, which the sages collected and arranged in those books. It is also my belief that by a sympathetic study and understanding of the folklore of the various peoples of the world, the great truth will be discovered that all are closely related, in spite of their accidental differences, and that, in the great purpose of God, all nations of mankind are made of one blood, of one heart and mind, to

dwelt together on this earth and fulfil one united destiny.

The book under review, as its title signifies, deals with the folk-stories of the Himalayan districts of Garhwal, Almora and Naini Tal, including the Indian State of Tehri Garhwal. Mostly these tales have come down to us through word of mouth of the Hurkias, the bards as known in the Himalayan territories. It is the untiring interest of Mr. Tara Dutt Gairola and Rev. E. S. Oakley which they take in the subject of folklore that prompted them to devote much of their time, especially at night, to hearing the legends from the mouth of the Hurkias, and afterwards writing them down. The present compilation is thus the fruitful result of their nocturnal excursions into the region of folklore.

Except for the ballads which have not been included for want of space the book is fully representative of the Himalayan folklore. It contains: (1) Legends of Ancient Heroes, (2) Fairy Tales, (3) Ghost and Demon Tales, (4) Bird and Beast Lore, (5) Magic, (6) Witty Sayings, and (7) Songs—the divisions into which the Himalayan folklore may be broken up.

The legends of ancient heroes, [as remarked by Mr. Gairola] present a vivid picture of the social, political and religious life of the country during the middle ages, and supply very useful material for the history of that period. They describe the battles fought between the various kings, chieftains and heroes dwelling in the Himalayas.

It is not possible, within the short space of a review, to sketch in detail the various aspects of life as revealed in these legends. Yet an instance will unfold the historical and ethnological significance that exists in them. Let us take the legend of "Ajwa Bampla" as our example. Two young heroes Salu and Malu, are described here as possessing a common wife. This shows that the custom of polyandry

was in vogue in those days. Similarly we could read into these legends the various characteristics of life as lived in the period to which they relate.

Fairy, Ghost and Demon Tales are indicative of the belief that the people of the Himalayan districts cherished for ghosts, demons, fairies, and village godlings like Jhalimali, Nagraja, Narsing, Ghandial etc. Magic Tales remind us of the stories like "Aladdin and his Wonderful Lamp" in the Arabian Nights. They all go to show that the belief of the Himalayan regions in fairies and ghosts and magic is almost the same as that of other countries.

Rev. E. S. Oakley's Bird and Beast stories contained in the second chapter of the book are similar to the old Sanskrit tales such as those to be found in the Panch Tantra; and his stories of Wit and Wisdom remind us of Birbal's witty saying and anecdotes. "Your Majesty Is The Fourth Fool" is a story of the kind associated with Akbar's Durbar. In it the minister who had been sent out by the king on an expedition in search of four fools, comes back with only two, and on the king's demand for the other two, names himself as the third; and again on the king's insistence for the fourth, calls his majesty the fourth fool as "he was so earnestly intent on finding out fools instead of wise men."

Apart from the historical and ethnological value, the book has a style of narration, easy and graceful, akin to that of Æsop's Fables which young boys and children would mostly relish. The authors are to be congratulated on their very laborious efforts in bringing about a book which besides being a store of research work in itself, affords a rich harvest to the historical explorer and interesting reading to the layman.

S. A.

An Introduction to the Poetry of the Romantic Revival. By K. K. Sharma, B.A. Published by Students' Friends, Allahabad. Price 2 shillings.

In this book the author has made a successful attempt at presenting this vast and difficult subject in a nutshell. Every page bears trace of his wide reading, critical acumen and sense of discrimination. His exposition is clear and language terse and simple. Unfortunately the bewildering mass of quotations takes from its merit. Any way it will be of immense help to students and of considerable interest to the general reader.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

CONGRESS ELECTION CAMPAIGN

By I. D.

[An analysis of the forces at work in the election campaign launched by the Congress and a plea for the substitution of sincerity and straightforwardness for strategy and subterfuge.]

It is the essence of a general election to make the dry bones in the political valleys instinct with life. Though it cannot be said that India is on the eve of the general election, it is becoming increasingly clear that its shadows have begun to fall on the land, and that in all the provinces there is a general stir where there was only a lull till yesterday. Electoral rolls are in preparation, candidates in the offing, manifestoes in circulation. Even dress-rehearsals are taking place for the coming fray.

The new constitution, the much maligned constitution, the constitution which excited both contempt and discord, has, however, succeeded in diverting the energies of our politicians into the electoral battle-fields. The premier political organisation, the Congress, has set up a Parliamentary Board to organise the party, to select candidates, to launch a campaign, to sweep the polls, and to capture the legislative forts. It is now an established fact, a dead certainty, that the Congress will "whoop it up" as they say, from now till the elections are fought and won—or lost, for it is recognised to be better to have fought and lost than never to have fought at all. The Board has for its chairman Sirdar Vallabhbhai Patel, the hero of Bardoli, a master of strategy, and a born organiser, if ever there was one, and as its secretaries, Babu Rajendra Prasad, the universally esteemed leader of Bihar, and Pandit

Govind Ballabh Pant who made a great name for himself as a powerful speaker and doughty politician. For some reasons, best known to Congressmen, the Board has not the distinction and honour of including the dynamic personality of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. The President and the Secretaries of the Congress Parliamentary Board have now opened an office in Bombay and set their machinery in motion.

It must be said to the credit of the Congress that it has tried patriots, trained speakers, a good press, a network of committees, an army of volunteers, altogether a wonderful organisation and the special gift of making a mass appeal. I wish that it could be equally said to its credit that it has, in fairness to itself and to the country, made its position clear in regard to the issues on which it is fighting the elections, and that it has shown courage enough to solve problems, instead of tact enough to shelve them. Today, in the Congress there is a lamentable lack of straightforwardness and of plain-dealing in approaching questions of first-rate importance or consequence; there is any amount of evasiveness. Today, the watchword of the Congress leaders is STRATEGY, pure and simple,—or is it impure and complex?—and it is being elevated to the level of a principle. Today, it is mere expediency that governs their actions. It was only the other day that Sriman C. Rajagopalachariar, in opening the election campaign at Madras, flamboyantly declared that

the ideals of the Congress originate in the pure heights of the Himalayas where the Ganges flows,

and after thus scaling huge mountains and crossing wide rivers, landed himself in the desert of inanities with the assertion that

the question of office acceptance is a point of strategy.

It is significant to note that this great leader of the Congress who is expected to preside over its next session, made his

speech after the irrepressible Mr. Satyamurti in his introductory remarks made a touching appeal to the public to be keen on

seeing that the voter is treated with self-respect and treated *honestly* and honourably.

One wonders if the voters whom Mr. Satyamurti has undertaken to educate will, after receiving expert instruction, be so gullible as to believe that the men who unabashedly put the premium on *strategy* can be depended upon, for treating them with self-respect, honesty and sense of honour. It is no pleasure to criticise the Congress which is pledged to win the freedom of India, but it is in no carping or malicious spirit that the writer ventures to ask the Congressmen if there is no melancholy reversal of their own ideals when they seek the suffrages of the people on the strength, not of their real intentions but of their past sacrifices and of their future strategy. One has only to read the speeches made by the Congress leaders to realise to what jugglery and jargon they are resorting for winning the elections and “the freedom of India,” with a deliberateness that is as sickening as it is sullied. Here is, for instance, a garland of gems:

There are many ways in which we can conduct the campaign. *If socialism is coming, we must have it.* If the rich people imagine that the Congress is sure to become Socialistic, how do they think they can fight the movement by not joining the Congress? Socialism is not a Congress movement. If the Congress is overpowered by Socialists, how could they hope to stem the tide of Socialism? On the contrary, they ought to give funds and make themselves agreeable to the organisation. Rich people are wrong in not cultivating the friendship of the Congress.

There is perhaps only one man in the whole of India, out of the crevices of whose ingenious and resourceful brain could emanate so subtle an argument for rallying “rich people”

round the Congress, but at their expense and in its interests. Mr. Achariar's subtlety is excelled only by his audacity in making so brazenfaced a bid for the support of "the rich people" so that, with their aid, the Congress may first win the elections, and then turn socialist, if it must. Mr. Achariar does not mind flinging reason and relevancy to the four winds. He is only bent—and desperately bent—on winning the elections at any cost. For he very clearly said:

If Congress is defeated, we should all drown ourselves in the Bay of Bengal.

It is regrettable to find more water (whether of the Ganges or of the Bay of Bengal) than fire, in Mr. Rajagopalachariar's election speech. It is quite likely that with his great powers of organisation he will succeed in bringing victories to the Congress, and in saving himself and his friends from the implications of that metaphorical calamity. But could not the redoubtable South Indian leader learn to fight a big election with a clear-cut and candid political programme, and not with sentimental twaddle that is insulting to the voters and injurious to his own reputation? We find that the No-changer's hand that struck Das—and struck him effectively—at Gaya on the question of council entry has been transformed into the Pro-changer's wand for leading the voters to the polls for the glory of the Congress and "the freedom of India."

Other leaders of the Congress, it is well known, are equally interested in educating the electorates and in emphasising the value of voting for the Congress. Each congressman—thanks to the catholicity of the great national organisation—enjoys the right of exhorting the electors to do their duty, according to his own predilections, for no two Congressmen need have the same attitude to important political issues provided they learn to swear by Complete Independence

—and anti-Imperialism. Everything else is only a matter of strategy—or of (who knows?) statesmanship. Sirdar Patel and Babu Rajendra Prasad whom Mr. Rajagopalachariar described respectively as "the storehouse of India's energy" and "the first gentleman of India," and Mr. Rajagopalachariar (whom Sirdar Patel and Rajendra Babu will duly recognise as the first strategist of India) will no doubt see that in every constituency Congressmen will contest the seats. There will be a plethora of candidates of one school, but of different shades, of thought. Is this an exaggeration? Let us see the possibilities. The range of Congress candidates covers, if I am not mistaken:

1. Congressmen who have Socialist bias,
2. Congressmen who pretend to have it,
3. Congressmen who are anti-socialist,
4. Congressmen who don't believe in Socialism but are afraid of saying so,
5. Congressmen who are for acceptance of office,
6. Congressmen who are against office-acceptance,
7. Congressmen who keep an open mind on the subject,
8. Congressmen who are for the Communal Award,
9. Congressmen who are against the Award,
10. Congressmen who are neither for nor against it,
11. Congressmen who are keen on Complete Independence,
12. Congressmen who will be satisfied with Dominion Status,
13. Congressmen who are for Federation,
14. Congressmen who are against it,
15. Congressmen who are for working the Reforms but don't say so,
16. Congressmen who are for wrecking the Reforms

though there is no chance.

Etc.,

It is amazing to think that the Congress has deemed it necessary to provide the country with this variety show, and deemed it right to ask the confounded voters, not to worry about the attitude of the Congress candidates to socialism, office-acceptance and other questions, but just to brush them aside as "points of strategy," to think only of the Himalayas and the Ganges, and vote for its candidates in good faith.

Such an incredible display of political doping is unworthy of a great national institution like the Congress. In view of the fact that the Congress is for the time contesting the elections on its own initiative and responsibility, and with all its weight and authority, the country expects to witness the emergence of a new national spirit and not the development of impudent tactics and dangerous manoeuvres. It would be both cleaner and more intelligible if the election were to be fought by the Congress on straight issues in a straight manner and not by its giving a licence to its candidates to pursue one code of conduct when they address Zamindars and another when they face the Kisans, to make one kind of appeal to the Europeans and another to the Indians, or to say two opposite things at once, so long as their words lend themselves to different interpretations. The attempt towards pleasing everybody [says Burke] discovers a temper always flash, and often false and insincere. The Congressmen may be adepts in making statements which can only be described as vague, evasive, pompous and sentimental. They may also be adepts in appealing to the country with all the tawdry trappings of self-advertised patriotism and in claiming to have the monopoly of "national" interests. They may use all their persuasive powers in bluffing the electorate to give

them a blank cheque for being filled in just as they like. They may succeed in winning a splendid electoral victory but they will only be staging a moral breakdown. Neither the safety nor the honour of a country depends on strategy and subterfuge. Should the Congressmen continue their campaign precisely on the lines on which it has been launched, we will be treated to a series of speeches and exhortations which are ordinarily associated with soldiers of fortune, and not soldiers of freedom.

The coming weeks offer a hard choice for many of us, (as the *Manchester Guardian* wrote on one occasion). It is a thankless task to withstand a stampede in which principles are subordinated to patriotic catchwords. But it will be a poor sort of political judgment that does not try to get behind the heroics and discover what is being sacrificed and who will be the gainers.

INTRODUCTION TO INDIAN PHILOSOPHY

By UMESHA MISHRA

[Kavyatirtha Umesha Mishra of the Allahabad University gives here a succinct account of the position of philosophy in India which serves as an admirable introduction to the whole subject of Indian Philosophy. This is the text of a paper originally read by him in the University as an extra-mural lecture and now appears for the first time in print.]

Of all the laws of nature, that which deals with the theory of change seems to possess the widest scope. There is *perhaps* nothing within the limits of time and space which remains constant for more than a few moments. I say, *perhaps*, because to my mind there are at least two such things which appear to be beyond the influence of this law, namely, the law of change itself, and the philosophical thoughts of India. It would be clear from the following pages, how philosophy in India is inseparably connected with the very idea of existence. It is, perhaps, therefore, that it has outlived all possible changes—social, religious and political—through which the country has passed. The Greeks, the Huns, the Scythians, the Pathans, the Moghuls, and lastly, the French have invaded, conquered and ruled over the country, partly or wholly, for years, and produced political and a few social changes. The Mohammadans, the Buddhists and the Jainas attempted to reform the social and religious views of the people and were successful to a certain extent. But none of them could ever produce any change in the philosophical outlook of the country. Ever since the very dawn of philosophical reasoning, the truths have remained

unaltered. The utterances—the unfolding of the records of the best and mature experiences—of the great seers and the sages have proved infallible and unsurmountable so far. In this respect, the country has held its head high and has never stooped down before any nation of the world.

It is, therefore, that Indian philosophy is undoubtedly, the purest and the most reliable record of human achievements in the field of mental production. In fact, it is “the nucleus round which all that is best and highest in India has grown.” Hence, if we want to study India in her true, uncoloured and natural form, we must make searches into her hidden treasures—the philosophical records—of which we should feel pride.

These days India is considered to be very poor in material wealth and great efforts are made to remove her poverty. But can it be asked whether India was ever better than what she is at present? Did Indians ever care for such worldly wealth as it is understood by us at present? Would it ever have been possible for India to maintain her high position, if she had cared for the material prosperity? The only answer to such queries is, no. It is perhaps the only land on the surface of the earth where the highest ideal of ‘high thinking and plain living’ has been practised in all its aspects. If one can eliminate the external influences which have been dominating over the real nature of the country, it will be easy to realise the true nature of the country and understand how philosophy in India occupies the foremost thought of her people, irrespective of caste, creed, sex, age and profession. We shall then clearly see how every human activity—mental or extra-mental—is guided by the high ideals of philosophy. One should not take it to be the utterance of a mad man or that of a dreamer. It is an exposition of the reality. If any one wishes to verify these statements even

at present, let him go to such parts of the country which have been not at all, or very little, if at all, affected by the so-called modern civilization, and I am sure, he will find all these remarks true in every respect. If we really desire to make ourselves happier by raising our head high, it is possible only if we act upto the ideal life of our country. Freedom for Indians means freedom from births and deaths, by having full control over our *Manas*. This alone would lead us to the permanent and ever-flourishing *svarājya*. Means to achieve this freedom is found in Indian philosophy alone.

But it may be asked now, what does philosophy itself mean in India? The meaning of the term 'philosophy' is quite clear from the very use of the word *Darśana* for it. It means—perception, not merely of the physical nature, but also of the non-physical character; for, all that is found in philosophy is not so gross as to be cognised through our physical sense-organs alone. This very fact makes it clear that philosophy in India is not merely speculative, as that of some other country. Here, it does not stop with speculation, but also goes beyond it and verifies the conclusions arrived at through speculation with practical experiments of higher nature; so that, both the relative and the ultimate truths found in Indian philosophy are valid beyond doubt. As these are truths only because they always represent the reality, there remains no possibility of their being ever upset in future, like the so-called demonstrated truths of the West, both in the realm of philosophy and that of science. In order to be perfect, it is necessary that both the aspects of each and every problem are carefully considered with the help of clear intuition. Hence, it is wrong to say that, in India, the truths—whether philosophical or religious—are never tested through practical experiments. It should ever be borne in mind that there can be no truth at all unless it

is verified through physical and non-physical experiments.

The next point which attracts our attention now is the ultimate end of philosophy in India. The final truth for which the various schools of philosophy exist is the perfect realization of the Supreme Soul (*Ātman*). The aim of this universe, nay the very aim of the creation of the universe itself, is, ultimately, the true knowledge of *Ātman*, as it is said in the ṛuti also—*Ātmā vā're draṣṭavyaḥ* etc. But, it may be asked at this point: Is every living being constituting this universe aware of the supreme aim of life and subsequently, that of the universe, as stated above? Undoubtedly, the reply is in the negative. Indeed very few even know this and still fewer want to realize it. Under such circumstances, it may be further asked: would it be proper and just to hold that the aim of Indian philosophy is so universal in nature that every one is busy after it, of course, within his own sphere of life? To this it may be said that as stated above it is not possible. But, if we consider this very point a bit more deeply, in all its aspects, it will be quite evident that the aim of Indian philosophy is so very complete and comprehensive in nature that it can be looked upon from different angles of vision and be expressed in different forms without lowering its importance in the least. Having this comprehensive nature of philosophy in mind, some consider the ultimate end of philosophy to be the Supreme Bliss; others hold it to be the identity between the individual and the Supreme souls; some, again, think it to be the true realization of the *Ātman*; while others know it to be the absolute freedom from pain, and so on.

After examining all these apparently different statements, it will be found that the ultimate aim expressed as—absolute freedom from pain—is so very common in nature that it is ever present before each and every individual being.

There is no being in the universe who can assert with confidence that there is no pain. Every creature, however low or big, it is, feels pain. It is a matter of experience of those who study psychology that since the very appearance of a creature in the universe, it begins to feel pain. Every object of the universe, whether organic or inorganic, is made of the three primary elements, namely, *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*, of which the *Rajas* represents pain; so that, it is in the very nature of a thing that it should have the feelings of pain, although sometimes due to some cause or other, pain is not so acute and is also not felt always. Look at the newly born baby. The moment it comes out of the womb of the mother, it weeps. Is there any other cause of its weeping except the feelings of pain at the presence of something which it dislikes? The entire surrounding in which it finds itself appears to the baby unbearable. The currents of the air, the light of the day, the touch of the hands of the nurse and the mother and that of the bed, the sound all round it etc., all these make the baby quite uneasy, and as it feels pain in their presence, and consequently, wants to get rid of them, which it cannot do, it weeps. Even when, gradually, it adjusts itself to all the surroundings, it feels pain at the sight of that which it dislikes and cannot remove from its presence, like every other being, young or old. It should not be held that there is no pleasure at all in this universe. There is some pleasure but it is always mixed with pain. Hence, Indian philosophers have altogether denied its very existence.

Such being the influence of pain on our life, all our activities through out, are, directly or indirectly, meant to remove the pain, or its cause. Perhaps, there would have been no activity in our life had there been no feelings of pain. Such activities continue till the goal is reached. This is not true of human beings alone, but of all the living beings.

The difference found here and there is that of degree alone.

This very aspect of Indian philosophy accounts for its being so very natural, and consequently, popular. With the above mentioned ideas in view, if we study the various systems, it would be quite evident that philosophy in India is a complete record of the existence of living beings in all their aspects, both of this world and the next. It is simply impossible even to think of any phase of the life of a being which is not represented by a philosophical system of India. Every one at every stage can find, if he only takes the trouble of doing so, his own complete and real reflection in this philosophy. Again, it is not true of the organic matter alone, but also of the inorganic mass. All this is clear from the fact that in order to find out the radical remedy of our pain we have to know the nature of each and every object of this universe. This aspect also is fully treated in our philosophy. Hence, trying to find out the radical remedy of our pain we become fully acquainted with all the objects of this universe.

This is all about the popular aspect of Indian philosophy. Now, an effort is made here to clear away the misunderstandings which may be due to the various charges made against this philosophy.

1. Some consider that it is pessimistic. To this it may be pointed out that it is so, no doubt, if by pessimism we mean—a sense of dissatisfaction with what exists. But if it is held that the ultimate end of philosophy is pessimistic, then the answer is in the negative. No system of Indian thought maintains that its final end is miserable and full of sufferings. It is clearly stated in each and every system that the highest aim of philosophy in India is blissful. This is why Indians, however wretched and miserable they may be, in the present life, are very hopeful of their bright end, if,

of course, they have been acting according to the authoritative experiences of the great seers of the past. In fact, this is the only consolation which helps a ruined man to take courage and pull on with his miserable life on right lines. This is the reason which makes an Indian embrace the fearful death, full of hopes and rejoicings, only if he has been leading his life on noble and truthful lines. Had, Indian philosophy, been, in reality, pessimistic, there would have been no moral and religious activities of high order amongst the Indians, and the law of *karman* would have been nowhere. And it is, therefore, that we do not find anywhere any support for pessimism as the ultimate end of our existence.

2. Likewise, there is no justification for holding Indian philosophy to be purely dogmatic. In other words, there are some who think that all the philosophical systems in India accept blindly the truths contained in the *ṛg* and base their reasonings entirely upon them. Thereby, they who think on this line, consider that there is no original contribution to philosophy in India. But this is not correct. It may be pointed out in this connection that from the study of the various systems of philosophy, it appears that although every system accepts the truths contained in the Upaniṣads for its premises, yet it gives full scope and liberty to discuss the nature of those truths, of course, on right lines and within the limitations of each system. There is no system of thought which discourages such reasonings. But then there is one important point which should always be borne in mind in this connection. In Indian philosophy, as has been already said, mere speculation has got no place. It alone cannot prove the validity, or otherwise, of any truth. Every sound reasoning has to be verified by the help of well-guided experiments of gross or subtle nature. The validity and the final acceptance of any truth depend upon the latter's tally-

ing with the reality. If any truth does not correspond with the actual reality, then it is not a truth, and hence, it is rejected. It is clear from the above that there is hardly any justification in attributing dogmatic nature to Indian philosophy. Even then, if some one does consider it to be dogmatic, let him think so; for, in that case, there is no system anywhere which is not dogmatic.

It would not be out of place to point out here that the nature of experiments required for the verification of the reasoned truths in Indian philosophy is entirely different from what is found in the modern science. The experiments of modern science can only help us to know the validity, or otherwise, of the material world. But matter (*jaḍa*) alone is not all in all in the universe. Matter represents only one aspect of the cosmic world. The other phase of it is represented by what is technically called '*spirit*,' or '*cetana*.' Unless both the aspects are completely known, no comprehensive knowledge, and consequently, no final end can ever be achieved. Modern science, working with the help of physical instruments, fails to enter into the realm of non-physical aspect of the universe. Its researches, some day or other, will have to be stopped at a certain stage. They cannot lead us to the final truth; and it can be said, without any hesitation, that as long as modern science is working on purely physical methods, it will ever remain in dark as to the nature of things beyond our physical means of cognition. Not even the entire material world in all its aspects can be known by the modern scientific researches; for, there are such subtle forms of matter, like, the *tanmātrās*, sense-organs, *abhaṅkāra*, *mahat* and even the primordial matter, called *Prakṛti* of Sāṅkhya which science can never bring within its scope. Hence, physical science will have to be satisfied with the relative truths and will never reach the ultimate end of

true science, that is, the realisation of the Supreme Truth. With the systems of Indian philosophy, the case is quite different. According to these systems an enquirer after truth is not only required to know thoroughly each and every material object, gross or subtle, through reasonings and experiments of physical nature, but also to proceed further beyond the scope of the physical means of knowing the truth with the help of such methods of knowing the subtle aspects as are taught in Yoga. The yogic training, including the preliminary training of the nature of the so-called philosophical discipline, forms an essential part of all the teachings of every system. No perfection can be ever gained without having the unprejudiced, unbiassed and true knowledge of both the aspects of the universe, namely, the matter and the spirit. A true method of right knowledge can never neglect either aspect. For this the Yogic training is the only method to help us. This is the unique peculiarity which alone distinguishes Indian philosophy from the scientific and philosophical achievements of all other countries of the world. This aspect of truth has never been studied by any nation so far. But it may be asked here: how many of us are there who can legitimately claim to possess any knowledge of the subtle methods of thought for knowing the non-physical aspect of the universe? That there does not exist such a method, and if at all, it is impracticable, is clear from the fact that there are very few persons who can claim to possess such a knowledge. To this and similar other objections, it may be pointed out, in reply, that even at present there are many persons who have got perfect knowledge of this Yogic method and there are many more who are busy to acquire it. As the method is very subtle and as it requires strenuous subtle efforts to acquire knowledge of it, it is not easy to find it everywhere with every man. Those who are keen on it, they

get the right teacher for this type of training every where and at any time. This shows that it is not impracticable as some may consider it to be. Again, because, very few persons dare take up this course of study, it should not be ever considered that there exists no such training at all. Such an argument cannot find out any fault with the Yoga system itself.

It may be further pointed out that all the authoritative statements found in our philosophical systems are, in fact, the mature and valid experiences of the great thinkers of the past. These must have been recorded after being thoroughly examined and verified with the actual reality through the help of subtle means of cognition. That they are reliable and valid is proved from the very fact that they have been never contradicted so long. Such being the case, there is no reason why one should not accept them as premises for future reasonings and researches. Is it not wise and proper to take advantage of the valid experiences of the great thinkers of the past? Would not such a course of action help the enquirers after truth to realize their end easily? Hence, there seems to be no strength in the objection raised above about the so-called dogmatic nature of Indian philosophy.

3. Similarly, there are certain people who hold that philosophy in India sticks to the old views and does not want to make any progress by adding to and improving upon the old antiquated views of the seers of the past. Hence, they consider that it is not a living philosophy, and it is, therefore, perhaps quite uninteresting and not worth studying. This charge, I think, certainly, comes from those who have never cared to study the nature of Indian philosophy. They should know that *doubt* (*saṃśaya*) and non-fulfilment of one's aim are the causes of any activity and progress. If there be no *doubt*, then no mental and subsequently, no physical activity

will ever be seen. Likewise, if one's aim has been fully realized, it is certain that even then there would be no activity of any sort. This is a fact which admits no denial. Proceeding with this assumption, it may be pointed out that in the case of philosophy in India, the ultimate truth, the Supreme aim of human life, having been fully realized, there remains no doubt as regards the nature of anything in the universe. The very nature of the realization of the Highest Truth is such that it leaves nothing unknown under the sun; so says the *gruti*—*uta tamadeṣamaprākṣyaḥ yenācṛutaṁ ṣrutaṁ bhavatyamataṁ matamavijñātaṁ vijñātamiti* etc. (Chāndog-yopaniṣad, vi. 1. 3.). Hence, there remains nothing to be known about which alone there can be any doubt. In the absolute absence of *doubt*, there can be no activity and no progress of any kind. Why should there be any progress then when there exists nothing to be known? The great seers of the past have after careful consideration, revealed the uncontradicted ultimate truths about the nature of universe, God, transmigration of soul, life after death, the law of *Karman*, etc., and there remains nothing to be newly unfolded for which there should have been any activity. Truths, as they are, must ever remain unchanged. When once a truth is achieved there is no need of making any more effort towards it. A truth is a truth for all the times. Hence, in this sense, there is no scope for any progress in Indian philosophy.

But in spite of the fact that all the riddles of the universe have been solved here in India for ever, relative and ultimate truths have been discovered and that there remains nothing to be realized, there have been all along serious activities in the philosophical field also. No doubt, the truths are there, but then they should not be accepted blindly. Every enquirer after truth has to realize those truths for himself

through reasonings and verifications. Unless it is done, no final aim can be achieved. Such efforts are always made and will continue till all those who desire to realize the ultimate end have done so. In this respect no one can really say that Indian philosophy is stagnant.

In the case of philosophy or science of other countries, this is not the case. Their authors have not yet reached at any ultimate truth about any problem. They still possess doubts about the ultimate validity of their conclusions, as they are not sure whether their view point will not be upset by some greater thinker in future. There are innumerable instances both in philosophy and science where the old conclusions have been proved unsound by later thinkers. Therefore, they are always busy to find out the right solutions of the various problems of the universe and ensure their validity which, perhaps, is difficult to achieve through the modern methods.

The next point before us is to consider the origin of philosophy in India. It may be pointed out in this connection that Indians have never been very keen on keeping any chronological record of their activities in any field. Philosophy is not an exception. And it may be further said that perhaps there is not much need for such a record in the philosophical field. Philosophers have given all their attention to the problems of the universe. They were busy with the problems of life and death, and never felt any necessity to give attention towards the chronological aspect of our knowledge. But this should not prevent us from making an enquiry into the chronological order with a view to trace the real and gradual development of the various problems of thought and also to find out the accurate amount of contribution made to philosophy in later centuries by different scholars. However, we have no correct information as to

the exact time of the origin of any one of the philosophical problems. We depend upon contemporary schools of thought, such as the Buddhist and the Jaina. Some of the authors of these schools have left some information of their own time. But such references are very late and can help us only to trace the later development of thoughts. The earliest record of our literary activities, however, exists in the form of the Vedic hymns. In some of the hymns there are direct allusions to such philosophical ideas as exist even now, in almost the same form. Not only the high speculations about the universe and the creation are found in these hymns, but even the great pantheistic idea of the universal soul has found its expression in these hymns for the first time. Besides, as philosophy cannot be divorced from religion in India, it is not impossible to trace philosophical ideas even in most of the religious hymns of the *Rgveda* which are regarded, even by the modern scholars, to be earlier compositions. But anyhow, as the latest of these hymns cannot be said to have been composed later than 1500 B.C., it can be held without any hesitation that the origin of philosophical thoughts in India also is, at least, as old as 1500 B.C. But at the same time we should not overlook the fact that in those Vedic hymns we have definite assertions of fully developed philosophical thoughts. Hence, it should be held that these thoughts must have assumed their definite shape long before they came to be included in those hymns. Thus, we can easily push the date of the origin of philosophy a few centuries back.

This is what can be said on the basis of the earliest records of the literary products of the country. But if we care to reflect a little upon the reality, it will be quite evident that philosophy in India flourished along with the very creation of this universe. Before we proceed further, it is

essential to consider about the very aim of the universe itself. Why should there be the creation at all? We know that every action of our life, whether psychic or non-psychic, must bear its requisite fruit. The fructification of the activities may, again, be possible either in one life or in many. If it is not complete in one life, one has to take birth again and again, for the completion of the experiences of the deeds of his past life or even lives. These experiences may be either pleasing or painful. Hence, the ideas of pleasure and pain must accompany the very process of creation. Such being the case, efforts must have been made along with the very creation to get rid of things disliked and to acquire those which were liked. This itself indicates the presence of discriminative knowledge, however crude in form it may have been, for selecting things of like and dislike. We may even go so far as to think that every creature comes to this universe along with the ideas of like and dislike. Is this not the very starting point of philosophy? Can we ever think that a being can exist even for a moment without the feelings of pleasure or pain? In other words, is it possible for anything to remain without the influence of the law of *Karman*? No, the law of *Karman* never ceases to operate in this universe. It continues its influence both here and hereafter; so that, within the limitations of time and space with which this universe is enveloped, the law of *Karman* continues to operate so regularly and comprehensively that not a single moment can escape its notice. As the creation has no beginning, the law of *Karman* also has no beginning. This law of *Karman* is the very heart of Indian philosophy. Hence, it appears that philosophy in India must have originated along with the very idea of creation.

This is about the origin of philosophy in general. But coming to the systematised philosophical thoughts, we have

no hesitation in asserting that the grouping into the different schools is of later date. As to the exact time of the grouping of these systems, it can be said with full confidence that it took place after the Upaniṣads. In the Upaniṣads we find that all sorts of problems, which have been separately grouped later on, exist without any particular order and without being claimed by any one particular class of people. The problems are there like the common intellectual property of the entire intelligentsia. But due to the gradual degeneration of the intellect of the people, or some other similar cause, it was found necessary to arrange these thoughts in certain groups, in certain fixed order and within certain limitations. The earliest work in which the evidence of this systematisation is found is the Sūtra-class of work. Almost every system became separated with its first work in Sūtra form. As to the exact date of these several Sūtra works, we have different opinions. Again, whether all the Sūtra works came to exist at one and the same time or not is also a question not free from controversies. Thus, Prof. Jacobi holds that the Nyāya and Brahma Sūtras were composed after the Nihilistic school of Buddhism (*Çūnyavāda*) but before the Vijñānavādins, that is, between A.D. 200 and 450. But the Mīmāṃsā and the Vaiṣeṣika Sūtras might have been a little older. The Yoga-Sūtra is assigned by him to the period after the advent of the Vijñānavāda, and the Sāṅkhya-Sūtra to a very late date. But this view is not accepted by all. Our study in this aspect is not so exhaustive as yet, hence, it is not possible for us to give any definite reply to this question. But this much is sure that most of the Sūtra works can be easily placed before 200 B.C.

Before we take up the order of the grouping of these systems, it is desirable to know the ultimate aim of these systems and their method of realizing it. It has already been

said above that the highest aim of philosophy is the perfect realization of the Supreme Soul (*Ātman*). It is this realization which alone will put to an end to pain which is the underlying common motive of the entire creation. There is only one method for the realization of this aim and no other, as is said in the *çruti* "*nānyaḥ paṇthā vidyate'yanāya*" (*Çukla-Yajurveda-Saṃhitā*, I. 18). In other words, there is only one ultimate aim for all and only one method to realize that aim. Hence, all the different schools of thought are so harmoniously arranged in a progressive order that they collectively help an enquirer to realize that aim. In other words, the different schools of thought are not self-sufficient to realize that final aim. What each school does towards the realization of this aim is to help an enquirer to achieve only the relative truth. Hence, the view that each and every school of thought independently leads to the ultimate goal does not seem to be quite correct. Now, it may be asked here: if each system only achieves the relative truth, then what is the necessity of having so many different schools? In answer to this, it may be pointed out that these different systems are meant for representing the different stages towards the realization of the highest aim, according to the difference in the intellectual equipments of the enquirer, what is generally known as *adbikārbheda*. In fact, as already said above, there is only one end and only one path to reach that goal, but due to the difference in the intellectual capacities of the enquirers, the single path appears as so many different paths to them.

This fact is generally explained with the help of several analogies taken from every-day experience. In order to make this subtle point easily intelligible, some of those analogies are also given here. The highest aim of philosophy is like the subtle star called *Arundhatī*. When a very young boy

wants to know that star, he asks his mother about it. But the mother, knowing the subtle nature of the star, and also being fully aware of the incapacity of the boy to find it out at once in the sky, does not tell him at once the exact situation of the star, but gradually. Again, all these different systems are so many artificial stages of the manifestation of the *Ātman*, like the assuming of the various roles by a single actor till the end of the play. Or again, we may liken it to the reaching of the mountain top with a certain number of steps which must be crossed before the highest place is reached.

It is clear from what has been said above that there exists a sort of natural harmony between the various schools of thought. Besides, when we study each and every problem of philosophy as given in each school of thought, we find that there is a gradation in ascending order in the various systems. For example, let us take the conception of the *Ātman* itself. We find that the Materialists deny its independent existence. They identify it with physical organism, sense-organ, vital-airs and *Manas* one after another. If we consider the nature of these forms of matter, we shall see that the Materialists start with the grossest form of matter, namely, the physical organism, and gradually go to the subtle forms till they stop with the subtlest form, called *Manas*. Even here there is a clear case of gradual gradation towards the subtleties. Beyond *Manas*, the Materialists cannot go. Hence, they stop with it. Next we should see that the *Ātman* is proved to be quite distinct from matter, and that its independent existence is asserted for ever. This is found in the Nyāya-Vaiṣeṣika system. According to this joint system, *Ātman* is considered to be distinct from matter. Its qualities also are separate. For instance, consciousness (*jñāna*), which was believed to be the quality of matter, by

the Materialists, has come to be attributed to non-matter in Nyāya and Vaiṣeṣika. Again, if we consider it a bit carefully, we shall see that although the separate and independent existence of the *Ātman* has been proved by the joint system, yet the *Ātman* is essentially *jaḍa* (unconscious), in which aspect it is no better than any form of matter; and consciousness is a quality which comes to it from without. It is not eternal like the *Ātman* itself; so that when there is the contact of *Manas* with the *Ātman* and consciousness is produced in the *Ātman*, then only the latter is conscious, and not otherwise. It is simply because of this that the *Ātman*, does not possess any quality even including the consciousness, during the state of liberation (*mokṣa*). It is this very aspect that led Ācārya to remark in his *Naiṣadhacarita* (XVII. 74) as an atheistic doctrine—

Muktaye yaḥ ṣilātvāya ṣāstramūce sacetasām |
Gotamaṃ tamavetaiva yathā vittha tathaiva saḥ ||

He, who propounded the system (*ṣāstra*) for the salvation of conscious beings which is really to reduce them to a slab of stone, is exactly as you know him to be, the best ox (*gotama*).

The same is the case with the conception of the self according to the Vaiṣeṣika as is clear from the following lines—

Varam vṛndāvane ramye ṣṣgālatvaṃ vṛṇomyaham |
Na ca vaiṣeṣikīm muktīm prārthayāmi kadācana ||

I prefer to become a jackal in the charming forest of the Vṛndā, says a seeker after *mokṣa*, but not to have a desire for the *mokṣa* as taught by the Vaiṣeṣikas.

This shows that there is clearly an improvement upon the view of the Materialists, but then it is not all that is desired. After this we come to the Sāṅkhya where we find that the consciousness is no longer a quality of the self, but

that it is the very nature of it. The Puruṣa in Sāṅkhya becomes consciousness itself. It is, again, a clear case of gradual unfolding of the nature of the self. But here also, it does not achieve the highest aim. The last manifestation of the nature of the *Ātman* is found in the Ćaṅkara-Vedānta. According to this school of thought the *Ātman* is not only *sat*, (having an independent existence, and *cit* (consciousness itself) but is also bliss (*ānanda*). Here, we find that the self is said to have manifested all its aspects. This is the highest aim which Indian philosophy has achieved. Here is a clear instance which shows how there is a harmonious gradation in Indian philosophy.

We may take one more instance before passing to another topic. We find that the Materialists believe that there are only four kinds of primary gross matter, namely, earth, air, *tejas* and water, and the whole universe is produced out of the collocations of these. Nyāya-Vaiṣeṣika, on the other hand, reduces the entire universe consisting of the above mentioned four gross forms of matter of the Materialists, to the ultimate forms of matter, called *paramāṇus* and stops at this stage as they cannot split the *paramāṇus* further. But when we come to Sāṅkhya, we find that the system starts with that type of matter (*bhūta*) which is almost identical with the *paramāṇus* of the Nyāya-Vaiṣeṣika and carries its divisions gradually to various subtleties till the system comes to the Primordial cause, called Prakṛti. This Primordial cause also during the state of liberation, remains simply as the *Ćuddha-Sattva*, the other two *guṇas* namely, *Rajas* and *Tamas* being suppressed for ever. In other words, the various eternal substances of the Nyāya-Vaiṣeṣika have been reduced to the two eternal forms, namely, Puruṣa and the *Ćuddha-Sattva*. Here the system stops. Now, comes the Vedānta, particularly the Ćaṅkara school, which begins with the *Māyā*,

which is something like the *Ćuddha-Sattva* of the Sāṅkhya, and finally ends with the highest entity, called *Brahman*. Here is the end of our progress. The enquirer finds his aim fully realized. It is how from the grossest form of matter we come to the subtlest form of element; and how from the diversity we arrive at the unity, the aim of all the sciences. Thus, it is clear how there is gradation in all the systems of philosophy. Those systems which have not been represented in this treatment can be easily placed somewhere between these very schools whose reference has been made above.

Such being the relation between these various systems, it seems quite difficult to say anything definitely about the order and the time of the grouping. But having in mind all these facts, this much can be said at present that the systematisation of these schools must have been done more or less side by side.

Such is the position of philosophy in India.

EMPIRE TRADE *versus* INDIAN INDUSTRIES

By P. S. NARAYAN PRASAD

[In this article Mr. Narayan Prasad of the Andhra University, subjects the Government's financial and fiscal policy in its relation to Indian Industries to trenchant criticism and avows that "we would plump for protection or imperial preference to the extent that we appreciate or fail to appreciate the adage that the Empire is Commerce".]

The Empire is Commerce.—JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN

The provisional abolition of the Tariff Board, sometime ago, although bearing no direct relation to our industrial policy as such, is more than a mere omen. It may be regarded as the first nail in the coffin of discriminate protection which has been ailing for the last four or five years. There have been ominous signs and moving shadows on the frontiers of our protectionist attitude, and they seem to have mustered enough conviction now to begin to act. But the real reversal had commenced when the so-called National Government took the reins of office in 1931. If the great depression of the eighties of the last century generated the spirit of Imperialism and gave a quietus to the faith of the "Little Englanders", the great depression of the present century has resulted in a recrudescence of the imperialist passion, and severely put a stop to the little crumbs of magnanimity made possible under an era of economic prosperity combined with a Labour Government. And one of the first acts of the "National" Government, their economic pilgrimage to Ottawa, laid the foundation-stone for a new conception of imperial co-operation or to call it by its real name, imperial

exploitation. Our concern over this new faith would not be so great, were it not possible to detect in it, the germ of this anti-protectionist phase, which seems to be invading the safety of our big industry.

Now what happened at Ottawa is fairly well-known in terms of profit or loss to the British or Indian merchant, although the same figures were utilised as the raw material for drawing conclusions of a diametrically opposite character. But what matters really is not so much the immediate gain or loss but the fundamental principles deliberated upon and accepted at the plenary session of the conference, on which the rest of the details of the agreement, would naturally depend. We have wrangled too much over the gain or loss accruing to this country as a result of the (now denounced) Ottawa Agreement. But its repercussion on our industrial progress seems to have hardly received the emphasis that it deserves.

The Imperial Economic Conference at Ottawa passed a resolution that

it should be the object of any policy of industrial co-operation within the Commonwealth to secure the best division of industrial activities among the several parts of the Commonwealth and the ordered economic development of each part with a view to ensuring the maximum efficiency and economy of production and distribution.

The Conference, no doubt approved the view that "the object of co-operation is not, and must not be to arrest change but wisely to direct and facilitate it." These opinions expressed simply as ideals of Imperial Co-operation, granted the equality of status of the co-operating units, are bound to remain innocuous. That is to say, so far as the Dominions and the United Kingdom are concerned, while a well directed policy of co-operation redounds to mutual advantage, there can be

no scope for mutual recriminations, that the one or the other of the parties has been coerced into this or that channel of activity against its will. But when it so happens, as is the case with India at present with her doubtful political status and undoubted economic subordination (with due reverence to the lip service of the fiscal autonomy convention), that one member in this process of co-operation happens to exercise a fairly over-riding voice in determining the economic outlook of another, friction may be the result. And it arises from the fact that in trying to "wisely" "direct and facilitate the securing of the best division of industrial activities", it may not always be possible to keep wisdom and interest separately in water-tight compartments. In the case of the Dominions such a possibility is remote.

In spite of this, however, at least two of the Dominions having ambitions of an industrial future, thought it necessary to forestall any such contingency by incorporating in their respective agreements with the United Kingdom a reservation touching this aspect of the question, Article 11 of the Agreement between Canada and the United Kingdom, for instance, reads, that

His Majesty's Government in Canada undertake that during the currency of this agreement the Tariff shall be based on the principle that protective duties shall not exceed such a level as will give United Kingdom producers full opportunity of reasonable competition on the basis of relative cost of economical and efficient production, provided that *in the application of such principle special consideration shall be given to the case of industries not fully established* (Italics mine).

An identical clause is also to be found in the agreement between Australia and the United Kingdom. By this clause the Dominions agree to frame their tariff policies on the principle of compensatory tariffs with due reservation for infant in-

dustries; and since they possess the liberty to frame their own tariffs have found enough safety in this clause. Now, India with her long-cherished but ill-realised aspirations for industrial progress, should have insisted on a reservation of this nature, in the appropriate place, if not even for a more stringent one, in view of the precariousness that beset the circumstances of her economic development.

But unfortunately, although not surprisingly, this did not happen. Sir Atul Chatterjee, the leader of the Indian delegation to Ottawa, is reported to have emphasised at the plenary session that India could not be expected to turn her back on a policy of protection. But it is all the more curious, why, having done that a reservation of that nature, so important as a preventive against possible misunderstandings, is not made part of our recently denounced agreement with the United Kingdom. Was it intended to leave a free hand to the executive in achieving "wisely" "the best division of industrial activities" as between the two countries? Such a conclusion seems to be inevitable in view of the divergence between the theoretical advocacy of protection and the practical neglect of a little attention due to it in a trade agreement of so overwhelming an importance. But, however, that is not the only evidence which will enable us to scent a reversal of attitude towards protection to our industries.

The Government of India's mind in the matter of granting protection to industries, is not held in any great secrecy. That in the past they had been incorrigible free traders, history itself bears evidence. The policy of discriminate protection was accepted, when even the apologetic majority of the Fiscal Commission recommended it, finding itself forced to do it both on the score of a nation-wide clamour as also by the logic of facts. But the adoption of that policy was "not without deep searchings of heart, and without fore-

bodings:" It was only to yield to the irresistible forces of popular pressure, and even now left to themselves, there is nothing to prevent a drift towards another phase of anti-protectionism. Sir George Schuster speaking an year ago before the Indian Section of the Royal Society of Arts exhorted Indians to ask themselves whether the policy of industrialisation through protection has justified itself either by increasing the happiness of industrial workers, or by increasing the material well-being of the nation or by permitting the buyer to get cheaper commodities. The obvious implication of these bits of gratuitous advice and age-long platitudes is not hard to divine. It opens a window into the workings of the mind of an ex-Finance Member. The present Finance Member takes plenty of care to leave no one in doubt as regards his free trade convictions. Add to all these the little shrill voice that is now and then heard from certain pampered sections of the commercial community in this country, talking as the self-constituted champions of the agriculturist, demanding a "scientific" re-examination of our tariff structure, and we get the most fertile soil, wherein the plant that secures "the best division of industrial activities" can thrive best.

More than all this *a priori* reasoning actual events during the last few years justify such a conclusion. The recent appointment of the Special Tariff Board for the textile industry is an event of remarkable importance. The terms of reference to this Board have been narrowed down to a mere investigation of the duties which will equate the prices of imported goods to the fair selling price for similar goods produced in India. The obvious conclusion is that it is no longer intended to give to the cotton industry any more protection than is warranted by the fair selling prices of the imported goods,—a conclusion which ought to have been

arrived at, if at all, through the Tariff Board's findings but which has been, as it were, taken for granted. And the facility granted to the delegation of Lancashire producers to offer evidence before this Board* is part of the benefit of "Industrial Co-operation within the Commonwealth!" In the case of the steel industry also, the way the tariff has been revised, the facilities granted to the British steel industry in the Indian Market, and the imposition of excise on certain varieties of steel are all facts which confirm the fear, that what is granted is (to put it in the language of the "Indian Finance") "not a scheme of protection for the Indian steel industry but a plan of advance for British steel in the Indian Market." That is free trade for India and protection for the Empire product—a fine piece of logic and consistency!

The growing emphasis given to the excise as a factor in our central revenues is not without its own significance. The post-Ottawa years have seen the emergence in this country of excise duties on matches, sugar and steel—duties which are not consistent with the spirit of protection or growth of indigenous industries. In talking about these excises it is not intended to revive the unhappy memories of the unsacred past. It would even be necessary to emphasise that in any future Indian Government the excises are bound to play an important role in view of the need for greater revenues for meeting an enhanced expenditure on welfare schemes. But all the same, it is necessary to remember that a good deal depends on how the excises are levied but more important

*The recommendations of this Board have since seen the light of day; and quite in keeping with the tenor of events, proposals have been made for the reduction of duties on certain categories of textiles of Lancashire origin. Lancashire is, as usual, disappointed. The nationalist press, spends itself in a chorus of protests and expression of disappointments. . . . But the caravan goes.

than that, on how they are spent. The excise in the present regime of top-heavy administrative expenditure and bottom-heavy taxation are more harmful than otherwise. But still more important is the consideration of its incidence on the consumer. To invoke once more the assistance of the *Indian Finance* it is to be wondered "what those who have never tired for the last seven years of advocating the interests of the consumer will have to say regarding this new departure in the Government of India's financial and fiscal policy." But the most important fear in this connection is something else. The elevation of the dogma "no excise, no protection" to the dignity of a principle augurs ill both to the consumer and to the producer in India. If, the excise is exploited not as an additional source of revenue but as an alternative for the customs revenues, (which, as the Government often admitted in India and explained in England, had the unwholesome effect of driving them into an unwilling alliance with the nationalist protectionist camp), then there is a lurking danger. The producer in this country definitely stands to lose, because he is deprived of the facility of having the sacrifice which the consumer is obliged to make, protecting his industry. The consumer will be in no better position because he still has to pay the indirect tax, only in a different manner. The only party to gain will be the foreign producer who gains to the extent that the indigenous producer loses his protection. In other words it amounts to compelling the consumers and producers at home to share the market with the foreign producer, bearing at the same time the burden of the excise and thus combines to the satisfaction of all, the disadvantages of both protection and free-trade. But the important fact is that it amounts to a dilution of protection.

It is also becoming a fashion in certain quarters to use

phrases of a vague and elastic character capable of yielding interpretations of contradictory import. One such idea is that the relationship between India and the United Kingdom should be based on the concept of "partnership." What this partnership is to mean, or how it is to be interpreted, what are to be the status, duties and obligations of the partners are all questions which are being conveniently ignored. But the idea is being assiduously pressed into the subconsciousness of both the parties with such interpretations as would suit their fads and fancies. This acceptance with mental reservations unless well defined is likely to lead to unnecessary wranglings in the future, the immediate inconvenience being the imposition of the interpretation that suits the dominant partner—for example in a matter, like "the securing of the best division of industrial activities." The proposition that partnership between equals will be beneficial to both may be accepted as a truism. But describing a relationship between two members one of whom has invariably the right of decision as a partnership is adding insult to injury. The immediate precaution against the use—or is it the abuse?—of this concept in its relation to our industrial development would therefore lie in defining once more precisely the right of India's industrial freedom. Then again we have been told about the much more mystic affair—"the conception of Co-operative Imperialism"—whatever co-operation and imperialism together may mean. The new constitution, said the Secretary of State for India, is an

outstanding land-mark, in what may perhaps be described as the new conception of co-operative imperialism, which came into existence when the old colonies of the British Empire became the Dominions of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Co-operative imperialism, he continued "constitutes surely the fine flowering of the administrative genius of the British

people." We on our side may have no hesitation to offer co-operation of a mutually advantageous character in our own interest, if we enjoy (as the Dominions do), the right of determining the order of our own national cupboard. In the meanwhile the grandiose application of the term "Co-operative" to the present state of affairs is so much effort at manufacturing euphemism. As long as the national opinion smarts under the justifiable apprehension that the fruit which this "fine flowering" bears is not likely to benefit this country, it cannot cease to be suspicious over the tiniest of details, and wish for proper safeguards on her side.

All these are significant forebodings which preceded the abolition of the Tariff Board, which was intended to be a permanent body by the Fiscal Commission. We were told by the Hon'ble the Commerce Member on the floor of the Assembly sometime ago that there is no change in the attitude of the Government towards the policy of discriminate protection. But discriminate protection is itself an elastic affair. Without rejecting it as part of one's creed, it is possible to nullify the spirit of its working so long as one retains the monopoly of discriminating wisdom, as is in fact evident from the increasing number of denials of protection to a number of industries even where the Tariff Board's findings had been favourable to the granting of such protection. On top of all these unsavoury bits of history comes the abolition (for the time being, of course) of the Tariff Board. It is not a prejudice to say that all is not well with our accepted notion of protection, and that there is a drift away from it.

But towards what, is the question. The answer to it is really the more important. If we are giving up protection for a free trade adventure, we will probably be subject to less inconvenience, than the one towards which we are in fact moving, slowly, but certainly—viz., imperial preference.

Therefore the choice is not one between protection or free trade, but between protection for industries of this country and "free trade" for the Empire goods. Expressed in another way the question is one of a choice between protection for national industries, or protection for the trade of the Empire.

It may, however, be seen that the free trade convictions of the Hon'ble the Finance Member are not really of such great importance as is attributed to them, for the simple reason that we are not moving towards free trade at all, but towards something which bears greater semblance to protection of a wider but, from our point of view, of a less beneficial character. The consistent believer that he claims to be in the doctrine of cheapness and free exchange, we should but expect him to pour out the vials of his impassioned oratory as much into the cause of free trade for India, as into that of free trade for Britain—which she abdicated with much benefit. Things will move on in the direction of Imperial preference, with a subtle but sure aim; and being a lover of low tariffs and free trade, probably the movement is accelerated with the help of his convictions. But the influences that surround it are indeed so energetic as to be able to move on without them. To the extent that the drift is towards protection of empire trade, and constitutes to that extent, a negation of his cherished love of free trade, is it wrong to conclude that they are moving in spite of them? That however is a subsidiary issue.

What is of importance in the long run is the significance of the substitution of protection by imperial preference. That England is benefited by the adoption of imperial preference need not be enough reason for arguing that India should benefit by it. In the previous century it was held that free trade for India must be to her benefit because it was so to Great Britain and this resulted in allowing our right of

industrial development to go by default. But this has also resulted in making the claims of commerce supreme and subordinating our industries to commerce. And this highly artificial contrivance of the tail wagging the dog has been held up as the pleasantest manifestation of a healthy and natural economic order. We seem to be on the brink of another blunder of that character, where we are out to subordinate the claims of industry to those of commerce. The Ottawa agreement, the child of imperial preference is, as far as India is concerned, no more. But it is bound to resurrect in another shape, and unless the keenest precautions are taken, with about the same content. Those who may be entrusted with the power of chiselling an agreement will have to make a severe effort to see that protection to Indian industries is not let slip in favour of protection to empire trade at the expense of our industries. They will be rendering a great service, though a bare justice, by the cause of this country if they can better define the attitude of this country towards its industries and also make the necessary reservations as regards freedom in the matter of tariff making, at least, on the lines of the reservations made in the case of the dominions. The need for such a definition is all the more important if it is remembered that an attempt of this kind under the new constitution may be very conveniently brought under the category of commercial discrimination, and may be torpedoed out of existence by an executive veto. This attempt, even if it succeeds may yet remain but a theoretical triumph as long as the reigns of effective power remain outside; but at least it will amount to having a statutory claim on our side as regards our industrial freedom and will help us in guarding ourselves against the insidious tyranny of elastic expressions and vested interests, parading in the guise of wisdom. We would plump for protection or imperial prefer-

ence, to the extent that we appreciate or fail to appreciate the adage that "the Empire is commerce." Probably it is little more than that. But certainly it can be nothing less.

MOVIES AND FEMININE MORALS

By V. R. TALASIKAR

[This article presents a point of view with which some of us may not agree, but which all of us may read with interest. We shall be glad to have the other side of the picture as well.]

Between the words movies and morals there exists a much closer affinity besides a mere alliteration. The present article intends to drive home what a potent influence the movie has exercised upon social thought and consequently upon the morals of diverse groups. Conversely the movie is an index of the cultural and moral calibre of the community which is represented therein. I mean to show quite conclusively that the argument 'art for art's sake' runs in a vicious circle, and if art does not choose to be a handmaid to social welfare, it acquires considerable power enough to subvert the destinies of men and nations. The tussle between art and morals, or industrialism and social chaos have their origin far back in the industrial revolution, to which the venomous ideas were supplied by the social revolution in France which shattered an ancient monarchy and shook the European continent. From the industrial revolution, industrialism in every walk of life and the consequent large-scale production became rampant. Men and machines were madly exploited; the economic independence of women culminated in sexual independence; and the decay of the family began. Then came the War. Bacchus accompanied the soldiers to their homes.

Fortunately for India the course of her history has not taken such a turn. But the social conditions in which the movie has arisen must receive careful consideration, for, the

wholesale acceptance of the movies from the Western world must bring along with it its glaring evils. The horrible orgies of the Great War took a heavy toll, a whole generation of youth was sapped off, the women outnumbered the men, and to deny anything which they craved for became a social humiliation. The soldiers who had been maimed and mangled, feeble-minded, epileptics, touts bordering on insanity, and decrepit persons became prolific. A carnal craze took possession of the hungry multitude. This social profligacy found its outlet through the silent movies of that period. From the middle of the last decade, this frenzy began to clear away from the impassioned eyes. At least for the sake of gross commercialism and box-office valuations art began to make its appearance on the silver screen. Although the literary, photographic, microphonic and the directorial art is reaching heights after heights, it has never regained the moral rectitude once irretrievably lost, for, it has its origin from the satiety brought on by lust.

Pirouetting to the rhythm of the tango, jerking her bust and pelvis, ravaged by the contortions of Charleston, ogling through the eye-corners, cigarette in hand, flushed and maddened by emotions, chimmeing to the music of the masses, the New Woman and the New Morality have made their theatrical debut upon the modern stage. One of the best representatives of these vivacious flappers for whom the Americans have been so delirious is Mae West, an embodiment of luscious sophistication.

The wild antics of the flapper flinging herself in this delirium of escape, night after night, upon the edge of nervous ecstasy are no longer uncommon. (V. F. Calverton "Bankruptcy of marriage.")

The old classical music which carried men higher and higher has been ruthlessly supplanted by the fervid Jazz. The old

Waltze has been superseded by the new Jazz with practically no chance of return. The Goldwyn and Vitaphon girls dance, dance without knowing what they are dancing for, dance to exhaustion.

No flats, no coal, no salt, no money. Every one in Paris moans, groans, and grumbles. But they dance. (*Daily Mail*, London. November 12, 1919).

The Indian cine-goer has to bear in mind certain things, the failure of which defeats the purpose for which he starts. So far as Indian pictures are concerned they are perfectly conscious, that the picture they are seeing represents their culture, their ancient civilization which once reached the pinnacle of perfection, and which had by some reason or other lapsed. But when they see an American picture he must never forget that the picture he is seeing comes from a foreign country of altogether different traditions, social customs, and standards of culture. The Indian mind has shown a strong tendency to imitate the Western ideals and their notions. But he must pause and—weigh. The critical reader must analyse the elements that build up the edifice of an artistic movie; must examine its contents sociologically. I mean to indicate here as briefly as possible what an indelible effect the movie has wrought upon the general morale in the western world.

It is obvious that the pictures dealing with the cheap ludicrous, and sophisticated romance carry the highest box-office value, because they contain that element in plenty which tickle the skin. Chavaliars, Cantors, Wheeler-Wolseys, and Mae Wests play cheap sentimentalities and buffoonery of a very low order. The Jazz-hits and sophisticated melodramas have done untold harm to men and nations. The old home has been replaced by the movie, the club and the dance-hall.

*When sixty million people, who have never kissed before, begin to kiss that's really more significant than a political revolution, and motion pictures must be given credit for this astounding sociological change. It is the Japanese who are discovering what they have been missing all these centuries. American love-scenes on the screen have become so irresistible that the Japanese Censors have removed the ban from them. Progress? Well, perhaps and perhaps not, but it must be a grand thing for the boys and girls. (Photoplay, February * 1933).*

According to Freudian psychology an emotion is never totally lost; it merges into the Unconscious and finds diverse outlets of expression. Men and women are watching thrillers and prize-fights in order to ventilate their psychic energies.

In Paris after the war they danced, it was a mad delirious dancing of men and women who had to seize upon something as a vicarious outlet for their crazed emotions. (Ellis—Dance of Life).

Calverton vividly describes the dynamic trend of the age, which is reflected in the movies of today.

The people did not want old opiates that induced sleep and the delusion of a sweet stillness of things and silence. They did not seek the escape which an artificial lassitude brings to minds tormented with worry and pain. They wanted and escape that was active, dynamic and electrical. It had to be an escape that exhilarated, that brought restfulness only from exhaustion. The spirit of tranquility is alien to the trend of the age. (Calverton. —Sex in Civilization).

and melodrama.

All the foregoing discussion about the enticing topic of feminine morals and movies has arisen as of necessity. Today it has become absolutely essential to investigate carefully what is being brought from the western world. We have become prone to imitate rather too hastily what is being done in these progressive nations often without scientific scrutiny. We see the western hemisphere on the summit of mechanic civilization; we are dazzled at their industry, courage in experimenting, and perseverance in scientific knowledge. To some of us a word from the West has become a gospel truth. But we have to study the effects it has engendered upon the Western populace; and it is still more disastrous to connive at them. Fortunately for India we have our glorious annals of our history and the sublime legends of our mythology. The heroes of Ramayan and Mahabharat,—their lives and conduct are still the inspiration of the Indian masses; and Indian producers and directors should direct their artistic brains to paint idealistic pictures and carry us on to higher levels of civilization. If national art has any significance as an indication of the springs of human action, and as an index of human progress, we must show to the world that the West has also much to learn from the East.

THE ART OF BORIS GEORGIEV

By R. G. RAJWADE

[A close-up of Boris Georgiev, the pilgrim-artist and a critical review of his pictures which have an ethical purpose.]

INTRODUCTORY

On the grounds of the Savoy Hotel at Mussoorie, under a huge tree whose branches gave ample shelter from sun and storm, in the third week of June, was seen a caravan, dull and dusty in colour. It hardly, if ever, attracted the notice of a stranger. When it hailed or when it rained, the caravan changed its position round the base of the tree. At night a light in the mist, and during the day a slight activity: these were the only signs of human habitation, which one who cared to see could see. A little closer attention disclosed a tall human figure, dressed in gray or evening clothes issuing out of the caravan at meal times. This was Boris Georgiev, the artist-pilgrim whose portraits of Tagore and Grandi, and the powerful representation 'the earthquake' had clung to my memory.

Our acquaintance was casual, a purely dilettante-artist affair. Now it has grown into a much fuller relationship and I have witnessed the artist's soul in full-dress uniform, as well as in pyjamas, and under all the intermediate conditions.

The caravan in which Boris lives and travels is built on the body of a v8 Ford. He has designed and constructed it himself, and it is a marvel of space economy. There is a kitchen where he cooks his food, a shower bath, a study

which has been tastefully decorated with a selection of his pictures, a few books, a few brass and stone images, a flower-vase, a lampstand. Boris drives the caravan-car himself.

CHRONOLOGY

Georgiev was born in 1888 at Varma, on the Black Sea coast in Bulgaria. Of a small landed proprietor parentage he spent his childhood in the village of his nativity, and studied in what they call a gymnasium, till his thirteenth year. Then he migrated to Russia and spent eight years in that Tsar-ridden country. Firstly he attended that art school at Odessa, and then entered the Academy of Art at Petersburg under the directorship of Nicholas Roerich. And then, in his own words, "feeling that my artistic education was not complete," he went to Germany and joined the art academy at Munich, and spent three years there under professors Jung and Halm. He owes to Jung the perfection of form in art, what he calls the grammar of art. It was at this stage that he turned towards creative art and started the study of ancient art monuments. All these study-travels were made on foot due to extreme poverty.

The last stage of his education was in Paris, where Boris had intended staying for two years, but he was "suffocated in two months, in that atmosphere of artificially formulated conception of art." And feeling that if he stayed on in Paris he would lose his soul, he sought refuge with the mother nature in the North Italian Alps. Here at a spot, the magic spell of which was cast on him in his previous wanderings, he lived alone for a year and then his sister joined him. A life of dual communion ensued: communion between brother and sister, and communion between artist and nature. The slough of the Parisian influence was cast off, and in brief,

the Alpine sojourn was a catharsis. The year was 1913.

Then came the war, and man became a mere number. With the war began Georgiev's sorrow. He had glimpses of the approaching tragedy of his sister's death—a sort of prevision. The actual death occurred in 1916 when his sister blew out like a candle.

After the war Georgiev settled down in Rome. In 1926 he met Tagore. The meeting was momentous. The poet said to the painter "you are nearer to India than to Europe," and the desire to visit this land which Georgiev had felt surging within him since his childhood, became intense, vivid. The beacon-light was the conception of the world-sorrow as formulated by Weltschmerz. The dream was realised in 1931, when Boris first set his foot on the Indian soil. What he has actually done in India, and what he intends to do, with this aspect I shall deal a little later on.

BROTHER AND SISTER LOVE

A deep attachment of Georgiev's early life was the attachment for his sister. Their life together in the Alpine snows is one of the most touching memories which Georgiev has stored up. They had built themselves a hut, they had a small pasture-land, they grew their corn and cut their fuel. Boris has painted a picture of this episode. There is a small cabin of wood in the foreground and ranges of snow behind. The sister is clearing the snow in front of the cottage. The death of the sister was the biggest sorrow of Georgiev's life. He has a picture of his sister crossing the bar. A girl is standing against a wooden bar, her hands resting on it. The look on the girl's face is unmistakable. The picture expresses itself: it needs no pre-knowledge.

The sister died and Georgiev's anchorage was lost. The self-portrait is a picture of this period of his life. The artist

is depicted as a lone traveller, at the beginning of a journey, with all support gone. The way is long and weary and the look of utter desolation on the face of the traveller is magnificently rendered.

The memory of the dead sister runs through Georgiev's entire art like a *leit motif*, a refrain. It is a sad memory and a saddening memory, but the fact that it has served him time and again as a source of inspiration, and has helped towards the fashioning of his attitude to life and art is profoundly fascinating.

The idea of sorrow has been the fundamental inspiration of Georgiev's art. He looks upon it as the pivotal idea of life; the binding, unifying factor of humanity. In sorrow all barriers vanish. Sorrow and sympathy in sorrow, running through life like parallel threads will convert humanity into a true corporate entity. This idea curiously reminds one of the Buddhist doctrine of suffering. But Boris is not a nihilist. Death, for him, is not the fulfilment of life. Life has a definite mission to perform. I shall deal with what that mission is in a moment. For the present, from where did Georgiev get this idea of sorrow? It is not a riddle at all. Its genesis was in his sister's death; however nebulous, it grew and assumed form.

HIS CONCEPTION OF ART

"Only that art which can appeal to the soul of millions is real art," says Georgiev. The greatest art is that which moves the unsophisticated, and not that which appeals only to a select band of connoisseurs.

Georgiev does not live in a world of beauty based on illusion. No, he cannot do it; for he thinks he is a dedicated person and has a definite duty to perform. Boris Georgiev, says a German art critic, is an artist whose life has

been inspired since his childhood for the higher service of human ideals through his art. With him art is religion, and the artist a priest, an apostle of higher beauty disclosing and communicating the hidden meaning of things. The artist must put to an ethical purpose the special gifts with which he is endowed. This ethical purpose, according to Georgiev, is the interpretation of the sorrow of humanity which remains eternal. The German art critic further greets the coming of Georgiev as an event for Germany, considering the fact that the modern German artist completely neglects the spiritual fundamentals of his mission.

INFLUENCES

The two influences which have shaped Georgiev's art are 1. The Chinese Art, and 2. Michael Angelo.

Georgiev first saw Chinese art in 1910, in Munich, and it impressed him as nothing has ever since. He considers the Ajantha frescoes as very great art, but he thinks that the Chinese art is greater than even Ajantha. The Chinese art is in complete antagonism to the modern French Impressionism, and the emphasis on outline is its most striking characteristic.

Two pictures of Boris on which the Chinese influence as regards form and execution is most evident are 1. The Dying Deer, and 2. The Song of the Danube. The Song of the Danube is an old Bulgarian folk-song rendered in line and colour. The story runs: a girl sat on the bank of the river and sang a song of her destiny—"I am waiting on the shore to see who will pass on his boat, merchant, prince or pauper, whoever he be, he will take me as his bride." And she waited endlessly, and nobody appeared, and she continued her song "Useless is beauty and the value is of the soul. I shall die here unknown, and my body will be dust and in

my hair snakes will make their nests." It is redundant to point out that the folk-song is an allegory of the tragic sense of human life.

In Georgiev's composition the woman is the protagonist. She is in the centre of the picture, with lovely tresses of hair, resting her head on the ground; then there are the river, the other bank, dim and enveloped in haze, and in the haze two swans, distinct but still as in a mirage. The woman's eyes rest on these swans, which remain distant; and the dream is unfulfilled and the woman wastes.

The other picture *The Dying Deer* is great art. I have referred to Georgiev's period of life with his sister in the Alpine snows. This picture was conceived during that period. A deer struck by an arrow, with a long trail of drops of blood in the snow, and with tears in its eyes—this is all the picture. But one must see it to believe the amount of power it wields.

The other influence on Georgiev's art has been that of Michael Angelo's sculptures: the *Slaves*, the allegoric statue *Capella Medici*, and also his frescoes in the Sixtine chapel in Rome.

HIS PICTURES

These can be sorted out into two principal groups: 1. Portraits, 2. Sorrow pictures. For the majority of these he has employed the fresco technique, but there are drawings too.

Tagore, Einstein, Gandhi, the Fascist leader Barnoba, the Bulgarian poet Trajanon, the Italian ambassador in London—Grandi, are some of his famous portraits. In all these his power of expressing the spiritual greatness of a soul comes out vividly.

The triptych "the World Sorrow" is the most significant

example expressing his ethical outlook. It is the best sorrow composition. It consists of three parts: 1. His sister crossing the bar, 2. *The Dying Deer*, 3. A tree landscape. The concept of the "world sorrow" among beings, in the animal kingdom and in nature. *The Wanderer and his Sister*, *The Eternal Traveller*, *The Song of the Danube* are some of the other sorrow pictures.

HIS PRESENT SCHEME

Boris Georgiev has been in India now for over four years. He is touring the country in his caravan, getting to know the people as well as he can: their ways and manners, loves and idiosyncrasies. He talks with distinct irony of European travellers who spend a month or two in India, live in hotels and write books. What do they know of the real India! Of India which is the "most tragic country in the world." Boris wants to know this India which evades the grasp of the European—this India, not merely as a geographical or ethnological unit, but the vital, living India; the India awakened by the songs of Tagore and the prayers of Gandhi; the India which was on the peak of civilization when the mighty nations of today were in the womb of time.

The period of ocular perception and absorption is over, and the first of a series of pictures interpreting the vital India, has just been finished. It is called *Daridra Narayan ko Namaskar*. The phrase is Mahatma Gandhi's. This picture is the introductory picture, as the title indicates. The rest of Georgiev's work is still unborn; he has not yet further set his hand to the brush. He is thinking of going back to his country, and there, away from this stress and turmoil, starting on his great work. I say starting of set purpose, because the real start has yet to be made; momentum has yet to be gathered.

It is difficult to judge from the first picture as to what lines the subsequent pictures will follow. But it is possible that just as the first one illustrates the appalling poverty of the Indian peasant, the others may likewise depict the various aspects of life he has seen. I presume that the series, notwithstanding the fact that every unit will be separate, distinct and separable from others, will form an organic whole; and I have hope that, if executed with the fineness and religiousity of "The Dying Deer," these India series will be the magnum opus of Boris Georgiev.

Amen!

SOME ASPECTS OF FEDERAL FINANCE

By S. P. SHARMA

[The writer who has made a careful study of Indian financial problems discusses in this article some aspects of Federal Finance in constructive spirit.]

Society is now widely recognised to be an organism the growth of which in one direction necessarily affects the manner and extent in which it develops in another. Federation is the latest aspect of political democracy and the financial aspect of it is a subject to which not much attention has so far been paid by economists. Politics and finance being closely intertwined, the finances of Federation present as complicated a problem for study as federation itself does. For the purposes of this article, it is not necessary to examine the true political theory of federalism and to determine whether political sovereignty is divisible at all and if so, whether it can be divided between the units and the centre of a federation. Suffice it to assume that the true political sovereign is the people and that it invests part of its powers in the Centre and part in the States, itself intervening at times to decide specific questions by way of the Referendum and the Initiative. Every federal constitution not merely divides powers between the Central Government and the units but also assigns the sources of revenue with which these powers and duties may be duly discharged. In other words, the division is both political and financial. In making it, however, the main consideration is political and not whether the resources of a body are equal to the duties laid on it. This difficulty is surmounted by other provisions

allowing for transferences of funds between the federal government and the units in well-ascertained ways which will be examined presently. It has merely to be noted here that the financial problem of equating income to expenditure in the case of the various governments in a federation is subordinated to political considerations when the division of functions between them takes place. An attempt is, indeed, made to render co-equal political and financial authorities as far as possible. But they cannot both be harnessed together at all times as each has a tendency to pull in a different direction. This fact is patent enough at the time of constitution-making and hence the provision for transferences referred to above. But what is more, as time goes on, federal practice develops in ways not always consonant with the strict theory of the constitution. Thus, to-day, the Swiss Federal Government has few expensive functions to perform and the resources assigned to it are naturally scanty. But by virtue of its political supremacy, it has been noticed of late to be gradually gaining the upper hand in financial practice as well. Or to take another example, under the American confederation powers were vested in the Central Government to borrow money for common defence or general welfare, the liability being met not by federal taxation but by contributions from the States. The result was that the latter did not pay and the national financial system collapsed completely. Here are two instances of the custom of the constitution, as Dicey would say, being at variance with the law of the constitution in financial matters. It is thus clear that even when the authors of a federal constitution have done their best to provide funds against functions, income against expenditure, in the cases of the Central Government and of the State Governments, actual political practice strongly tends to set their plans at naught and to run its own wayward

course. To infer therefore *a posteriori* the fiscal relations of a federal government with its units and of the latter *inter se* from the constitutional provisions relating thereto would be quite unsafe. They could be learned only from a study of governments in actual working.

Not all the fiscal features of a federal constitution present problems in any sense peculiarly federal. Thus budgetary procedure, financial administration, the audit and accounts of government finance in a federation are in essence the same as in other forms of democracies. But the distribution of powers of taxation, of financial functions, and the financial adjustments proposed in order to restore the balance between income and expenditure in the various governments of the federation, these are all unmistakably federal problems. Taxation in particular raises a host of difficulties not all of which admit of satisfactory settlement. Nobody denies that it should be uniform throughout the federation but there is considerable doubt as to what exactly is meant by the word "uniform". Is it uniformity or sameness all over that is contemplated or equality in the ultimate incidence of the tax burden? Australia and the United States have had the question decided by courts in favour of geographical uniformity but it is difficult to believe that the last word on the dispute has been heard. Again, the rule of uniformity should apply to the States also so as to prevent them from discriminating against non-state subjects though belonging to the Federation. Then as to the extent of the power of taxation itself, there is keen difference of opinion. In strict constitutional law taxation proper is clearly distinguished from non-fiscal acts of the state like the levy of licences penalties and charges for services rendered. But it is well-known that niceties of law and legal fictions have enabled many a gross breach of the law to put on the garb of legality and to claim legitimacy.

The plenitude of taxation powers is indeed hard to determine. Chief Justice Marshall once said in a celebrated judgment that the power to tax involve the power to destroy. Where is the upper limit then to the taxing powers of the governments in a federation? The answer depends on the interpretation of the constitution given by the courts. And they go by the rule of what is called "Inclusiveness". To explain, they examine whether the tax in question is included within the purposes of the federation, whether it is in consonance with the fiscal dictum "federal taxation for federal purposes" and provincial taxation for provincial purposes. This is, to be sure, not a very illuminating proposition for the judiciary to follow and apply but its main object is the administration of law, not the exposition of it as such. And it naturally depends on the federal sense of the country as a whole.

Turning now from taxes to the services to be performed with their aid and the basis on which those services have been allotted between the centre and the units of a federation, we come across striking examples of the fact noted above viz. the subordination of fiscal considerations to political ones in the allocation of functions to the Federal Government and the State Governments. The rival claims of centralisation and of decentralisation of functions are not easy to decide even in a unitary government. But where, as in a federation, the agencies are multiplied and become more vociferous with the authority of sovereign powers, the task becomes doubly difficult. Very broadly speaking, functions of an international character like defence and foreign relations and of an intrastatal character like communications, commerce etc. are federalised while those that primarily demand efficiency and economy and can conveniently be administered through local agents are given over to the states. The division of functions made can never theoretically be clear and courts are constant-

ly in demand to decide cases of "poaching" or of new functions arising out of the progress of science or out of the broadening concept of permissible activity for the State. In any case, the principle on which functions are divided is something else than one of public finance. No complaint, however, need be made on this score. Finance after all is a handmaid of politics but as can be seen in every federal country, she takes her full measure of revenge on those who slight her at first. We shall presently see the various devices adopted to win back her favour and to enthrone her on the secure seat of balanced budgets in all the governments of a federation.

However subordinate the position might be which is allotted to financial considerations by the framers of a federal constitution, it is unthinkable that they should not bear them in mind at all particularly in the distribution of resources. Thus they were fully aware of the dictum of public finance about the minimum of cost and the optimum of yield and accordingly provided in their constitutions or the prevention of fraud and evasion and for the due observance of economy in the assessment and collection of taxes. They also took considerable care to see that the responsibility for raising revenue and the liberty to spend it were not divorced from each other. Thus each authority was made as independent as possible in the matter of raising and spending revenue though the amount of this financial autonomy vouchsafed under the various federations was strictly conditioned by the circumstances attendant on their birth. In addition to securing economy and independence, they had, thirdly, the object of making each source of revenue as adequate and elastic as possible. How far success attended their efforts is a different matter. And for so much of the failure as has been observed, the fault cannot all be laid at their doors.

After all, all constitutions have to grow. The present German constitution, for instance, is not remarkable for the elasticity of its financial provisions but adaptations are made as needs arise. In spite of constitutional provisions, that on their face are rigid, Switzerland was able to enlarge federal financial powers and to meet the large demands raised by the war. Finance is the motive power, the fuel, on the strength of which the state functions. And no one in his senses will ignore its bearings on the general problems of politics. Thus federal statesmen after having dealt as best they could with political considerations, have all had to turn to financial ones and to make satisfactory provisions under that head. And hence the problem of adjustments to which we turn next.

The German is a more systematic thinker than the Britisher and on the theory of public finance, his contributions have been very valuable. Thus regarding taxation in particular, a very useful distinction is drawn by him between the "independent system" and the "mixed system". According to the former, the various governments concerned draw their revenues from different sources altogether while under the latter the sources are mixed, *i.e.*, are common in some cases. The mixed system is further divided into the concurrent mixed system and the contract mixed system. The former implies that certain sources of revenue are taxed both by the Central Government and by the states and that no transfer of funds takes place either way. The latter however provides for such transferences in the form of subsidies or assignments of these forms of financial allocation of powers, the independent system may be given up as unthinkable in practice. The concurrent system gives room for constant conflicts on the score of jurisdiction and should be avoided as far as possible. It is then only the contract system that is in vogue

at present on a wide scale. There are however various forms of it some of which have to be preferred to others. A system of payments and cross-payments from one authority to another is unnecessarily complicated, if not possibly uneconomic also. Again it is better that neither the Federal Government nor those of the States are made to supplicate in order to get funds from the other party. An automatic operation of the relevant provisions regarding transfer of funds is the best from all viewpoints. In essence then, it may be said that the various governments of a federation should be as independent as possible, and where mutual dependence is inevitable—and it is always inevitable—no doubt is left as to the course of conduct to be pursued by either party.

Two methods of financial adjustment which possess the virtue of automatic operation may be taken up to begin with. They are assignments and supplementary levies. The former means the apportionment of the proceeds of a tax between the Centre and the units. A host of questions arise on this point. Should the levy and collection of the taxes vest in the Federal government or in those of the States? And in either case, how are the proceeds to be divided? As a matter of common practice, the federal government generally administers the tax, but the principle of division is by no means the same all over. In some cases, it is a certain percentage that is retained by the party that collects and in others, the share of one is fixed in amount, the other appropriating the remainder. Again there is the question as to what taxes should be thus made subjects of common interest. And more important still is the basis on which the share of the States should be divided *inter se*. This last is still a subject of endless controversy. Among the bases suggested are the amount actually collected in a given area; population; total wealth of the state and so on. And distribution on any of

these bases further depends on what its object is conceived to be. If the intention is to compensate the party concerned for loss of revenue, the result will be different from what it would be were the object merely to establish balanced budgets all round. Further details on this point need not be entered into here; suffice it to say that if theoretical agreement is to be a *sine quo non* for the establishment of a federation, a long time would indeed elapse before it came into existence.

Supplemental levies may be mentioned as a second method of financial adjustment. According to this either the Federal Government or the States will be the principal taxing authority, the other being allowed to levy supplemental taxation. The difficulty in this connection is that if the States are the principals, inequalities will arise in the tax-burden. Generally, therefore, the Central Government remains the principal and even so, a maximum limit is imposed on the power of the States to levy supplemental duties. A few other modes of bringing about financial equilibrium may just be noted. Federal subsidies are sometimes given either unconditionally or with special conditions attaching thereto. But these are now strongly discountenanced. State contributions also are similarly out of favour and for the same reason viz. that they are uncertain and encroach on independence. The most favoured method is to give federal subventions for specified purposes subject to the condition that efficiency of service is maintained unimpaired. The state-righter may see in this point ample scope for vexatious interference on the part of the Federal Government. But the object of the subvention will be generally one of great public interest and in any case, the acceptance of the aid is in no way obligatory. Rules after all are only to guide and not to fetter freedom. And a federation cannot expect to live except when a federal sense of give and take is developed

among the citizens.

A few considerations on public debt in a federation may fittingly close this article. Capital finance is as important as ordinary finance. As in the case of raising ordinary revenues, so in that of borrowing, the existence of a large number of agencies with the power to raise funds on loan in the market greatly complicates the problem. Among the various questions relating to public debt in a federation, two only will be touched upon here. The assumption of pre-federation debt by the new federal government has always been a thorny question. It has generally been on a per capita basis as between the States but a final solution of the difficulty has never stood in the way of inaugurating a federation. Thus in Australia, constitutional provisions on the point were not acted upon for thirty years after the Federation Government came into being. Another question and perhaps a more important one cropping up under this head is the borrowing policy to be followed by the States and by the Federation. That the power to borrow cannot be denied to the units in toto may be taken for granted. But it cannot be allowed in full and without any restrictions either. A *carte blanche* in the matter given to the states led to endless confusion in Mexico, Brazil, the United States and Australia. Not indeed that the borrowing policy will be necessarily unsound in that case but that interest rates in the home market will be needlessly raised and national credit will thereby suffer. Co-ordination of the debt policies of all the government is indispensable and the Australian Loan Council is one of the best methods of bringing it about. The Federal Government of Australia has no predominance in it and by itself, it has no executive powers being only a consultative body. But after it has gone into a question, it gives a guarantee and a sanction to the loan concerned. And this involves not only the rais-

ing of credit in the eyes of the public but a number of other incidental benefits. Immoderate amounts asked for will ruthlessly be pruned by the Council which will also see that adequate provision is made for the liquidation of the loan granted. The steps taken in this regard in the Government of India Act 1935 are quite wise and commendable.

To sum up, the Central feature of a federation in matters of finance, as in those of politics, is to reconcile the claims of two sets of sovereign bodies in the interests of both. The duties of either do not bear any correspondence with the resources expected by each. And hence the need for transfer of funds from one to another without however impinging on the *amour propre* of the receiving party. As with revenue so with loans. All units may borrow but on the advice and under the supervision of a body which is responsible to each. Federalism to-day marks the peak in the art of living together on the part of mankind.

SEX AND SYMBOLISM IN PSYCHO-ANALYSIS

By K. BARTHAKUR

[Here the writer tries to interpret the commonsense conception of sex.]

Psycho-analysis was originally a study of the abnormalities of mental life. But in the course of its investigations into the cases of abnormal mentality the distinction between normal and abnormal mental life has so much been thinned down that according to the psycho-analysts of to-day there remains only a difference of degree rather than of kind between these two seemingly antagonistic phases of mentality. As such an obliteration of distinctions began to gain ground the science also widened its scope so as at present to include even the 'little forgettings, mistakes and slips of which we are guilty at some time or other.' Now there is scarcely any field of study which this scientific analysis does not touch. As Flügel puts it:—

This psychological mechanism originally discovered by Freud in his consulting room seems to have so wide an applicability that there is scarcely anywhere a religious belief, a ceremonial observance, a social institution or a conventional practice that does not bear its imprint.

Perhaps no recent science has so much been able to cast its influence on the 'intellectual climate' of the age within so short a time. It reflects much credit on the sponsors of the science as well as on the science itself. That it should be so need not astonish us; the startling revelations it has made of the unconscious mind—a subject hitherto relegated to the background, and the explanations it has given of many events

of our daily life so long regarded as chance occurrences, cannot but have such an effect.

The term psycho-analysis is however misleading. Taken in its wider sense it is used as a common name for a number of schools coming out of the discoveries of Dr. Sigmund Freud of Vienna. Although these schools have a common origin, yet with the progress of time they have drifted so widely from one another that it is impossible to apply the same name to all of them without discrimination.

When both Alder and Jung the originators of these dissenting schools of 'Individual Psychology' and 'Collective Psychology' prefer to apply different designations to their systems of psychology, certainly it ill behoves others to create confusion by an indiscriminate use of names. It appears to us that the term psycho-analysis may now be made to mean only Freud's school without any confusion, and it is in this sense we shall use the term hereinafter. Sometimes this term means the method and sometimes the result arrived at by Freudian psychology. But as this fine distinction would create no confusion in the following pages we may leave off the matter for the present.

The school of Freud came out from the treatment of a case of hysteria. Dr. Josef Breuer whilst treating this case discovered that the details of the case related to certain past experiences of the subject, which the subject had totally forgotten and which at the time of laying bare appeared to be highly emotional. He also found out that suggestions to these experiences resulted in the absence of these details and a general alleviation of the subject's conditions was attained. The fact that hysterical symptoms had a meaning dependent upon the buried memories of the subject was already discovered by Charcot. But the curative effect of bringing them back to consciousness was never suspected. Freud

after his study under Charcot joined hands with Breuer and their first joint publication appeared in the year 1893. Soon after this Breuer parted company, and Freud alone pursued the course getting around him an array of distinguished followers who ultimately broke up into the different schools of thought alluded above.

At first Freud started with an open mind. But investigations into the realm of his subject led to certain assumptions. Now at the basis of psycho-analytical doctrine there stands an assumption, which is known as psychic determinism. This assumption presupposes that the law of cause and effect is as operative in the mental world as it is in the physical universe. Where an adequate conscious cause of a mental event cannot be detected it is assumed that unconscious mental factors are in action. From the days of Greeks the unconscious mind has always been a source of pursuit to the psychologist. But a scientific analysis of the topic under investigation was never thought of for the reason that the unconscious mind does not make it subject to experience.

The psychologists could only postulate that the unconscious exists and it is something other than our consciousness. They could not say anything beyond its existence, and pleaded ignorance about its nature. Handicapped by such a limited conception of the unconscious, the abnormal phenomena of dreams, hallucinations, illusions and the like, came to be regarded as inexplicable. But, Freud, carried out an extensive investigation into these abnormal mental phenomena. This following the subject from its matter of fact end, Freud not only proved the existence of the unconscious but also that the unconscious mind is very much wider in its scope than its conscious counterpart. In seeking explanations to these mental phenomena, he also came to regard the unconscious as more selfish and primitive. His numerous assemblages

facts warrants such a conclusion, although his theory yet remains a hypothesis.

Freud's general view requires us to conceive of the self after the model of two families, dwelling upon different floors of the same house. The family of the first floor, which is the abode of consciousness, consists of orderly law-abiding and respectable persons. The ground floor of the unconscious is occupied by a larger number of inhabitants, having a disreputable character. They are primitive, passionate and intensely selfish. Many of the inhabitants of the ground floor originally dwelt on the first floor but were dismissed therefrom, as soon as their disreputable character was found out, and they, like fallen angels, descended to the lower region. Their one preoccupation is the gratification of their desires, which are predominantly sexual, and to gratify these desires, they endeavour to come to the first floor, where they get more publicity and wider scope. But, this creates consternation and fear amongst the inhabitants of the first floor, wherefore a policeman is engaged to keep them back. The technical name for this policeman is censor, and it is as well an unconscious process. But sometimes the censor is unable to keep back the unconscious desires, and they force their way to consciousness. In such cases however the censor manages to purify the uncouth element, during the process of transition. It clothes them properly, purges them of their primitive roughness, and selfishness, so that these ideas become presentable to decent society. This process is known as sublimation; sublimation often changes the apparent character of the desire to such an extent that a desire to clope with one's next door neighbour's wife may appear as an aversion from pickled oranges.

Everyone of us is conscious of curtailing the natural expressions at life's 'petty frustrations, humiliations and

annoyances'; our natural expression at such cases is frequently and constantly being repressed, we are very much conscious of this process of repression, there is also a process of unconscious repression, which invariably represses the primitive tendencies within us. Over and above these, there are also a certain quasi-permanent causes of hostility, which are tabooed by the censor. These native tendencies cannot find a proper outlet to come to the arena of consciousness. If these native tendencies were allowed full play, our present society, as well as any other society, would have been impossible, and hence it is much for this reason that they are constantly censored, and are required to undergo a course of sublimation. The process of sublimation, being an unconscious process, the subject in whom these urges are sublimated, fail to perceive not only those ideas to be his, but also that there is a stricter morality, behind the pale of consciousness.

But, what are these ideas that are constantly being repressed and censored. Psycho-analytic investigations have come to reduce the springs of human actions, to three broad urges—the sex-urge, the ego-urge and the safety-urge. These urges are mainly in the unconscious, and from behind they work in the field of actions. That these urges consciously or unconsciously prompt our actions seems to be a self-evident fact. A little reflection would make it clear that man as such is always conscious of the 'ego' or 'I' within. In every act of ours, in every likes and dislikes, the consciousness that I am doing it, I am liking or disliking it is always present. In addition to this consciousness, everyone of us is guilty of some selfishness—of some partiality towards his own self. However much we may try to get rid of this selfishness, it flashes on us. Similar is the case with our sex-urge. The sexologist tells us that the sex-urge in man does not suddenly

come into being, after the attainment of puberty, but it is already there. It is as primitive to man as his all other tendencies. A child in whom the sex-urge is never suspected, shows some excitement, when his penis is touched and moved. This and such other facts make the sexologist's claim clear even to a layman. The last but not the least is the safety urge. About this urge, suffice it to say that it is natural for man to instinctively shut his eyes, when anything comes to fall on them. As we have alluded above, these urges are only foundations of human activity, both mental and physical. In any kind of human activity, one or other of these urges, lurks from behind.

These urges being the springs of all our actions, it is necessary to determine, which of these urges are tabooed by the censor. It is as much certain that all of these urges in their primitive nakedness are repressed. But being repressed they do not die. They lie imbedded in the dark regions of the unconscious, where our conscious likes and dislikes, our conscious code of morality, have no access. There is a considerable difference of opinion as to which of these urges are mostly repressed. Restricting ourselves to Freud's hypothesis, the urge that is mostly repressed is the sex-urge. This is according to Freud, the strongest urge, and instead of lying in the unconscious, it generally takes advantage of the censor's weakness and comes up to consciousness in some form or other, if not in its primitivity.

It is a paradox of sexology, that although sexology as a science has a definite province of its own, yet there is no clear and consistent definition of the topic, they deal with. Sex as such, has not yet been clearly defined, nor a consistent description has been adhered to. If all sexual acts from amoeba to man are compared, then it becomes impossible to arrive at a precise definition of sex and sexual acts, for there

are so many variations within the rank, that there is not a single element, which we may call common to all of them. Whatever may be the scientific definition of sex, common sense has its own conception. In the light of this common sense view, sexuality is often taken to be synonymous with genitality, and that serves all practical purposes. But, Freud uses, the term, in a slightly different sense. According to him, sexuality not only includes genitality within it, but is synonymous with 'love' or with any other term, that may be conjured up to mean the tender feelings and emotions. In Freudian Psychology, the term 'libido' is used to denote sexuality. The subsequent growth of the conception of 'libido' provides a very interesting study, more so, in consideration of the subsequent change of meaning it underwent, in the hands of Jung and others.

When Freud spoke of this sex-urge being mostly repressed, his conclusions met with a widespread antagonism. It comes as a shock to our senses of decency and morality. When he ascribes to us a thought or a desire we never thought of, nor did we aspire for, we are apt to dismiss his conclusions as nonsensical. But the psycho-analyst only anticipated this opposition. He retorts that this antagonistic tendency 'so far from affording an argument for the unconditional rejection of the conclusions, actually affords some evidence in their support.' For, as in individual patients, the process of making conscious the repressed wishes, meets with a great resistance, so also to the human race as a whole, the laying bare of their buried uncouth desires and wishes cannot escape opposition. The fact that the subject has not been conscious so long of a desire in him, does not prove that he has not the desire. "Man is not only more immoral, than he can believe himself to be, but also more moral, than he can have any idea of." This unconscious morality, prevents such immoral ideas

from coming back to consciousness; and hence the subject may not be conscious of their existence.

These thoughts and desires come into consciousness usually in forms unrecognizable to the subject. It is a custom prevalent in many parts of the world to throw rice on the wedding couple. People throwing rice on the wedding couple, do not even suspect that such a custom have any meaning. If however, a meaning of the custom is attempted at, then it is necessary to determine why rice is thrown on them in preference to any other material. They might as well have thrown stones or paper balls, why do not they? The psycho-analyst answers that the particular material rice provides a key to the explanation that the custom is nothing but a symbolical representation of the semen; for rice, barley, grain and such other things are always used as a symbol of the fructifying seed. When with the throwing of rice shoes are also thrown, as in some countries, the whole thing denote a sexual act; for shoes and such other holes represent the female organ. If such an explanation is accepted and it seems plausible—then it is easy to understand the oppositionists mentality. Had it been known to the people, practising the custom, that the custom bears such a meaning, they would certainly have banished it from the society, as being indecent. But when such a meaning do not occur to them, they have every reason to resent to any indecent explanation that may be given of it; for nobody likes himself to be described as having an immorality, more so when the subject himself is not conscious of it.

But, this symbolical way of representation is an important factor in the growth and development of the human race. Thinking by symbols is an easier way of thinking than thinking by concepts. It is not for this reason alone that symbols are so much prevalent amongst mankind, but

as the psycho-analyst would say that symbols earned popularity, on account of their capacity to hide gross immorality of the thing symbolised. Symbols provide a wide field of research and it is to the credit of psycho-analysis that it has made an honest attempt to realise them. Students of religion have already discovered the existence of sexual symbols. Psycho-analysis takes on itself the task of fitting them with a set of psychological principles. Whatever may be the relationship between the repressed material or sex and symbols, they have a close connection as is evident from the fact that the field of the repressed material is also the field in which the majority of symbols work. However it is still uncertain how far symbolism results from repression, and how far repression leads to a mode of expression, which has come into being for quite other reasons.

In symbols as in every other case of indirect expression, there exists a relation between the symbol and the thing symbolised. In some cases the relation is apparent, while in others it is not. But, even in these cases, where the relation is plain enough, the vast majority of the people fail to discover it. The story of Alladdin and his lamp is a very popular story. But nobody believed that it has a veiled allusion inasmuch as the wonderful lamps afford a gratification for every wish, unless it was pointed out that the lamp is a symbol of the phallus, and the happiness, to be derived from it is nothing else than sexual pleasure. However, it is curious, why a lamp should be selected as a symbol of the phallus. But, we can well understand the possibility of such a symbolization as soon as we remember that fire and warmth seem always to be associated with love, passion and sexuality.

Again there are some cases, where a cloak or a mantle is regarded as a phallic symbol. Here the outward appear-

ances of a cloak and phallus do not suggest such a symbolization. But yet there is the symbol. In this particular case, the missing link is supplied by the conception of warmth, which of course the cloak gives.

Such symbolical modes of expression are also found in fairy tales, legends and stories. Fairy tales, legends or stories are the same all over the world with only certain local variations. In these creations of the brain the psycho-analyst finds a simple means of gratifying our repressed desires. People cannot have them satisfied in the actual world and hence go on making stories to their satisfaction.

In fact on the analysis of these legends and stories, Freud has found out a certain complex, known as Oedipus complex from that famous Oedipus story.

Symbols are extremely numerous, and varied. Nevertheless the things symbolized are limited in number. They are without exception, things of high emotional significance and include (1) the human body, or certain portions of the body, especially the genital organs, (2) certain bodily excretions such as semen, faeces and urine, (3) certain persons, especially father and mother and (4) biological events or processes, such as birth and death. It is not proper place to discuss all the symbols and to interpret them from a psycho-analytic standpoint. But, at the same time, it is interesting to note that Freud finds in them nothing but the clamour of sex and the taboo of censor.

The most important contribution of Freud to psychology is not however his theory about sex and symbols. Later investigations in the realm of symbols, may find contrary meanings in them which would go rather to demolish Freudian psychology than to support it. Repressed materials, in the ultimate analysis, may turn out to be other than sexual. In fact, his disciples, Adler and Jung, have already tried to

prove that all that is repressed is not sex. In the hands of Jung, the conception of the 'libido' has undergone a considerable modification. To him the 'libido' is something like the 'elan vitale' of Bergson, the vital process of man; and Adler pays more attention to ego and compensation.

In spite of all these, Freud's name will go down to the posterity as the scientific successor to Schopenhauer and Hartman, in the conception of the unconscious. His researches into the realm of the unconscious, has opened up a vista for more scientific researches in mental life. A scientific conception of mind has always proved a baffling task, on account of inaccuracies of observation, and for the want of a stable law. But Freud's psychic determinism relieves the inquisitive inquirer to a great extent. To look only to consciousness for the cause of a mental event, often leaves the inquirer with an impression that every mental event does not have a cause. That seems to be a paradox, in a world where everything is tied to one another by an irremediable chain of causes and effects. When causes and effects are invariably connected in the physical world, it seems too much of a presumption to suppose, that the law of causality is not operative in the mental world. If all that Freud contends is not true, there is this much of truth in it that every mental event has cause either in the consciousness or in the unconscious.

PLACE OF BHAVABHUTI IN DRAMATIC LITERATURE

By PRADYUMNA C. JOSHI

[The general theory of Sanskrit drama, the work of Bhavabhuti, his place among Sanskrit men of letters, his influence on his successors, are all discussed in these pages by Mr. P. C. Joshi of the Benares Hindu University who is a scholar in more than one language.]

I strove with none, for none was worth my strife,
Nature I loved and, next to Nature, Art;
I warm'd both hands before the fire of life
It sinks and I am ready to depart

—W. S. Landor.

नियतिकृति नियमरहितां ह्यादैकमयीमनन्यपरतन्त्रां ।
नवरसरचिरां निर्मितिमादधती भारती कवेर्जयति ॥

—Mamāta

Sanskrit drama claims like everything Indian a divine origin. Bharata, however, is the first scientific writer on the theory and construction of the stage. But the conception of drama is complicated by the influence of dance and song which enter vitally in the scheme of things¹. The restoration of the Sanskrit literature to its proper place through the laudable efforts of pioneers like William Jones and Moirer Williams was not sufficient to brush aside some of the unmerited prejudices that had gathered round its name. The shackles which bound down the literary criticism were finally removed by the spirit of liberality and revolt which was engendered by the introduction of English education.

¹ Dharmajaya: *Daśarūpaka* (N. S. 1927) I. 4.

Though the new age brought about a catholicity of outlook and a spirit of adventure into newer realms, the *Chitrāṅgada* of Tagore only shows how it has been absorbed into the fertile Indian soil. It stands as a symbol of lyricism that was a part—an inseparable part—of our drama and is in direct succession to the exquisite creation of Jayadeva—the *Gītagôvinda*. Such profuseness of lyrical fervour is unknown elsewhere except in Æschylus and Shakespeare. We cannot be definite whether it was due to the exigencies of the stage or, as in Ibsen's *Lady from the Sea* or Shaw's *Candida*, from a desire to create an effect. But if the drama is to portray the inner life of man, it must resort to some kind of poetry—an "expression of impressions."

In estimating Bhavabhūti, or any poet-dramatists,—and poetry and drama must go hand in hand—we must remember that he is not to be judged by the strict canons of the so-called critics. Every work of art must conform to certain rules but they are inherent to itself. Nevertheless it is true that the drama must satisfy the absolute standard of Beauty. It may not correspond literally to the Aristotelian or Horatian canons but it invariably approaches the norm which we know almost by intuition.

All art is the expression of life, as the artist sees it, in a language which other men can understand [Beauty] penetrates the vision of reality, to the very core, and it belongs to whatever joy or satisfaction we derive from it.²

This should not make us forget that Sanskrit dramatists, like their brother craftsmen, wrote according to an accepted standards. The very simplicity and naturalness of Bhāsa is due to his writing at a time when literary theorists had not gained a stronghold on the learned minds—the creators of

² Scott-James'—*Making of Literature* (1932) Pp. 334-5.

art. Bhavabhūti had paid particular attention to craftsmanship and he was the least likely to be uninfluenced by it. The greatness of the artist can only be measured by his departures which show the stuff he was made of. In judging the place he occupies in dramatic literature, we shall evaluate his position with reference to the traditional rules of his art as well as his relation to the principal dramatists in Sanskrit literature.

Sanskrit literary theory recognises ten types of drama of which Nāṭaka is the foremost. Others are merely formal variations in certain respects. Dhanañjaya defines it as:

अवस्थानुकृतिर्नाट्यं रूपं दृश्यतयोच्यते ।

रूपकं तत्समारोपाद् दशधैव रसाश्रयम् ॥³

Viśvanātha divides literature into heard and visualised and defines the latter as:

दृश्यं तत्राभिनेयं तद्रूपारोपात् रूपकम् ।⁴

It all reminds one of the Aristotelian theory of *mimesis* but we must not lose sight of the essential point of difference—imitation of feeling and of action respectively. Plot, hence, is only secondary and it accounts for the absence of effort at new stories.

It would not be of much use to give details of the essential characteristics of a *nāṭaka*⁵. But we may just note two obvious things. The supernatural looms very large in the Sanskrit drama. It is not to be wondered at where the drama deals with divine personages. But it becomes glaring when, as in the *uttaracarita*, the participation of Gaṅga and Prithvī is extraordinary because the divinity in Rāma is reduced to more or less human, essentially humane, aspect. It

³ Op. cit. I. 7.

⁴ Viśvanātha: 'Sāhitya Darpaṇa' (N. S. 1922) VI. 1.

⁵ Ibid. VI. 7 st seq.; 'Daśarūpa' II. 4.

obtrudes rather too much in the *Śākuntala*, or the *Mālatīmādhava*, where a different treatment can be imagined. We must, however, recognise that it would lend itself more easily to tragedy in the strictly western sense. Supernatural was the only credible solvent of the rather difficult problem. Indian theorists have insisted that death should not be exhibited on the stage⁶. It is a coincident—though not a necessary coincident—in a tragedy. One is reminded of the device employed in the *Nāgānanda* where the tragedy is averted at the last moment by the intervention of Gaurī. Bhāsa's *Urubhaṅga* was possible because theory was still powerless to compel obedience. Secondly the destruction of evil by good was not tragedy. If Śūdraka does not allow the Śākara to be killed, it is because that brings out the goodness of Cārudatta in stronger relief and the play comfortably ends in perfect harmony.

Supernatural occurs in different forms but never has it been touched in the Shakespearean mode in the Sanskrit drama. It only ministers to our tender feelings rather than evoke any sense of evil, misery or pain in life or awe at the uncontrollable powers of the Universe. It is significant that *Mudrārākṣasa* and *Mricchakatika* have no such supernatural intervention in order to reach a happier *denouement*. We shall speak of them later but we may note in passing that they alone in the Sanskrit drama have approached nearest the western standard in this matter. That is why each forms a class by itself.

The second noteworthy feature is the use of different dialect for different roles. Though perhaps an outcome of the actual practice of the society, it came in course of time

⁶ Op. cit. VI. 17.

to be regulated by stereotyped rules? The extreme length to which it was carried may be seen in a play like the *Mricchakatika* and in the subsidiary forms of the drama. Apart from the use of a dialect, the style was also classified in two divisions. *Vaidarbhi* as used by Kālidāsa is clear and simple, while *Gauḍī*, which Bhavabhūti used, revelled in long compounds and elaborate artificial constructions. It would appear on a perusal of Bhavabhūti's dramas that though he followed the canons of dramaturgy, so far as may be, faithfully, he was no slave to its conventions. His use of only *Śaurasēni*, which he sometimes confounds with *Mahārāṣṭri* and *Māgadhi*, shows that either through incapacity or possibly due to an artistic instinct he refrained from bringing in unnecessary complications. The transition from *Mahāvīracarita* to *Uttaracarita* shows how he gradually gave up sheer *tours de force* in using long compounds which particularly mar the stageability of the *Mālatīmādhava* in certain scenes. He was a scholar as is evident from the fact that he alone has given an instance of the *daṇḍaka* metre which has fifty-four syllables in a foot⁸. But he is simpler and more natural in *Uttaracarita* which remains the best drama in the Sanskrit literature.

He yielded not unnaturally to certain of those rules as in the matter of the delineation of the hero or the employment of technical devices like *āmukha* and *patākāsthāna*. The hero in Aristotle must be a man of noble qualities—a rule almost universally observed. The hero in the Sanskrit drama also, must be endowed with nobility. *Mādhava*, thus, is of the *śanta* class, described thus by Dhanañjaya:

सामान्यगुणयुक्तस्तु धीरशान्तो द्विजादिकः⁹

⁸ Ibid. VI 158—169; Dhanañjaya op. cit. II 64 et. esq.

⁹ Māl. V. 23. (N. S. 1915)

¹⁰ Op. cit. II 4.

The hero of a *nāṭaka* should be, according to Viśvanātha:

प्रख्यातवंशो राजर्षिर्धीरोदात्तः प्रतापवान्
दिव्योऽथ दिव्यादिव्यो वा गुणवान्नायको मतः¹⁰

Raina easily fits in this sweeping characteristic. The hero is much more individualised perhaps due to the very prominent position he occupies but, in the case of other characters, one finds only a stereotyped, conventional portraiture. *Mahāvīracarita* in particular fails to draw any effective character differing from the common set, who recur in nearly all the plays. As Mr. Todar Mall remarks,

though in their portraiture [i.e. of the *dramatis personae*] there are some original touches here and there, yet one sadly misses the masterhand of the author of *Mricchakatika*.¹¹

The dramatist has observed the dramatic unities insisted by the Indian¹² and Aristotelian critics of literature. We must remember in this connection the dictum of Anandavardhana who emphasises the need of appropriateness in the application of rules viz., औचित्योपनिबन्धस्तु साहित्यस्य गतिः परा. The unity he observes is both of time and action—at any rate the unity is not violated in a way which may be manifestly discordant in the setting of the play.

Bhavabhūti is as already observed no slave to the dictums which should never hidebound the creation of art. He obviously knew his own limitations. It is well-established by the absence of *Vidūṣaka* in his plays. He could legitimately have been brought into the scheme of *Mālatīmādhava*. But he not only disposes of this accessory for humour but does not even bring the playmate (*narmasuhrīd*) Nandava to the stage. As a matter of fact, the economy in bringing the characters to the stage shows the acute dramatic sensibility

¹⁰ Op. cit. VI 9.

¹¹ Mr. Sd. by Todar Mall (O. U. P. 1928): Intro: P. xxxii.

¹² Viśvarātha: op. cit. VI 15, 51—53.

of Bhavabhūti. Wilson said that "the more deeply a man feels the more prone he is to look at facts and the less able to humour or jest¹³." It is strange to explain it otherwise when we remember the influence of Kālidāsa. Bhavabhūti was fond of irony which was biting and incisive but never the light gaiety of Kālidāsa or the easy frivolity of Śūdraka.

His independence is also reflected by the almost new type of love that he treated in his plays. He was out to purify and chasten things and establish a newer doctrine where pathos and idealisms played the greater part. He led men to 'nobler manners, purer laws.' Bhavabhūti achieved what few could do—or ever thought of doing. *Uttaracarita* is unparalleled in this regard. "No other dramatist has written what Bhavabhūti has written—ideal love, pure pathos, anger curbed by affection, and affection mixed in anger, all in one¹⁴." His treatment of love is vitally different from that of *Ratnāvalī* or *Śākuntala*. His love is ethered and spiritual, it is the tying of the two souls¹⁵, whereas in Kālidāsa or any other dramatist, the love is of the earth earthy and purely matter of fact. Bhavabhūti's love is no longer the delineation of mere attraction of opposite sexes or of dear relations or friends, but he raises it to a level which is far above the real and partakes of the ideal. The *Uttaracarita* shows a love which increases by long association:

अद्वैतं मुखदुःखयोरनुगुणं सर्वास्ववस्थासु यद्-
विश्रामो हृदयस्य यत्र जरसा यस्मिन्नहोरात्रैः ।
कालेनावरणात्पयात्परिणते यत्स्नेहसारेस्थितं
भद्रं तस्य सुमानुषस्य कथमप्येकं हि तत्प्राप्यते ॥¹⁶

¹³ Quoted in Mr. Nintro: P. xxxiii.

¹⁴ 'Bhavabhūti the Master Artist' B. H. U. Nagazine Vol. XXXV No. 3, P. 209.

¹⁵ Māl. VIII 6.

¹⁶ Uttar. Ed. by Kale. (1924) I 39.

It is not a mere craving for a mate singularly beautiful who accidentally comes into view. Perhaps it was his own happy conjugal life which found expression in verses like these:

प्रेयो मित्रं प्रीदता वासमग्रा, सर्वे कामाःशेवधिर्जीवितान्वा ।
स्त्रीणां भर्ता धर्मदाराश्च पुंसा-मित्यन्योन्यं वत्सयोज्ञातमस्तु ॥¹⁷

This note of happiness stands in striking contrast with the otherwise painful life the characters lead. It is true that he alone is able to depict pathos (*kāruṇyaṃ Bhavabhūtirēva tanutē*) and that he believed in this own words, that—

एको रसः करुण एव निमित्त भेदा-
द्विजः पृथक्पृथगिवाश्रयते विवर्तन् ।
आवर्त्तं बुद्बुदतरङ्ग मयान्वाकारान्
अम्भो यथा सलिलमेवतुत्तमग्रम् ॥¹⁸

Much of *Mālatīmādhava* and almost all the scenes—particularly Act III—in *Uttaracaritā* are fraught with a pathos which is heightened by the very powerful bonds in which the separated lovers were bound.

Bhavabhūti can lay aside rules to heighten the dramatic tone of his situations. A master in mocking irony, he takes recourse to the disputed use of *drava*, i.e., the censure of elders.

वृद्धास्ते न विचारणीय विषयाः तिष्ठन्तु किं वर्ण्यते
सुन्दस्त्रीमथनेष्वकुण्ठयशसो लोके महान्तो हि ते ।
यानित्रीष्यपराङ् मुखान्यपि पदान्यासन्स्वरायोधने
यद्वा कौशलमिन्द्रसूनुनिधने तत्राप्यभिज्ञो जनः ॥¹⁹

Only Bhaṭṭarārāyaṇa used it later in the *Veṇīsainbhāra* possibly under the influence of Bhavabhūti himself.

¹⁷ Māl. VI, 18.

¹⁸ Uttar. III. 47.

¹⁹ Ibid. V. 34.

We recognise the dramatic artist in him when we scrutinise the changes he makes in using the story of *Rāmāyaṇa*. Thus, in the *Mahāvīracaritā*, Śūrpaṇakhā, in the disguise of Mañtharā, asks the fatal boons. This lends plausibility to the fact that Kaikeyi loved Rāma too dearly. He could also prevent an unnecessary supernatural goading which is made much of in Vālmīki. It also shows us a unique feature which detracts much from his merits. In Act IV we have more or less the flattering tone of a courtier rather than that of sages. The speeches of Paraśurāma particularly jar in our ears because we cannot reconcile ourselves to a forester (अरण्यवासी ब्राह्मणोऽहमनभिज्ञः परमेश्वर-गृहाचारस्य) talking glibly the language of a polished courtier. A mutual exchange of meaningless compliments was the least that could be expected. The only explanation seems that Bhavabhūti for all his independence could not get away from his dreams and position in the court. But he certainly did not lose sight of slight changes. Rāma, thus, kills Bāli in a fair fight when the latter comes as an ally of Rāvaṇa. It places his hero in a better light and dispenses with useless episodes and consolidates the general structure of the play. He departed from theory whenever he could and adhered to it only so far as necessary. Certain defects still remained, which he could not have brushed off being born in more or less an unsympathetic age. His only drawback in this respect is that he could not be independent of the Time-Spirit.

(To be continued)

MOODS AND MUSINGS:

On Tea-Drinking

By "PRIM"

[Tea always puts a writer in good mood and is a perennial source of musings.]

Some very smart paragraphs were written by the late editor of the *Hindustan Times* "Over a Cup of Tea"—a feature which became exceedingly popular alike for its sense of humour and deft craftsmanship. It would be a different story if the paragraphs were actually written over a peg of whisky; but the palm would still go to that intellectual beverage, the tea, which stimulated his own spirits and thought. However that may be, there can be little doubt that tea is a great aid to clear thinking and often helps people to solve intricate problems of life. The writer remembers an incident when a friend—now no longer in the land of living—could not account for two tickets for a charity performance, which he was asked to sell by the management. From the monetary standpoint perhaps the loss was one that he could have easily made good, but his moral prestige in the public eye was at stake. He asked for a cup of tea and refused to think of the matter till he had drunk the cup. It was a magnificent revelation when after having taken the very first sip he suddenly remembered that the two tickets were purchased by a certain gentleman who promised to pay the money after a week.

* * * *

This story reveals the unmistakable efficacy of tea.

²⁰ Mr. II 50/51.

Humanity has never known a better friend. Mr. Beverly Nichols, in his admirable book, *CRY HAVOC*, acclaims that if people want peace, the members of the League should all become vegetarians. This is too much to claim for vegetarianism though Mr. Shaw will perhaps join issue with Mr. Nichols. In the practical scheme of life, however, meat will continue to be a staple food in our dietary. But even supposing that by a queer stroke of humanitarianism the world were to become vegetarian tomorrow, one doubts if this change of heart would advance, to any appreciable extent, the cause of world-peace. If that were so, Hitler and Mussolini—staunch vegetarians both—should have been great apostles of peace instead of indulging themselves in an ignominious crusade against the anti-Aryan civilisation of the Jews or the 'barbarous' culture of the black races. Human nature being what it is, the temperament of man is not likely to overcome his love of power and possession—and war is only an expression of that native instinct of the human soul. Happily in the organised scheme of international politics there is a good deal of possibility for mutual understanding if the basic principles of economics and social justice are properly appreciated. These often raise issues of colossal magnitude and precipitate crises that shake the world very badly. The League calls a Conference, and then dissolves itself into numerous committees and sub-committees that, with their expert knowledge and wide experience, only make confusion worse confounded. This may not be necessarily due to want of intelligence, but is chiefly due to bad nerves, completely wrecked by too much demand on common sense. There can be no doubt that if tea were introduced as occasional stimulus during their deliberations, many intricate problems would be solved in the twinkling of an eye, and much time would be saved which was otherwise wasted in

futile attempts at solution. If sleep could be claimed as a restorative for an ailing man, then tea was undoubtedly an infallible tonic for frayed nerves.

* * * *

This claim is confirmed by a news item that has appeared in the *TEA NEWS AND VIEWS*, No. I—a commendable publication brought out by the Indian Tea Cess Committee. Dr. M. Allan Barr, formerly emeritus Professor of Neurology, in an article contributed to the *New York Medicine Record* in 1921, writes:

It is well known that the mental effects of tea can also be measured. There is an increased association of ideas, a keener appreciation of things read or heard or seen, and a mental stimulus which they estimate as an increase of activity during the first hour.

But this is not merely a modern discovery. We find it recorded, for instance, in the *Chachiang*, the tea classic of China, published in 780 A.D., that an emperor of a bygone age exclaimed that

the use of tea grows upon me surprisingly. . . . I know not how it is, but my fancy is awakened and spirits exhilarated.

Is it surprising that fifty men recently struck work at Whithorn, Wigtownshire, England, because their request for ten minutes' rest for a cup of tea was turned down by their employers? It is certainly a cause worth striking for.

* * * *

The popularity of tea may be gauged by the total world production of tea in recent years, which has averaged about 1,840,000,000 lbs. Mr. Uker, in his encyclopædic work, *ALL ABOUT TEA*, says that it is customary to count 200 cups of tea to a pound, and that assuming 100 per cent consumption we arrive at the colossal figure of 368 billion cups as the total amount consumed by the people of the world over 12

months, or about 148 cups for each man, woman, and child.

This makes a very encouraging reading and in daily life we can vouchsafe the truth of it. We know how we all yearn for a cup of tea in the morning, and our impatience is so great that many of us would refuse to leave our beds without having our bed-tea. In the cold wintry months, there is nothing more welcome than your boy bringing tea to your bedside. It is certainly a good start for the day. And afternoon tea is a fixed institution. This we owe to Anna, wife of the Duke of Bedford, who, according to a writer in the *Home and Colonial Mail*,

first coined the expression 'a sinking feeling' when she surveyed the gap between a prodigious breakfast, a light lunch and an 8-o'clock dinner which were fashionable in her day. [This was hundred years ago]. She was the first hostess to have cakes and tea served regularly at 5-o'clock, and the custom has since become universal in Great Britain.

* * * *

It is often said that tea is a harmful beverage. This fear has been completely removed by Dr. D. P. Fisher's outstanding contribution to our knowledge of tea, who for some years has been conducting a research on the constituents of tea and its effect on the human system. He carried out prolonged experiments with a certain breed of albino rats, whose nutritional behaviour most resembles that of human beings, and found that if a man were to drink tea in quantities, bulk for bulk, to those given to the rats without injury, *he could allow himself 43 cups of tea daily and feel none the worse for it.* (Vide *TEA NEWS AND VIEWS*, No. I). This extraordinary investigation, as confirmed by human experience, indicates that even abnormally large amounts of tea can have no harmful effects on human beings.

* * * *

And what better testimony one need have to this than the conclusive evidence of "Alpha of the Plough"—the writer who has become a legend in the English literature of modern times! Tea, he says,

flows on for ever. When I went to see my lawyer yesterday afternoon he rang for "another cup", and if I go to see my publisher tomorrow afternoon he will ring for "another cup". Tea-drinking has ceased to be merely a custom and has become a ritual as well.

Yes, it has become such an exacting ritual that the late Mr. Arnold Bennet is reported to have told the world, "I would undertake to make better tea than nineteen-twentieths of the housewives of this country." It is really a difficult art to make good tea and Mr. Gardiner (Alpha of the Plough) opines that it is as well worth studying as playwriting. But how few of us take the trouble of learning how to make good tea. Here are a few recipes, culled at random, from Alpha of the Plough's delightful essay on "TEA and MR. BENNETT.":

- (1) The water should be poured on the tea the moment it comes to the boil.
- (2) The boiling water should be poured in the pot before the tea is put in.
- (3) The tea should be washed with a rapid drench of boiling water drawn off instantly before pouring in the water intended for the brew.
- (4) To weaken your tea is not to put more water into tea-pot, but to dilute the beverage in the cup.

But more than these, he says, is

the order in which you pour the milk and the tea in the cup. Put the tea in first, the virtue seems to have gone out of the cup; put the milk in first, and the subtle law of the art is observed. And the proportion of milk must be exact; you cannot add to it afterwards and get the same effect.

No more evidence is necessary to strengthen the case for tea. There is no other beverage in the whole universe that can bring relief to a troubled man, a sore heart, or an afflicted mind. Apart from its being a mental tonic, it quenches thirst on a hot day when ice-water only tends to make one more thirsty—and this is of special advantage to India where millions are unable to enjoy the luxury of ice. During excursions one cannot find a more helpful companion. Admiral Peary in his dash to the North Pole was reported to have found tea very useful in keeping up morale in his strength to reach his destination. It is not surprising that Mr. C. J. Barton, formerly President of the 'Tea Buyers' Association, in presiding over the 20th annual Tea Trade Dinner, held recently in London, should have declared:

Tea is the universal drink of the British People, and we have maintained an A-1 nation on this beverage.

To India which is aspiring to grow into a strong and healthy nation, here is an excellent tip. Well then, let us all drink tea and be merry.

GAUTAMI

1

In the ancient days of Bharatvarsha
In a poor Indian home;
Lived Krisha Gautami a village maiden
For her frail spirit thus known.
As she grew in youthful prime
Fair as the jasmine flower;
In wedlock they her grace entwined
As she drooped, burdened like a leafy bower;
For to her new home she had brought no good
Not laden with any dower;
This contempt and dishonour stood
With her household hours.
But as the sun-kissed dew doth perish
In the splendour of the morn;
Her joyless days did swiftly vanish
As she held the gift of her first-born.

2

But swift as the hours that Lovers steal;
Swift as the Rainbow in the sky;
Swift as the Sunset of secret dreams;
The child had lived two happy years
And on a summer's day had died;
And left poor Gautami
In close bonds of affection tied;
Hark! today whither goeth she
And what to her did thus betide?

3

Through trackless woods o'er a weary way
 Her gentle sobbing sighs;
 The wind doth waft on its restless wings
 The cry of her child-lost sighs;
 In sympathy the trembling rill,
 In wisdom the towering mountains high,
 A language speak of silence—
 As in deathless desire
 The young mother journeys by.
 Claspings her Death-stolen child—
 Her motherhood to claim;
 She seeketh Death to deny
 What no denial avails.

4

Now she bends in deep caress
 O'er her fond babe;
 Her heavy burden she lays to rest
 Underneath a shade.
 Softly she whispers to the pale still form:
 'Light of my eyes' and she waiteth
 The deadened response.
 Quickly she grasps the cold white hands to press;
 She embraceth her child in dire distress;
 Fast tremble her tears as she seemeth to spy
 A pathetic helplessness come over the child;
 For in the days of old
 Even the pretence of a cry
 Would send the little playful straying feet
 Hurrying to her side;
 The twain could not each other's grief
 Ever bear to see;

Today slept the silent child
 A sorrowing heedless sleep.

5

Embracing the unmoved form
 The mother toiled again;
 She wrapped the infant in her arm
 In fear, in dread, in pain;
 With the sinking Sun in the western sky
 With twilight of hope in her eyes;
 Like a dying flame before it dies;
 Her destiny she gained.
 Seated beneath the eventide
 In lonely solitude—
 With suffering on His brow like a crown of light;
 Lost in thought
 Of this mindless force of changing Life—
 Sate Gautama the Sage.

6

In reverence she bowed and sank at his feet;
 She told him her fears and the child's strange sleep;
 Of the villagers' strange counsel
 To lay her burden by;
 In the fleeting dance of Life
 They said her child had died;
 Of the will Divine of the benevolent God;
 Of His Goodness they spoke
 And His kind hand they sought;
 Inscrutable though manifest her loss.
 To this priestly wisdom she doth enlightenment beseech;
 And cure for the ailment of Death
 She hath come to seek:

Thus heard Siddârtha the Sâkyamuni;
His fellow pilgrim plead.

7

Slowly fell on her expectant ear
For a long moment his soundless voice;
The inevitable she soon must hear;
But as if loath to hurt this sad child of Fate
Hushed was the woodland air
With the Prince of Wisdom's heart in pain.

8

Then spoke he: 'What thou hast known and heard of
Death

From thy hamlet dwellers;
Each man on Life's journey sped
Like you and I are seekers.
One finds a rock-like Faith
The other Doubt;
Like a restless tumultuous brook
Under darkening clouds;
They speed or falter or make haste
To find the Dhruva 'midst the maze
Of the myriad twinkling Truth.
And whatsoever doth great solace bring to the mind;
They name and call it great likewise.
Each one of us as we voyage o'er
The path of Experience;
We pick a Thorn or a Rose;
Light or Darkness as each mortal sees
The meaning of thy grief they thus perceive.

9

'Thou too must wend the age-long way

Perchance thou shalt see, and know more than they;
And as ye knock from door to door
And list to every human cry;
If in some home of such a world
Thou a mustard seed shouldst find,
Where Life hath been and Death never known;
Therein lies hope for thee and thine.
But if thou findest not thy treasure;
May thou fail not in thy Quest;
And when it guide thy footsteps to cease
And thy weary arm compel;
When prest thy lips in farewell leave
May thou find strength to relent.'

10

Three days the mother hath passed along
In search for the mustard seed;
A flame leaps up in the eastern sky;
In the stealth of the approaching eve;
This despondent hour hath parted them
The Budhadeva sees—
Hope of her breast hath died on yonder pyre;
But hath the mother hope of peace?
A mockery of Time sang the distant lyre—
Phases of Life pass like the rustling breeze!

—PURNIMA

THE SIGNIFICANCE

(A PARABLE)

The Queen, in glory, brought to wreath
 Her God fire-jewels, flowers of snow
 And laid them proudly there beneath
 The temple-arch's golden glow.

The suave Priest said: "take back your gift,
 God loves no offerings impure".
 "My sacrifice dares you to uplift
 Its worth to Him: His sign is sure."

He said: "Dawn parleys not with Night."
 She flung the blooms in wrath and sobbed.
 He held them up against the light—
 And from one bud a black worm dropped.

The Queen wept: "Shame, O worm, to hide—"
 But the worm said: "Yours the shame, not mine:
 I hid to test and slay your pride—
 Love's blossoms must be pure, divine."

—DILIP KUMAR ROY

(Translated by Dilip from his own Bengali parable).

TO MAN

By M.

Within thee dwells an ocean of consciousness,
 Of subconsciousness and superconsciousness too.
 A vast treasure of experience, thy self doth hold;
 That reveals the past and the future forewarns,
 To regulate your life's future course.

At the saint's touch,
 Comes the thrill, the book doth open, reads man a whole
 life's tale.
 Seek then thou, and by effort try to understand the whole.
 The harvests of the rich past gather, and read the future
 from the book of the soul.
 Why these moments of depression sway and passions
 unwanted come and rule?
 Get up and play the hero's role.

DREAMS

By MRS. LALITA MAZUMDAR

Green trees, thick-leaved,
 And scent of moss, and fern,
 And herbs that grow
 Deep-shadowed under stones,
 By swift waters;
 A sense of silence,
 And growing life untouched;
 Green dreaming trees,
 And Peace!

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A PRODUCT OF CULTURED LEISURE

By P. K. B.

In Praise of Idleness. By Bertrand Russell. Published by George Allen and Unwin Ltd. Price 7s. 6d. net.

Mr. Bertrand Russell is always delightfully provocative. His intellectual iconoclasm, based as it is on the conservative influence of his childhood, is really a concrete suggestion for moulding human conduct; while his scepticism, far from mystifying human nature, designs to offer constructive plans for the governance of man and his destiny. As such it is but natural that he should oppose the idealism of those who believe in utopias of political dreamers even as he is opposed to the much-advertised school of dialectical materialism which has adopted Marx as its God-father. He is, by his very temperament, an uncompromising rationalist who has no use for superstitions even if they seem rational in the light of their import. Every phenomenon of modern life he must first scrutinise before recommending it as the basic principle of existence, both for himself as well as for others. If he is frank, he is also sympathetic—the two virtues that have enabled him to analyse life in its correct perspective.

IN PRAISE OF IDLENESS—the book under review—is a collection of essays on various aspects of life. Some of these essays have appeared in various magazines in England and America while others have appeared in print for the first time. They touch many themes—idleness, 'useless knowledge', fascism and communism, men and insects, comets, soul, and so on—written with clarity and deftness: there is no looseness in thought, no ambiguity in expression.

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It is possible to differ from him on many points, but that does not make his thoughts any the less clear. In "Scylla and Charybdis", for instance, many of our communist friends in India (as elsewhere) would probably clench their teeth and show their fists at him, but they would do well to listen to his warning that "politically immature nations are not the best guides as to the political future". It is perhaps easier to theorise a constitution than to work it in its practical realism. To those who feel that his warning is of little avail in the realm of objective action, we should like to recommend the essay on "Useless Knowledge"—a brave answer to those intellectual prigs who take the "narrowly utilitarian view of education":

For my part (he says) I think action is best when it emerges from a profound apprehension of the universe and human destiny, not from some wildly passionate impulse of romantic but disproportioned self-assertion. A habit of finding pleasure in thought rather than in action is a safeguard against unwisdom and excessive love of power, a means of preserving serenity in misfortune and peace of mind among worries.

No further comment is necessary.

In "In Praise of Idleness" in particular we have a brilliant defence of what, even in these days of acute unemployment, we consider a vice. The entire essay is exhilarating alike for its thought and its language, and a perusal of it would clear much of our economic confusion. In its practical aspect the essay is a very intelligent solution of the problem of unemployment. Indeed, when he says that the "morality of work is the morality of slaves and the modern world has no need for slavery", he at once concedes that given a moderate amount of organisation, enforced leisure for all working-men will wipe out unemployment as it will provide work for all. But such a wise use of leisure he believes "is a pro-

duct of civilisation and education." But more than anything else, leisure, he opines, will enable men and women to become more kindly and less persecuting and less inclined to view others with suspicion. The taste of war will die out, partly for this reason, and partly because it will involve long and severe work for all. Good nature is, of all moral qualities, the one that the world needs most, and good nature is the result of ease and security, not of a life of arduous struggle.

Here is a utopia which is possible to realise with a little amount of intelligence and common sense. Mr. Russell has painted a world where the creative faculties of man will have reached its perfection, and where "there will be happiness and joy of life, instead of frayed nerves, weariness and dyspepsia." And this promise is perhaps the best recommendation of the book, which itself is a product of cultured leisure.

Hidden Face. By Srimati Nilima Devi, and **Maur Pankhi and Rubble** by Sriyut Subho Tagore. Published by the Futurist Publishing House, 61A Dwarka Nath Tagore Lane, Calcutta (Rs.1-8, Rs.1-8 and Re.1 only).

The reader who goes to these poets expecting to be confronted by something startlingly novel, something shocking, will be sorely disappointed. They are reputed to be ultra-modernist poets who typify the new orientation in Bengali poetry, but their work, as presented to our view in these volumes, has little to distinguish it from the common verse writing of the day. All the age-old characteristics of Oriental poetry, which have persisted through the centuries and found their way into the work of every Eastern poet, figure prominently in these volumes as well. "The moaning melody from the mandoline of my mind" says (not sings) Mr. Tagore, "haunts the hush of night." Alliteration, metaphor, and an over-strained fancy, these form the raw material of which

this line is made up. And one or more of these same and other similar 'things' go to build up most of the other verses.

Srimati Nilima Devi is less ambitious—and, therefore, less pretentious. Her poetry is simple, direct and delicate, and a few lapses and infelicities are made up for by some charming lines that often give an extra-natural dazzle to her expression of simple ideas.

But Mr. Tagore cannot be dismissed so easily. He gives one an idea that he aims at becoming another D. H. Lawrence. He seems to believe that by raving and ranting about woman and sex he would succeed in this aim. And this leads him to make, in MAUR PANKHI particularly, vigorous efforts at writing Lawrence-like poetry. But things like these:

'It is better to love thee, Oh immoveable stone!
Than to love a woman and then rue;

or,

My name is Majnu and her name is Manju.
She is the freshness of the gay dawn
And I am the dusk of the parting day.
She is like the sparkling light
And I am like the darkest cloud.
We love each other like darkness and light.
And Manju is Majnu's bride

are neither Lawrence-like nor poetry. It may be admitted that this is a singularly clever attempt to palm off on the public as verse stuff that won't sell as prose.

—C. B. R.

A Search in Secret Egypt. By Paul Brunton. Published by Rider & Co., Price s. 18.

This is a book of nineteen chapters and deals with the "mysterious" Egypt. The author of the "Search in Secret India", herein records not merely a tourist's impressions but uses his facile pen to describe his investigations of the "ancient mysteries" of Egypt that he carried on in a truly scientific spirit. Mr. Brunton is a traveller in quest of "rest for his tired feet, which seemed to have walked enow along the dusty road of life." Convinced that a reply to an age-old riddle, can be attained in silence at the feet of the great masters of the East, Brunton has in a true devotee's spirit approached them and tried to express in chaste elegant language with coherence the result of his search in the land, some of whose relics date from the days of the Atlantis. A whole night he has passed all alone at the feet of the Sphinx, and has watched in his trance those lips move and murmur:

thou belongest to that which is undying, and not merely to time alone. Thou art eternal, and not merely of the vanishing flesh. The soul in man cannot be killed, cannot die. It waits, shroud-wrapped, in thy heart as I waited, sand-wrapped in thy world. Know thyself, O mortal! For there is one within thee as in all men, that comes and stands at the bar and bears witness that there Is a God.

He has penetrated into the forlorn, but strictly guarded vaults of the Pyramids. Behind the bars, as he has entered those underground passages helped with his torch, warmed by the cup of tea, carried in his thermos, he has met the tall figure of the spirit of the High Priest, who has explained to him the hieroglyphics and the wall-carvings and the import of the symbols in the Book of the Dead. He has taught this true seeker .

It is not the Creator who sank Atlantis, but the selfishness, the cruelty, the spiritual blindness of the people who dwelt on those doomed islands. The Creator loves all, but the lives of men are governed by invisible laws which He has set over them.

And in reply to the query, relating to the teaching that is to be followed, the answer came:

The lesson of the Pyramid is that man must turn inward, must venture to the unknown centre of his being to find his soul, even as he must venture to the unknown depths of this fane to find its profoundest secret.

His insatiable thirst for knowledge that shall solve the riddle of the life, has made him study the Tablet of the Abydos wherein the goddess Osiris was worshipped and has led him to the shrine at Dendorah, sacred to Hathor. And as he has passed through the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings, with an adept well acquainted with the "Ancient Mysteries", he has lamented with his guide the excavations that have been carried on by the archæologists and the Egyptologists on the sacred mummies, by people who little understood the magic, the occult powers and the psychics of ancient Egypt.

Every opening of an ancient Egyptian tomb may be an unconscious intercourse with invisible forces of a dangerous character. Even through the opening of a tomb of a king who had a good soul and possessed advanced powers, injury may come to the world as punishment for thus disturbing the grave of the advanced soul. King Tutankheman, for instance was such a man. The opening of his tomb has brought suffering on the violators, and also in untraceable ways, on the world at large. During the next few years the world will suffer and pay for such desecrations of Egypt's dead, although these material troubles will be turned to spiritual benefit.

Brunton met personalities, famed for their learning and some endowed with high occult powers. He records his

experiences with Edward Ades and Marguerite, adepts in the science of hypnotism. Taher Bey has astounded him, like the yogis of India, with his feats of resuscitation of the dead, by stabbing himself and then showing that he was left unaffected. And the scientific explanations that the learned Doctor (or Taher holds a medical degree) have been recorded by Brunton in the words of Taher himself. The description and explanation of the cataleptic trances is interesting and thought-provoking. But Taher has very rightly observed, in reply to the query of Brunton

If as you say, during the period of the burial the soul is detached from the body, does it enter the beyond and what can you tell us of your experiences in that sphere?

he answered:

Unfortunately I can tell you almost nothing. . . . Although we have awakened the marvellous powers of the subconscious mind to such an extent, there are still mysterious depths which we have been unable to penetrate. The trouble is that when we fakirs escape from the body we pass into a condition similar to that of sleep-walkers, that is we are unconscious of our existence and yet we exist, and when we return to bodily life we are unable to remember anything of our apparently supernatural adventure. It may be that we have explored the regions of the world of spirits, but as we do not remember our experiences we can say nothing of that world. Our slumber is so deep that it is just like the animal hibernation of those animals (crocodiles, fish etc.) I have mentioned.

To Sheikh Al Maraghy, the spiritual head of Islam and in charge of the El Azhar Mosque University he has put questions on the principles and tenets of Islam and the coherent replies on the unity of God, on polygamy in Islam, on the value of prayer, on the utility of mosques and on the veiling of Muslim women, which are very interesting and are sure to be enjoyed especially by the Western readers, who

know little of Islam.

Brunton met the most renowned snake-charmer of Egypt, Sheikh Mousa, from whom he himself learnt the snake charms, and so clever did he become in a short time that by chanting some words he was able to hold in his hands the deadliest cobras, without fear.

The author is at his best when he uses his pen to record his musings which supply food for thought. Loneliness he found and learnt, as before in the ancient monuments of Egypt, was requisite for realisation of soul. This point he emphasises:

Not in noise and excitement do we find our finest hours; only when the serenity descends quietly upon the soul do we enter into intimate union with Happiness, with wisdom and Divine Power We regard loneliness as a curse, but, achieving wisdom, we learn to look upon it as blessing. We must climb the Mount Everests of our dreams and become accustomed to living among the pinnacles of loneliness. For if among the crowds we search for the soul, we find only soullessness if we look for truth, we discover mostly insincerity. Society is of soul, not of body. . . . we fling our scorn at a man who deserts society to seek a higher life, though perhaps he retires only that he may return to impart some good news to his race.

He sums up the message of the ancient mysteries of Egypt: "There is no death", and once more echo in the pages the words of the Roman Initiate:

"Where we are death is not, where death is we are not." It is the last, best boon of nature; for it frees man from all his cares. It is, at the worst, the close of a banquet we have enjoyed.

Ancient Egypt tried in life to conquer death. The mummies have a mystery to reveal, a tale to tell, which the archæologist shall never comprehend. However, the true seekers shall be able to rediscover that which Nemesis has, lay

hid under the huge monuments of stone in the land of the blue Nile.

The book is well got-up and has seventy-five illustrations. It is an interesting, revealing and thought-provoking piece of literature which we commend to our readers.

BANKEY BEHARI

Editor, Temple of Mysticism, Allahabad

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

GORKY

(Diary Leaves)

By NICHOLAS ROERICH

[We are privileged to publish this article on Gorky by an intimate friend of his who has the additional distinction of having carved out for himself a place in the niche of contemporary art and letters.]

The great Russian writer Maxim Gorky passed away in Gorki near Moscow on June eighteenth.

During the last few months three great Russians have left this world: the great physiologist Pavlov, the composer Glasunov and now Gorky. All three were known to the entire world. Who has not heard of the famous experiments in the field of reflexes, conducted by Pavlov? Who has not admired also Glazunov next to Tchaikovsky and Rimsky-Korsakov? And who has not read amongst other Russian classics the works of Gorky who has recorded unfading images of Russian life?

Over half a million people went to pay homage to the remains of the great writer, and over seven hundred thousand accompanied the funeral procession. The representatives of the Union stood on guard of honour and after the cremation carried the urn to the Kremlin Wall where it was immured. The entire diplomatic corps was present. Gun salutes thundered in honour of the great writer. Some French papers were amazed at the scale on which a whole nation paid tribute to its national hero. There were wreaths from the French and Czechoslovakian Governments. The foreign press unanimously hailed the achievements of Gorky.

It had been resolved in Moscow to erect monuments in honour of Gorky at the expense of the state in Moscow, Leningrad and in Nijny-Novgorod—the latter bearing his name already.

The Municipal Council of Praha decided to name a street in the Czechoslovakian Capital in his honour.

Benesh, the President of Czechoslovakia sent the following telegram to Moscow:

The death of Maxim Gorky will compel the entire world and Czechoslovakia in particular to remember the progress of the Russian people during the last fifty years and of the Union since the revolution. The participation of Gorky in this process was in the spiritual respect most important and convincing. For me personally, Gorky and all other Russian classics were my teachers in many respects and I remember him with gratitude.

H. G. Wells sent a hearty message from England and Romain Rolland telephoned from Switzerland to Moscow the following message:

At this painful hour of parting, I remember Gorky not so much as the great writer nor even his colourful path of life and mighty creativeness. I remember his full saturated life which like his motherly Volga flowed richly in streams of thoughts and images. Gorky was the first among the world artists of the word, who cleared the path for the people, who gave them his strength, the prestige of his glory and his wise life-experience. . . . Like Dante, Gorky emerged from hell. He brought out and saved his friends in suffering with him.

The Paris papers which have reached the Himalayas record many signs of a world-wide esteem to the deceased. He was honoured not only by friends but by all sectors of cultural life. Even the most reluctant obituaries highly comment upon such of Gorky's works as "The Lower Depths," "Mother," "Letopis," "Childhood," "Artomonov's business," "Chelkash," "The Town of Okurov" and conclude: "a man

and an artist has passed away, whom we all loved." Thus art has united both friends and foes.

From the very beginning of his vivid literary career Alexis Maxim Peshkov, whom the whole world knows better by his pen-name Maxim Gorky, achieved an exclusive position amidst Russian classics. About every great man there are many legends—also around the name of Gorky there were woven much truth and invention. Some tried to represent him as a severe cold-blooded materialist, others based themselves on single abrupt words, by which it is impossible to judge a man and his work. But uncorruptible history will depict to a full extent his great image and people will find in him many unexpected traits.

About his last minutes Dr. L. Levin writes in the "Izvestia" of June 20:

Alexis Maximovich dies, as he lived, a great man. In these painful hours of illness he never once spoke about himself. All his thoughts were in the Kremlin, in Moscow. Even in the interval between two oxygen cushions, he asked me to show him the newspaper with the project of Stalin's new constitution. During the short periods of relief from his illness he spoke about his beloved subject: literature, and also about the possibility of a future war which worried him very much. The last day and night he was unconscious. Remaining constantly at his bedside, I discerned the following abrupt phrases which he said: "There will be war. . . . One should be ready. . . . Fasten up all buttons!

N. Berberova writes in the Paris Press of a characteristic episode in the life of Gorky:

This was on the day when the current issue of "Sovremennye Zapiski" (Contemporary Review) was received with the concluding chapter of Bunin's novel "Love of Mitia." Everything was put aside: work, correspondence, newspapers. Gorky locked himself up in his study and was late for lunch and absent minded. . . . Only at tea it became clear: "A remarkable work. . . . Truly remarkable"—in these words he characterized the "Love of Mitia"

...It is difficult to believe but Gorky could cry with real tears when reading the poems of Lermontov, Block and many others.....

Further N. Berberova quotes from a letter she had received from Gorky, in which his devotion to poets and poetry was expressed:

I am deeply enchanted by the broadness and multifacetedness of themes and subjects in poetry. I consider this as a real quality, as a good sign. It shows the broad outlook of the author, his inner freedom, the absence of chains with any conventional moods, with any preconceived ideas. It seems to me that the definition: 'the poet is the echo of world life' is the most correct. Of course there are and should be ears which perceive only the bass-tones of life, and souls who hear but the lyric of life. But Pushkin heard everything, perceived everything and therefore has no equal. Can there be anything higher than literature—the art of words?—Certainly not. It is the most astounding, mysterious and beautiful in this world!

Those who do not know the groups of Russian literary thought, should be told that Gorky's praise of Bunin shows his broad judgment, for Bunin belongs to another camp.

Many valuable traits of Gorky will reveal themselves in the course of time. I happened to meet him on many occasions in private talks and at numerous committee meetings, gatherings, etc. and I cherish his friendship. On all occasions I could trace some new remarkable details of Gorky's character, which very often did not correspond to the outwardly austere appearance of Alexis Maximovich. I remember how once during the organization of a great literary enterprise, when an urgent decision was required, I asked Gorky his opinion. He smiled and said:

'There is nothing to argue. You as an artist will feel what is needed. Yes, yes, precisely you will feel—you are an intuitivist. Often above reason, one should reach the very essence!

I also recollect, how once at a friendly gathering Gorky revealed quite unexpectedly for many, another interesting side of his character. We spoke about yogis and various psychic phenomena whose home is India. Some of the guests suspiciously looked at Gorky who kept silent, and they apparently awaited his severe criticism. But his resume amazed many. Kindled with an inner radiance he said:

The Hindus are a great people. I will tell you of my personal experience. Once in the Caucasus I met a Hindu, about whom many remarkable stories were circulating. At the time I was rather inclined to doubt. At last we met and what I will tell you I saw with my own eyes. He took a long thread and threw it up into the air. And to my surprise it remained hanging up in the air. Then he asked me, whether I would like to look at an album and what pictures I would like to see. I said I would like to see pictures of Indian cities. He gave me his album and looking at me said: "Please, look at these pictures of Indian cities."

The album contained polished brass sheets, on which were reproduced beautiful views of different cities, temples and other views of India. I looked over the entire album attentively studying the pictures. Then I closed the album and returned it to the Hindu. He smiled and said:

Well, you have seen views of India; then he blew at the album and returned it into my hands inviting me to look at it again. I opened the album and to my surprise found only polished plates without any pictures whatsoever. These Hindus are indeed remarkable people. What refined thought!"

Does not this characteristic trait of Gorky prove his all-containment and broad consciousness?

He very much wanted to have my painting. He selected from those which I had at the time, not a realistic landscape but one of the so-called pre-War series—"The Doomed City". This painting precisely corresponds to the mood of a poet. Indeed, the author of the "Storm-Finch" was a great poet. Coming from the depth of the people, Gorky fear-

lessly walked across all obstacles of life—he went the path of the Russian people, encompassing its multifacetedness and the richness of the Russian soul.

The Moscow newspapers of June 21, under the title “Gorky in the role of Harun-el-Rashid” tell the following story accompanied by a photo of Gorky dressed as a tramp:

This was in 1928. Gorky wanted to see what goes on in public bars, what kind of people visit them, whether he would find there any types similar to his old novel “The Lower Depths,” what became of them, what the new visitors are like, etc. But how to arrange such an expedition? Gorky decided to disguise himself as a tramp. With a huge beard, well made up, he entered into intimate talks with the people there and as a result wrote a new novel, which forms part of his “Across the Soviet Union.”

Those who know Gorky will understand that this episode is indeed typical of him. Being a true realist in the broadest sense, he considered it necessary to convince himself in life, not so much in order to enter into his diary leaves sketches of new types, but in order to affirm a synthesis for an actual expansion of his consciousness.

He was trustful and he trusted. He loved to trust and he was often cheated.

Once he came out from his study singing and his face expressed utter joy, so that everybody was amazed. It turned out that he had read a newspaper report that somewhere, somebody has discovered some new microbe.

Gorky thus expressed his enthusiasm at the prospect of helping humanity through combating yet another disease.

Once I met Gorky in business relations when the publishing company of Sytin in Moscow and the “Niva” were merged into one big concern. A colossal unifying programme in the literary and educational field was in project. It was interesting to witness how every conventionality and

formality tortured Gorky, who wanted to overcome all formal obstacles without delay. He knew how to build on a broad scale. Take for example the three mighty cultural institutions outlined by him: “The House of World Literature,” “The House of Scientists” and the “House of Art.” All these three gigantic ideas show the creative scope of Gorky’s thought, who was striving to find across all difficulties the eternal words—words of enlightenment and culture.

He carried his chalice of service to humanity throughout life unspilt.

In the name of the League of Culture let us offer our sincerest, heartiest thought to the great memory of Gorky which will remain for ever radiantly affirmed in the Pantheon of World Culture.

CONGRESS ELECTION MANIFESTO

I—Dodging The Electorate

By I. D.

[This is a candid and outspoken criticism of the election manifesto issued by the Congress.]

The manifesto issued by the Congress in furtherance of its election Campaign to

place its general programme before the people of India so that they may know what it stands for and what it will try to achieve whenever it has power to do so,

is but an elaborate essay on the art of dodging the electorate. Whoever expected the Congress to clarify the situation confronting the country was doomed to disappointment. It is bent upon evading the important issues, concealing its real intentions and exaggerating its professed claims. One finds in the manifesto a parrot-like and tiresome iteration of phrases, promises and pledges and of slogans, shibboleths and sentiments so familiar to one's ears. It is a bundle of inconsistencies, a medley of contradictions and a farrago of evasions. It is an affront to the public and an insult to the electorate—altogether a piece of mockery.

Yet it is claimed that in it are embedded the wisdom and experience of various sessions of the Congress—of Lahore with its cry for Complete Independence, of Karachi with its declaration of the Fundamental Rights, and of Lucknow with its formulation of the Agrarian Programme. It is also claimed that in it there is the Roman—or is it the Russian?—hand of the Pandit of Allahabad. The first claim is evident though one does not see how the combined wisdom of the three

momentous sessions of the Congress will clear the path of all its impediments for reaching “the great and inspiring goal.” The second claim too may be conceded at once. The length of the manifesto, the reference to the Constituent Assembly, the repeated emphasis on “exploitation,” the effort to mingle the sacred streams of Gandhism and socialism—all alike reveal the unmistakable hand of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

The Pandit is not tired of vexing the public with his talk of the Constituent Assembly as a reality. His faith in it and in its feasibility is abundant and superstitious. Who is it that has defined faith as “the faculty by which we are enabled to believe that which we know is not true”?

Then he must harp on the word “exploitation”—it is a kind of magic incantation.

A word of praise is however due to him for the testimony that the manifesto bears to the fact that his earlier recklessness has after all, and perhaps sooner than anticipated, yielded to the solidity of experience.

To put it briefly, the manifesto makes the following claim:

For removing poverty, unemployment and all kinds of agrarian troubles; for combating reactionaryism and imperialism; and for effecting unity, India must achieve complete Independence first.

For winning that independence, Congress must among other things capture the legislatures and the people vote for it, having regard to the sacrifices and sufferings of the Congressmen and to their strategic gifts.

Throughout the manifesto there rings a note of “professional infallibility” and they who don't look at things through the distorted lenses of the Congress are not patriots: they are traitors; in other words, reactionaries and reformists.

It is amazing that the Congressmen, led by Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, "the saviour within sight", who is reputed to be devastatingly candid, have not been able, even under his inspiring leadership, to overcome their weakness for concealing their views on important issues. On the Communal Award they have grown more eloquent though not less ambiguous. The Award is bad, atrocious, wicked, but any agitation against the Award by one party or community is foolish, fatuous, futile. The paragraph in the manifesto on the Communal Award is the most amusing attempt to prove that two opposite view-points are identical.

On the question of Office, the Congressmen prefer to sit on the balance and make the best bargain for themselves, if and when circumstances permit. This fence-playing is supposed to be entirely out of regard for the electorate and in its interests. After all, have they not made it clear that they go to the Council (whether they accept office or not) only to reject the Constitution, wreck the Federation, and create sanctions for the enforcement of national will? It is not for us to question or doubt them or their power. Our business is only to applaud.

The manifesto says that for the fight for Independence a joint front is necessary and claims that the Congress offers a joint national front. This is the most fantastic and fraudulent claim that even the Congress has made in recent years. If they desire a national front, the Congressmen should not talk of revolutions. If they proclaim their revolutionary intentions, they should not expect a united front under their banner. After making it impossible for persons of even progressive views to make common cause with them, there is no point in blaming those whose company they disowned and whose cooperation they discarded.

Manifestoes are a species of advertisement, and exaggera-

tion is legitimate implement in the trade of the advertiser. Exaggerations we understand, not evasions, especially when they are deliberate. It is now clear that nothing better can be expected of Congressmen who swear by strategy. Instead of a lengthy manifesto, a short advertisement in the papers would have perhaps served their purpose, as for instance one on the following lines:

Wanted the suffrages of the people of India by Congressmen. Have gone to jail in the cause of the country; have read Jawaharlal Nehru's autobiography thoroughly; have cultivated to perfection the art of saying what is not precisely meant; have an open mind on important issues; have learnt to modulate their voices according to the mercurial fluctuations of Congress policy; and are discriminate supporters of Socialism and determined opponents of Imperialism.

An advertisement like the one above will make a tremendous impression on public mind. It will no doubt be supplemented by speeches adorned with quotations from writers (from Tolstoy to Gandhi and from Marx to Nehru) and by fervent appeals to the voters to save the country—and the Congress.

The Congress has a proud record and a strong case. No party has done more for national awakening. If it has only recognised that to be modest and realistic is better than to be extravagant and visionary, and that wide is the distance between something accomplished, however humble, and nothing achieved, however lofty, instead of treating this attitude with contempt as a sign of senility, the Congress would have paved the way for a "joint front" and made its own position unassailable. But it has a tremendous, almost incorrigible weakness for heroics. It treats other parties as "Harijans" and bitterly complains that they don't come into

its fold. It is preposterous to say that others are standing in the way of a national front when everything has been done to destroy the chances of a common rally. This is either injured innocence or dishonest artifice. The election manifesto is the latest evidence that the Congress speaks of united front which it does not want, or wants that which it does not seek, and that it desires to exploit the ignorance of the voters while it claims to put an end to all kinds "exploitation."

The Congress and its President claim credit—and may be given—for "the spirit of resistance in the country which will not submit to be oppressed" but the Congress and its President will also do well to bear in mind that there is also in the country "a fund of good sense which cannot be deceived."

II—Chicanery And Charlatanry

By P. K. B.

One need not be surprised at the Congress election manifesto. Indeed, having once committed itself to a policy of "strategies", the Congress, which during the last sixteen years has been consistently evasive, cannot be expected to tie itself down to a definite article of faith. The only slogan to which it has adhered to the point of fanaticism is that of national independence—a phrase which is nothing but a political hallucination to exploit the illiterate masses whom it seeks to redress. It is true that the Congress has in the past

led great movements for national freedom and sought to develop conditions whereby such freedom can be achieved by mass action and disciplined sacrifice and suffering of the Indian people.

But it has failed, in spite of Gandhiji's repeated promises of Swaraj within twelve months, to get for the people even the

comparative freedom of Dominion Status. Sixteen years, after all, is not a long span in the life of a nation struggling to break the shackles of foreign domination of more than one hundred years and fifty; it is not even a long enough time to test a given political method in the light of its practical utility. Judged by this criterion the Congress may be congratulated on having contributed to the remarkable national awakening in the country—and few will deny it this praise. But when one comes to judge of the great sufferings that the people had to undergo to further the cause of national prestige and the corresponding poverty of results that their sufferings have yielded, one is completely stupified.

The poignancy of the tragedy is heightened when the Congress people evade the issue and try to cover their "Himalayan blunders" under the cloak of strategies. Politics, I am prepared to admit, is a game of strategies, but such strategies must have a definite relation to reality and must never be an attempt to bamboozle the vast majority of illiterate voters whose suffrage the Congress people seek. The Congress election manifesto is merely a repetition of vague generalisations, stupendous inconsistencies and irritating evasions. There is not one sentence to indicate that the Congress people have learnt by experience that life is a series of compromises, and that there is no shame in acknowledging failure. The best conceived plans, inasmuch as they are human, often prove abortive, and there is nothing derogatory to national prestige if it is frankly conceded that a given political method has failed.

This unfortunately the Congress people are not capable of admitting. Having said that the Parliamentary mentality has come to stay, they have realised the folly of their confession (since it is a Liberal creed) and are now trying to atone for it by proclaiming that they have been obliged to

take recourse to this method not so much

to prevent the operation of forces calculated to strengthen the alien domination and exploitation

as

to combat it (the new Act) and seek to end it.

This, one would say, is political chicanery. For the Congress people know it as well as all of us do, that the new constitution, in spite of all its defects and safeguards, is a very real power that will, in the words of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, work us if we are not prepared to work it. There is no point in trying to wreck a constitution that, however abominable it may be in its features, represents the maximum amount of agreement reached by the representatives of this country in London. It may be argued by the Congressmen, at this late stage when the new constitution is a settled fact, that the representatives from India were not the accredited agents of the Indian people who could "deliver the goods," but for this sad omission the Congress itself has to blame entirely. If instead of pursuing the arid path of non-cooperation, the Congressmen had evinced real enthusiasm in constructive scheme of constitution-making, the new Act might have been very much different from what it is, and certainly less smothered by shackles.

Nobody—not even any representative who participated in the various deliberations of Round Table Conferences and the Joint Parliamentary Committee—is enthusiastic about the new constitution. But a constitution is not a static phenomenon; its real test is whether it will continually evolve and it is the duty of every citizen to join hands in a common cause for the betterment of his country. It has been proved beyond any shadow of doubt that non-cooperation has failed—and failed miserably—even as it has been established that "in view of the present situation," the constitutional agita-

tion is the only rightful method. Indeed, there are no shortcuts to political freedom, particularly when such freedom is sought for a country that has been demoralised by a long period of foreign rule. With a majority illiterate and minority divided into groups with varied interests, we are still in a state of political immaturity and as such, to quote Bertrand Russell, are not the best guides as to the political future.

Such being the background it is nothing short of charlatany even to pretend rejection of a constitution that has emerged as the only possible solution out of the differences of the people. Howsoever much the Congress may resent this constitution "imposed by an outside authority," let it not forget the inevitability that was responsible for the constitution and will continue to be such so long as the people are hopelessly divided among themselves. The Communal Award—which is perhaps the blackest indictment of British rule in India within recent years—is, when all criticisms are exhausted, a sad reminder of our petty jealousies and mean prejudices. In the circumstances it is imperative to agitate, both within and outside the legislatures, for the removal of this despicable stigma by all methods of persuasion and logic instead of deprecating such agitations as one-sided that will "bear no useful result." Here again the Congress evinces a colossal ignorance of human affairs when it suggests to bear in mind that

the communal problem in spite of its importance has nothing to do with the major problems in India—poverty and widespread unemployment. It is not a religious problem and it affects only a handful of people at the top. The peasantry, workers, traders and merchants and the lower middle class of all communities are in no way touched by it and their burdens remain.

Obviously the Congress has mixed up socialism with communalism—the one a complete antithesis of the other.

Socialism is purely a matter of economics that aims at an equitable distribution of wealth with equal opportunities for all in the national scheme; communalism is primarily a matter of the heart and completely ignores the rational promptings of the head. It may be admitted that the Communal Award will not solve the problems of "poverty and widespread unemployment," but that is a matter which is outside its terms of reference. It is not at all correct to say that "it affects only a handful of people at the top" for experience has shown that it is the people in the lower ranks of society that have forced the men at the top—the accredited leaders of different communities—to agitate for communal representation in the legislatures and services. Power being the real incentive in human life, communities, so long as better political sense does not develop in our people, will continue to fight for "petty benefits"—alas, in spite of the Congress.

This being the case it was all the more desirable, in the best interests of the country, for the Congress to decide in favour of the acceptance of office, instead of postponing it till after the elections. This shows weakness of mind and character as it is a clear shirking of responsibilities. It passes one's comprehension how with ministries formed by reactionary groups, the Congress people hope to realise their noble ambitions of economic equality and social justice. If possession is nine points in law (which even the Congressmen will concede), then it is obvious that the Congress people, in order to achieve their objective, should capture all the points of vantage. This they must say now when the voters are anxious to know what lead the Congress is likely to give to the country. It is no use to appeal to the country to support it in the elections that are coming, when the purpose is cloaked in vague language and meaningless jargon. The Congress will have to thank itself only if it finds that it has

not been able to sweep the polls as it imagined it would; for times have changed and the people are no more enamoured of a negative policy made more dangerous by being fed on ill-digested Marxian communism that threatens to overthrow the present system of established Government and follow a ruthless policy of expropriation of properties with or without compensation as the strategy of the hour calls for. Happily the Congress has seen the wisdom of eschewing expropriation in the manifesto and of referring to indebtedness as merely an "urgent consideration" with no definite programme. There is not one place where it is definite. It is all very well to talk of rejection, obstruction or prevention of the federal scheme, but the voters are entitled to know what they will get in return as definite gain. Evidently the Congressmen are asking the voters to wait for the ideal state when they will once again inaugurate the golden age, and, for the present, only to give their votes to them so that they might fight the obstacles to the coming of that Utopia. Unfortunately in practical politics people have no patience for Utopias—and it is here that the Congress fails in statesmanship. The Congressmen have unwittingly played themselves into the hands of the reactionaries who have already tightened their hold wherever they could, leaving the Congress to issue manifestos and indulge in day-dreaming. And the manifesto itself is nothing but a triumph of day-dreams over concrete issues—a fact which clearly reveals the Congress intoxication of ideas and phrases and its utter bankruptcy of imagination. The future would indeed be full of forebodings if the Congress were returned to power on the strength of a hoodwinking manifesto such as the present one.

THE ORIGINAL TREATY POSITIONS

By "AN OLD FOSSIL"

[This is a study of original treaty positions with special reference to the question of salutes. The writer was formerly connected with an Indian State.]

The Moghal Emperors, no doubt, affected to apply the name of Zamindar to the feudatory or tributary chiefs, for instance, to the Punjab Hill rajas, and to the rajas of Tanjore and Trichinopoly. Sutherland says:

Zamindar is an undefined term amongst Mohammedan Governments. The Princes of Rajputana—Jeypore, Udaipur, Kotah etc., were designated by the Delhi Government Zamindars: so are God-wall Swrpur Chiefs of the present day, although only tributaries, designated by the Nizam's Government: so is the person to whom it consigns the revenue management of a District granting him five or ten per cent on the amount of his collections.

Apart from feudatory Rajput States and others that were tributary, there were in most provinces of the Moghal Empire Hindu Chiefs who retained hereditary jurisdiction; 'the most submissive of this class'—[Mount Stuart Elphinstone tells us],—paid their revenue and furnished the aid of their troops and militia to the Governor (*i.e.*, the Subadar), and were subject to his control in cases where he thought it necessary, but were not interfered with in the ordinary course of their administration.

For instance:

A sum of Rs. 13,319-8-0 a year is paid by the Travancore State to the British Government, being equivalent to *Peshkash* and *Nazarana* which the Raja agreed to pay to the Nawab of Carnatic in 1764.

In the *Muchalkas* the Raja of Travancore styles himself

as "Zamindar of Malabar" and undertakes "with zéal to maintain due obedience to your (Nawab's) orders" and to "promise that the *peshkash* payable by your servant according to *Mamul*, in consideration of the promise made by me of continual fidelity and submission to your service." The *Kaulnama* is "in consequence of the arrival of the five sealed *Muchalkas* from you professing continual friendship and obedience on your part to my *Sarkar*," and

as you agree to pay the annual *nazarana* according to *Mamul*, I am pleased to make over to you the villages of Shenkotta and Pagoda of Cape Comorin, agreeably to your long cherished desire, and hope that you will duly appreciate the favour thus done to you, evince your sense of it by an increased obedience and service on your part to my *Sarkar* agreeably to your *muchulkas*, and that you will pay to me regularly the annual sums on account of the villages of Shenkotta and Pagoda Cape Comorin, together with the established *peshkash*, and remain contented; for you must be aware that as long as you shall continue firm in your promise of submission and fidelity to the *Sarkar* you will experience the favour of the *Huzur*.

When Carnatic was annexed and the British Government stepped into the shoes of the Nawab of Arcot, the fealty which the Raja or the Maharaja of Travancore acknowledged to the Nawab of Carnatic was transferred to the British Government and the continued payment of *Peshkash* perpetuates that position.

The most independent of these Zamindars only yielded a general obedience to the Government, and afforded their aid to keep the peace; but these were confined to strong countries, and large tracts bordering on a province. It is well to distinguish between chiefs and rajas who were sovereign in their own territories, and who paid revenue or who went by the name of *malguzars* or revenue paying agents or tributaries. Tupper says:—

The Rajput Princes, though feudatories of the Moghal Empire, and harried by the claims and incursions of the Mahrattas, had preserved attributes of sovereignty greater than possessed by the petty States of Western India and perhaps greater than any that had ever been acquired by these Cis-Sutlej Sikhs who were mal-guzars, or revenue paying tributaries of the Delhi Emperors.

In the treaty concluded with the Gaekwar's Government of Baroda, dated April 3, 1820, for the collection of Kathiawar and Mahi Kantha tribute, the rulers of the States are mentioned as Zamindars.

Under the Moghals, the Provinces were designated as Subas, Districts as Sarkars, and Tehsils as Mahals. The same nomenclature was preserved in the Mahratta Empire and the great generals like Scindia and Holkar were known as Subadars.

The invasion of Nadir Shah was a death blow to the Moghal Empire. The Peshwas of Poona virtually became the Suzerains of India, but the Padshahs of Delhi dwindled into a pageant and a name. The lieutenants of the Peshwa were the founders of the modern kingdoms of the Gaekwars of Baroda, the Scindias of Gwalior, Holkars of Indore, and the Bhonslas of Nagpur. They conquered Gujrat, Malwa, and large territories in the Hindusthan and the Deccan, and collected tribute from the Punjab to Carnatic and Bengal to Mysore, including Hyderabad.

According to James Mills,

From the time when the first Baji Rao established the ascendancy of the Mahratta power in Central India, the Princes of Rajputana had been forced to pay the Chauth, the fourth part of their annual net revenue, as a fixed tribute. The payment was at first made to the Government of Poona, but as the authority of Scindia and Holkar came to supersede that of the Peshwa, they claimed it as their right.

In the division of the spoil, the Jeypore tribute was appropriated

by Holkar; that of Udaipur and Jodhpur by Scindia; but they had also conflicting pretensions each to a portion of the plunder of the other. The Peshwa had likewise his claims to a share, but his alliance with the British debarred him from their compulsory enforcement.

Similarly Kotah, Bundi, Karoli or Bhopal were the tributaries of Scindia or Holkar and Company's Government had no connection whatever with them, prior to 1817. Cis-Sutlej Sikhs were also the tributaries of the Mahrattas and paid *Chouth* to them. When Ranjit Singh was about to annex them Metcalfe was

instructed to remind the Raja of Lahore that during the Mahratta War he had himself suggested the Sutlej as the boundary of the Punjab, and that the British having conquered the Mahrattas, had taken and intended to maintain, the Cis-Sutlej Chiefs under their protection.

Accordingly by the Proclamation of May 3, 1809, the country of the Malwa and Sirhind Chiefs was taken under British Protection and exempted from all pecuniary tribute to the British Government.

A rebellious off-shoot of the Moghal Empire, the Nizam's power had always been overshadowed and threatened by the Peshwa, the head of the Mahrattas. Nizam-ul-Mulk had been all along his tributary. The Nizam had never been able to throw off the Mahratta claim to *Chouth*, a convenient pretext for indefinite fiscal exaction and political interference. When in 1895, an unsettled account regarding *Chouth* was allowed to accumulate, the Mahrattas invaded and defeated the Nizam at Kharda, made him pay three crores of rupees as arrears of *Chouth* to cede territories yielding an annual income of 35 lakhs and to surrender his Prime Minister as a hostage for the fulfilment of these terms. After the overthrow of the Peshwa in 1817, and by the Treaty of 1822, the Nizam "was released from all the arrears of tribute

(*Chauth*), which he owed to the Peshwa and from all demands for such tribute in the future," to the British Government who became successors to all the rights, privileges, and prerogatives of the Peshwa.

As regards the Gaekwar after a war between him and the Peshwa, Damaji Gaekwar "was defeated, and punished by the imposition of an annual tribute of Rs. 5,25,000 and annual service with 3000 horses during peace and 4000 during war," which brought him down from the position of the Subadar of the Mahratta Empire to that of a tributary Zamindar in the Moghal sense or a feudatory of the Peshwa. By the treaty of Salbai, the Gaekwar "was required to pay the tribute to the Peshwa as formerly." After the overthrow of the Peshwa, the British as his successors, and as in the case of the Nizam, remitted the tribute and the Gaekwar was released from payment to the British Government the tribute which he owed to the Peshwa. Neither Scindia nor Holkar ever paid any tribute to any power whatever and became independent sovereigns, in fact, after the Treaty of Bassein of 1802, when the Gaekwar still remained as the tributary of the Peshwa, even after the latter had acknowledged the supremacy of the East India Company and placed himself under its protection.

After four Mysore Wars, ending with the fall of Serinapatam a portion of Tipu's territories was divided between the English and the Nizam. The remainder was formed into a Hindu Kingdom, and an infant representative of the family which had been supplanted by Hyder Ali, was literally taken out from a hovel and placed on the throne of Mysore. In the words of Lee-Warner "the former Hindu Dynasty was *gratuitously* raised from the ashes of Hyder Ali and Tipu's Dominion." "And thus was *created* the new State of Mysore under a Hindu Raja in subordinate alliance with the Com-

pany." The grant was made to Krishna Raj Wadair, a child of three years. "Krishna Raj Wadair was not a party to the partition Treaty of Mysore of July 13, 1799, otherwise than as the *notified* future recipient of *the liberality* of the British Government."

The grant was made solely in virtue of the powers acquired by the British by conquest, and not of any hereditary rights of the Maharaja.

In 1802, Jaswant Rao Holkar defeated at Poona the combined forces of the Scindia and the Peshwa. The latter fled towards Bombay. A treaty was concluded at Bassien in 1802; and the Peshwa was replaced by Colonel Wellesley on the throne of his father.

Colonel Wellesley defeated Scindia at Assaye, and the Raja of Nagpur at Argaun. Lord Lake defeated Perron's forces at Aligarh, Delhi, and Laswari, and took the King of Delhi under his protection. Scindia and the Raja of Berar, in 1803, concluded treaties with the East India Company by which they accepted restrictions on their sovereignty and ceded large portions of their territories while Holkar remained in full possession of unrestricted sovereignty over his dominions. Treaties of Surje Anjengaum with the Scindia and Deogaun with the Raja of Berar concluded in 1803 were not of subsidiary character while the Treaty of Bassein with the Peshwa made in 1802, was of subsidiary character.

The history of the growth of the relations between the British Government and Indian States must be studied with the object of explaining the present position of the princes under what may be called political law or political practice which governs them at present. In the early days the East India Company found itself one of a number of Powers struggling for the Provinces over which the Moghal Emperors then exercised no real control, and like other powers the

Company sometimes made use of the Emperor's nominal sanction when it suited them, and at other times threw it aside. In fact the only principle on which they acted in dealing with the surrounding states was that of self-preservation. In 1784, the British Government created in England the Board of Control, and an attempt was made to act according to European international principles, but the attempts failed. Lord Wellesley first saw clearly that the only way to bring peace to the British possessions and the whole of India was to establish British supremacy beyond doubt. The policy he began, Lord Hastings completed by introducing the system of subsidiary alliances, according to which the British undertook to provide subsidiary forces for the protection of each ruler, both externally, and internally. These forces were stationed inside the States of the rulers, and the subsidy for the maintenance of them was secured by the cession of the portions of the territories of those States. In return the rulers gave up the right of making war with other States and dealing with them in any way except through the British Government. Wellesley was strongly in favour of a right to intervene but was only able to give effect to this principle in the treaties with Mysore, Travancore, and Oudh; while the general policy of Hastings was to avoid interference as much as possible. It must be said that by the introduction of the subsidiary system in their States, the rulers entered into a habit of obedience to a political superior, and from this point of view ceased to be "sovereign" in the full sense of the word, that is, they lost independence.

The first and obvious victim to this system was the weak Government of the Nizam. The subsidiary treaties with the Nizam were followed by a similar treaty with Travancore in 1795, with Mysore in 1799, with Oudh in 1801, Baroda in 1802, Poona in 1802, Gwalior in 1804; but the subsidiary

force was not stationed in Gwalior territory.

The effect of subsidiary system as reported to the Governor-General by Sir Thomas Munro and the Residents at Hyderabad, Nagpur, Mysore or Lucknow was that the Indian Prince being guaranteed in the possession of his dominions, but deprived of so many of the essential attributes of sovereignty, sinks in his own esteem, and loses the stimulus of good government, which is supplied by the fear of rebellion and deposition. He becomes *roi faincant*, a sensualist, an extortionate miser, or a careless and lax ruler. The higher classes coerced by external ascendancy, in turn lose their self-respect, and degenerate like their master: the people groan under a complicated oppression which is irremediable. Thus in spite of the Residents' counsels and attempts to secure good government, the back of the State, so to speak, is broken; the spirit of indigenous political life has departed; the native community tends to dissolution; and annexation is eventually the inevitable remedy for its hopelessness and chronic disorders.

With the subsidiary system in force, the year 1804 saw Lord Wellesley at the pinnacle of his greatness. The British Government appeared to have become paramount power in India in the room of the great Moghal and the sole and acknowledged arbiter of peace and war. The Rajput princes gladly tendered their submission to British suzerainty in return for protection against the Mahrattas, and treaties were being concluded accordingly, when a mishap threw the whole scheme of British Imperial rule into confusion.

The defeat by Jaswant Rao Holkar and consequent disastrous retreat of Colonel Monson which became a rout; and Hindusthan was convulsed by the news that a British army had been cut to pieces by Jaswant Rao Holkar, and Scindia and other princes were joining to throw off British supre-

macy. Sir Arthur Wellesley wrote "Monson's disasters are really the greatest and most disgraceful to our military character of any that have ever occurred." The parliament and people of England had fallen into panic. They had been dazzled by the successes of Lord Wellesley, but now were dazed by the retreat of Monson, and what appeared to be a general rising of the Mahratta people. Accordingly Lord Cornwallis was again sent out to India as Governor-General to undo what Lord Wellesley had built up; to restore conquered territories, cancel treaties, and come back to the old policy of non-intervention.

Lord Cornwallis returned to India in 1805. He objected to the chain of subsidiary alliances on the ground of responsibility they involved for defending and laboriously propping up what he called impotent or unruly princes. He found fault with the extension of British alliances as retarding the natural development of stronger organisations, and he was prepared to view with satisfaction the absorption of the smaller chiefships in large kingdoms ruled by independent sovereigns in international relations with the British Governments.

Lord Cornwallis died before he had been ten weeks in India, and was succeeded by Sir George Barlow by whom Lord Wellesley's policy was only half reversed. The Nizam, the Peshwa, the Gaekwar, the Nawab of Oudh, and the Maharajas of Mysore and Travancore were required to keep their treaties. But the East India Company withdrew British Protection from the Rajputs; and Scindia and Holkar were left free to exact tributes in Rajputana, and were only bound over to respect the territories of the East India Company and its allies. By Article 7 of the Treaty of Mustafapur, concluded with Scindia in November, 1805,

The Honourable Company engage to enter into no treaty with the Rajas of Odepore, and Jodhpur, and Kotah or other Chiefs' tributaries of Daulat Rao Scindia, situated in Malwa, Meywar, or Marwar, and in no shape whatever to interfere with the settlement which Scindia may make with those Chiefs.

By the treaty of Rajpur Ghat concluded with Jaswant Rao Holkar in December 1805, the Company engaged "to have no concern with any of the Rajas situated to the south of the Chambal." By Article 3 of this Treaty

The Honourable British Company hereby engage to have no concern with the Country which belongs from ancient times to the Holkar family in Malwa, Nimar, Khichiwar, Umatwara, Bhopal, and in other states such as Mewar, Marwar, Haroti, Supar, and States situated to the south of the Chambal, nor to interfere with the affairs of those places. . . . And in Malwa, Khichiwar, Umatwara, Bhopal, and other States of Mewar, Marwar, Haroti, Supar, Thaiwah (Jhabna), Dewlia Pratapgarh and in the country situated in the Deccan to the South of the river Tapti, the Honourable Company shall not offer any hindrance or interference.

Article 14 of the same Treaty stated that

Maharaja Jaswant Rao Holkar represents that the revenue (Muamala) of Jaipur State belongs to him of right from ancient times that he will take it according to ancient practice and that the Honourable Company should not interfere in the matter.

The request of Bikaner in 1808, and of Bhopal in 1809, for Treaty was not granted. An offer of alliance by Banswara in 1812 was declined. The Treaty of 1803 with Jodhpur was dissolved and of Jaipur of 1802 declared void.

In the year 1813 Princep included in the allies of the Company those states with whom subsidiary alliances were formed and those enjoying the company's protection without any subsidiary contract, consisting of for the most part of small principalities scarcely meriting the name of substantive powers.

The States of the former class connected with the British were the Nizam of the Deccan, the Peshwa, the Gackwar, Mysore, and Travancore. In strictness, Oudh might be added to this list, but the cessions exacted by Lord Wellesley had been so considerable that Oudh was 'in too great dependence on the British Government to be regarded as one of the political States of India'.

And yet Lord Hastings in 1819 raised the Wazir of Oudh to the dignity of King. To this anomaly or fiction, considering the post political history of the Hyderabad State, may be added the other political fiction of the Faithful Ally of the British Government, a title in which the Nizam rejoices to the present day. The principal members of the latter class of the Company's allies without any subsidiary contract were Bharatpur, Dholpur, Alwar, Datia, Orchha, Panna, Rewa, Rampur, Tehri, Kalpi, Jalaun and Jhansi.

Such were the allies of the Company and who were under its protection. In the words of Metcalfe, that part of India which is not occupied by the British Government and its allies, is divided among powers who may be classed under the following different descriptions:

1. Substantive States, ardently desiring our overthrow, and ambitious to aggrandise themselves; who for the gratification of either propensity, would not scruple to have recourse to any measures, and who have armies in their service capable of being converted at a moment's warning into instruments of destruction to our provinces. Against these powers we must be on our guard; and the frontiers exposed to them can never be considered to be in safety unless defended by armies. We may be assured that these powers only want an encouraging opportunity to strike a blow at our existence.

2. Military powers, not substantive States, but more dangerous perhaps than these States, being less tangible and having less to lose, living by plunder and devastation—the enemies of all governments, more especially hostile in spirit to us, and capable of over-running and ruining provinces if we give them the opportunity,

by neglecting our defence. Against these therefore, we must be equally guarded as against the States of the first class.

3. Petty States, who are subject to the continual plunder and oppression of the two former classes, and who in consequence look to us for protection, and are, therefore, well disposed towards us. From these we have nothing to apprehend. These it is our interest to uphold and protect.

To the first class belong Scindia, Holkar, and the Rajah of Nagpur (Berar).

The second class of powers consists of Pindaris, Meer Khan, Mohammad Shah Khan, and generally all predatory leaders. Of these Pindaris are the most mischievous. Meer Khan and Mohammad Shah Khan may be considered in a double character, as servants of Holkar and as independent Chieftains.

In the third class may be included, Jeypore, Jodhpore, Oudipore, Bikaner, Jessulmere, Kotah, Boondee, Kerowlee, and other petty States on the frontier of Gujrat, and generally, all states who are subject to the oppression of the military and predatory powers.

Lord Hastings wrote:

The unfortunate Rajput States of Jeypore, Jodhpur, Oudipore, mercilessly wasted by Scindia and Holkar, Ameer Khan and Mohammad Sher Khan, and the Pindaris have assailed me with petitions to take them under our protection as feudatories to the British Government, but treaties bound this government in an engagement with Scindia and Holkar not to interfere in any way, with the Rajput States.

It became part of his (Hastings) great scheme of policy to bring the Rajput States under British Protection. It was one of the objects of British policy at this time to find just and reasonable grounds for setting aside those articles of Gwalior and Indore treaties which held the British in this inconvenient restraint. Malcolm writing about the State of Rajputana in 1817 to the Governor-General said:

Where troops are withdrawn from countries in such a state revenue must cease. Should Scindia recall his corps from the vicinity of Jeypore, Jodhpore, or Odipore, Ammer Khan would in

his own name or Holkar's name collect all tribute. Should he also abandon his position, these Rajput Princes would pay to no one.

Lord Hastings was anxious to bring under British Protection Bhopal which was under subjection to Holkar and occupied by Holkar's servants, Ameer Khan and Mohammad Shah Khan, and from which British interference was excluded by Article 3 of Treaty of 1805 with Holkar. Malcolm in 1817 reminded Lord Hastings that

the basis of treaty with Holkar Family should be similar to that of Scindia, the assent of our alliance with the Raja of Jeypore, Boondie, and the Nawab of Bhopal.

The Nawab of Bhopal had in vain sought British Protection in 1809. The admission of Bhopal into the protectorate is said to date from Lord Hasting's letter, written on December 23, 1817 in which the Nawab was granted protection. The Governor General on February 8, 1818, that is a month after the Treaty of Mundisore, wrote to the Court of Directors that

the events which have extended our possessions along the front of Bhopal, so totally extinguish the considerations influencing your objection to receiving it as a feudatory, that I think I cannot err in regarding the prohibition as no longer in force.

The Treaty of subordinate co-operation with Bhopal was signed on February 26, 1818, and the Treaty of Mundesore was signed on January 6, 1818, which liberated Bhopal from the supremacy of Indore, and made it a feudatory of the East India Company.

At last by the Treaty of Gwalior with Scindia of 1817 the restrictions upon British intervention in Rajputana were withdrawn, and it was declared

that the British Government shall be at full liberty to form engagements with the States of Oudipore, Jodhpore, and Kotah, and

with the State of Boondie, and other substantive States on the left bank of the Chambal.

By the Treaty of Mundisore

Maharajah Mulhar Rao Holkar agrees to cede to the British Government all claims of tribute and revenues of every description which he has, or may have had upon the Rajput princes, such as Rajahs of Oudipore, Jeypore, Jodhpore, Kotah, Boondie, Karawali etc.

This etcetera obviously includes Bhopal in accordance with Article 3 of the Treaty with Jaswant Rao Holkar of 1805.

Aitchison remarks that the Treaty of Mundisore was concluded on January 6, 1818,

by which the Mahratta Supremacy over many Rajput Chiefs, including Udaipur and Jaipur was transferred to the British Government.

The state of Kashmir was created out of the ruins of the Lahore State and granted to Maharaja Gulab Singh. The Treaty of 1846 provided that

the British Government transfers and makes over in independent possession, to Maharaja Gulab Singh and the *heirs male of his body*, all the hilly or mountainous country,

which means that if the males of his body failed the State would escheat to the British Government. This may have happened at the demise of His Late Highness Maharaja Pratap Singh if Dalhousie's doctrine of lapse had continued. The Maharaja of Kashmir

acknowledges the supremacy of the British Government, and will in token of such supremacy present annually to the British Government one horse, twelve perfect shawl goats of approved breed (six male and six female), and three pairs of Cashmir shawls.

Holkar in 1818 and Scindia in 1844, entered into subsidiary alliances with the British Government. These are the only two States whose original treaty positions with the East

India Company were those of acknowledged princes with whom the British Government was at peace, and connected by mutual obligations of treaties and mutual amity alone, but with whom it had no closer intercourse or recognised means of influence, except in so far as the residence of a British representative at the Court was sometimes a matter of stipulation.

If we look to the starting point of British connection, out of the existing Indian States, Gwalior and Indore are the only states which entered into treaty relations with the East India Company as equal and independent powers. The political condition of Hyderabad with the extent of its territories and population resembled that of China at present, weak and prostrate, unable to protect itself or assert its authority. Baroda was equally weak and helpless. Mysore and Kashmir are created states. Travancore paying *Peshkab* occupied the position of a Zamindar under subjection of the Nawab of Carnatic, under the Nizam. Udaipur and Bhopal were liberated from Holkar's supremacy. And yet in the original Table of Salutes, Hyderabad, Baroda, and Mysore only were given 21 guns. Gwalior and Indore were grouped with Kashmir, Kolhapur, Travancore, Bhopal and Udaipur. Though Gwalior and Kashmir have been promoted to 21 list, Indore still remains in the company of Bhopal, Udaipur, or Travancore, as an anomaly or as an exhibition of paramountcy which can bestow honour, title or salute at its will regardless of past position, independence, power, prestige, or claims. Lord Chelmsford was perfectly right and just when he said that "the whole question of salutes needed most careful investigation in the view of the anomalies which appeared to exist." The case of Indore is the greatest anomaly, considering what Holkar said to Daly in the Baroda case, that "the person for the time being is little; the state with its rights is

the point for consideration," which meant to say that the sins or crimes or the Rulers must affect the states, their rights, dignities, privileges or prestige. Rulers can be punished for their sins and crimes. In other words Rulers come and go but the States go on for ever.

The outcome of the foregoing narrative and the relations resulting therefrom between the several classes of States and the British Government, during Company's rule can be best summed up and described in the words of Sir John Malcolm:—

The wars with the Goorkhas in 1815, and with the Mahrattas and Pindarries, in 1817, terminated in making the British Government sovereigns of the Province of Kemauw and other portions of the Nepal dominions, and of the wide territories formerly belonging to the Peshwa, and part of those of Holkar family and of the Rajah of Nagpore. It also led to our forming treaties and engagements with a variety of princes and chiefs, who had formerly been the real or nominal dependents of the head of the Mahratta State. We contracted a more intimate alliance with the Holkar Family, the Rajah of Nagpore, and with Dowlat Rao Scindia; while the princes and Chiefs of Sagor, of Rajputana, and Malwa, as well as several of those of Western Hindostan, came more directly under our protection as lord paramount of all India; a condition which we had at this period been compelled by irresistible and uncontrollable events to assume, contrary to all maxims of policy which from the first commencement of your career in India had been impressed upon the attention of those entrusted with the rule of our eastern empire.

In conclusion it may be stated that the above is the result of special study and research to understand the full significance and justice of the remark of the Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform, (on page 114, Paragraph 208, of their Report of 1934 on the question of the allocation of 100 seats in the Council of State among over 600 states), that

It proceeds on the principle that allocation of seats among states should, in the case of the Council of State, take account of the relative rank and importance of the state as indicated by dynastic salute and other factors.

As regards dynastic salutes Lord Chelmsford openly declared that

Mr. Montagu and I felt that it would be unwise to base upon the salute list as it stands any fundamental distinction between more important (states) and the remainder.

The arguments in this article clearly show that "other factors" do not support or justify the salute list as it is at present. Under such circumstances it is not easy to realise on what grounds the "relative rank and importance" of a state is determined or is based.

DIVORCE IN INDIA

By KAILASH SRIVASTAVA

[Lady Kailas Srivastava, M.L.C. whose strenuous work in the cause of Indian womanhood has won golden tributes, voices in these pages the demand of the new generation for social adjustment.]

The relation of the sexes is the pivot on which the social fabric revolves and on its proper adjustment depends social progress and the maintenance of culture of a race or country. Marriage is the demand of the society to regulate sex relations in a way that the culture of the race may not be destroyed and its heritage sunk in oblivion. Promiscuity was the primitive man's way of reproduction but it leaves no past and creates no future. Experience has taught man the lesson of sex selection and has, therefore, built up a whole series of marriage laws controlling the promiscuous tendencies of man. We find the matriarchal and the patriarchal systems even as we find polyandry and polygamy till we reach the highest stage of monogamy. Evolution of family from the tribe marks a definite stage in our progress and perhaps the highest stage so far reached.

In India when we sit down to analyse our marriage institution and try to find out the economic and cultural bases for the prevalence of a custom, we are at sea. In the north, along the belt of the Himalayas, we still find polyandrous groups, giving us the peculiar fact of several brothers marrying one wife (which is partly due to scarcity of women); in the north-west and among the Muslims and in Bengal and Bihar we find polygamy. Then we turn to the south and find girls wedded to gods but have children through men.

Both Hindus and Muslims practise a certain form of legalised concubinage and the illegitimate children have the right to property in some cases. To sum up, our marriage laws can be said to be a plausible compromise between tribal promiscuity and a highly developed monogamy.

If we care to view the question from another standpoint we shall find that the customs and laws are more suitable to people who are a mixture of pasturemen and agriculturists. This may be taken as a cause of the confusion in our marriage laws and customs.

The time has now come when we should examine our laws and customs in the light of new facts. The Western civilization with its insistence upon individual rights and equality of sexes, its new economic system which makes every man, woman and child an economic entity, has given a rude shock to our self-sufficient village economy and caste groups and craft guilds. The edifice, howsoever, grand, majestic and glorious it might have been, is crumbling to pieces. Social unrest is in the air and we must accept that changes are going on in spite of us. The demand for divorce in India is a symptom of social maladjustment and the demand as voiced by all women's organisations show the symptom in a way which cannot be ignored. To some it may appear (perhaps with some justice) that the demand comes from a section which has been infected with western ideas and who sub-consciously believe in the superiority of their customs and laws as compared to our own. Yet, there is another section, the educated middle class and the upper classes, whose social relationship has undergone a deep change by gradual industrialisation of the country. This section has found after careful weighing of facts that our marriage customs and laws act as a drag on the onward march of women. I have, on my part, no doubt as to the necessity of changes in

our marriage laws and customs.

I should mention here that along with changes in marriage law the laws of inheritance and property rights should also be made more equitable. I am emphatically of opinion that without granting equality in property rights marital equality cannot be enforced. Unless we take care to make the woman economically independent, woman's subjection will not end, the name of the master alone will change.

For the sake of fuller understanding of our marriage question I should like to take a retrospective view of the sociological and psychological background of our society.

Viewing the institution of marriage according to the classification of Prof. Muller-Lyer, India is passing through a transitional stage. The "family epoch" is giving place to 'social-individual' epoch with its new psychological outlook of "romantic love". The period is one of "familial" society where "marriage is not a personal but a family affair, the choice of mate entirely lies in the hand of the parents, especially the father who is accustomed without exception to decide in favour of his daughter's richest suitor." Here the rule of the day is "acre weds acre" and marriage is fundamentally an economic consideration. The need for family solidarity for economic considerations is further intensified and thereby complicated by joint family and caste system. The former subordinated the will of the individual to the will of the family or the patriarch and the latter curtailed his freedom by 'giving him a status by birth' and not by his efforts. There can be no doubt that a society organised on such rigid lines should show signs of disintegration when it comes in contact with a culture which is its very antithesis. A progressive society is like a living organism and is subject to changes according to laws of social dynamics. No amount of brow-beating by church or state or priesthood can obstruct

the path of the dynamics of the universe. We may not grant equality to women of today, we may not recognise her independent personality but we cannot stem the tide of the times.

If we care to read between the lines the Arya Marriage Validation Act, the Special Marriage Act, the Widow Remarriage Act, the Sarda Act and several other bills by Dr. Gour, Dr. Bhagwan Das and others we shall find that the marriage institution requires modification. If we do not mend the laws in time, the society will break down under the strain, which will lead to social anarchy. Let the orthodox section search within their hearts and find if they could serve their country better by sticking to Manu or Parashar or by accepting the new law givers. The Harijan movement is just another reminder to that section that they should learn the law of change.

The psychological reaction of modern Indian boy and girl has undermined the traditional ideas of marriage and family integrity. So long as the man is the only wage-earning partner and gives woman a specified portion of his earnings, she is entirely set apart from any ideas of obtaining power for herself and is already bound by gratitude and duty to place above her own will, the will of the man to whom she owes her daily bread and to a certain extent to belong to him. But female education, the gradual association of women in progressions and in political and social works, the Great War and the Women's Movements in Turkey, Egypt and China have marked a new epoch in her outlook on life and love. For now she has come to believe that she can stand upon her own feet economically, that she is independent, that she is a free personality and no longer at the command of others.

At present, by the right of possession, the man demands

from woman that she should remain chaste—but not so the man. Among some classes the legal recognition of concubines points out the utter subordination of woman and the denial of her personal rights. Even gallantry and such social etiquettes as “women should sit first,” “holding her cloak” etc., are in fact a kind of benevolent contempt—comparable to the alms of the rich and mercy of the mighty—a sign of protective relationship. “Women,” says Schopenhaur, “is treated as a mixture of angel and imbecile.”

But our sex relationship in order that it may be ennobled and spiritualised, in order that it may not be founded upon an evanescent passion or on the superficial condition of common economic necessity, should be based upon free choice by both parties according to their desires and their personal inclinations and understanding. In India marriage has to be endured even when love has long since been superseded by hatred. The new ideology is that love is an end in itself and not a way of serving the husband. Love is becoming an element in the personal pursuit of happiness because it is necessary to the joys of life. Love, formerly considered only as a means to an end, is now the goddess clad in girdle of happiness who leads humanity on its way to the highest personal fulfilment. Love is now being increasingly stamped with the human character as the emotional life of the country in particular is being refined by growing civilisation and as human life is drawing nearer to its high and distant goal.

Having set forth in a summary way the trend of modern changes and the new psychology we should try to understand the obstructions in the path of women's freedom. The family—and its grand superstructure the joint family—is fast breaking down by industrialisation and consequent urbanisation of the country, the invasion of British ideas of equity and justice. Women have not yet gained many pro-

perty rights, either inherited or acquired, still one-man-one-woman family has shattered the dogmatic rule of subordination of woman's interest to the family interest. The new woman has a greater say in her husband's home than in that of her father-in-law's. As such, she has acquired greater freedom and can live her life as best she can. This situation will in course of time bring about new sex relationship which will acquire the relaxation of the 'sacrament theory of marriage.'

Caste system based upon the myth of race superiority and crystallisation of accidental economic groups into social divisions has played a great part in stunting the individuality of both men and women in India. Laws of Manu recognised the right of the upper classes to get wives from the lower castes but even that is a dead letter long since. Caste system and hypergamy have been the cause of many an evil practice among the people. It was responsible for the practice of infanticide among the Rajputs, Kulinism in Bengal and has prevented the harmonious mixture of races and cultures. Thus India unlike the countries of the West presents a sad spectacle of warring communities, heterogeneous cultures and races. Instead of a strong and powerful nation we are to-day a disorganised and weak country. Fortunately, the times are changing and the question is no longer asked if we should break the caste but how soon it would disappear. Girls' education, widening of franchise, participation of women in national struggle etc., are breaking the isolation of women. Inter-caste marriages are not looked down but are looked upon with favour. Now, if we accept the justice of inter-caste marriages we have to accept the justice of divorce. If we permit people of different cultural standards and with different tradition to unite we should logically provide a safety valve for the woman to re-arrange her life in case the

union breaks down. Man has all the privileges on his side, economic, social and legal and needs very little protection. It is the woman who stakes her all who should be given social protection against the polygamous instincts of man.

Opposition comes from another section, namely the champion of the agriculturists. It may be argued that a predominantly agricultural population goes to the divorce court less than an industrial population. India being seventy-five per cent agricultural divorce law is unnecessary. The protagonists of this view assume that divorce is the cause of family disintegration and therefore conclude that by prohibiting divorce they will be able to keep family solidarity. But Prof. Lichtenberger has come to the conclusion that in America there is little reason to believe that rural families are more stable than urban families. In other countries of the world the fact holds good though to a less extent. In these circumstances we can safely say that in India too divorce law will give no incentive to the instinct of family disintegration. The law will merely register the fact that the marriage has broken down due to some causes. There are thousands of such families at present where parties do not seek divorce though they have ceased to live together. Moreover, among the poorer classes desertion serves the purpose of divorce and is less expensive than legal divorce. In India there exists a well-recognised system of divorce, understood by the people and enforced by custom. The system of "Baithaiua" marriage among Ahirs and Kahars show that they have discovered an easier way of arranging marital maladjustment than in the West. Indissoluble marriage with its consequent unhappiness is the lot of the upper and the middle classes. The scheduled castes, with their codes of tribal promiscuity and caste panchayet need no divorce law to sanction dissolution of marriage. In Kumaon

alone we find some sort of a divorce law recognised by the British Courts which permits the upper classes to dissolve the marriage union. What in other countries would have been sanctioned by law and had given the parties an opportunity to begin their life anew, in India has to be done under the cloak of secrecy and fraud, as for example, by changing religion. We fail to appreciate the fact that unsatisfied sex recoils on itself and creates perversions, psychological tension, nervous breakdown and even crime.

Our people generally appear to be reactionary towards divorce. And this has been intensified by the theory of KARMA with its logical inference that one must suffer in this life for the sins of the past life, and that one is destined to be that which his or her fate has ordained. It is no wonder that our people bear the matrimonial ills with stoical fortitude.

But this should not mean that the individual has not revolted against society in India. The rise of such sects as Sahagia and the Vaishnavaites with their emphasis upon love outside wedlock is sufficient evidence to show the breakdown of the traditional institution of marriage.

In India the problem of divorce is complex one and will require careful consideration before a law is made. And I should again emphasise that the property rights of women should be conceded before it can be effective in restoring social peace and individual happiness.

Perhaps the greatest single cause of conjugal unhappiness in India is due to the practice of marrying a girl to a man whom she has not the least opportunity to study at close quarters and evaluate for herself his qualities as her mate. Naturally there is the possibility of the union being incompatible, with the result that the life of the woman is apt to be miserable. The man has one hundred and one different ways to occupy his time but to the woman the home is her

workshop, club and all. Snatched away from her familiar family she is put in a place where customs, habits and ideals differ and there is some ground for fearing the breakdown if the two joined by law are not joined in heart. Courtship is stigmatised and divorce is unknown. What, therefore, is the way for the woman to get out of an unhappy union? Perhaps death is the only release from the bondage!

In the second place, there exists a deep intellectual chasm between the man and the woman in India. The late beginning of girls' education and the way in which it was handled have created a peculiar phenomenon in this country. A highly educated man may be wedded to a half-educated, half mature child of fourteen. The man is a highly accomplished person and his wife an old-type of housewife who delights in her children and ornaments. The man today does not find pleasure in a simple housewife but seeks an intellectually equal comrade with whom he may live on a footing of understanding. He seeks not merely a "glorified cook and a headservant" but a companion of his leisure.

The tradition of marrying girls within a certain group or sub-caste presents another difficulty in finding good matches for girls. The girl, howsoever, intellectual and intelligent has to be married within a certain circle whether her husband is a fool or a knave.

A question is therefore asked when everything and everybody is making progress why women's path be blocked by time-worn custom and traditions. Justice and laws of life demand readjustment if we want to build up a happy and virile India. There is no moral law to bind a woman to a man if he is incapable of helping the woman to realise her personality. The woman has an individuality and a soul which she must expand. She must conform to the laws of social dynamics and achieve her destiny. She must seek her

ideal and be happy.

Before I traverse the grounds of divorce I will try to answer the conscientious objector who in the name of children want to ban divorce. To such I will quote the words of Prof. Howard of the Pennsylvania University:

The youth of a child is spoiled, perhaps his whole life is poisoned if he must exist between parents who live together in secret or open repugnance, arguments and squabbles. Children are intuitive and many one become cynic because he has to be for ever the witness of a guerilla warfare which often takes the most horrible forms of hatred and viciousness between those whom law and nature bid him to love and honour. Hence even for children's sake a new regulation of sexual relationship is a pressing necessity. Let us have abandonment of one part rather than a perpetual poisoning of youth.

As I survey the field of institutional marriage I am convinced that divorce should be granted in India on legitimate grounds recognised by society and sanctioned by law so that the woman who seeks to break the legal tie is not subjected to social ostracism or her progeny declared illegitimate. I also feel that a great deal of propaganda and social reform should precede the making of a divorce law. Unless the Divorce Law is soundly founded upon an intelligent public opinion it would remain a dead letter or it would be taken advantage of by men alone at the cost of women. Purdah, Caste and family will try to throttle the voice of women and the position of women will remain very much the same as it is today.

In the first place, therefore, we have to educate our sisters so that they may not be a prey to false dogma that woman has no personality, that she is eternally feeble and "clinging vine" type and must be given support and succour. In short, we have to create a new outlook on life and incarnate the soul of woman. We have to build up a "self

help" type of womanhood in India. Instead of the hot-house plant we want the keen mountain climber, the artist, the writer and the athlete. Indian women must be virile to be full partners of men in the struggle for a greater India.

In considering the grounds for divorce we should guard against two extremes. In Russia and America divorces have been granted on such flimsy pretexts that it has become a matter of scandal and family life has come to a stand-still. On the other hand there are countries where the laws are so rigid that a man has to pose as an adulterer when he is nothing but an honest and law abiding citizen.

The Hindu law though recognises marriage as indissoluble allows divorce to women on certain grounds:

1. Impotency of the husband.
2. The degradation of the husband.
3. His complete retirement from worldly transaction.
4. Disappearance for a number of years.
5. Insanity for a number of years.

Under the English Law the husband may apply for divorce on the ground of adultery on the part of the wife. And the wife may apply for divorce on the following grounds:

1. (a) Adultery coupled with desertion or cruelty.
(b) incestuous or bigamous adultery.
2. Rape.
3. Sodomy.
4. Bestiality.

In Baroda where alone in India there has been some attempt at modernising the Hindu Law the Hindu Divorce Act of 1931 lays down the following grounds for divorce for husband or wife.

1. Disappearance for a period of seven years.
2. Being a recluse.
3. Conversion to another religion.

4. Cruelty.
5. Desertion after cohabitation for a period of more than three years.
6. Addiction to intoxication for a period of more than three years and subsequent inability to fulfil marital obligations.
7. Adultery.

For my Part I will restrict the grounds to—

1. Adultery.
2. Insanity at the time of marriage.
3. That the party was suffering at the time of marriage from incurable disease or a loathsome disease.
4. Idiocy.
5. Cruelty.

Though not exactly in place I should like to say that the minors should have the right to demand nullity of marriage on being major.

In conclusion I should like to put in a word of caution. No laws can make a person happy. It is for the **individual** to attain it by self-discipline, education and a **high sense of duty**. Laws will remove from the path of Indian women certain difficulties but it will be for them to walk on the path of happiness with courage and confidence.

A. E. HOUSMAN

By RAM ASRAY MISRA

[This is an appraisal of A. E. Housman, the poet who is best known as the author of "A Shropshire Lad". The writer is a Professor of English in the Bareilly College, Bareilly.]

O, you gods,
Why do you make us love your goodly gifts
And snatch them straight away.

—SHAKESPEARE

Modern poetry has suffered an irreparable loss in the recent deaths of two of its very great makers—A. E. Housman and G. K. Chesterton—who were the first to lead the Edwardian reaction against the urban artificialities of the poetry of the nineties, typical of Oscar Wilde and his disciples. They breathed into the so-called Georgian Poetry a freer and simpler ballad-like spirit, and enabled their successors to make an escape, once for all, from the traditional 'House of Pomegranates' which the later Victorians had dedicated to the Muses.

Whose heart would not move, as in a diastolic pulsation, with the naive and musical simplicity of Housman's eclogues which he published under the title of 'A Shropshire Lad' (1896), and which endeared him so well to the young and old alike? Almost all the sixty-three poems contained in this volume have emanated, as it were, from the poet's mind with an exquisite lyrical beauty and cadence and a fascinating pessimism, all their own, as petals out of a beautiful flower. They are all melancholy in tone, some half optimistic, half pessimistic, and, as expressions of rural pessimism,

embody Housman's outlook on life.

The common themes of these poems are the frailty of life, the infidelity of the lovers and the inevitable mortality that awaits the 'rose-lipped maiden,' 'light-foot lad' and the 'young soldier' alike. But it will be wrong to imagine that Housman's philosophy of life, like Hardy's, is nothing but a manifestation of Gloucester's words in *King Lear* regarding the bitterly painful irony of human life in this world:

As flies to wanton boys, are we to the gods
They kill us for their sport.

Not only in 'A Shropshire Lad,' but also in his only second slender volume of verse entitled 'The Last Poems' (1922), there are numerous evidences of a sturdy stoic faith in the endurance and toil of life and giving a brave front to the buffets of Fate. The first forty poems of 'A Shropshire Lad' which may well be compared to the lyrics of Thomson and Collins, have a bracing rural outdoor atmosphere and embody a healthier advice for lads and lasses. They are obviously composed to be sung by boys and girls and are mainly descriptive of the local Shropshire landscape with a slight tinge of pessimism interspersed here and there. Poem No. V, for example, celebrates in simple artless diction the beauties of flowers and meads in the Spring which invite the young lads and lasses to rejoice in them before their charm is past:

Oh see how thick the goldcup flowers
Are lying in field and lane,
With dandelions to tell the hours
That never are told again.
Oh may I squire you round the meads
And pick you posies gay?
'Twill do no harm to take my arm
'You may young man, you may.'

* * * *

Ah, Spring was sent for lass and lad,
'Tis now the blood runs gold,
And man and maid had best be glad
Before the world is old,
What flowers to-day may flower to-morrow
But never as good as new.....

No. VI vividly describes the physical agonies of a young lover and so poetically exhorts the maiden to response and sympathy which alone can cure him:

When the lad for longing sighs
Mute, and dull of cheer and pale,
If at death's own door he lies,
Maiden, you can heal his ail.
Lover's ills are all to buy:
The wan look, the hollow tone,
The hung head, the sunken eye,
You can have them for your own.

Another poem (No. XXX) is a very fine illustration of Housman's stoic endurance in life till the devouring grave brings a peaceful repose. A few lines will suffice here:

More than I, if truth were told,
Have stood and sweated hot and cold,
And through their veins in ice and fire
Fear contended with desire,
Agued once like me were they,
But I like them shall win my way
Lastly to the bed of mould
Where there's neither heat nor cold.

The above-mentioned quotations from the first forty poems indicate quite clearly that there is nothing depressing or ironically painful in their restrained melancholy note which might foster a morbid dissatisfaction with life.

The later twenty-three poems are indeed bitterly pessimistic in tone which are composed for luckless lads to solace them 'in a dark and cloudy day.' But even here, barring

only a few exceptions that apparently seek to justify suicide, the general tenor is that of a half-optimistic, half-pessimistic acquiescence in the duty of living in this world which is summarized in the last poem:—

Therefore, since the world has still
Much good, but much less good than ill,
And while the sun and moon endure,
Luck's a chance but trouble's sure,
I'd face it as a wise man would,
And train for ill and not for good.

Again, it must be borne in mind, that although many foolishly sentimental lads might have committed suicide by reading lines like the following: or

Shot, so quick, so clean an ending?
Ah that was right lad, that was brave,
Yours was not an ill for mending
'Twas best to take it to the grave.
Oh soon and better so than later,
After long disgrace and scorn,
You shot dead the household traitor—
The soul that should not have been born.

Or

And if your hand or foot offend you
Cut it off lad and be whole,
But play the man, stand up and end you
When your sickness is your soul,

but there are also lines present in Housman's poetry which would have saved many a lad from committing suicide only if they had cared to read the whole of "A Shropshire Lad". For example, what a sane advice is embodied here in jolly good humour to brooding or sentimental youths who fall easy victims to the demon of suicide:

Think no more lad; laugh, be jolly:
Why should men make haste to die?

Empty heads and tongues a-talking
Make the rough road easy walking,
And the feather pate of folly
Bears the falling sky.
Oh 'tis jesting, dancing, drinking
Spins the heavy world around.
If young hearts were not so clever
Oh they would be young for ever.
Think no more, 'tis only thinking
Lays lads underground.

It is needless to multiply instances from his 'Last Poems,' published in 1922, twenty-six years after "A Shropshire Lad". 'The Last Poems' is the only second volume of his verse, after the publication of which he said, "It is not likely that I shall ever be impelled to write much more." It contains about forty-one poems, all bewailing the passing away of things in the world, but none too painfully depressing to breed an unhealthy bias for a languid inaction, or a sudden close of life.

We have discussed, at some length, Housman's so-called philosophy of disbelief and his general attitude to life. No account of his poetry, however, can claim to be complete without a word on the beautiful technique of his poems and on his character and genius as a classical scholar.

As regards the form of his verse, his diction and measure, with their exquisite and restrained ballad like or elegiac simplicity, have surprised many a critic to imagine how an accomplished and erudite Latin scholar and recluse like him could sing so spontaneously felicitous ditties, of rural pessimism, and of the dales and woodlands of his native Shropshire. An important critic, who happened to know Housman, once remarked that a whole poem would sometimes float unconsciously across his mind with its impulsive emotion and subtle cadence, and only then he would commit it to pen. There

is hardly a single unpoetic line in whatever he wrote. Perhaps, this fact joined together with his scholarship, partly accounts for his being silent and shy, and avoiding larger company to court seclusion. His fine sense of Greek and Latin scholarship, on the other hand, gave his verse-form a simple restraint and an unity of tone unsurpassed by any modern poet, with the single exception of Robert Bridges. He had an implicit belief in the serenity of classical art:

The truth in Hellas seen so plain
The art of art is to restrain.

Harold Williams has beautifully summarized the artistic achievements of Housman in the following words:

A Shropshire Lad and its successor, after more than a quarter of a century hold a collection of poems of almost entire perfection like stones cut to many facets and beautifully reflecting the light in many aspects, whether we regard them merely, as *verse exercises*, strong and simple reflection on life, or *poetry of elegiac emotion*. The level is wonderfully even, and it is hard to discriminate between these poems.

As a man and scholar no less than as a poet, Housman represents a high ideal of classical serenity. Soon after his preparatory education at Bromsgrove school, he had applied himself assiduously, at St. John's College Oxford, to the study of the classics, and after a distinguished career in the civil service, creditably filled the much coveted post of professor of Latin at the Universities of London and Cambridge respectively. He also won the honorary fellowships of St. John's College Oxford and Trinity College Cambridge. He published numerous articles in various classical journals like the *Journal of Philology*, the *Classical Review* and the *Classical Quarterly*. His *magnum opus* of scholarship is his editing of "Manilius" which appeared in five successive parts in 1903, 1912, 1916, 1920 and 1931 respectively. In editing

this great work, specially in the text and annotations, he showed remarkable accuracy and precision. Besides this, he also edited with success "Juvenal" (1905) and "Lucan" 1926, and wrote some highly suggestive essays on poetry.

Housman has been described by some critics who took into account only his scholarship and neglected his genial side of character as a "typical Cambridge Don, prim in his manner, silent and rather shy, conventional in dress and manner, learned, accurate, and well informed." But this portrait of his character is certainly one sided. Although he was often forceful in his opinions—on subjects of scholarship, for which he earned the name of 'the belligerent don,' he felt himself quite at home in the circle of his intimate friends where he was always found genial and courteous. He escaped from larger companies of friends and public invitations because his intensely poetic imagination or his scholarly tastes found a freer growth in seclusion. He could not, like G. K. C. and G. B. S., enjoy the privilege of being known everywhere simply because his peculiar mental constitution never favoured it.

The secret of Housman's rare greatness as a poet lies, in direct contrast to Sir William Watson's, in that exquisitely simple yet impassioned vision of life which is usually found incompatible with scholarship. Housman, the poet, stands so distinctly apart from Housman, the scholar, yet a more observant eye will discover in his poetry that unfevered emotion and restrained simplicity which is the most unmistakable gift of classical scholarship.

His voice never lifted in a shout of joy nor his elegies shrilled into a mere complaint.

"A CONFERENCE OF SINNERS"

By N. KRISHNA RAO

[This is an approach to the problem of Harijan uplift from the view-point of enlightened orthodoxy and a plea for the modification of the present programme if only with a view to enlist the cooperation of Savarnas and secure better results in the longer run. Sympathy tempered with caution is the key-note of the young writer's contribution.]

Now that the anti-untouchability campaign has been going on for some time, it is desirable to examine some of its aspects. Recently there was a conference of Savarnas held on June 10 last at Kangeri, near Bangalore. In opening the Conference, Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar described it as a "Conference of Sinners" convened to devise ways and means as to how best to expiate their "sins". In similar strain, spoke Mahatma Gandhi previously on the same day in the interview given to the members of the Adi-Karnataka Sangha of Mysore. Mr. Descuza, the president of the Sangha, complained that they had been excluded from the Conference. In reply Mahatma Gandhi said that it was a Conference of Savarnas convened by "sinners" in the spirit of doing penance for their sins and rectifying the evil consequences of their past treatment of Harijans. Their first duty was to remove untouchability and in doing so they were only discharging a debt of obligation, as they had committed the sin of having doomed them to social and other disabilities. In the course of his address to the Conference, Mahatma Gandhi enforced the above view by saying that because of the sins of caste Hindus and their unpardonable treatment of them, Harijans

considered that the temples visited by Savarnas were not meant for them and force of habit had taught them to become totally indifferent. He became impatient when Savarna Hindus said that they would embrace Harijans if the latter left off drink and eating carrion. Caste Hindus themselves were responsible for the position to which Harijans were reduced. "For their drinking, eating carrion and other unclean habits, we are directly responsible," said Mahatmaji. This slogan is repeated throughout the country in carrying on propaganda on behalf of Harijans.

In view of such vigorous attacks made and incessant propaganda carried on by respected Hindu leaders, it is not at all surprising that Harijans should feel that their low and degraded position as well as their habits of life are entirely due to the callous and cruel treatment meted out to them by Savarnas and that they should as a consequence thereof seriously think of leaving the Hindu fold in quest of another which would give them social and religious equality. Thus the movement to secede from the Hindu religion is the direct result of the preaching of our respected leaders.

In the circumstances, it becomes necessary to examine how far the above statements are founded on fact. It may at once be stated that a large body of responsible Hindu opinion, including that of English educated persons, does not at all share the above views;—not to speak of Pandits, priests, Matathipathies etc. who have organised Sanatanist Sabhas throughout the country and started newspapers in opposition to Mahatmaji. Let us first examine the question whether Savarnas doomed Harijans to their present position. We may state that Savarnas as a class are not against the movement to uplift the Harijans. There is no doubt that every effort should be made to remove untouchability which is a blot on the Hindu civilization. But to fasten responsibility

on the caste Hindus for the present position of the Harijans calling for repentance and reparation is quite a different matter.

In the evolution of Hindu moral ideals [Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer writes] outcastes seem to have always existed in society and to have been regarded as untouchables. According to Apasthamba, it was sinful to touch or speak to or look at a chandala and penances were prescribed for this. Yagnavalkya provided for the punishment of a chandala who touched a man of the higher castes. The Chinese traveller, Houen Tsang, noticed the segregation of the outcastes outside towns and villages. The same thing was also noticed by Fa Hian who states that outcastes "live away from other people and when they approach a city or a market they bear a piece of wood in order to distinguish themselves. Then people knew who they were and avoided coming into contact with them.

It may be noted that the chandalas spoken of in the Sastra cannot possibly refer to the present untouchables. A chandala is defined as the offspring of the union of a Brahmin woman and a Sudra. Besides, Manu speaks of only four castes. In the history of the evolution of Hindu society many speculative theories have been evolved as to the origin of caste in India.

Were there any people who were not members of any caste at all, or who were literally outcastes, or did the outcastes themselves form a class, [questions Sir P. S. S. Iyer and concludes] that it is not possible to furnish any precise answer?

Thus, we do not know how a certain class of people came to live separately and apart from the other members of society. He would indeed be a bold man who could point to any historical record that Savarnas induced or compelled any section of people, more particularly the Harijans, to eat carrion, take to drink or be dirty. In fact, not to speak of Sastras which place drink as one of the *Mahapatakas* (deadly sins) and clean life as the higher duty of man, but

taking the case of Savarnas and the leaders of the various communities, their example and conduct of life, ought to have prompted the Harijans not to take to such habits, and if adopted, to give them up. It is well known that there are instances of Harijans who by their high spiritual life forced the Savarnas to venerate them and find a place for them in temples as Alvars etc., to be worshipped along with the God. Yet, Harijans did not try to elevate themselves in the social scale. The fact that they have lived in quarters away from the villages with their gods and goddesses, their priests and *purohits*, musicians and barbers forming a separate caste by themselves with sub-castes as well, could not be the fault of Savarnas. It is interesting to note that there are untouchables among untouchables. In South India Pariahs (Malas) would not take water from a well touched by Chucklers (Madigas). Nor would the former allow the latter to enter their places of worship. The *Harijan* of July 18 last reports a case of untouchability among untouchables in Cutch. At Mandiv when the Gandhi Harijan Asram, at first opened for Chamars, was thrown open to Dheds, Bhangis and Kolis, the Asram which had 50 Chamar students became practically empty. Similarly another case is reported in the *Harijan* of 25th Idem with regard to a private well opened to all Harijans—Mahars, Chamars, Bhangis and others. "They would not use it. They hesitated. One or two Mahars then came forward; a Bhangi also came. That created an uproar. The Harijans stopped using the well and the tumult has ceased." Such instances may be multiplied. Surely Savarnas are not responsible for these conditions and they would never have created untouchables among untouchables, for which they have to make penance and reparation. Further, if we examine the usages in the Harijan society, it would be seen that there is no compulsory infant marriage nor enforced widow-

hood. Their rules effecting divorce are simple and easy and they are indeed the envy of our English educated ladies. Savarnas, if they have their way would be the last persons to allow such conditions to prevail. Now among Savarnas themselves, there are apparently many unjust conditions of social life. For instance a goldsmith in South India refuses to take food from any other Hindu, though he may be a Brahmin and the lowest Savarna does not take food from a goldsmith. Penance for such a state of affairs is absurd. It must be evident that all these and other usages have come about in the evolution of Hindu society. How and why, one does not know. To judge of the past by the present notions of liberty, equality and fraternity and hold the present generation of caste Hindus responsible for things that have come to pass during the course of ages, is neither just nor charitable.

II

We shall next examine the question of temple entry which is treated by Mahatma Gandhi as an integral and indispensable part of the campaign. If there is one thing more than another which has roused the indignation of the Hindu orthodoxy, it is this and this alone. Somehow Mahatma Gandhi has a knack of attempting to catch the bull by the horns without caring for consequences. His is not the line of least resistance; of enlisting as far as possible the sympathy and co-operation of the orthodoxy. Then it was Khadi and with it a bitter and ruthless campaign of burning foreign cloth that shocked the modest of public men who looked on with mixed amusement at the conflagration with the confidence that time would soon extinguish it. Now comes the bitterest attack upon Hindu orthodoxy, tradition and convention. The President of the Adi Karnataka Sangha of

Mysore told Mahatma Gandhi that they would like to have the co-operation of all classes, that they were not so interested in temple entry as in their political and economic amelioration and a rise in their social status. But Mahatma Gandhi excuses their apathy towards the question of temple entry, for

we are responsible [he said] for deadening their sense of unity with us and their desire to worship with us in our temples.

We are sorry that undue importance is attached to a question which has met with so much opposition leading in some cases to a breach of the peace and the issue of prohibitory orders by the magistracy. The intensity of the feeling can be gauged from the fact that the Hindus at Nasik were glad that Harijans had resolved to renounce Hinduism and not trouble them any more in connection with taking out the car procession. It may also be recalled that all attempts to force entry into Guruvayur temple by Sathyagraha ended in failure. Mahatma Gandhi holds that if Harijans are not allowed into Hindu temples, he would consider that there is no God in them and refuse to enter such temples. He would shun them as we "shun a scorpion or fire." He seems to think that as temples are intended for the worship of God, "the Lord of the Universe," Harijans have a natural right of free access to them. According to this line of reasoning, there is no ground for excluding Mohammedans and Christians from Hindu temples. But he ignores the fact that the Hindu temple stands on a different footing altogether from the Christian Church or a Mohammedan mosque. While the latter is open to persons of all faiths, the former is confined to caste Hindus only. The temple is consecrated and God is invoked by special mantras according to Sastra to dwell in images and it is defiled by the entry of Harijans, Christians or Mohammedans. He concedes

that there is something admittedly holy and true about the faith that takes millions to the temples.

The important question we have to consider is whether it is the right thing to urge Harijans to resort to Hindu temples for image worship in opposition to the wishes of their founders and worshippers. Swami Vivekananda has pointed out that "the external worship of images has been described in all our Shastras as the lowest of all low forms of worship." He refers also to "the many inequities that have found entrance with the practices of image worship as it is in vogue now." It is well known that many of our *archakas* are unfit for the sacred duties with which they are charged and the worship is demoralized by automorphic ritual and other usages and degenerates into mere idolatry for the ordinary masses. There is no holy atmosphere in almost all temples, inspiring devotees to righteous conduct and disinterested service. The Vedic seer has long ago proclaimed that "as you think, you will become." *The Bhagavad Gita* also points out that you will be judged according to your faith. In these circumstances, it is our duty to place higher ideals before the Harijans and advocate a purer form of worship, disassociated from the present image worship in temples and wean them from the worship of village goddesses with animal sacrifices. Is it a wise policy to thrust them into places where their entry is strongly resented, to outrage the feelings of Savarnas, to put class against class and create at the outset of the movement discord and split in the Hindu community? It is regrettable that the higher form of worship promoting truthfulness and piety among Harijans is ignored and the question of temple entry is placed in the forefront of the programme as if the whole movement hangs upon it. We cannot allow to pass unchallenged the unfounded charges made against caste Hindus and the incite-

ment, however unconscious, to create feelings of hostility towards Hindus and the Hindu religion. We cannot approve of the attempts made for the compulsory entry of Harijans by the adoption of Satyagraha and other coercive methods.

The main question is one for the removal of untouchability on which our whole attention must be concentrated and not side-tracked by the complicated question of temple entry. Once the question of touch is solved, the rest will follow easily in due course. The times are favourable. Vast work for the economic uplift of the Harijans is being carried on by the All India Harijan Sevak Sangh under the inspiration and guidance of the Mahatma. The new constitution gives the Harijans an influential voice and unique position in the legislatures. We may expect that if the worship of God is put on a higher plan and the question of temple entry is excluded from the present programme, the heart of Savarnas could be more easily touched and we may hope to reach the goal speedily and surely with the sympathy and cooperation of Savarnas. We strongly feel that in case temple entry cannot be disassociated from the campaign, it must be left entirely to persuasion and the growth of public opinion and not forced on the Savarnas by Satyagraha and other similar methods.

PLACE OF BHAVABHUTI IN DRAMATIC LITERATURE

By P. C. JOSHI

[This is the second and concluding part of Mr. Joshi's article. He discusses here the claims of Bhavabhūti as a dramatist of high order.]

II

We can very reasonably place Bhavabhūti among the higher dramatists of Sanskrit literature. He was as independent as a man in that age could be, when the abandon of the age of Kālidāsa was no longer practicable. Even as he was, we have sufficient evidence that he was not popular. Had he shown a total disregard, we can imagine the treatment he would have been accorded. His sterling worth can be judged by the influence he exercised on later generations. His influence on his successors, as his debt to his predecessors, can be definitely ascertained. It brings out in particular relief the ability he brought to bear upon his task of assimilating the experience of his predecessors. Master of expression¹ as he was, he did not imitate the matter and sentiment from them. He studied only their technique and used it to the best advantage as he matured in artistry.

The *Mahāvīracarita* is uncouth and clumsy and is his first production. He himself calls it *apūrvatvāt pravandhaya*², while in *Mālatīmādhava* he speaks of *apūrva vastu prayōga*³. In treating this new theme he makes a conscious

effort to parade his learning and extensive vocabulary. One also notices the Shelleyesque quality of likening concrete to abstract ideas in his verses. In *Uttaracarita* his genius reaches maturity which explains its beauty and faultlessness. While *Mahāvīracarita* is dull and monotonous, *Uttaracarita* is dramatic and even the wailings of Rāma in Act III are infused with the spirit which only heightens the *denouement*. The very first words, *pramādaḥ pramādaḥ*, strike its keynote—a device so well handled by Shakespeare.

Though one need not agree with Dr. Keith in the exact order of chronological priority of the dramatists, it is sufficiently helpful to show their relation to Bhavabhūti. Among the renowned predecessors are Bhāsa, Kālidāsa, Aśvaghōṣa, Harṣa and Śūdraka. Of these Aśvaghōṣa and Harṣa are more or less of no importance. While the former had independence in matters of theme, the latter is remarkable for a delicate handling of the sentiment of love. Even this he had from Bhāsa from whom he got the story of *Ratnāvalī* and *Priyadarśikā*.⁴ They often imitate Kālidāsa and did not contribute much to the improvement of Bhavabhūti's capacities apart from the general educative value of all literature. The new path that Harṣa tried to carve out in the *Nāgānanda* was not at all taken up by Bhavabhūti. But the other three contributed a good deal to his greatness.

Bhāsa seems to be the *guru* of all the succeeding dramatists—a fact well pointed out by Mr. Gaṇapati Śāstri⁴. So far as Bhavabhūti is concerned we can find many parallels. Thus the *Anadhyayanapratyūha* in Ātrēyī's studies is similar to that of the Brahmacārī in the *Svapnanāṭaka*. So also the description of battles through Vidyadharas, where he tries to surpass Bhāravi, corresponds with that in *Abhiṣekanāṭaka*. Bhāsa was a pioneer and produced many varieties in his

¹ Mr. I. 4.

² Ibid. I 7/8.

³ Māl. I 5/6.

⁴ 'Svapnavāsavadatta' (T. S. S. 1-915) Intro: Pp. 34-39.

nāṭakacakra. One remembers the tributes paid to him when he tried to evaluate his influence. Sūdraha's *Mricchakaṭika* was merely an outcome of Bhāsa's *Cārudatta*. It is interesting to compare, in this connection, the treatment of nature by these dramatists.

Kālidāsa's love of Nature is well-acknowledged. But characteristically enough that portrayal of nature in so far as his dramas are concerned serve merely as so many solvents in rather painful situations. Nature is employed to bring out a point through a subtle suggestion which cannot be done otherwise. If Purūravasa raves madly, it must be set in a proper relief where the grief must assume a magnificence. There is a touch of lavishness which we do not have elsewhere. In *Mricchakaṭika* we have for the first time, perhaps, a description of nature to aid the atmosphere, to strike off at the same time the state of the heart and the heartless ferocity of the physical phenomena. The *abhisāra scene* with that profusion of rain, lightning and thunder:

महावाताध्मातैर्महिषकुलनीलैर्जलधरै-
श्चलैर्विद्युत्क्षैर्जलधिमिरिवान्तः प्रचलितैः ।
इयं गन्धोद्दामा नवहरितशष्पाङ्कुरवती
धरा धाराभातैर्मणिमयशरैर्भिद्यत इव⁵

while Vasantasenā cries out in sheer despair:

यदि गर्जति वारिधरो गर्जतु तन्नाम निष्ठुराः पुरुषाः ।
अयि विद्युत्प्रमदानां त्वमपि च दुःखं न जानामि ॥⁶

This is something in Bhavabhūti's line. It would not have attracted Kālidāsa. He loved the spring too much to care for storms.

"From his native region stern and wild [remarks R. C. Dutt] the poetic child had imbibed that appreciation of

⁵ 'Mricchakaṭika' V. 22. (Bom. 1896).

⁶ Ibid. V. 32.

nature which distinguishes him from all the Sanskrit poets." He loved the gorgeous and harrowing as Kālidāsa loved the delicate and tender. He produced effective concatenations of sounds while Kālidāsa only indicated the suggestion. Kālidāsa loved to dwell on a beauty in the surprising revelation at a psychological moment about a commonplace sight:

यात्येकतोऽस्तशिखरं पतिरोषधीना-
माविष्कृतोऽरुणपुरःसर एकतोऽर्कः ॥⁸

It is Nature which is ever sympathetic to the attuned heart of the departing Śakuntalā:

उगलित दम्भकवला मित्रा परिवत्तणच्चणा मोरा ।
ओसरित पण्डुपत्ता मुञ्चन्ति अस्सु विञ्ज लदाओ ॥⁹

But that is not how Bhavabhūti looks at it. It is the virility and strength of things in Nature, the gravity and solemnity which touches the sublime, that he wants us to feel:

एते ते कुहरेषु गङ्गधनदद्गोदावरी वारयो
मेघालम्बित सौमिनीलशिखराः क्षोणीभूतो दाक्षिणाः ।
अन्योन्यप्रतिघातसंकुलचलत्कल्लोल कोलाहलै-
रुत्तालास्त इमे गभीरपयसः पुण्याः सरित्सङ्गमाः ॥¹⁰

He does not describe only to heighten his dramatic purpose—the creation of sentiment. One feels in the *Mālatīmādhava* that the *smaśāna* scene has been written to show off his learning. It is loosely linked to the plot but has certainly enhanced the poetic charm and the grand mosaic of the play.

The influence of Kālidāsa is undoubted. The tradition about the stanza ending in *rātrireva vyaramsīt* may be taken to indicate Bhavabhūti's appreciation of the former's suggestiveness. His keen emulation is evident from the veiled tri-

⁷ R. C. Dutt: 'Later Hindu Civilization' (1906) p. 273.

⁸ Kālidāsa: 'Śakuntalā' (N. S. 1913) IV. 1.

⁹ Ibid. IV. 11.

¹⁰ Uttar, II. 30.

butes which abound in the *Mālatīmādhava*:

यच्च किल कीशिकी शकुन्तला दुष्यन्तमप्सराः पुरुषाय च कम उर्वशीत्या-
ख्यातविद आचक्षते, वासवदत्ता च पित्रासञ्जयायराजे दत्तमात्मानमुदयनं प्रायच्छत् ॥¹¹

or in the very reminiscent stanzas which echo the lovely rhythm and the beautiful ideas of *Meghadūta*:

कच्चित्सौम्य प्रियसहचरी विद्युदालिङ्गति त्वा-
माविर्भूत प्रणयसुमुखाश्चातका वा भजन्ते ।
पौरस्त्यो वा सुखयति मरुत्साधु संवाहनाभि-
विष्वग्विभ्रत्सुरपति धनुर्लक्ष्म लक्ष्मीवदेत्¹²

But the cast of their minds was totally different and Kālidāsa had not the sustained energy of Bhavabhūti. Prof. Keith brings it out very well,

Fascinating, exquisite as is the *Sakuntala*, [says he] it moves in a narrow world, removed far from the cruelty of real life, and it neither seeks to answer, nor does it solve, the riddles of life. Bhavabhūti, it is true, shows some sense of the complexity and difficulty of existence, of the conflict between one duty and another, and the sorrow thus resulting, but with him also there prevailed the rule that all must end in harmony¹³.

While Kālidāsa lived in an ideal world, in a rare golden age, he tried to come as near reality as he could. Bhavabhūti, pressed by the harder and more complex circumstances, sought to escape as far as he could into the realms of the ideal. But as was natural, they sufficiently reflected the difference caused by their lives and character.

His theme is not the joys of a pleasure-loving great king or the vicissitudes of a Purūravas, too distant from humanity to touch our own life, but the bitter woes of Rāma and Sītā who have for us the reality of manhood and womanhood¹⁴.

¹¹ Māl. II. 7/8; cf. also III. 3.

¹² Ibid. IX. 25.

¹³ Keith: 'Sanskrit Drama' (1924) p. 281.

¹⁴ Keith op. cit. p. 197.

We find, it is true, in almost the whole range of Sanskrit drama the introduction of light and inessential matters. Very rarely is there a serious representation which was the mainstay of European literatures. It is not merely that our *ālamkārikas* had laid down that the plays must end in harmony. To me the real ground of that practice must be in either of the two factors. It is possible, though not very probable, that the society lived in rare opulence. For drama has to be even in the most convention-ridden society a vehicle of the public mind to which it is presented. Or it may be that the dramatists, and poets generally, were far removed from the masses, in security and contentment, in the courts of princes who bestowed their favours lavishly. It would encourage a refinement and elegance but it would also bring to us a sense of artificiality and unreality. It was so in France of the seventeenth century. While I am not prepared to accept the first without grave doubts, the second would explain by far the complexity of the situation. It is possible that the drama did not reach the masses—the poet was completely shut off by his position as a courtier from understanding the misery of the common lot. The dramatist in his isolation was divorced from the realities of life. A Kālidāsa is a rare phenomenon in literature. It would seem difficult for a sycophant courtier to probe deep into the mystery and pain in life. The imaginative writer may go some distance but even that would be insignificant before the stupendous misery in the world. Bhavabhūti, at any rate, could never break a tradition though he could make some minor departures from the accepted norm. He hunted after favour—though he did it with a haughty grace. He tried to overawe his opponents and conceal his own timidity which is almost Shavian:

ये नाम केचिदिह न प्रथयन्त्यवज्ञां
जानन्ति ते किमपितान्प्रति नैषयन्तः ।
उत्पत्स्यते मम तु कोऽपि समानधर्मा
कालोह्ययं निरवधिर्विपुला च पृथ्वी ॥¹⁵

It was because he knew the excellence he was capable of achieving. He did not underrate his capacities nor overrate them. He was a fully self-conscious artist.

It was not very late that he received a due measure of praise. Among those who owe their allegiance to him were Murāri, Rājasekhara, Jayadeva and even Viśākhadatta and Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa. The *Mudrārākṣasa* is a unique production in that it is the only play of incident and intrigue. It has a Marlowesque beginning. The hero, as one may well call Cāṇakya, opens the play with a soliloquy full of the ambitious cry for success which he at last attains. In him we have the vision of an unbounded political wisdom set in stronger contrast by the foiling of the equally bold plans and plottings of Rākṣasa. With an absorbing plot we have the tragic effects brought by chance and accident, forming themselves into a sort of unrelenting Destiny, if we only give Rākṣasa the central place. With just a slight change in our perspective we can recognise in it the germs of a play which were so well developed by Shakespeare when he wrote his greater dramas. But for the canons of critics it would have perhaps reached the dimensions of any great western play of the *Sajanus* genre without its heartless catastrophe. He has the same exuberance of vocabulary and sound effects as Bhavabhūti, though, primarily a playwright, he keeps himself within limits:

संरम्भोत्पत्तिपक्षमक्षरदमलजलक्षालनक्षामयापि
भ्रूभङ्गोद्भेदधूमं ज्वलितमिवपुरः पिङ्गया नेत्रभामा ।

¹⁵ Māl. I. 8.

मन्ये रुद्रस्य रौद्रं रसमभिनयतस्ताण्डवेषु स्मरन्त्या
संजातोऽग्रप्रकम्पं कथमपि धरया धारितः पादघातः¹⁶

Viśābhaddatta's diction is admirably forceful and direct, clear and rapid, eschewing, on the whole, Bhavabhūti's deplorable compounds. He realizes that he is first and foremost a playwright which explains the paucity of his verses in anthologies.

Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa, strangely, has imbibed all of Bhavabhūti's defects, such as long compounds and frequent self-repetition, without that pervading genius which wholly transforms the atmosphere in which we are wrapped while reading Bhavabhūti. He has passages which run very close to the master's.

मयापीतं पीतं त्वदनु भवताम्बास्तनयुगं
.....
निवापाम्भः पूर्वं पिवसि कथयेत्तत्तदधुना¹⁷

has a very close resemblance with Bhavabhūti's—

आजन्मनः सहनिवासितयामयैव, मातुःपयोधरपयोऽपि समं निपीय
नेत्रोद्भेदधूमं ज्वलितमिवपुरः पिङ्गया नेत्रभामा¹⁸

Thus he also tries to compete with him in describing the battle in *Veṇīśambhāra*. But he is devoid of the brilliancy of his master.

Murāri, Rājasekhara, and Jayadeva belong to one group. They all explicitly pay their homage to Bhavabhūti while Rājasekhara goes so far as to say:

बभूव वाल्मीकि भवः कविः पुरा ततः प्रपेदे भुवि भर्तृमेगताम् ।
पुनः स्थितो यो भवभूति रेखया स वर्त्तते सम्प्रति राजशेखरः ॥¹⁹

Anargharāghava of Murāri is a close imitation of Bhavabhūti. We are constantly reminded of him and even the turns of

¹⁶ Viśākhadatta: 'Mudrārākṣasa' (Ed. Telang Bom. 1884), III. 31.
cf. Uttar, V. 36.

¹⁷ Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa: 'Veṇīśambhāra', (Benares 1868), VI. 30.

¹⁸ Māl. IX. 40.

¹⁹ 'Bālarāmāyaṇa' I. 16.

phrases recur. Murāri has no skill in dialogues and his merit lies, as Dr. Keith says, "in the ability which he shows to handle the Sanskrit language and to frame sentences of harmonious sound in effective metrical forms."²⁰ He takes the contest between Paraśurāma and Rāma²¹, as his Act VII, from the *Vīracarita*. Jayadeva follows Murāri while he similarly justifies the choice of his theme. Perhaps they would have had a higher place had we no *Vīracarita* and *Uttaracarita*. But Bhavabhūti was decidedly a better dramatist while they were good poets but inferior playwrights. They were poets who tried their hands in dramatic genre.

प्रत्यङ्गमङ्कुरितं सर्वस्यावतारं नव्योल्लसत्कुसुमं रतिं विराजितवन्धम् ।
धर्मेतसंगुणैर्वक्रतयातिरम्यं नाद्यप्रगन्धमतिमञ्जुलं संविधानम् ॥²²

It is not surprising then that they were completely overshadowed by the master. The theme had grown hackneyed and they had had not capacity enough to infuse a new life into it.

Bishop Bouvennue pithily remarked, "life is to give, not to take." In the world of literature we find, as we do in real life, more of taking. But the great have always shed their benign influence round them—giving considerably more than they took. Once again they demonstrate the eternal truth of nobility of life—to give in a brimming measure.

A writer defines genius as *nava navônmetasālinī*. A thing of beauty, said Keats, is a joy for ever. Vāmana holds beauty (*sāundarya*) the essence of literature. We are also told

'क्षणं क्षणे यन्नवतामुपैति नदेव रूपं रमणीयतायाः'

Beauty has an eternal novelty in it. Bhavabhūti has it in

²⁰ Keith op. cit. pp. 229-230.

²¹ 'Anargharāghava' (N. S. 1908), Act IV.

²² Jayadeva: 'Prasannarāghava' (N. S. 1914), I. 7.

abundance. He is without doubt an outstanding writer. It is not my desire to claim for him the first place. I regard it as a matter of sentiment rather than reason.²³ In literature, as in art, we cannot accept absolute values. The most we can do is an evaluation in terms of relative standards which has to be done with considerable regard to personal bias and prejudice. All I wish to claim is that he has a foremost position and has been a force to reckon with at a time when Sanskrit was tending to be a dead language. Whether it was due to his scholarship or the deep humanity which was given expression in the singular creation of Rāma and the equally captivating portraiture of Sītā, he perhaps exercised a greater influence than Kālidāsa, though only less than Bhāsa, so far as the Sanskrit drama was concerned. Perhaps he also marks, with the solitary exception of Viśakhadatta, the last of the greatness of our drama. A steady decline sets in thereafter from which it has never recovered. Our literature required free thinking to throb with life and vitality which the enmeshing web of the critics denied it henceforth. The very great contribution of Bhavabhūti was to signalise the death of creative art in Indian drama and the birth of a conventional imitation and a decadence similar to that witnessed at the end of the Shakespearean epoch. It required a renaissance to revitalise our literature but it never came.

²³ 'Bhavabhuti the Master Artist' in 'Benares Hindu University Magazine' Vol. XXXV. No. 3.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

[The following are extracts from articles from the Foreign Press. This feature is introduced to keep our readers in touch with developments abroad and the significance of their implications.]

Spanish Revolution

By PEDRO MUNOZ IN THE *Sunday Express*

Why is Spain, the land in which some of the most romantic traditions of European culture have reached their finest flower, torn today by a civil war waged little less ferociously than any of those struggles which have devastated it in the past?

First we must go back to a dramatic moment in April 14, 1931, when Alfonso XIII, abandoned by his Ministers, his army, and even his courtiers, crept out of a backdoor of the royal palace in Madrid, trying to close his ears to the shouts which rose from the streets and squares where his people were acclaiming their victory and his abdication.

That was after the municipal elections had resulted in a disastrous defeat for a regime which, in its main features, had existed for more than three hundred years.

After that, thought the idealists, would come the millennium. A freer and fuller life for all, and no more of those outbursts of sporadic violence which had for generations tinged the politics of Spain with a sanguinary hue.

Well, since Alfonso left, little more than five years ago, we have had nine changes of Government, not counting the rapid transformations of July 17 this year, the day on which the present revolt broke out.

And the Constitution under which all these changes, all of them accompanied by violence, have happened, is one of the most enlightened in Europe.

Drawn up by the Constitutional Cortes, which assumed the reins of power on the flight of Alfonso, it contained, however, one fatal pro-

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vision allowing the Government of the day to proclaim martial law whenever it deemed the emergency grave enough.

That, in Spain, meant bloodshed.

The Republic was little more than a year old when, in August 1932, General Sanjurjo, head of the famous Civic Guard, who had refused to use his force of 40,000 disciplined, hard-bitten fighters to save the monarchy, brought out the Seville garrison to overthrow the new régime.

He failed, and fled, to bide his time.

He left Lisbon by airplane to join the rebels, but the airplane crashed, and one of the last great romantic figures of modern Spain lost his life.

His attempt had alarmed and exasperated the extremists of another colour. Within a few weeks the Anarchist clubs in Catalonia and Andalusia were in armed revolt against the Republic.

Moorish troops were brought in, and the revolt was suppressed after sanguinary fighting.

Less than a year later the first Republican Government came to an ignominious end.

Power fell to the parties of the Right: an alliance between the old Republican Party, led by Señor Lerroux, and the new and powerful Catholic Party, whose champion was a young, hitherto unknown politician named Gil Robles.

It was during this régime that there occurred the revolt of the miners in the Asturias, suppressed with great rigour by the Government.

Subsequent Governmental changes were of less importance till last February, when the newly formed Popular Front, composed of Socialists, Communists, and Left Republicans, won an overwhelming electoral victory.

It is in the measures of the Popular Front Government then formed that we find the reasons for the revolt.

Main points in their policy were agrarian reform and drastic social legislation.

But they did not work fast enough for their supporters.

Bands of peasants, led by Socialists and Communists, began to seize land and—in places where the quarrel with the Church was particularly bitter—to raze and burn churches and convents. Catholic partisans retaliated, and a civil war in miniature raged in many districts.

At the same time extremists in the industrial areas organised strike

after strike, while their leaders proclaimed that the only way to save Spain from anarchy was by way of revolution and dictatorship.

The moderate Socialists, led by Indalecio Prieto, were powerless to stem the rising tide of revolution. It seemed as if the Government had to all practical effect abdicated.

Confusion was increased by the gangs of young, armed Fascists who now began to range the streets of Madrid and other big cities, and even to roam the countryside, giving battle to the bands of Socialists and Communists.

Students and Catholic workers rallied in large numbers to the Fascist formation. The monstrous shadow of civil war loomed more and more darkly over Spain.

The assassination of the monarchist leader, Calvo Sotelo—an act of vengeance by Socialists for the killing of some of their number—was the signal which precipitated revolt.

Sotelo, it is more than likely, would have headed the new Fascist Government in the event of final victory.

His colleague, General Mola, who commands the rebels in North Spain, is a very different type. The only Spanish general to wear glasses, he is of studious disposition as well as appearance.

On the Government side there are the no less contrasting figures of Manuel Azana, aged fifty-six, stout and grey-haired, a typical Liberal intellectual and a moderate Republican, who has great influence with the middle classes, and Largo Caballero, fiery Socialist and trade union leader, who today is fighting with the Government troops in Asturia.

Sotelo, Franco and Mola planned well, and the revolt is one of the best organised in the long history of Spanish civil war.

But they can, at best, have no easy struggle. And whichever side wins, Spain seems fated to be a dictatorship whether of the Right or the Left.

POOR SPAIN!

Writing on The Spanish Civil War in the Sunday Times

"Scrutator" says:

More important both to Spain and the world than victory for one side or the other is that it should come soon. Poor Spain! There is no calculating the sum of misery and outrage that the Civil War will inflict

on her if it is prolonged. Inevitably the victory of either side must exasperate the intolerance and indisposition to compromise which has been the country's curse.

If the Government wins, the Communist element in its policy will be strengthened, and what one knows of the Spanish people forbids one to hope for progress and happiness that way. If, on the other hand, the army triumphs, one sees no reason, despite the marvellous fertility of the Spanish genius in the past, to expect anything but a dull copy of German and Italian political models with fresh complication in Mediterranean politics. Perhaps there are five Spains, not one, and in some federal system may be the best solution of her trouble. The triumph of the rebels might easily lead to a war of independence for Catalonia and its capital, Barcelona, which stands to the rest of Spain in much the same relation as Belfast to the rest of Ireland.

JAPAN'S NEW DOOR INTO ASIA

From the "Manchurian Economic Review"

On the far side of the Japan Sea is arising a new city, destined to change the map of Eastern Asia. This is the port of Rashin, Manchuria's new side door. Here Japan is creating a great harbour city which may come to rival Dairen, the present entrance to her new dominion.

China's north-eastern provinces touched the Pacific only on the south: on the east they were separated from it by the thin extension of Korea. Rashin is a Korean development, but its real significance lies in its direct line relations to Japan and Manchoukou. And not far away—less than an hour by air—is Vladivostok and the land of the Soviets.

Rashin is a new gateway to Manchuria in the making. This port is logically situated and will provide a large area in the interior with easier access to the ocean. Not only will it open up a cheap outlet for Manchurian produce, but it offers a direct and protected passage from Japan to the heart of her new empire on the mainland. By this route the distance from Tokyo to Hsinking (formerly Changchun) is shortened some six hundred miles. Coordinated steamer and train services now connect the two capitals by this new route in two days.

One cannot appreciate the potentialities of Rashin without seeing it

in its relation to Manchuria as a whole; for, although within Korea, it is essentially a Manchurian seaport.

A NEW NAPOLEON

From the Rome Correspondent of the "Berliner Tageblatt"

The King of Italy has become—by the grace of God and the will of the nation—the bearer of an Emperor's crown. Marshal Badoglio has received the title and rank of a Duke. General Graziani is now Marshal and Viceroy. The War Office's list of titles and promotion shows a growing list of names. All who worked for this victory will participate in the honour and glory according to their deserts, while others are making an all the more determined effort to secure a share in it. D'Annunzio and Marinetti, inspired by the breath of the Muses, reach for their lyres. But what has happened to the creator of the war, to the driving force behind it?

Mussolini has become "M". He has added nothing to his name, he has taken something away from it. The placards on the walls of Rome, bearing his last two proclamations, are signed only with this one strong, unmistakable letter. Only a sign, but nevertheless a sign of great significance for the change in the historical situation. There are no more decorations for him to win. With a sure instinct he refused a ducal title, which is alleged to have been offered him. With the historical title of "Founder of the Empire," given him by the Grand Fascist Council, the limit is reached. The claim to be an historical figure, the maker of an epoch, can only be expressed in a name.

Mussolini has placed himself in the ranks of the Cavour and Garibaldi. He was able to do so because the House of Savoy, which won a revolutionary reputation in the wars of liberation of the nineteenth century, once more after the world espoused the cause of revolution. It remained true to the cause throughout the difficulties of the past winter. This, old, patriarchal dynasty has proved itself astonishingly capable of remaining in contact with the people.

The confidence of the Italian people in its leadership is unlimited. It steadily cherishes the hope that the future will prove that Mussolini has fulfilled the prophecy made by Proudhon in the sixties:

Only a man is needed, a Richelieu, a Colbert, a Conde, and in

less than a generation Italy will take its place among the Empires and exercise a mighty influence in Europe.

In this hope, Italy is ready to twine the wreath of laurels round the "M."

THE LENIN LEGEND

From the "St. Louis Post-Dispatch" U.S.A.

THROUGHOUT Russia, Lenin is celebrated in song and story. Scores of racial minority groups in the vast hinterland have constructed a body of legends revolving about his personality.

Most of them have originated on the hot, dusty plateau of Middle Asia. Here a simpler and more primitive people than lives on the Moscow steppe, has, with all the wealth and power of Oriental imagination, transformed the human revolutionary leader into a Titan.

Wandering minstrels, reinterpreting the events of the last twenty years in terms more familiar to their audiences than Marxian principles, have spread the legends far and wide among slant-eyed Uzbeks, Turkmenians, Tadjiks, and Kirghiz. Lenin is pictured sometimes as a giant and sometimes as a sage, sent by Allah to save his oppressed people.

The legends of Lenin circulate also in European Russia, though those collected in Western regions, in contradistinction to those of Soviet Central Asia, drop the religious note, which is replaced by official Government and Communist teaching.

Today, so goes a story, Lenin lies alive on the banks of the Moscow River under the Kremlin Wall, and when something goes wrong anywhere in field or workshop, Lenin gets up, comes to the spot, and gives the right advice. But Lenin cannot be seen because a cloak of invisibility conceals him from his people.

Legends of Lenin's immortality are not uncommon among the peasantry. His name is often interwoven into the fabric of the old fairy tales of the "cap of darkness," the "seven league boots," and other supernatural powers. In the recent folk tales, the name Stalin is closely linked with that of Lenin.

ELEGY IN A GENEVA GRAVEYARD

The Council tolls the Sanctions' passing bell,
The lying Herd signs Tyranny's decree,
The League collapses, not without a smell,
And leaves the looming shapes of things to be.

Together shrivel Covenant and Pact,
While armed aggression saucily expands,
And, grovelling at each accomplished fact,
The two-and-fifty Nations wash their hands.

Geneva staggers from the last reverse,
When insult followed injury from Rome,
When even South America was terse,
When Nazis acted as they do at home,
When, like a felon up before the beak,
The mangled Member they declined to save,
Besought in vain the double-crossing clique—
A ghost gesticulating from the grave.

Collective fraudulence at length achieves
Collective insecurity for all,
And even British statesmanship receives
And too late, the writing on the wall.

For not the feeblest on the League relies,
None its dilapidated pledge desires;
And Peace, between Geneva and the skies
Long poised, once more to Paradise retires.

No trophy marks its ignominious close,
No guiltless Nation heaves the needful brick,
But Europe's brute Dictators, as it goes,
Bestow the tribute of a parting kick.

Crooked its course, its purpose insincere,
Its consummation one stupendous hash,
Wherein the Nations wait in cringing fear
The detonation of the final smash.

Reynard
in the World Review of Reviews

ON TRAVELLING BY PASSENGER

By M. M. GUPTARA

[Genial reflections on the joys of travelling by a passenger. Mr. Gupta (Principal, C. A. I. College, Muttra) reveals a communicativeness of mood and a light ~~of~~ touch that recall the models of true essayists.]

The much-derided, much-despised Passenger has been, as far back as I can look behind along the dim vistas of early youth and childhood, one of my few enthusiasms. And that is why, though at first I had intended to write on "The Joys of Travelling Third," I have left that to greater pens, like those of Mahatma Gandhi, and confine myself to my pet pleasure. Moreover, the present subject is more comprehensive, and the former merges in this.

The Railway cooly, that wonderful but yet untapped source of literary material, has a real respect for the Mail traveller. You say to your railway porter, "I have to travel all day. Will you please find me a compartment which will be comparatively empty?" How you sink at once many degrees in the cooly's estimation, evidenced at once by the subtle change wrought about instantaneously in his manner. His manner plainly says: "Oh yet, indeed! And who are you to be thus ordering me about, in so lordly a way? And what" (*with self-reproach*) "could possibly have happened to me to make me mistake you for a superior person, a gentleman?" His very look is eloquent of unmeasured, ineffable disdain. Unlucky words! Nor God nor Man may help you now: you have forever forfeited his good opinion. In vain you strive to recover lost ground, to retrieve the sadly spoilt impression by a last-minute "favourable revision" of

his tip. That he takes to be the solatium offered by your guilty conscience, or else the tribute paid by your awed self to his stentorian voice, managing ways, and self-assured, haughty, mien.

The very sign "Pass," at the top of a railway time-table column reminds one of schoolboy achievements. In the true democratic atmosphere of a passenger you never find any harsh, narrow, jealous, exclusive aristocratic feeling. The giant speed-fiends cater for long-distance travelling in a hurry. Now for myself I hate travelling long distances and I always dislike being in haste, even though I may never repent at leisure. I have the humbler, homelier aim of turning travelling into a mild, genial pleasure, not a much-laboured-at finical "Art" at which one always stays a novice, however hard one try to be letter-perfect.

The very name of ~~my~~ favourite type of train shows that it is meant for the broad large sum of humanity to travel on its bosom; "Express" arouses in me unpleasant business-like associations of "Express messengers" and "Express delivery," and a "Mail" arouses equally frightening visions of another heavy post-bag to be attended to, and of medieval knights in clanking chain-armour striding proudly and mournfully in ruined halls. But the enjoyment I derive from a passenger train is like that of puffing leisurely and at ease, (after your "Innards" have been warmed up by a good feed), at a well-tried pipe or cigar, the while an agreeable glow, an aroma of well-being, is diffused all around you, and a conscious happiness mildly courses through your veins, and you are fully in concert with all the happy companions of the road, the Joyful Pilgrims down the ages,—the wandering Nomads and Gypsies of Literature, the Beloved Vagabonds—Hazlitt, Stevenson, Conrad, and E. V. Lucas.

Life is meant, like all pleasures, to be sipped at, slowly,

lingeringly, thoughtfully, and not to be feverishly gulped down. This is the grand and simple secret of enjoyment,—one of the eternal verities.

Your palate samples and savours, as you go along, the pleasures of the innumerable local specialities of the countryside, not to be despised for that they are lowly: and each halt, with the cries of the station vendors, acts as a magic sauce to your appetite. Instead of a fast-moving kaleidoscopic blur on the over-strained retina, a little grove here, a majestic clump of trees there, the ruins of a tower in the far-away distance, the outline of a distant bush, the romantic long-winding thread of an unknown footpath, all assume colour, and delicacy, and individuality, and become wonderfully friendly; their personality has indelibly impressed your open, receptive mind. You learn the names of small hamlets: and how sweet and unexpected, like Faery speech, each one! You are in good humour with yourself and the universe. You look up no perplexing Time-Tables in querulous, impatient, snappy hurry or annoyance. Careless of the pace, the time, even the destination, so long as you reach somewhere, sometime, you are content. A surpassing, abiding peace takes possession of you. To qualify for this you have to wait till middle age. Then only can you know the endless fun and all the indescribable flavour of travelling by passenger. Leave the cocktail heady zest of Mail-train travelling to callow youngsters impressed (with a foolish obstinacy) "with the pricelessness of Time." Let that very expensive tutor teach them the lesson of eternal, unending Futility, and the meaninglessness not only of individual human lives, whether composed of decades and scores, or of Zoro-Agha-like centuries, (to give peace to the long-dead much-labouring shade of Methuselah—revered name!) but of whole ages and aeons, of the whole history of the earth, which is not a drop in Space,

not a point in Time.

The necessity to while away time acts as a pleasant spur and an agreeable stimulus to your creative and inventive and imaginative faculties. In a passenger you can be detached, day dream, imagine, and be romantically inclined; in a Mail-train, only be business-like and efficient and ambitious and pitiless.

Roadside houses and signboards, little flower scenes or playful streams, the gentle rises and prouder swells (or falls) of the earth-level, a mound or a grave, prick your pleasant reverie. The grave makes you tremble as dimly you conjecture: "Perhaps it had a history as romantic as that of the builder of the Taj, howbeit less illustrious." Shy, gentle movements of cattle and birds, shifting outlines of cloud, hedgerow and tree and field-sight, well and temple and tank, unending is the procession! Nay, what fun to count the telegraph poles in a mile and to read their magic numbers! And if somebody call this a confession of boredom, he must be that dull insufferable creature—a miserable introspective psychologist, a murderer of innocence and delusion.

You can have water and homely refreshments almost where you will. More, you have the inestimable privilege of breaking your travel wherever you feel tempted, and cheating those old Twins, Toil and Time: not that some relentless fast-moving Juggernaut should pick you up (as in the old Greek story Europe picked up the little Persephone playing with the flowers in the fields) and run away with you in headlong rush and mad career, and not stop heedless of all your entreaties or requests (as Ravana fleeing away with the stolen Sita) except, at its own sweet will, for a breathing-space now and then. Your company teems with the rich commonness of humanity: there is no "Selection" through a cash filter. I have tasted it for myself as often as I have

cared for. Each of my readers can test it for himself or herself by comparing two journeys over the same stretch by different-speed trains. What a sky-wide difference of moods! For example, the first time I went (unfortunately by Mail) from Delhi to Muttra I never knew that I had passed by the superb, white-domed Nizamuddin, and pleasant Okhla, and the hoary pile of Pirthviraj's keep. But the second time I made that journey, I had a sight I would not exchange for five thousand rupees,—a reflection of Hazrat Nizamuddin in a little pool of rain-water just opposite and below it in front. White birds and delicate tracery of branches were reflected in a glass mirror—the pellucid stillness of the shallow water. There was greenery all around, pretty steamer-shipped tiniest islands generally consisting of only a tuft or two of green grass, rank and weedy. The pictures of bridge-arches and trees in the water far surpassed famed Kashmir and all the much-fabled realm of Faery.

You can never know a line or a railway track unless you have travelled over it by passenger, and is it not worth while to know well the way you have travelled over? You pleasantly view the placid prospect, cattle browsing contentedly, bullock-carts moving slowly, all the land at peace—a mystic spirit nestling meditatively over the changeless, immemorial fields and pathways. You conceive at once a great respect for this soil, you understand how it breeds Contemplation.

A wild white wayside flower suddenly disturbs the even tempo of your dreams and breaks the temperate beat of your pulses, and you start a-weaving the magic web of words to capture fleeting fancies.

Exquisitely sweet are the uses of passenger travelling, especially when I get my ideal length—about four hours—of a train journey.

POEMS

GIVE AND TAKE

By B. GOPALA REDDI

In secret silence,
Bestow something on my life and go.
Through the fragrance of vernal flowers,
Through the melody of evening flute,
Through the wind echoing with leaf-flutter,
Bestow something on my life and go.

In return, take something and go.
Pain from my poignant pain.
From my tears that reflect thy smiles,
From my speech that entreats thy silent eyes,
Take something and go.

(Done from Tagore's Bengali Song)

A QUEST

In vain did I search for my Beloved,
In the twinkling stars of the blue firmament,
And the charming necklace of lustrous pearls;
In the tender buds of the lovely garden,
And the line of dew drops in the morning leaves.
I watched the drops of sorrowful tears,
Falling in the warm and melancholy cheeks;
I beheld the beautiful rows of bubbles,
Flowing down the murmuring stream;

I sang heartily of the glory of rain-drops,
Falling from the dark and silvery clouds—
But, nowhere, did I catch a glimpse,
Of the bright face of my well-Beloved.

At last, I went to a solitary field,
Where a farmer toiled in the raging sun,
As I witnessed the sweat-drops on his brow,
All my sorrow and disappointment vanished;
For in those drops of hard labour I caught
The glorious glimpse of my Beloved.

—SHRIMAN NARAYAN AGARWAL

(Translated from the original Hindi by the Author)

UNCERTAINTY

The Jumna rushes to the greater Stream,
The swirling waters chase each other fro
And all its Life in perfect concord seems
To reach the End, to seek the final Glow.

But why should we, most wretched beings, we
Fight all that ever drags us to our doom?
Should we not like the willing Jumna be
And search the Light that's hid amongst the Gloom?

Then Life, aye sorrowed Life, asks not in vain:
"You've heard the saddened music of my strain
But know you e'en the texture of your quest;
You've felt what I am; but what is the Rest?
A painless Age that knoweth not a Hears
Is it a Bliss or an eternal Curse?"

Knowing that I am woven Joy and Pain
 You cannot love me; but you cling to me
 Fearing death's dark unknown Uncertainty."

—PRABHAT

THE CHANGE

I moved about with beggar's bowl,
 "Pray, give me love," I wept and asked,
 But men and women turned their face,
 Gave me the silence of their scorn.
 "I want a tear, O, give me one"—
 I took my bowl from door to door,
 From face to face my dim eyes moved,
 But at the end of day I found
 My bowl an empty beggar's bowl.
 I went about from place to place
 Till I reached the busiest part,
 I said, "Here infinite men pass by
 May be someone will do the grace
 To hear my sorrow and respond."
 Therefore I took my broken bowl,
 With sadness seated on my face
 I cried, "My heart is breaking. Oh!
 I beg of you a little hope
 To life my breaking, drooping heart."
 Slowly th' infinite steps died out
 And silence took the place of men,
 And darkness of the midnight hour
 Found me seated all alone.
 My bowl was empty but for tears—
 Some friendly tears from my own eyes.

II

One day I took in both my hands
 The bowl that made a beggar of me,
 And dashed it on the pavement's stones,
 And in my heart took up a vow.
 I went away from haunts of men
 To where th' echoes of their footsteps
 Were never heard—in that silence
 I sat forgetting all my needs,
 Forgetting all the beggar's creed,
 Forgetting all except the vow.
 Once more I heard infinite steps
 Breaking the desert's long silence;
 They came a-begging, came to me—
 Some begged for sons, for riches come,
 For friends, for love's rare constancy,
 For daughters fair, for success, gain,
 For honour, victory, health and life.
 Their both the eyes were begging bowls.
 I spoke no word and yet they came,
 I gave no promise, held no hope,
 And yet they came, bowed down their heads
 And begged of me as beggars beg
 With tears all rolling down their cheeks.
 But I sat silent like the moon
 That sits so quiet on silver nights
 While all the stars about her quake.
 Up cropped a question suddenly,
 Was this because one distant day
 I'd taken up my beggar's bowl
 And dashed it on the pavement's stones?

—H. HUKKU

A GRAND OLD WOMAN

By I. D.

My First Seventy Years. By Florentine Scholle Sutro-Roerich Museum Press. New York. Price \$ 3.00.

There is a general impression that America has produced only millionnaires and crooks which, like many a general impression, is erroneous. She has also produced some remarkable men and women whose contribution to life and letters is abiding. Here is, for instance, Florentine Scholle Sutro whose autobiography reveals her as a Grand Old Woman. It is well that her life should be written, and it is **best that it should be written by her own hand.**

Sutro's book is something more than a personal chronicle. It is a record of the times and of personalities that have largely receded into history. **The text and narrative, in fact, justify alternative titles.** The book may very well be called "New York in Evolution" or still better "America in Transition," from the days of the horse-and-carriage to those of the aeroplane.

Sutro belongs to a family which had its clan roots in many countries. She was born towards the close of 1864 during the Civil War. Her father was a peddler who performed useful functions in those far-off days when there were no ready means of transportation. Her mother was an easy-going, even-tempered woman who was mainly interested in philanthropic work. At the age of 4, Sutro was taken to Germany where she spent 3 years from 1868-71 during the Franco-Prussian War and she watched from a balcony the French prisoners being marched across the fields, in Zouave

uniforms of red trousers and blue jackets. In 1871 she returned to New York and the journey took 14 days by the fastest boat. They set up quarters in a fashionable section and she recalls that in those days she acted as a sick nurse in the family. At seven she was put to school and could speak fluent German but little English. She was not a particularly good pupil, but was fond of music and learnt swimming. At ten she heard many talks on suffrage and decided to become a suffragist, and since then her interest in the movement never flagged. She also paid visits to theatres and operas, but those days were different. Parents and children had little in common and lived in different spheres which created at times an impassable gulf. At 13 Sutro was drawn to the classics, and at 17 she left school. Till then she had not a thought of marriage and believed in platonic love, and she was so innocent as to think that she could "maintain a friendship with the opposite sex without more significance." It is not long after that she married Lionel Sutro, a tall and handsome young man. Simple living and high thinking were the keynotes of the first days of her marriage. After a visit to Coney Island she returned to New York to take to home life.

Then began her interest in various social welfare movements. She has always taken the keenest interest in projects which meant better conditions and a happier life for the under-privileged. In this book she gives an account of all the committees of which she was a member, if only to show the social changes that were all along taking place in America.

Again and again, the nomadic spirit seizes her and we always find her moving out from place to place and from country to country. It is not wrong to say that Sutro's "My First Seventy Years" is a travel book. The impressions he records so minutely are neither ephemeral nor tiresome.

We find here no inferior guide-book style or mere repetition of a limited number of superlatives. She writes with considerable literary skill and a quiet strength. Space prevents us from quoting the many fine descriptive passages in the book, but the two following excerpts ought to suffice as examples of her craftsmanship:

Before we bade our steamer companions good-bye at the end of our Nile trip, we arranged to join them in a party to view the Pyramids by moonlight. Here, more than in any other spot, one feels and senses the magic spell of all that is Egyptian. One is awed beyond the power of words. The moonlight with its soft and silvery gleam erases all the blemishes and crudities which time has wrought on these masses of stone, and bathes them in mystic beauty and majesty. In the mystery of the night, modern Egypt seems to fade away, and one can almost visualize the thousands of human beings who toiled, ant-like, in the building of these monuments, on which the rains and suns and sandstorms of countless ages have left their impress. To add to the spell of the evening, our camel drivers seated our party in a circle on the sand, and by means of cabalistic figures, drawn in the sand, told our fortunes.

That afternoon we got our first view of the Taj Mahal. No verbal description this Tomb can do it justice. It must be felt. It is like a precious jewel set in the emerald green of trees and lawns with two pendants of blue water to enhance its beauty. The romance adds to its charm, for here under the center of the dome lies the Lady of the Taj for whom the Tomb was built so that her memory would live forever, and her husband, whose coffin stands beside hers, has succeeded in his desire, for every year, thousands stand in awe before this inspiring monument of love and devotion. In the sunlight the Tomb has the slightest tinge of pink, but in the moonlight with the silent Jumna River flowing alongside, a green light seems to hang over the Tomb and its gardens. Legend has it that when the Tomb was completed the Shah hurled the architect from one of the minarets so that he would never again be able to design another creation like the Taj.

Florentine Sutro thus takes us down to many places, big and small, and few grudge to accompany her in her delightful wanderings, for, with her, we are always in good company and pleasant surroundings.

She closes, as she begins the book, with pleasant assurance:

My First Seventy Years are now behind me. As I contemplate this allotted Biblical three score and ten, I realize how time has mellowed all these experiences. Distance, they say, lends enchantment to all things. Perhaps that is why the sadnesses of these years seem to have faded, while the happy memories stand out in more powerful relief. Contemplating these memories, I am grateful that destiny has permitted me to go happily through life, to know and love humanity the world over, and in its pleasant comradeship to pass through the corridors of the First Seventy Years of my life.

We take leave of her with admiration, respect and gratitude. Hers is a life full of years and honours. The picture she presents us is one of Dutch quietude, though of tumultuous times and is an example of refined scholarship and great serenity of mind. She is one of those rare persons through whom America can be best understood.

UNIVERSAL DEMOCRACY

By ILYAS AHMAD

The Democratic Process. By Dr. Beni Prasad, M.A., PH.D., D.SC. (ECON.) London. Professor of Political Science, Allahabad University. Published by Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press (1935). Price Rs. 7.

The author of the book is well-known to the educational world more as a writer on History and historical subjects than on Political Science. His "Democratic Process," is his

first genuine effort to write on this subject.

The first comment that one is forced to make after reading 'The Democratic Process' is that it is the only existing theoretical justification of a world which has already attempted to organize itself on a universal basis in the so-called League of Nations. The League no doubt existed already, but it existed without a philosophy of its existence in the same way as the British Empire existed already without a philosophy of its existence; and just as Zimmern in his 'Third British Empire' has tried to build a philosophy of the Empire, in the same way, Dr. Beni Prasad very successfully of course, has made out a complete case of the League of Nations. He has provided philosophy where none existed. Is not this a fair contribution of his to the peace of the world?

Besides this theoretical importance of 'The Democratic Process', we may also look to its practical significance. It has come out at a time when the League seems to stand discredited, when the 'majesty of the state' in manifesting its greatness in its individuality, and when all ideals of peace and universal brotherhood are giving way before the marching tide of fear, rivalry, and antagonism of states and peoples. In such an atmosphere of the imminence of war and bloodshed, the 'Democratic Process' is the only ray of hope for humanity. It is an appeal to the world to consult its own commonsense for its own common good. Is not then the 'Democratic Process' the finest political manifesto addressed to our own times?

The name 'Democratic Process,' as it itself suggests, is an attempt to state the case of universal democracy in terms of universal evolution. Hence, if on the one hand, it is a handbook of the philosophy and science of democracy, it is also on the other a treatise on the limits and possibilities of democracy. In one word, it is an attempt at the philosophy

of self-realization. If man wants to find himself and realise his dignity as man, he has no other recourse but to mark out his way that he may realise the democratic ideal.

But what is the Democratic Ideal? It consists, in the words of Ivor Brown, of three primary conceptions—(1) The philosophy of Will, (2) The philosophy of Fellowship and (3) The philosophy of Responsibility. It is to the realisation of these philosophies in our human life that the 'Democratic Process' stands for. Its whole subject-matter can be summarily stated as follows:

In the first place, Dr. Beni Prasad gives us his 'Argument' and shows that Politics today means nothing less than the science of world organization. Secondly, he gives us in 'Self-realization' (Ch. II) the central problem round which the whole texture of the 'Democratic Process' has been woven. Thirdly, he sets forth the obstacles to self-realization and therefore to democracy, (Chs. III-VI). Fourthly, he tells us how the application of science in all walks of life can work wonders in removing obstacles and in accelerating the process of the onward march of man, (Chs. VII-IX). Fifthly, having stated that the universal society is already a fact, he goes on to enumerate those factors which are making international cooperation a nullity, and how the imperfections in the international organization can be removed, (Chs. X-XII). Sixthly, he offers concrete suggestions to make international life and government a reality, (Chs. XIII-XVIII). Lastly, he marks out the conditions of 'transformation' and then summarises the essence of the Democratic Process, (Ch. XIX).

It is in his 'Argument' that Dr. Beni Prasad shines forth as a Political Scientist of the New Order; hence his Politics is very different from the accepted view of that science—its bases, its methods, its character, its scope and its subject-

matter all having widened in the dynamic existence of today. He is, therefore, not simply a writer of Democracy as the name of his book seems to imply: He is a political Scientist, though his Political Science can be easily squared with Democracy. This means that in the present plane of our existence, Political Science is Democracy to Dr. Beni Prasad and Democracy is Political Science. This is certainly a new outlook, a new contribution to the study of Politics in recent times.

After this 'reorientation in Political Science' he examines the political, economic and spiritual foundations of Democracy, for by 'self realization' which is the central problem of his book, he means that it is the development of personality that is the real perfection of character and the raising of the moral stature of man, and this is only possible in Democracy rather than in any other form of government.

In writing all this Dr. Beni Prasad does not appear as an analytic writer; he is a synthetic writer of a synthetic science in a synthetic world. His 'politics' is a synthesis of all sciences and the world for which he is writing is a synthesis of all nations, peoples, races and cultures. He therefore believes in Politics as the science of world organization, world cooperation and world order. He is a political scientist of the brotherhood of man.

Besides, his 'Democratic Process' envisages a long course of Universal Evolution. It is not a mechanical attempt of the Social Contract writers: it is a definite development from precedent to precedent. Barker when adjudging the work of Maine writes: "The value of Maine's method lies in his firm grip of the idea of evolution—in his deep sense of the generations as 'Linked each to each by natural piety.' If the doctrine of evolution, as Sir Frederick Pollock has said, is nothing else than the historical method applied to the facts

of nature, the historical method, as he adds, is nothing else than the doctrine of evolution applied to human institutions."*

In the light of this quotation, Dr. Beni Prasad's work is not only the best contemporary monograph on the Historical Method: it is perhaps the only one on Universal Social Evolution. There are writers, no doubt, like Norman Angell who has emphasized the economic interdependence of the nations of the world and who regards the world as an economic unit; and like Krabbe who believes in the 'sense of right' of the individual and as such in International Law as an embodiment of the international 'sense of right,' but Dr. Beni Prasad is a writer who has presented his case not simply from a single standpoint, but has tried to weave his texture from the most diverse points of view. He has not only combined the viewpoints of Angell and Krabbe—economic, legal and moral—he has welded them harmoniously with the psychological, the anthropological, the sociological, the historical, the philosophical and the scientific. This is why I have designated Dr. Beni Prasad as a 'synthetic' writer of 'Modern Political Science.'

Associated with the view that he is a great writer on historical method and social evolution is the view that he has shown himself as a great realist. He is certainly a man of ideals because he wants to carry humanity to the highest 'self-realization,' but his idealism has been throughout punctuated by his great realism. When soaring high, he does not forget that he has to descend on earth also, and this is why he laments, from beginning to end, of the backwardness of man's political institutions as against the scientific, the economic and the intellectual achievements of the human race

and has therefore placed at the disposal of man all sorts of information, with concrete suggestions, for the great work of reform and reconstruction of human civilization. In fact, he has been stung badly and deeply by the remark that Democracy, which according to him, has so much raised the stature of man, should be stigmatized as 'the Cult of Incompetence,' while in fact, as he has tried to show, it is the cult of all that is high and noble in the human soul—moral character, sincerity, honesty, education, intelligence, science and knowledge etc. Democracy to him stands for the truth and the seeking of it, the good and the doing of it, the beautiful and the making of it. And this is what he means by 'self-realization.'

Thus 'self-realization' being the pivot round which the social structure of the 'Democracy Process' revolves, the individual comes to be the basis of Dr. Beni Prasad's political thought. But it must be remembered that Dr. Beni Prasad is not an Individualist of the type of Mill or Spencer, for he allows interference by the state to an extent which must have shocked them both; nor is he a Socialist, for he never allows the individual to be swamped away by the social whole and his energy crushed by social control. In modern terminology, we may call him a 'Relativist' writer because he tries to show that personality is a synthesis of individualization and socialization. He stands for the Golden Mean. This is why he neither emphasises the natural rights of the Social Contract writers as pre-social, nor the natural rights of the Idealists meaning the claims which ought to be recognized in the interest of the society itself. He stands only for those claims that are creative, for those potentialities that are creative, and for that experience that is creative. In short, he stands for creative rights, creative liberty, creative experience of a creative civilization. This is why his democracy is never

stagnation. It admits of change to suit the environments. Change thus means stability, for institutions are always plastic enough to 'bend' and therefore they may never 'break'. Hence the 'Democratic Process' of Dr. Beni Prasad is a treatise not simply on the Dynamics of Democracy. It is a treatise on the Dynamics of Political Science and hence finally it is a treatise on the Dynamics of man himself.

But when all has been said about the merits of this fine book of our one of the most promising authors, I have one criticism to make about 'One Big Gap' in 'The Democratic Process.' The democratic process starts with the earliest democratic institutions, whether of Greece or of India or of any other part of the world, and deals with all modern democratic institutions, but what about the 'hyphen,' the 'bridge' that joins the ancient and the modern? Are they the middle ages of Europe that join these periods? If not, is it not the democratic Islam with its democratic social democracy that supplies this 'missing link' in the democratic process? And yet in Dr. Beni Prasad's 'Democratic Process' the democratic Islam is conspicuous by its absence.

G. K. C.'S WIT AND WISDOM

By AN ESSAYIST

As I was Saying. By G. K. Chesterton. Metheun & Co. Ltd., London. Price 6 sh. net.

One takes up "As I Was Saying" with particular, if melancholy, interest. For one thing it is G. K. C.'s latest: for another it happens to be his last book. In it he says things as he was exactly saying them all along.

For long years Chesterton appeared to be a part of the very permanence of the English world, so much so that it is

difficult to be reconciled to the idea that he is no more. Yet it may be legitimately claimed that he is "alive, though dead" as in all his varied writings there emerges a personality, triumphant, supreme, unchallengeable, unforgettable. A man of gifts, as astonishing as versatile, he easily distinguished himself in almost all the branches of letters. "As I Was Saying" is a fresh reminder that of all those branches, that of the essay suited him best since it lent itself admirably to his playful dialectic as nothing else did or could.

It is Chesterton's special gift to say something new even when he handles a subject as old as the hills or say it in an entirely new manner even though it may lack the merit of originality. Dullness is said to be the greatest of literary vices and Chesterton is dull-proof. Even if he can't avoid repetition, he can introduce into it an element of freshness. As he observes in his essay "About Impenitence":

The only way to say something distinct is to say something distinguishable.

And G. K. C. always says something not only distinguishable from everything else, but also something distinguishing.

A born iconoclast G. K. C. takes up, in the book under review, his cudgels—and they are of his size and dimensions—against all the modern cults, from the cult of politicians to the cult of girls. Or let us turn to the cult of modern progress and hear what Chesterton says in his characteristic vein:

What was not adequately realised by those who merely talked about progress, is simply this: that Progress is never the solving of problems; it is always the setting of problems.

Again:

By all means go on progressing, if it amuses you; go on inventing machines for anything or everything. But always remember

that you are not only inventing machines; you are inventing riddles.

With rare adroitness he tilts against all the interests of the Twentieth Century including telephones and films and shocks our sense of modernity by saying that the Twentieth Century is copying, not even the Nineteenth but the Eighteenth Century. And this he says not in derision, but in defence.

It is essential for the pioneer and prophet, not so much to go forward very far, as to go back far enough. The general rule is to skip a century, as some hereditary features are said to skip a generation. There is something very odd about this system of alternation, black and white like a chessboard. It is as if every man always hated his father and adored his grandfather.

When is not G. K. C. stimulating and scintillating? "As I Was Saying" is a valuable addition to the wit and wisdom so lavishly scattered in all his writings. It must be read, for not to read it is to write ourselves down as back numbers and to miss the chance of not looking at our modern scene from a new perspective.

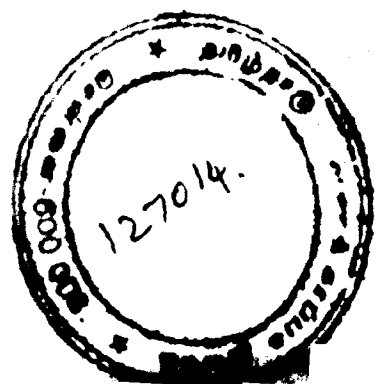
Ground Work of Economics. By K. MEHTA, M.A.,
University of Allahabad, Student Friend, Allahabad.
Price Rs. 2-8.

When the market is glutted with notes and treatises on economics a new book on the subject might appear to be superfluous. The book under review, however, stands on its own merits. It is an excellent compendium and aims at giving the student an insight into the science. The author has left the beaten track and tried to present the subject in an easy and attractive way.

The treatment of economic principles is at once sound and scientific and exposition clear and lucid. The second

part of the book is particularly useful to students. There are several novel features which enhance its value. The definitions are not orthodox. They are nearly the author's own and therefore claim special attention. On controversial points he has stated his view-point with force and clarity.

P. K. MITRA



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