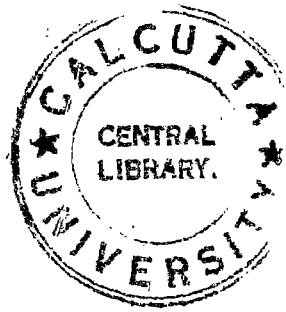


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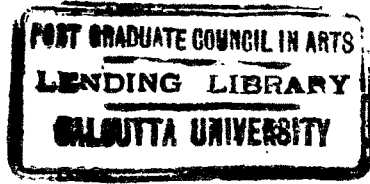
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BRIHANNALA AND UTTARA

Artist—Professor Abanindranath Tagore, D. Litt.



THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

JULY, 1925



IDEAS ABOUT DEATH

Primitive man left behind him scratchings, imprints, and drawings. He did not leave documents from which we might learn his ideas. His ideas, therefore, are matter for conjecture. We are dependent upon what he did, and have no means of knowing what he said. But when, later, man began to write and to express his ideas or to tell his stories, he had traditions to help him. These traditions help us to understand him, even if they are not altogether reliable. We are helped also in another way. Ancient languages contain survivals of the most primitive thought, even when they are used to express less primitive ideas. In other words, the literary records preserve ancient stories; but the words themselves are fossils which enshrine stories still more ancient. I shall refer later to the fact that a narrative in the Old Testament contains a story of a place called Ebenezer. This word Ebenezer without doubt has a history of its own. It means 'stone of help.' Originally, we may presume, it was a name for primitive man's stone, which was his tool and weapon. Later, it may be presumed, it was the name of a god. Later still it became the name of a place. The Greek word Tragedy means 'Goat-song.' Evidently the word has a long history. I have pointed

out elsewhere that the Arabic word for 'goat' is related closely to words which mean 'song,' 'poët,' 'knowledge,' 'religious rite.' We know of course that the drama was responsible for great développements in art and music. The word tragedy indicates that for some reason or other the goat played a great rôle in early drama, so great that originally song was goat-song, poet was goat-bard, knowledge was goat-lore, and rite was goat-rite.¹

The study of words need not detain us now. We have seen how various peoples dispose of their dead. We have now to see what various peoples say, or seem to say, about their dead.

The idea of death held by the ancient Hebrews was not a cheerful one. They believed that the dead went to a place called Sheol, a cavern within the earth, where for a time they led a shadowy existence, deprived of all the joys of real life (Isaiah, XIV, 9 f.; Ezekiel, XXXII, 22-32). The idea of a future life, in the sense of a life of happiness in another world, and in communion with God, was a later development. It seems to have arisen first in the mind of the poet Job as a consequence of his suffering in the present world. "Job's suffering had created in him a longing to come face to face with God, that he might be vindicated (XIII. 22). This longing had taken the form of a wish that, if a man die, he might live again (XIV. 13-15). At last his reviving faith in the moral nature of God led him to the conviction that, though his flesh should perish, yet apart from his flesh he should see God (XIX. 27). As in many minds since, the conviction that God is good, combined with the impossibility of realizing an adequate theodicy in this life, kindled his faith in a life with God, where such a theodicy could be experienced."²

¹ See my note on 'The Goat-song' in the *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Neue Folge, I, 1924, Heft 1/2, pp. 145-148.

² G. A. Barton, *The Religion of Israel*, 1918, pp. 222 f.

The Babylonians and Assyrians seem to have been too much interested in the present life to concern themselves much about a future life. This might be accounted for in various ways. But it is sufficient here to note the fact. Throughout all periods of Babylonian and Assyrian literature the prevailing view is that after this life has come to an end, the dead continue in a conscious or semi-conscious state. "To be sure, the condition of the dead is not one to be envied. They are condemned to inactivity, which in itself might not be regarded as an unmixed evil, but this inactivity carries with it a deprivation of all pleasures. Deep down in the bowels of the earth there was pictured a subterranean cave in which the dead are huddled together. The place is dark, gloomy, and damp, and in a poetic work it is described as a neglected and forlorn palace, where dust has been allowed to gather—a place of dense darkness where, to quote the fine paradox of Job (X. 22), 'even light is as darkness.' It is a land from which there is no return, a prison in which the dead are confined for all time, or if the shade of some spirit does rise up to earth, it is for a short interval only, and merely to trouble the living. The horror that the dwelling-place of the dead inspired is illustrated by the belief that makes it also the general abode of the demons, though we have seen that they are not limited to this abode. Again, this dwelling-place is pictured as a great city, and, curiously enough, it is at times designated like the temple of Enlil at Nippur as E-Kur-Bad, 'Mountain-house (or 'temple') of the dead.'¹ The most common name for this abode, however, is *Aralû*—a term that occurs in Sumerian compositions, but may nevertheless be a good Semitic word. By the side of this term, we find other poetic names, as 'the house of Tammuz,' based upon the fact that

¹ 'The idea that the dead go to a mountain is not uncommon. Among the Dusuns of Borneo, for example, 'according to general ideas the spirits of the dead find their way to the top of Mount Kinabalu, which is their final abode.' (Ivor H. N. Evans, *Among Primitive Peoples in Borneo*, 1922, p. 168.)

the solar god of spring and vegetation is obliged to spend half of the year in the abode of the dead, or Irkallu, which is also the designation of a god of the subterranean regions, or Cuthah—the seat of the cult of Nergal,—because of the association of Nergal, the god of pestilence and death, with the lower world. The names and metaphors all emphasise the gloomy conceptions connected with the abode of the dead.’¹

Nevertheless, the picture is not always quite so black. If this represents the popular conception, there does seem to have arisen in the minds of thinkers “at least the faint inkling of the view that the gods, actuated by justice and mercy, could not condemn all alike to a fate so sad as eternal confinement in a dark cave.” Not only do we read of *Aralû*, but also of an ‘Island of the Blest.’ Situated at the confluence of the streams, it was a place to which those who had won the favour of the gods were carried. “One of these favourites is Ut-Napishtim, who was sought out by Ea, the god of humanity, as one worthy to escape from a deluge that destroyed the rest of mankind; and with Ut-Napishtim, his wife was also carried to the island, where both of them continued to lead a life not unlike that of the immortal gods.”²

However, Morris Jastrow points out that, although the theory of this possible rescue seems to have arisen at a comparatively early period, for some reason it does not seem to have been developed to any extent. “In this respect, Babylonia presents a parallel to Greece, where we likewise find the two views, Hades for the general mass of humanity and a blessed island for the rare exceptions—the very rare exceptions—limited to those who, like Menelaos, are closely related to the gods, or, like Tiresias, favoured because of the

¹ Morris Jastrow, *Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria*, 1911, pp. 353 f.

² Morris Jastrow, *op. cit.*, p. 353.

possession of the divine gift of prophecy in an unusual degree.”¹ We might have expected the Babylonians to have represented their rulers as going to the Island of the Blest, but they do not seem to have done so. “Like the kings and heroes of the Greek epic, they all pass to the land of no-return, to the dark dwelling underground. (An exception is not even made for kings like Sargon and Naram-Sin of Akkad, or for Dungi of the Ur dynasty and his successors, and some of the rulers of Isin and Larsa, who have the sign for deity attached to their names, and some of whom had temples dedicated in their honour, just like gods.)”²

The idea of *Aralû* seems to have undergone no essential change. “It remains a gloomy place,—a tragic terminus to earthly joys, and always contemplated with horror. The refrain running through all the lessons which the priests attached to popular myths in giving them a literary form, is that no man can hope to escape the common fate. Enkidu, who is introduced into the Gilgamesh epic, and appears to be in some respects a counterpart to the Biblical Adam, is created by Aruru, the fashioner of mankind, but when slain by the wiles of the goddess Ishtar, goes to Aralû as the rest of mankind. Even Gilgamesh himself, the hero of the epic, half-man, half-god, whose adventures represent a strange conglomeration of dimmed historical tradition and nature myths, is depicted as being seized with the fear that he too, like Enkidu, may be dragged to the world of the dead. He seeks to fathom the mystery of death, and, in the hope of escaping Aralû, undertakes a long journey in quest of Ut-Napishtim, to learn from him how he had attained immortality. The latter tells Gilgamesh the story of his escape from the destructive deluge. Up-Napishtim and his

¹ Morris Jastrow, *op. cit.*, p. 355. The idea that at death rulers and commoners go to different places is fairly common. See W. J. Perry, *The Children of the Sun*, 1923, pp. 171 ff., 254 ff.

² Morris Jastrow, *op. cit.*, p. 356.

wife are filled with pity for the stranger, who has been smitten with a painful disease. They afford him relief by mystic rites, based on the incantation ritual, but they cannot cure him. Gilgamesh is told of a plant which has the power of restoring old age to youth. He seeks for it, but fails to find it, and, resigned to his fate, he returns to his home, Uruk."¹ The fate of the dead being so abhorrent, the only thing that can be done for the unhappy corpse is to give it as decent a burial as possible. It almost looks as though the Babylonians and Assyrians wished to divert their thoughts from death and to concentrate them on life. Death is represented on the whole as being particularly nasty.²

The idea of death among the ancient Egyptians differed considerably from that of the Babylonians and Assyrians. The ancient Egyptians refused to believe in death. A body might seem to be no longer animate, but it was not dead. It had indeed passed into a new state, but it was a state in which an earthly existence was still possible. The body could be preserved from decay, and could be reanimated. If it had to be placed in a special dwelling, this could hardly be described as a grave. It was a shelter, a home, and a shrine.³

¹ Morris Jastrow, *op. cit.*, pp. 357 f.

² As I have pointed out, however, we are confronted both in Greece and Babylonia by conflicting representations of existence after death. L. R. Farnell has emphasised the fact that neither the Homeric nor the Babylonian epic-picture of the desolateness and futility of the life in Hades seems to correspond altogether with the popular faith as expressed in tomb-ritual. "It is true to say of all races that burial customs and eschatological theory are never wholly harmonised by any coherent logic, and generally reveal discord between the dogma and the ritual. We can note this in ancient Hellas and among ourselves; and the discovery of Babylonian graves reveals it in Mesopotamia. The things found in these, toys for children, cosmetics for girls, show that the ideas so powerfully expressed in 'The Descent of Ishtar' about the barrenness and nakedness of the land of dead were either not universally admitted or not acted upon" (*Greece and Babylon*, 1911, pp. 209 f.).

³ At first it may have represented the womb of the mother to which the dead person returned in order to be re-born. This would account for the position of the corpse in some of the earliest burials. In any case, the need for constructing permanent shelters for the dead seems to have suggested the construction of shelters more permanent than holes, huts, and tents for the living.

The early belief was that the dead lived in or at the tomb. This required that the tomb should be equipped in such a way as to furnish the necessities in the hereafter. But side by side with this belief there grew up before long the belief that the dead enjoyed a blessed hereafter elsewhere in some distant region. The two beliefs commingled in such a way that it is difficult to separate them.

In any case, the ancient Pyramid Texts the function of which is essentially to insure the king's felicity in the hereafter, insist on the continuance of life. "The chief and dominant note throughout is insistent, even passionate, protest against death. They may be said to be the record of humanity's earliest supreme revolt against the great darkness and silence from which none returns. The word death never occurs in the Pyramid Texts except in the negative or applied to a foe. Over and over again we hear the indomitable assurance that the dead lives. "King Teti has not died the death, he has become a glorious one in the horizon"; "Ho! King Unis! Thou didst not depart dead, thou didst depart living"; "Thou hast departed that thou mightest live, thou hast not departed that thou mightest die"; "Thou diest not"; "This King Pepi dies not"; "King Pepi dies not by reason of any king(nor) by reason of any dead"; "Have ye said that he would die? He dies not; this king Pepi lives forever"; "Live! Thou shalt not die"; "If thou landest (euphemism for 'dies'), thou livest (again)"; "This king Pepi has escaped his day of death";—such is the constant refrain of these texts. Not infrequently the utterance concludes with the assurance: "Thou livest, thou livest, raise thee up"; or "Thou diest not, stand up, raise thee up"; or "Raise thee up, O this king Pepi, thou diest not"; or an appendix is added as a new utterance by itself: "O lofty one among the Imperishable Stars, thou perishest not eternally." When the inexorable fact must be referred to, death is called the 'landing' or the 'mooring' as we have seen it above, or its

opposite is preferred, and it is better to mention 'not living' than to utter the fatal word ; or with wistful reminiscence of lost felicity once enjoyed by men, these ancient texts recall the blessed age "before death came forth."¹

It is a far cry to China ; but before referring to beliefs in other countries nearer to Egypt, I wish to direct attention to some beliefs in China. Whatever may have been the connection between Egypt and China in ancient times, Egyptian and Chinese beliefs seem often to explain one another. For instance, when in ancient Egypt special kinds of wood were used for the making of coffins, it might be inferred that they were chosen because they were supposed to promote vitality. Chinese texts tell us that in China this was, and is, actually the case. I have dealt with this matter in another connection. De Groot tells us that the Chinese are far from regarding death as an absolute reality. "Life remains after the soul has left the body ; the survivors even entertain a lingering hope that the soul may re-enter the clay and thus cause resurrection to take place. Taking for granted that the accumulated experience of ages has done something to establish among the people a notion of the reality of death, it is not beyond the pale of logic to conclude that the belief that the soul does not forsake the body, either before or after interment, and that it may recall it to life, must have borne a more potent sway over the Chinese mind in times gone by than it does at the present day." There is direct and abundant testimony for this in the written documents of the empire.²

A light is placed at the side of the corpse while, it is stretched on the 'water-bed' ; the dead person is frequently called to induce the wandering duplicate to re-enter the mortal remains and to re-animate them. This is done by shouts and by calling out the name. A tablet is placed near the corpse for the occupancy of the soul ; offerings of edibles are

¹ J. H. Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, pp. 91 f.

² J. J. M. De Groot, *The Religious System of China*, 1892, I, p. 241.

set out on the spot; the tablet, pennons and portrait harbouring the soul, are carried along in the funeral procession, and for a part deposited with the coffin in the grave, with the avowed object of there installing the soul with the body." There are numerous practices for surrounding the corpse in the tomb with influences potent to make the soul deal out blessing to posterity. The ancient Chinese "delayed the dressing of the corpse, put off the coffining until the dead body had reached an advanced state of decomposition, and finally deferred the burial for months, nay for years."¹ There are in Chinese books many stories of corpses remaining undecayed in their coffins. "Thus," says De Groot, "the host of deified men, whose worship, side by side with that of family-ancestors, is the kernel of the Chinese Religion, has been re-inforced incessantly with contingents from amongst the non-decaying dead."²

To the Persians or to the Medes we owe the word Paradise and some of the ideas which have come to be associated with it. Hunting parks, known as paradises, held a prominent place in the pastime of the Achæmenian and Sasanian kings. In the Achæmenian period, the chief source of amusement for kings, courtiers, and men of the upper classes was hunting. "Besides hunting in the wide plain, the king had certain places, called paradises, derived from the Avestan *pairi-dæza*, 'enclosure,' specially set apart for the purpose of lighter chase. These were large places, well-watered with running brooks, thickly wooded, and fenced on all sides. Within these royal preserves, in which none except the king could hunt, was kept small game, which the king hunted, when he was not in a mood to exert himself in the open woods."³ Thus Paradise came to denote the enchanted garden of future bliss. The Zoroastrians believed that the good would enjoy

¹ De Groot, *op. cit.*, p. 263.

² *Op. cit.*, IV, 1901, p. 132.

³ M. N. Dhalla, *Zoroastrian Civilization*, 1922.

happiness in a future existence. Of this happiness a vivid description is given in the Avesta. "At the close of the third night, when the dawn breaks, the soul of the righteous person passes through the trees inhaling sweet fragrances; it seems as if a wind were blowing from the region of the south, from the regions of the south, of sweet fragrance, of sweeter fragrance than other winds. And it seems to the soul of the righteous person as if it were inhaling that wind with the nose, and it thinks: 'Whence does that wind blow, the wind of the sweetest fragrance that I ever inhaled with my nostrils?' It seems to him as if his own conscience were advancing to him with that wind in the shape of a maiden, fair, bright, of white arms, courageous, beautiful, tall, with prominent breasts, beautiful of body, noble, of glorious birth, of fifteen years, and of a form as fair as the fairest of creatures. Then the soul of the righteous person addressed her, asking: 'What maiden art thou, the fairest of maidens whom I have ever seen?' Then replied unto him his own conscience: 'O thou youth of good thoughts, good words and good deeds, and of good conscience, everybody loved thee for the greatness, goodness, beauty, sweet fragrance, courage, innocence, in which thou dost appear to me. Thou didst love me, O Youth of good thoughts, good words, good deeds, and good conscience, for the greatness, goodness, beauty, sweet fragrance, courage, in which I appear to thee. When thou didst see others practising heresy and idolatry, causing harm and working destruction to plants; then thou wouldst sit chanting the holy songs, sacrificing unto the good waters and the fire of Ahura Mazda, and causing joy to the righteous coming from near and far. Lovely as I was thou madest me more lovely, beautiful as I was thou madest me more beautiful, favoured as I was thou madest me more favoured, seated as I was on an exalted place, thou madest me sit on a more exalted place, through thy good thoughts, good words, and good deeds; and so men will hereafter sacrifice unto me who

have long sacrificed unto and have been in communion with Ahura Mazda. The first step that the soul of the righteous person made, placed him in the Good Thought paradise, the second step that the soul of the righteous person made, placed him in the Good Word paradise, the third step that the soul of the righteous person made, placed him in the Good Deed paradise, the fourth step that the soul of the righteous person made, placed him in the Endless Lights" (Yasht, 22, 7-15).¹

I have referred to the early Hebrews. It took the Hebrews a long time to develop any real interest in a future life, or to feel any real desire for it. The author of the post-Biblical work known as *Ecclesiasticus* does not show much desire for it. 'What pleasure hath God in all that perish in Hades, in place of those who live and give him praise? Thanksgiving perisheth from the dead as from one that is not; he that liveth and is in health praiseth the Lord' (XVII, 27, 28). When later writers, such as the writers of the Apocalyptic school, begin to lay stress upon the immortality of the soul, they do so under the influence of Greek thought. "But the idea gains ground, and we watch it make its way in Jewish thought, adjusted as best may be to Jewish views, but slowly transforming them. All Israelites are to rise (I Enoch, LI, 1 f.)—or rather the Just alone (I Enoch, LXXXIII-XC; XII, Testaments)—or better, all mankind (4, Esdras, 2 Baruch). Then it is transcendentalized; the body and its resurrection recede in interest, and the emphasis falls on the soul."² At the same time another idea gained ground, the idea that in the realm of the departed, or in Sheol, there are two or more divisions. According to the Ethiopic Book of Enoch there are four divisions (XXII, 1-14). But it seems to have been held more generally that there are two, the one for saints, and the other for sinners. This idea passes over into the New Testament idea of Heaven,

¹ M. N. Dhalla, *op. cit.*, pp. 51 f.

² T. R. Glover, *Progress in Religion*, 1922, p. 319.

an upper world for the righteous, and Hell, a lower world for the wicked. In the parable of Dives and Lazarus ascribed to Jesus there is a great gulf fixed between the two divisions (Luke, XVI, 26), and in the lower world the wicked suffer grievous torture. The parable represents an idea current at the time. It does not necessarily in all its details represent the idea of Jesus. It did, however, after the death of Jesus, pass over into Christian theology, and according to the strictly orthodox creed, it is still believed that the wicked will be tortured in Hell. The Apostles' Creed states that Jesus himself descended into Hell before he ascended into Heaven. Why he did so and what he did there, no one is able to say.

In Judaism, as we have seen, the idea of a future life underwent change or development. In Christianity, in fact, if not in theory, it has done the same. Orthodox belief demands the resurrection of the body. Many Christians are content to believe now in a purely spiritual resurrection. Many persons, who insist on still regarding themselves as Christians, have even suffered a weakening in their belief in any sort of future life. On this matter J. B. Pratt has much that is interesting to say. Of special interest is his comparison of the different attitudes of mind found in Christianity and Hinduism. He points out that the belief in a future life is probably being weakened more rapidly in western Christendom than in other parts of the world, but that in India it is still strong. "One of the things that strikes one most forcibly on a visit to India—at least if I may trust my own experience—is the vitality of the belief in immortality among all classes of society except those that have come under western influence. Not only does there seem to be comparatively little theoretical scepticism on the subject; the belief seems to hold a vital place in the lives of a surprisingly large proportion of the people. The chief cause for this contrast is undoubtedly the fact already pointed out, that modern western science tends both to destroy authority, undermine

various ancient arguments in favour of immortality, and also to induce a form of imagination distinctly hostile to this belief. I think, however, there are several additional factors which give Hinduism a certain advantage over Christianity in nourishing a strong belief in immortality. One of them is connected with the question of the imagination already discussed. The Hindu finds no difficulty whatever in imagining the next life, for his belief in reincarnation teaches him that it will be just this life over again, though possibly at a slightly different social level. I am inclined to think, moreover, that the Christian and the Hindu customs of disposing of the dead body may have something to do with this contrast in the strength of their beliefs. Is it not possible that the perpetual presence of the graves of our dead tends to make Christians implicitly identify the lost friend with his body, and hence fall into the objective, external form of imagination about death that so weakens belief in the continued life of the soul?"¹.

The Hindu is not likely to identify the soul and the body in this way. "The body of his lost friend is burned within a few hours after death, and the ashes swept into the river and for ever dispersed. There is no body left and no grave around which he may centre his thoughts of the departed. If he is to think of him at all it cannot be of his body, and must be of his soul. The Christian decks the tomb of his departed one with flowers; the Hindu instead performs an annual Shraddha ceremony to the spirits of those gone before. But there is, I believe, one further reason for the greater strength of the Hindu faith over the Christian, and that is to be found in the contrast between the two conceptions of immortality. In the Christian view the soul's survival of death is essentially miraculous. The soul is conceived as coming into existence with the birth of the body, and the thing to be expected is

¹ J. B. Pratt, *The Religious Consciousness*, 1921, pp. 248 f.

that it should perish when the body perishes. This is prevented through the intervention, so to speak, of God, who steps in and rescues the soul and confers upon it an immortality, which, left to itself, it could never attain. Thus it comes about that when the idea of supernatural intervention has been generally discarded, and even the belief in God as an active force outside of nature has been weakened—as is the case all over western Christendom—there is little left to support the belief in the continued existence of the soul after the death of the body. In India all this is changed. The soul's immortality has there never been thought dependent upon any supernatural interference or miraculous event, nor even upon God Himself. There are atheistic philosophers in India, but they are as thoroughly convinced of the eternal life of the soul as are the monist and the theist. For in India the soul is *essentially* immortal. Its eternity grows out of its very nature. It did not begin to be when the body was born, and hence there is no reason to expect that it will cease to be when the body dies. Existence is a part of its nature. If you admit a beginning for it, you put it at once out of the class of the eternal things, and are forced to hang its future existence upon a miracle. But for the Hindu 'the knowing self is not born; it dies not. It sprang from nothing; nothing sprang from it. It is not slain though the body be slain.'¹

I have not yet said anything about the religion of Muhammad, because it was influenced by, and in a sense founded upon, Judaism and early Christianity. Very few Christian writers have treated Muhammadanism with fairness and impartiality, and the Muhammadan conception of the future life, in particular, has often been scoffed at and ridiculed. In the teaching of Muhammad, eventually the faithful are to be rewarded with supreme and eternal

¹ J. B. Pratt, *op. cit.*, pp. 249 f. The quotation is from Katha Upanishad, I, 1. 2. (S. B. E., Am. Ed., New York, Christian Lit. Co., 1897), Vol. I, Part II, pp. 10-11.

happiness, while the wicked are to be punished with extreme and eternal misery. The happiness is described in human terms. C. Snouck Hurgronje, who to his honour discusses Muhammadanism with, comparatively speaking, a large measure of impartiality, writes as follows: "Sometimes the disobedient had been struck by earthly judgment (the flood, the drowning of the Egyptians, etc.), and the faithful had been rescued in a miraculous way, and led to victory; but such things merely served as indications of Allah's greatness. One day the whole world will be overthrown and destroyed. Then the dead will be awakened and led before Allah's tribunal. The faithful will have abodes appointed them in well-watered, shady gardens, with fruit-trees richly laden, with luxurious couches upon which they may lie and enjoy the delicious food, served by the ministrants of Paradise. They may also freely indulge in sparkling wine that does not intoxicate, and in intercourse with women, whose youth and virginity do not fade. The unbelievers end their lives in Hell-fire; or, rather, there is no end, for the punishment as well as the reward are everlasting."¹ This is not an adequate account of Muhammad's conception. Syed Ameer Ali has pointed out that Muhammad's pictures of the future life are not always sensuous. Like Jesus, he had at times to adapt himself to the conditions of his time, and to employ language which could be understood by the common people. "The various chapters of the Koran which contain the ornate descriptions of paradise, whether figurative or literal, were delivered wholly or in part at Mecca. Probably in the infancy of his religious consciousness, Mohammed himself believed in some or other of the traditions which floated around him. But with a wider awakening of the soul, a deeper communion with the Creator of the Universe, thoughts, which bore a material aspect at first, became spiritualised.

¹ *Mohammedanism*, 1916, pp. 55 f.

The mind of the Teacher progressed not only with the march of time and the development of his religious consciousness, but also with the progress of his disciples in approaching spiritual conceptions. Hence, in the later *suras* we observe a merging of the material in the spiritual, of the body in the soul. The gardens 'watered by rivers,' perpetual shade, plenty and harmony, so agreeable to the famished denizen of the parched, shadeless, and waterless desert, at perpetual discord with himself and all around him,—these still form the groundwork of beautiful imageries; but the happiness of the blessed is shown to consist in eternal peace and goodwill in the presence of their Creator. 'But those,' says the Koran, 'who are pious shall dwell in gardens, amidst fountains; they shall say unto them, 'Enter ye therein in peace and security'; and all rancour will we remove from their bosoms; they shall sit as brethren, face to face, on couches; weariness shall not affect them therein, neither shall they be repelled thence for ever.'

What can be nobler or grander in its conception or imagery, or give a better idea of the belief in the Prophet's mind when conveying his final message concerning the nature of the present and future life, than the following passage: 'It is He who enableth you to travel by land and by sea; so that ye go on board of ships, which sail on with them, with favourable breeze, and they rejoice therein. But if a tempestuous wind overtake, and the waves come on them from every side, and they think they are encompassed therewith, they call on God, professing unto Him sincere religion; (saying) wouldst Thou but rescue us from this, then we will ever be indeed of the thankful. But when We have rescued them, Behold! they commit unrighteous excesses on the earth. O men! verily the excesses ye commit to the injury of your own souls are only for the enjoyment of this earthly life; soon shall ye return to Us, and We will declare unto you that

¹ The reference is to Koran, XIII, 34, XLVII, 16, 17.

which ye have done. Verily, the likeness of this present life is not otherwise than the water which We sent down from heaven ; and the productions of the earth, of which men and cattle eat, are mixed therewith, till the earth has received its beautiful raiment, and is decked out, and they who inhabit it imagine they have power over it ! (But) Our behest cometh unto it by night or by day, and We make it as if it had been mown, as though it had not teemed (with fertility) only yesterday. Thus do We make our signs clear unto those who consider. And God inviteth unto the abodes of peace, and guideth whom He pleaseth unto the right way. For those who do good is excellent reward and superabundant addition of it ; neither blackness nor shame shall cover their faces. These are the inhabitants of paradise ; therein do they abide for ever. But those who have wrought evil shall receive the reward of evil equal thereunto ; and shame shall cover them (for there will be none to protect them against God) as though their faces were covered with a piece of the night of profound darkness.'¹ Then again, what can be purer in its aspirations than the following ? 'Who fulfil the covenant of God and break not their compact ; and who join together what God hath bidden to be joined ; and who fear their Lord and dread an ill-reckoning ; and who, from a sincere desire to please their Lord, are constant amid trials, and observe prayers and give alms, in secret and openly, out of what We have bestowed on them ; and turn aside evil with good : for them there is the recompense of that abode, gardens of eternal habitation, into which they shall enter, together with such as shall have acted rightly from among their fathers, their wives, and their posterity ; and the angels shall go in unto them by every portal, (saying) 'Peace be with you ! because ye have endured with patience. Excellent is the reward in that abode !' ''²

¹ The reference is to Koran X, 23-27.

² Syed Ameer Ali, *The Spirit of Islam*, 1922, pp. 200 ff.

The last reference is to Koran XIII, 20-24.

In any case, it is a mistake to interpret the descriptions in the Koran, as it is a mistake to interpret the descriptions in the New Testament, too literally. Many good Muhammadans and Christians refuse to do so. They look upon the joys of Heaven and the pains of Hell as purely subjective.¹

The belief in some sort of survival after death seems to have arisen in very early pre-historic times. The placing of the dead bodies in a sleeping position or in the embryonic position, and the depositing in many instances of objects of food point to the notion that the dead would awaken to enjoy some kind of continued existence, or would in some way be born again. The idea of survival or re-birth or new birth is therefore very much more ancient than we used to imagine. Another idea that proves to be of great antiquity is that for the reawakening, dead persons require not only a supply of food, but also the companionship of wives and attendants. In other words what is known as Sati-burial has a long history. E. O. James writes as follows: "In the Bronze Age both burnt and unburnt remains are found in barrows that are circular and more or less conical; an instance may be quoted in which the circumstances show that both methods were resorted to on occasions; as, for example, in a mound excavated in 1849 on Acklam Wold, Yorkshire. In it were found a pile of burnt bones in close contact with the legs of a skeleton buried in the usual contracted position. It seems to have been deposited while yet hot, for the knees of the skeleton were completely charred. It has been suggested that in cases like this, or where an unburnt body is surrounded by a ring of urn-burials, the entire skeletons may be those of chiefs or heads of families, and the burnt bones those of slaves, dependents, or even wives, sacrificed at the funeral."²

In the Eastern Cemetery at Kerma in Nubia on the

¹ Jews, Christians, and Muhammadans seem to a large extent to have borrowed their pictures of Heaven and Hell from the Zoroastrians.

² *An Introduction to Anthropology*, 1919, p. 146.

eastern bank of the Nile, G. A. Reisner found many cases of multiple burials. The general type of such burials had the following characteristics: (i) "The chief burial lay on the south side of the grave, usually on a bed, on the right side, with the legs slightly bent at the knees, the right hand under the cheek and the left hand on or near the right elbow. The body was apparently clothed in linen, with the usual weapons and personal adornments. On the bed was placed, as a rule, a wooden headrest, an ostrich-feather fan, and a pair of rawhide sandals. At or on the foot of the bed were also placed certain toilet articles and bronze implements. Near the bed and around the walls of the pit were arranged a large number of pottery vessels." (ii) "The chief burial and the grave furniture occupied only a small part of the floor area of the grave. The rest was taken up by other human bodies, ranging from one to twelve or more in number, and the bodies of one to six rams. The positions of these human bodies did not follow strictly any one rule; the majority were on the right side; of these again a majority lay with the head east; but almost every possible position occurred. The extent of the contraction varied quite as much—from the half extended position of the chief body to the tightest possible doubling up. Some even were on the back and some on the stomach. The hands were usually over the face or at the throat, sometimes twisted together, sometimes clutching the hair. In only a few cases was a person seen who lay in the attitude of the chief person, but in a number of cases a modification of that attitude was seen." Dr. Reisner calls these extra bodies sacrifices. (iii) "The chief body appears always to have been covered with a hide, usually an ox-hide, and in some cases at least the hide covered the sacrifices as well."

The bodies are not mummified in any way. The extra bodies are for the greater part of the bodies of females, often quite young. Moreover, these multiple burials at Kerma are evidently the result of one funeral on one definite day. The

facts recorded in the graves of Kerma have convinced Dr. Reisner that there was in vogue the custom, widely practised (but best known from the Hindu form called *sati* or *suttee*), or some such custom, in which the wives of the dead man cast themselves (or are thrown) on his funeral pyre. He calls attention to the fact that multiple-burials have been noted also in Egypt. They appear in cemeteries of the Pre-dynastic Period, in cemeteries of the Middle Kingdom, and in exceptional burials in the New Kingdom. This suggests that in all probability the archaic burial is also *sati*-burial. The records of Kerma "prove that the greater part of the people buried in the Kerma graves were Egyptian, and that the culture was certainly the work of civilized Egyptians affected by local conditions and materials." The *sati*-burial may, therefore, be regarded as a survival of an archaic practice. The fact that all the chief men and most of the human sacrifices were laid with their faces towards Egypt; the fact that none of those buried after death were wrapped in the impeding bandages of the Egyptian dead; and the fact that a pair of sandals was considered essential, and is found in some cases actually worn on the feet of the dead;—these facts suggest that the *ka* was supposed to return to Egypt. On this view of the matter, "self-sacrifice as practised in the *sati*-burials at Kerma was not a cruel inhuman thing, but rather a kindly custom, an act of loyalty which provided both him who had died and those who offered themselves to a living death, with the assurance of the continuation of the long-accustomed family life in the other world."¹

In view of all this, when we find *Sati*-burial practised among primitive folk in Africa, we may assume that it is a survival of a very ancient practice in this region. According to J. Roscoe, kings of Uganda are never said to die; they remove to another place and phase of life. The body of a

¹ *Harvard African Studies*, Vol. V, 1923, Kerma, I-III, pp. 65 ff.

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dead king is covered with a bark cloth, and carried by a number of men to the place appointed for the first part of the preparation for burial. "It is disemboweled, sponged with plantain wine, and all the juices are squeezed out into sponges of plantain fibre and bark cloth until the body is dry and hard. The men who carry out this work, together with a few widows selected from the harem, drink all the juices expressed from the body, mixing them with plantain wine. The task of mummifying and preparing the body for interment requires six months, the body being moved from place to place as each stage is ended until it is pronounced to be ready for its final resting place. The new king is informed when each stage of the preparation is complete and gives his sanction for the removal of the body to the next place. When the ceremonies are completed he sends his representatives Kago and Sebaganzi, the latter being a brother of the king's mother. These chiefs take a bark cloth made for the purpose and well-smearred with butter, and perform the part of the king in taking leave of the dead by covering the face and body with the bark cloth they have brought. A number of widows who have held special office about the late king, together with a corresponding number of chiefs, are sent to the place where the leave-taking of the dead is performed, and form an important part of the funeral procession. These women are the chambermaid, cup-bearer, cook, milkmaid, and the woman who has charge of the royal robes; the men are the chief cook, water-bearer, brewer, and herdsman. The guardian of the fire has already been strangled at the gate of the royal entrance. A man bearing a branch of a tree known as 'the tree of the dead' marches in front of the procession and is called 'the eyes of the dead.' Following him comes a man bearing a hoe and a fowl, then the widows and chiefs, followed by a guard of honor with the body, which is carried feet first, and lastly the crowds of people carrying offerings for the grave.

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The burial place of kings is always in the country known as 'the Grave Country.' It is in this district that the royal house of mourning is built in which the new king resides until the funeral has taken place and he is purified from mourning. Each king has his grave on a hill-top, where a large hut is built and is surrounded by a high fence with an outer fence a few yards lower down the hill. Between the fences there is a space of some twenty yards. The hut which forms the mausoleum is built of perishable materials, wooden pillars supporting a basketwork frame of reeds which is thatched with grass. The doorway is only four feet high and three feet wide, and has a hood over it forming a porch supported by two wooden pillars. Inside this hut the earthen floor is smoothed level and slightly beaten, and a frame like a bedstead is made for the body to rest upon, this being about four feet high and covered with bark cloth. The man bearing the hoe digs a shallow pit under the bedstead, which represents the grave. As there is no actual grave, this pit may point back to a time when the entire remains were actually buried. The body is then laid upon the bedstead and the crowds of people press forward with their offerings of bark cloths which are stored and packed into the hut until it is quite full; the pillars supporting the porch are then cut down and the hood falls and closes the doorway. The widows and chiefs are brought and stand round the hut with their backs to it and are clubbed to death, their bodies being left where they fall. A guard remains in charge of the spot with orders not to allow wild beasts of prey to touch the bodies or to carry them off. During the following six months the place is left to the guards and to a number of widows who are appointed to carry out a system of cultivation round the enclosure, to plant plantain trees, and thus prepare the place for their future home.¹

¹ J. Roscoe, 'Worship of the Dead in Uganda,' in *Harvard African Studies*, I, 1917, pp. 38 f.

The temple of a king of Uganda is under the management of the dowager queen, and her house is built near the enclosure. In the courtyard of the temple a number of widows continue to live whose duties are to take part in guarding the temple against improper use by visitors, to renew the grass carpet when necessary, to sweep the courtyard, and to cultivate the plantain trees which surround the temple. This plantation is expected to provide sufficient food for the widows. These women are always spoken of as 'wives' of the late king, the term 'widow' being carefully avoided in their case. Their chastity is a matter of the strictest care, and any transgression of good morals is met by capital punishment. The office of a king's wife may be terminated if one of these women wishes to marry: she can then arrange with the members of her clan to supply another maid of the same totem to take her place. The number of wives always remains the same year after year, because, when one of them dies, the members of her clan replace her by giving another young woman to carry on her duties. In like manner the office of queen is perpetuated because another princess is elected when death removes the queen. All the principal chiefs who held office under the deceased king retain their titles and continue their services in the same manner as before, only they surrender their estates and are granted land sufficient to supply their needs. These offices also are of a permanent nature, and when a man dies the clan fills his office by another member of the clan. Thus the temple of a king retains its staff of officers and women as though the king still lived, and it is open to all comers at any time of the day to visit it and pay their respects to the king."¹

The king of Bunyoro, a district extending along the river Nile from Busoga to the Albert Nyanza and bordering upon Nyanza, has always been expected to die while retaining

¹ *Op cit.*, pp. 40 f.

his full powers, mental and physical. "Should he feel unwell and have a presentiment that he is about to be seriously ill, he calls his chief wife, informs her, and asks for the poison cup. The drug for making this cup is kept ready to hand so that it is mixed with little delay. The king drinks it and is dead in a few moments." The burial place is in a part of the country reserved for the tombs of the kings. "The grave is a large pit with an inclined path cut into it, down which the body is carried. The bottom and sides are lined with cow skins, and on these bark cloth is laid forming a bed for the body to lie upon. The body is laid in a recumbent position and covered with bark cloth. A number of important people are marched into the grave and speared to death. These include two principal widows, the boy whose duty has been to drink any milk left by the king at his meals, the chief herdsman, chief cook, and the man who has charge of the king's well. Numbers of widows go to the funeral, and, unless they are guarded, they poison themselves and fall dead into the grave. The grave is filled with earth and a mound is raised over it. Near this mound a number of cows are killed from the king's private herd, the blood running over the grave, and the meat is cooked and eaten by the men who have been at work digging the grave and carrying out the funeral rites. The human beings, who are killed, and the cows are said to go to the king in the ghost world, where the wives and officers carry on their former duties about the king, while the cows form his herd of animals. Over the grave is built a large hut in which a number of priests with a medium live to keep in touch with the departed king. To this hut the new king sends for information as from a father, and thus obtains news concerning the state and any enemies about to invade the country. He sends offerings of cattle, and, at times, of slaves when he wishes to obtain information especially concerning the state."¹

¹ J. Boscoe, *op. cit.*, pp. 44 f.

Sati-burial was practised in China, and here also it seems to have had a long history. "Just as the burying with the dead of lifeless property, the immolation of living beings on their behalf doubtless dates in China from the darkest mist of ages. Yet the cases on record in the native books are of relatively modern date, which, we think, must be ascribed to the circumstance that in high antiquity they were so common, that it did not occur to the annalists and chroniclers to set down such everyday matters as anything remarkable." Szä-ma Ts'ien is the first to record the custom. He says that when the ruler of Wu (of the state of Ts'in) died in 677 B.C., 'then for the first time people were made to follow the dead into the next world,' and he gives the number on this occasion as sixty-six. De Groot points out that we ought not to take the expression 'for the first time' literally, since such a practice can hardly have sprung up suddenly on so large a scale. The meaning may be taken to be that this ruler of Wu was the first sovereign of his House for whom victims, or so many victims, were immolated.¹

The Chinese books indeed "contain many passages which place it beyond all doubt that the practice was anciently quite indigenous in their country." It has died hard. Though burying living people with the dead has been gradually obliterated from the customs of the Chinese people by advancing culture, yet it has struggled hard in its decline and insensibly assumed a modified shape, under which it still maintains itself. Daughters, daughters-in-law and widows especially, being imbued with the doctrine that they are the property of their dead parents, parents-in-law and husbands, and accordingly owe them the highest degree of submissive devotion, often take their own lives, in order to follow them into the next world. Numerous cases of such suicides are mentioned already in the works of the Han dynasty, and

¹ J. J. M. De Groot, *The Religious System of China*, II, 1894, pp 721 f.

are found in the books of subsequent ages in gradually increasing numbers, which is quite natural, seeing they slowly took the place of immolations at burials.”¹

We have found that a belief in some sort of survival after death is very widespread. In the course of ages belief in a material survival has given place more and more to belief in a spiritual survival. But this is a later development, and we have to inquire how it was possible to believe in ancient times that a dead body could be re-vitalized and re-animated.²

MAURICE A. CANNEY

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 735.

² Second *Stephanos Nirmalendu Ghose Lecture*, delivered at the Calcutta University, January, 1925.

THE MUSIC OF NIGHT

“Come away, come away from this throng, and its tumult of sorrow,
 There is rest, there is peace from the pang of its manifold strife
 Where the halcyon night holds in trust the dear songs of the morrow,
 And the silence is but a rich pause in the music of life.”

—*Sarajini Naidu.*

The hills are tipped with pink light on the one side like the
 sand-stone ridges of the Sahara.

On the other they show blackly against peach-bloom clouds
 set in a sky of duck's-egg blue that fades again into grey.

There are hollows in the hills like creases in a piece of blue-
 green velvet, irregular indentations like the outline of a
 map.

A fir tree stands outlined against the horizon,

An ebon breath of Japan.

Down in the valley clumps of rhododendrons loom pink and
 purple in the twilight.

Now the clouds die to a soft mauve, and the hills to a cold,
 dark blue.

The roads over the moorland show white and ghostly between
 grey walls that make chessboard patterns of the deserted
 fields.

Dimly the railway track shows in the veiling of dusk.

The house of the station master is wreathed in rambler roses,
 like a ruddy Cupid hung with garlands.....

Night is a neutraliser, a disguise that levels all the world to
 one tone of transcendent beauty, a cloak to hide the
 sorrows of the world.

Night is the end of all things, the harvester of lovers, the
 mantle of the gods, the veiler of sin.

Night is *Nirvana*, the ultimate attainment.

Night is *Maya*, the dream-world of Illusion.

Night is the Garden of Paradise.....

In the garden the roses gleam white like spirits of a flower world.

Above, in a purple velvet sky, an imperious peridot moon holds sway over a court of stars.

The blue shadow of a hawthorn tree seems as an enchanted circle, a fairy ring that holds the magic of the gods to ransom.

The perfume of the dew-washed grass is one with the ghostly roses, the translucent fireflies and all the pregnant possibilities of the swooning darkness.

Bats make inky splashes and powdered moth-wings brush the face of the wanderer in the garden.....

Night fills the heart with an ecstasy of wonder, a desire to grasp the elusiveness of the Infinite.

It is as though mighty forces conspire together to fill with awe the human mind.

Night is a chastener, a sweet reminder of mortal mutability, a belittler of homogeneous self-complacency.

She is the mistress of Eternity, born of the union of Time and Space,

And the Music of Night is——Silence!

GWENDOLINE GOODWIN

FRIENDSHIP

If thou would'st be a friend to me,
 Then seal with me thy choice ;
 No rose-wreathed cup I'll quaff with thee,
 That thou might'st but rejoice.

Fain would I have thee near to me
 When sorrow's lot is mine ;
 For I would taste along with thee
 The wormwood, not the wine.

Night's dreary vigils keep with me
 When happiness hath flown ;
 And silently I'll weep with thee,
 Thou shalt not grieve alone.

When pain and anguish come to me,
 Oh, close with me abide ;
 My heart's response I'll offer thee,
 When thou art by my side.

Life's saddest moments share with me,
 When comes the direst need ;
 Thy burden I shall bear with thee,
 And crown thee friend indeed.



THE SIKH MASANDS

(A Rejoinder)

I entirely agree with most of the learned thesis of Mr. Indubhusan Banerjee about the *Sikh Masands*, published in the *Calcutta Review* of April, 1925. I find, however, that in dealing with the custom of *daswandh* or tithes as organized by Guru Arjun, he has not carefully looked into his authorities.

He says that with the accession of Guru Arjun "the voluntary contributions of the faithful were converted into compulsory taxation." As this is a very grave charge against the character of a great spiritual leader, and as it has been so often repeated in histories written in English, it has become necessary to look into the truth of the case. As far as I am aware the earliest authority lending colour to this allegation is the *Dabistán-i-Mazáhib* of Mohsin Fani, a contemporary of Guru Hargobind. All other writers have simply followed this oldest record of an impartial observer, and, therefore, their evidence is of no value, independent of this. Now there is a passage in the *Dabistán* bearing on the question of *daswandh* and the way in which it was received by the *masands*. I would translate it like this :

"In the time of the Afghan Kings nobles were styled *masnadi-áli*. At last the word by constant use by Indians became *masand*. And the Sikhs, who consider their Gurus¹ to be *Sacha Padshah* or true kings, call their agent a *masand*, as also Ramdas. In the time of the predecessors of the Fifth Guru no *bhaint* or tribute (?) was taken from the Sikhs. It was

¹ The word in the original is plural, i.e., all the Gurus were styled *Sacha Padshah*. It is wrong to say that by the time of the Fifth or Sixth Guru the ideal of Sikhism was lowered and the Guru came to be called *Sacha Padshah*, his seat a *takht* or throne, and the assembly of his followers a *darbar* or court. It will appear from the writings, too numerous to quote, of the early Gurus, and especially of the bards who began to write in the time of the second Guru, that these terms were no later innovations, but had been used from the beginning. They are eastern euphemisms used in respect of all revered *faquirs*. Guru Nanak himself was called *Nának Sháh*. Christ was similarly called *true king*. It is true, however, that it was by the time of the Fifth Guru that the terms began to be misrepresented and were used with much effect as a handle against the Guru. So was the term *true king* misinterpreted by the enemies of Jesus. But the modern writers are expected to know better.

considered satisfactory to take what they themselves presented as gifts. Guru Arjun in his time appointed for Sikhs in every city a man who was to take tribute and contribution from them; and through whom people became Sikhs of the Guru. The chief *masands*, through whom great multitudes became Sikhs of the Guru, appointed their own deputies, until in every place and locality the associates of a *masand* through his deputy became Sikhs of the Guru. As it is a fixed principle among them that it is not good to be an *udasi* or recluse, therefore among the Sikhs of the Guru some take up agriculture, others trade, and still others service. Every one of them according to his means puts by some money, which he himself brings to the *masand* annually as an offering, and which the *masand* does not appropriate for himself. Anything else that they bring during the year for the *masand* to be conveyed as an offering to the Guru's service, may be spent by the *masand* himself, provided he has no other means of livelihood. But if he has also got some other work or profession, he does not contaminate himself at all by appropriating the money of offerings, and takes all collections to the Guru."

This passage, when studied carefully, makes it quite clear that the *daswandh* or tenth part of the profit, to be set apart by every pious Sikh, was a voluntary contribution, and no tax. The difference between the system prevailing before Guru Arjun and that introduced by himself was that before him the offerings were very occasional and were brought directly by Sikhs to the Guru, while now he made it regular and established a system of collections through authorized agents. Mohsin Fani used the correct words *Bhaint* and *Nazar* for it, but curiously he gives a wrong synonym, *Báj* (tribute) which has been seized upon by theorists engaged in proving the existence of political motives even in the religious work of the later Gurus.

The fact is that this custom of giving tithes began, as Mr. Banerjee himself admits, with the rise of Sikhism. Under the earlier Gurus, when the number of Sikhs was small, the collection of tithes did not involve the necessity of employing intermediaries. But by the time of Guru Arjun the Sikhs had increased to a great extent, and their *sangats* were spread far and wide. This necessitated some system for keeping the scattered elements together. Also with the growing hardness of times, the Sikhs grew in fervour and piety; and with it increased their love for social service, which took the form of public works such as free kitchens, "way-side refectories which gave food and shelter to indigent wayfarers," wells, tanks, temples and towns. They gave the service of their bodies and

mindss, but they gave money ¹ also. The Guru himself lived a simple life with his own earnings from trade, and his predecessors had lived by shop-keeping or twisting *munj*. But this did not debar him from undertaking great works of public utility, such as the digging of tanks and building of temples and cities of Amritsar and Tarntaran, where he brought men of all castes and creeds engaged in different trades and helped them with money to set up their different kinds of business. He also encouraged his Sikhs to work as horse-dealers, bankers, carpenters, embroiderers, etc. This may sound queer to those who are accustomed to think of religious leaders as mere recluses, mumbling *mantras*, with hands folded and eyes upturned. But such were not the Sikh Gurus. They were practical leaders as well as saints, and they thought it not inconsistent with their religious ideals to take active measures to teach the service of mankind as much through the advancement of trade, arts and learning, as through meditation, high-thinking and noble-living—who could be more learned than the compiler of the *Holy Granth*; who more high-souled than he who died a martyr to the cause of truth? ² But the singularity of his saintliness was that with all this he could also think of rearing righteous horse-dealers, tinkers, blacksmiths and bankers. Religion had come out of caves into the open bazar.

Now all the increased public activities of the Sikh nation, with a most active leader at its head, required money; and the Sikhs found themselves ready to sacrifice any amount of it. Should the great organizer in other ways have left the collection of money into the hands of incompetent and unscrupulous persons? Should he not have done this work also as ably as anything else? Some have called this a *banya* spirit; but does magnanimity of a public leader consist in allowing money matters to shift for

¹ The spirit in which the money was given and received will be more clear from the following episode: Jehangir offered to Guru Hargobind to complete the building of the *Akal Takht* at his own expense. But the Guru thankfully declined the offer, saying: "Let me and my Sikhs raise this throne of God with the labour of our own bodies and with the contributions from our own little resources. I want to make it a symbol of my Sikhs' service and sacrifice; and not a monument to a king's generosity."

² That he suffered for his religion at the hands of Jehangir, may be seen from the following words taken from the Emperor's own *Tauzak*: "So many of the simple-minded Hindus, nay, many foolish Muslims too had been fascinated by his ways and teachings. He was noised about as a great religious and worldly leader. They called him Guru, and from all directions crowds of people would come to him and express great devotion to him. This busy traffic had been carried on for three or four generations. For many years the thought had been presenting itself to my mind that either I should put an end to this false traffic, or that he should be brought within the fold of Islam."

themselves? He who undertakes to raise public works of enormous dimensions, that are sure to require and attract money, will be nothing short of a criminal if he neglects to make suitable arrangements for its honest collection and honest conveyance to the proper custody.

We must remember also that the opponents of the Guru in his own family and outside had grown so many and so daring that it was most difficult for the money of *daswandh* and other offerings to reach the Guru. It was often intercepted by his own brother, who would sometimes come and make a clean sweep of all the stores and utensils from the free kitchen. The only escape from this would have been to nullify the religious duty of paying the tithes and carrying on free-kitchens, etc. But this he could not do without deserting his mission.

Looking at all these circumstances it is not difficult to see how necessary it was for the Guru to appoint honest and pious persons to preach religion and at the same time to bring the offerings of the faithful to the Guru. There is not a little of proof anywhere that these offerings were anything but voluntary. This *daswandh* is not a dead institution, but is an essential part of Sikhism and is paid even now by every pious Sikh. It figures as an obligation in the constitutions of most of the present-day societies of the Sikhs. The Mohamedans have got their *zakat* and the Christians their tithes. They would be startled to find these religious obligations referred to as compulsory taxes. If a charity offering as a religious duty were to be given the political epithet of 'tax' simply because it is declared to be obligatory, then all commandments and rules of religion will belong to the same category, because in religion all duties are obligatory.

TEJA SINGH

DESPISED BEAUTY

'Tis true, they say, this body's vile,
 'Tis loathsome as the dung,
 And yet, unnumbered are the days
 That hear its praises sung—
 In every age, in every clime,
 In word, in line, in stone,
 'They 're sung to ear, 'they 're sung to eye—
 Inbreathed by mind alone.
 Ah! yes, the body temple be
 Of Beauty that's supreme—
 That beauty's Truth, that Beauty's Joy—
 This vileness but a dream.
 A dream, destroying life and love—
 A dream of wood and cell—
 A dream that makes of Truth a dream,
 Fore-taste of fetid hell.
 And yet they swear true Beauty's God,
 In flesh, upon vile earth has trod.
 Doth not His touch, in loving thrill,
 All—all, called vile, for ever fill?
 With him, the world's unbroken joy,
 Without, the world's a broken toy.
 With Him the world's a song and smile,
 Without, the world's but blood and guile.
 With Him the world is ever bright,
 Without, it is dark death of sight.
 Accept my thanks, sweet, gracious Lord,
 For gifts of joy, free, salt of life!
 Grant my thanks may thee-ward rise
 In silence, burning, incense-wise,
 Be-stilling heart's unending strife;
 Oh, bind me with Love's view-less cord!

MOHINI MOHAN CHATTERJI

THE DUST OF SONGS

“The Maidens of the Spinning-wheel sing the tragedy in choric song, and bury Sasi in the dust of songs. From that dust maidenhood blooms up anew, and Sasi’s sisters wish again to love.”—

Paran Singh.

The public goes to a concert. The public has been likened to a flock of sheep many a time and oft, and not, alas, without reason but often without kindness, for the herding instinct is common to humankind just as it is to animals, and small harm lies therein. Indeed there is “safety in numbers.” But the public is made up of individuals and each individual goes to a concert to satisfy his or her particular musical instinct. Technical skill takes foremost place in the admiration of the majority. Its plaudits are bestowed upon chromatic efficiency rather than upon simplicity of execution revealing true insight into beauty of a single chord. Technique is a necessity but it should not become an intrusion. It should fuse itself with beauty of expression, blend itself with harmony, and merge its velocity with rhythmical tone. But leave out technique altogether, forget its existence, and think only of music—meaning song—as an interpretation of sounds pleasing to the individual. Think of songs as of so many grains of sand passing through the hands of the diviner, scattered upon a roadway trodden by many feet, left lying there in careless nonchalance, till comes a gentle breeze rising to a mighty wind, and blows them back to where they most belong. “Dust of Songs”...desert dust...ghosts of memory that haunt into the eternity of time. Subtly sweet, these ghosts echoing in faint reverberations the essence of their hallowed tunefulness. This “dust of songs” is the dust of old associations, the call of the years that are past to the years that are to come, the link of harmony that welds the thoughts of man into a complete chain of melodic sequence.

Sasî was a Punjabi princess beloved of Puran. Tragedy was theirs. It is of tragedy that we hear in the great love-stories of the world rather than of happy endings. But the sisters of the Spinning-wheel buried Sasî "in the dust of songs," and she is re-incarnated in the choruses of succeeding worlds, she is the embodiment of a thousand hymns of love, the little spirit that plays hide-and-peek among ruled lines and black dots with tails curved and straight. She is Sasî, the Punjabi, but she sits poised atop an S-shaped clef directing words and music with an invisible baton, the baton that is the very soul of melody itself. She is Sasî the Punjabi, black-eyed, olive-skinned, lovely as a lotus-bloom. Her home is the Land of the Five Rivers, the Land of Song, the Land of Warriors and Saints. Sasi herself is dust—desert dust—microscopic grains of ochre sand, but her soul lives on—her soul that is the essence of all songs, the message of all womanhood through this emotional outlet, the "food of love" that can arouse the world to ecstasy.

Songs are caste-less. They are all grouped, from music-hall ditties to operatic excerpts, under one heading. Why, after all, despise any song? For every one has its message to give, and though it is the custom to sneer at vaudeville products, there is a cheering philosophy in many of them that is not to be despised. They advise one to keep on smiling or humming or whispering, they tell one, platitudinously, that every cloud has a silver lining, they exude optimism from every vocal pore. Meetings with far-distant loved ones are prophesied, thoughts for the future are exhorted. It may seem trivial, commonplace, laughable. It is, nevertheless, very human. There was an officer, who after the conclusion of the Great War, made a particular favourite of "Old Kentucky Home" simply because he associated it with happy times in France—possibly he never even thought of the technical or the artistic side of the ditty. It was sufficient for him that it recalled "old times," and that, after all, is the

greatest triumph of a song, that it is linked with old associations and recalls treasured moments.

In Victorian days maidens lisped

"I cannot sing the old songs,
They are so dear to me."

The sentiment was quite *au fait*, but it was somewhat of a refutation. It fell back on its own body, so to speak because as often as not it was followed by a cycle of those same "old songs" that were supposed to be drowned in a sea of tearful emotion. The Victorian age was arrantly sentimental, but in respect of vocalism it differed not at all from any other era, for songs are the spirit of sentiment personified. An appeal to the senses is their function. So we find them leading men into battle, presiding with Hymen, crossing the Styx with old Charon. Think of a world *without* Song! What a "dull, stale, unprofitable" place it would be!

Blind singers raising chants to Isis, in an atmosphere of sweet, spiral incense wreaths that, like tulle veils, make but filmy ghosts of the shaven-headed priests...hymns for the glory of the multiple gods and goddesses of Hinduism...love-ballads of the Troubadours...sweet boy-voices raised in choric unison in adoration of the One God...flute-like cadences of salaried prima-donnas...syncopated ditties of coloured comedians... down the ages they come, the everlasting procession, the thousand variations of one theme, the many children of one prolific mother, the living records of one fleeting mood. Songs never die. They go to the dust and are re-born in new disguise. And the greatest of all is—bird-song, the chorus of Nature, the free, unhampered carol of the throbbing, feathered throats. Birds are the heralds of the pearly-pink of dawn. Birds are the heralds of the purple tones of night. In the East Philomel is singing, ever singing to his dewy, scented love, the rose. In the West, a blue-shot blackbird sways on a wind-swept poplar in a lilting tune of joy. What do they

know of technique, these bright-eyed denizens of garden and of field? Nothing, less than nothing. Spontaneity is theirs, song for the joy of life, that is the true essence. Birds die, or rather, drift into eternity. Their songs are stilled but to arise again through Nature's mighty scheme of reproduction. The "dust of songs" becomes a very desert of vanished dreams, but "from that dust maidenhood blooms up anew, and Sasî's sisters wish again to love."

GWENDOLINE GOODWIN

A PORTRAIT

You remind me of a small volume bound in mauve vellum,
Lying with uncut and unopened pages ;
Chastely perfect, fragile and unblemished ;
Yet if I dared to lift your dainty covers,
And ventured to open the book of you ;—
I fear, alas, that I should find
All your smooth white pages blank !

LILY S-ANDERSON

AT MIDNIGHT

In midmost night when death came like a thief,
Through starlight paths, in peace, to look like sleep,
'There's not a breath of air to rouse a leaf,
'Twas silence dark as sin, like treachery deep.

When death came like a thief in dark and gloom,
His wanton footsteps hushed by guilty sleep,
'Why did not all the stars like bolts then boom,
'Why did they still their fatal beauty keep ?

Why did the trees that stood like sentinels
Not thrust their bayonet-leaves his steps to hold ?
The grief they did not feel that my heart swells,
The blow that fell'd me harmless o'er them rolled.

And yet when days would die that Nature loved,
Into the flaming sky her terrors leapt,
'She roared in storms as of her dear one robbed,
But when I lost my all, this Nature slept.

NALINIMOHAN CHATTERJEE

STATELESS PERSONS IN U. S. A.

By Section 2169 of the United States Revised Statutes, all aliens, who are "free white persons" and otherwise unobjectionable, can become citizens of the United States by naturalization. This has been the law of the United States for very many years. It also became well settled years ago by the decisions of our courts that "free white persons" meant those belonging to the Caucasian race, and that high caste Hindus were members of the Caucasian race and thus entitled to naturalization. (U. S. V. Balsara, 180 Fed 694; in *re* Akhoy Kumar Mazumdar, 207 Fed 115; in *re* Mohon Singh, 257 Fed 209).

In the Balsara case, decided by the Circuit Court of Appeals, Second Circuit (including New York City), 1910, Judge Ward, writing for a unanimous court, said :

"Counsel for Balsara insists that Congress intended by the words 'free white persons' to confer the privilege of naturalization upon members of the white or Caucasian race only. This we think the right conclusion and one supported by the great weight of authority. * * * We think that the words refer to race and include all persons of the white race as distinguished from black, red, yellow or brown races which differ in so many respects from it. Whether there is any pure white race and what people belong to it may involve nice discriminations but for practical purposes there is no difficulty in saying that the Chinese, Japanese, Malayans and American Indians do not belong to the white race. Difficult questions may arise and Congress may have to settle them by more specific legislation, but in our opinion the Parsees belong to the white race and the Circuit Court properly admitted Balsara."

Mr. Balsara was a native of Bombay, India, and his ancestors for a thousand years had all been residents of India.

In rendering the decision the court cited the following cases: In *re* Ah Yup 5 Sway; 155 Fed Cas. No. 104; In *re* Saito (C. C.) 62 Fed. 126; In *re* Camille (C. C.) 6 Fed.

256; Matter of San C. Po. 7 Misc. Rep. 471, 28 N. Y. Supp 383; In *re* Buntare Kumagai (D. C.) 163 Fed. 922; In *re* Knight (D. C.) 171 Fed. 297; In *re* Najour (C. C.) 174 Fed 735; In *re* Halladjian (C. C.) 174 Fed 834.

In *re* Akhoy Kumar Mazumdar which was decided in the District Court E. D. Washington, D. C., in May, 1913, Justice Rudkin in admitting the applicant to citizenship said :

" But whatever the original intent may have been, it is now settled, by the great weight of authority, at least, that it was the intention of the Congress to confer the privilege of naturalization upon members of the caucasian race only * * * The testimony in this case satisfies me that the applicant has brought himself within the provisions of the Naturalization Act, and he will be admitted to citizenship accordingly, upon taking the oath prescribed by law."

In June, 1914, when I applied for the final paper of naturalization before the U. S. District Court, N. District of California, the question was so settled that Justice Dooling wrote the following decision :

" The applicant is a high caste Hindu of the Aryan race. It has been held that the words " free white persons " as used in the Section 2169 Revised Statutes, are intended to include the Caucasian race. (In *re* Mazumdar, 207 Fed, 115 ; U. S. Balsara 180 Fed, 694.) It is difficult to determine the exact peoples intended to be embraced in the words " free white persons " but the trend of modern decisions is in accord with the cases cited above. The applicant falls within the meaning of the words as therein construed, and will be admitted."

During 1914 to 1917 U. S. Authorities thrice granted me passports to travel through America, Europe and Asia. Between 1914 and 1923 several Hindus were naturalized and among them are Mr. S. D. Pandit, Attorney-at-Law, Los Angeles, Cal, and Dr. Sudhindra Bose, Lecturer in the Department of Political Science, University of Iowa, who secured his final papers in 1918 and Mohon Sing of Los Angeles, California, in 1919.

In seeming confirmation of abovementioned decisions, on November 13, 1922, in *Ozawa vs. U. S.*, 260, U. S. 178, the Supreme Court held :

“Beginning with the decision of the Circuit Court, Judge Swayer in *re Ah Yup Sway*, 155 Fed. Cas. 104, the Federal and State Courts in almost unbroken line, have held that the words “white persons” were meant to indicate what is popularly known as the Caucasian race.”

The Hon. Justice Sutherland, among others, cited the cases : In *re Mazumdar* (D. C.) 207 Fed, 115, 117 and In *re Singh* (D.C.) 257 Fed. 209, 211, 212 and further said :

“With the conclusion reached in these several decisions we see no reason to differ. Moreover, that conclusion has become so well established by judicial and executive concurrence and legislative acquiescence that we should not at this late date feel at liberty to disturb it, in the absence of reasons far more cogent than any that have been suggested.”

Thus until February 19, 1923, when the case *U. S. vs. Thind* (261 U. S. 20), was decided by the Supreme Court, the interpretation of the Naturalization Law was such as allowed high caste Hindus to be naturalized as American citizens. While rendering the decision in *U. S. vs. Thind* refusing the citizenship to a high caste Hindu, the learned Justice Sutherland among other things wrote :

“What we now hold is that the words ‘free white persons’ are words of common speech, to be interpreted in accordance with the understanding of the common man, synonymous with the word ‘Caucasian’ only as the word popularly understood and used, whatever may be the speculations of the ethnologists, it does not include the body of people to whom the appellants belong.”

Recently the United States authorities have begun to cancel the citizenship of Hindus who were naturalized long before the decision in the *Thind* case was rendered in February, 1923. Curiously enough, cases have been started to annul the citizenship of Mr. Mazumdar and Mr. Singh

the very gentlemen whose cases Justice Sutherland cited in the Ozawa case to uphold his opinion and thus acknowledged the decisions of the two Judges Rudkin and Bledsoe respectively, as sound when they naturalized them as American citizens, because they were Caucasians and thus white persons. Early 1924 Mohon Singh's citizenship has been cancelled, proceedings to annul the citizenship of Dr. Bose has been started, although in 1920 Dr. Bose was granted an American passport to travel through Europe and America. It seems that the U. S. State Department holds the view that owing to the decision of the Supreme Court rendered in the Thind case (Feb. 19, 1923) the Hindus who were naturalized as American citizens lose their citizenship. The evidence of it is in the letter which the Honourable Charles Evans Hughes on April 5, 1923, wrote to Dr. Bose, Lecturer in the Department of Political Science, Iowa University, in reply to latter's application for a passport:

"The department has given its very careful consideration to your letter under acknowledgment, but it regrets to say that, in view of the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States***it would be obliged to refuse to issue a passport to you should you make application for such document."

We also find that Justice Schoemaker of the District Court W. D. Pennsylvania, on February 25, 1924, handed down a decision cancelling citizenship of Mr. Khan, of Pittsburgh. In declaring that the certificate of naturalization of Mr. Khan, a native of Lucknow, India, which was granted to him on January 17, 1922, was illegally procured and should be set aside, the learned Judge held that Mr. Khan was not a "white person" although he was regarded as a "white person" by the court at the time of his naturalization. The decision on this point reads as follows:

"Under the authority of the decision of the U. S. Supreme Court in the case of U. S. *vs.* Thind, 261 U. S. 204, 43 Sup Ct. 338, 67 L

Ed. 616, A Hindu of full Indian blood is not a white person within the meaning of the Revised Statutes relating to naturalization." (1 Fed.) (2nd Series) 1006.

Some of the U. S. officials hold the view that when the American authorities cancel the citizenship of a Hindu who was naturalized as an American citizen, he reverts automatically to the position of a British subject. This view is absolutely erroneous. Because by renouncing the allegiance to the British Crown and by taking the oath of allegiance to the United States of America, at the time of naturalization, he rendered himself for all time to come, as an alien to the British Government. As British authority is supreme in India and British law prevails there, he even cannot return to his land of birth, because he, as an alien, cannot enjoy the right to return *freely* to the land of his birth.

When the Government of the United States deprives a Hindu who was naturalized as an American citizen of his American citizenship, he does not automatically become a British subject under British Law.

The British Nationality and Status of Alien Act, 1914, Section 13 says :

"A British subject when in any foreign state and not under disability, by obtaining a certificate of naturalization, or by any voluntary and formal act, becomes naturalized therein, shall thenceforth be deemed to have ceased to be a British subject."

Section 2 of the same Act provide :

"The Secretary of State may grant a certificate of naturalization to an alien who makes an application for the purpose, and satisfies the Secretary of State (a) that he has either resided in His Majesty's domain for a period of not less than five years in the manner required by this section or been in the service of the Crown for not less than five years within the last eight years before the application."

So it is evident that by cancelling the citizenship of those Hindus who were already naturalized, the American

Government would render them *stateless persons*, although (according to the Anglo-Saxon Concept of International Law) neither the British Government nor the American Government acknowledges the status of statelessness for any individual (see *Stoeck vs. Public Trustees*, in *Scott's Cases on International Law*, pp. 167-170).

If these Hindus, who were naturalized as American citizens, be rendered *stateless persons*, a serious injustice and hardship will be imposed upon them. It would create a condition of absolute insecurity (for the lack of protection, as a citizen of a certain state) about their life and property. It would make very difficult for them, even making a living as professional men (as they are mostly professional men), because no one would be willing to employ "*stateless persons*." Under the circumstances, as it has been shown in the case of Dr. Bose, these men can neither leave this country with proper passport, nor can they enter any other country with proper credentials so that they would receive full protection. It is needless to say that they cannot secure citizenship from any other country while staying in America. Even if the United States agrees to give a permit to these persons to go to some other country, other countries may not allow them to enter or reside there, because they are *stateless persons*. Even if it be arranged that these persons be allowed to enter certain other country by some understanding between the United States and that country, it means that the other country allows them to reside thereon mere sufferance and they cannot become citizens unless all requirements for naturalization be fulfilled and the privilege of citizenship granted. Thus even if they were allowed to enter some other country they would have to reside as *stateless persons* there at least for five years before they can ask for naturalization, and then there is no earthly reason to believe that a Government will naturalize a person who has no better status than a *stateless person* residing in a country by mere sufferance.

In this connection another very serious situation arises which renders certain American-born women stateless persons, for no fault of their own. By the law concerning the status of married women passed in September, 1922, an American woman retains her American citizenship unless she renounces her citizenship voluntarily or unless she marries an alien ineligible to citizenship. There are in the United States a number of American-born white women who married Hindus after the latter became naturalized American citizens. But if by retroactive application of the decision of the Supreme Court (that the high caste Hindus are not white persons and thus ineligible to American citizenship), the Hindus who were naturalized as American citizens be deprived of their citizenship and held to be aliens ineligible to citizenship, then these American women automatically become *stateless persons*. These women, under this decision, are neither American citizens nor have they any nationality as their husbands are reduced to the status of *stateless persons*, and this result is brought about by no fault of their own. These American-born women thus become victims of the Court's ruling to a greater extent than even their *stateless* husbands.¹

TARAKNATH DAS

¹ A paper read before the Nineteenth Annual Convent of American society of International Law, April 24, 1925, Washington, D.C., Hon. Charles Evans Hughes presiding.

TO THE BIRD-MEN

Free in the realms of uncharted space,
One with the wind and the storms you race ;
Skimming along with a swallow's grace ;
Matching the might of the eagle's pace.

Higher, oh higher fly !

Soaring aloft like a lark to the light ;
Soaring from dawn to velvet night ;
Sounding the voids of depth and height ;

Higher, oh higher fly !

Flutter and dip, and glance and glide ;
Spiral and circle, and turn and slide ;
The march of the Sun cannot match your stride,
Nor the Moon and the Stars turn your flight aside ;

Higher, oh higher fly !

Spread out your wings, oh Men of the air,
And sail on the sea of clouds so fair ;
Is there no quest that you would not dare,
Oh venturesome souls, beyond compare ?

Higher, oh higher fly !

Bird-hearted, angel-winged Knights of the Blue,
Is there no gallantry you cannot do ?
Men of new Race, of Dreams come true,
God made the sky for such as you !

Higher, oh higher fly !

LILY S. ANDERSON

AN IMPORTANT POLITICO-RELIGIOUS INSCRIPTIONS

(*Alluru stone-pillar grant of Sana of about third
century A. D.*)

In the *Annual Report* on South Indian Epigraphy for the year 1923-24, the Madras Archæological Department has published a lithographic facsimile of a new Brâhmi inscription (No. 331 of Appendix C and page 97) recently discovered at Alluru in the Nandigrâma taluk of the Kistna district. It is stated to be found on a pillar near a mound at Alluru. Some of the characters are exactly similar to those found in the inscriptions of the Śâtakarnis. The form of such characters as *na*, *ya*, *ra*, *a*, and *sa* is similar to that of the same in the Asoka scripts, and earlier than that of the same characters found in the Gupta-inscriptions. Palæographically it may, therefore, be assigned to the third century A.D.

The language of the inscription is Pali. The orthography of the inscription is not free from errors. Duplication of sounds is entirely avoided. The *anusvâra* sound in the possessive plural is omitted. As the top portion of the pillar is cut off on the right side, one or two letters at the end of each line about the middle of the pillar and three to eight letters at the end of each of the lines towards the top are lost. As a portion of the top of the pillar is also cut off, the beginning of the inscription is also lost.

Still it throws a flood of light on the politico-religious condition of India during the first few centuries before and after the Christian era. The object of the inscription is the construction of some Buddhist Vihâras and their endowment with land, utensils, carts and money for the purpose of

Handwritten text in a cursive script on a dark, irregularly shaped fragment. The text is arranged in approximately 18 horizontal lines. The characters are white or light-colored, contrasting sharply with the dark background of the fragment. The script appears to be a historical form of a European language, possibly Gothic or a similar medieval cursive. The fragment is mounted on a light-colored, rectangular background.

successfully conducting what are called Yayadharma and Châradharma. Yayadharma appears to signify what dhamma-Vijaya in the inscriptions of Asoka means. Asoka's dhamma-Vijaya is taken to mean conquest by means of the law of piety. (Edict XIII). In the Arthasâstra the word Dharmavijayi is used in the sense of a just conqueror or one who never violates moral and religious laws in his conquests. Here in the inscription it seems to mean propagation of dharma or moral and religious law for the purpose of conquering the warlike spirit of enemies. Hence Yayadharma-parichhâ means desire for conquest by means of preaching the dhamma of the Buddhists, *i.e.*, the same as the law of piety of Asoka.

The word Châradharma means the duty of spies to furnish reliable information to the King about the conduct of his subjects and his enemies. The endowment of expensive fertile land with tanks and reservoirs of water made to the Vihâras was for the maintenance of ascetic spies whose duty it was not merely to preach Dharma or the law of piety to all, but also to collect information about the conduct of good and bad people both inside and outside the State, as stated in the Arthasâstra, I. 9.

“One who is initiated in asceticism and is possessed of foresight and pure character is a recluse. This spy, provided with much money and many disciples, shall carry on agriculture, cattle-rearing, and trade (*vârtâkarma*) on the lands allotted to him for the purpose. Out of the produce and profits thus acquired, he shall provide all ascetics with subsistence, clothing and lodging, and send on espionage such among those under his protection as are desirous to earn a livelihood (*vrîtikâma*), ordering each of them to detect king's wealth, and to report of it when they come to receive their subsistence and wages. All the ascetics (under the recluse) shall severally send their followers on similar errands.

A cultivator, fallen from his profession, but possessed of foresight and pure character, is termed a householder spy. This spy shall carry on the cultivation of lands allotted to him for the purpose, and maintain cultivators, etc.,—as before.”

From this it is clear that the object of the inscription is the establishment of the institution of ascetic spies as a means to conquest by the law of piety and to the ascertainment of reliable information about the conduct of the good and the wicked both inside and outside the territory of the grantor of the endowment. The institution was not merely a politico-religious institution, but also an educational and industrial one, devoted to the work of imparting education in all arts and sciences of the times to the spies and perhaps to others also and to the work of the agriculture and mining for the maintenance of the institute under the supervision of Buddhist monks. The name of the grantor is mentioned as Sana in the 16th line. It is used in the possessive singular as Sanasa with the epithets sabharayasa (with his wife) and saputakasa (with his young son). The word Kata (is made) is used after "Sanasa." Hence it follows that Sana is the name of the grantor. Two more epithets to Sana are found in the last line. One is *Ayirāna* where rāna is equivalent to rāno, possessive singular of rāya equivalent to Sanskrit rājan. Hence the epithet means King of Ayis, a people. Another epithet is pāva saliya-nigāyasa, *i.e.*, he who belongs to the Buddhist Nikāya of Pūrvasailiya. A mountain called Pūrvasila in the country of Dhanakāṭaka is said to have been the seat of some Sanghārāmas by Hiuen Tsiang (Buddhist Records of the Western World, Volume II, page 221). That Sana is the name of the grantor and not the name of the grantee, a Buddhist monk, is evident from the fact that Sana had the consent of his wife and son in making the grant. If he were a Buddhist monk, he would have had neither a wife nor a son. Sana is perhaps the ancestor of the Sanakānikas referred to in the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudra Gupta. Sanakānika may be a compound word Sana and Kanika, two brothers. The text of the inscription runs as follows :

1. *Yala śmadevasa cha Ta.....*
2. *sa rāmo Vihārā jayadhama parīcha.....*

3. *Vingala sīmāya Vitāra Kulāna*.....
4. *da Khettam sarasa papikalasīmāya*.....
5. *nivatandni rāja jātīni chārādhama chha*.....
6. *puṭa sīmāya baṭṭisa nivatandni ra*.....
7. *? purasīmāya chasavīsa nivatandni*.....
8. *talasa gāvīna pachasatāni chāyaththa baliva*.....
9. *sakatāni pasarūpāni jasa jasa sa cha tasa*
10. *Kubbhakatāhasa chatāri lahīyābakatādhāni Kamsa*
11. *Sambhāyanāni chatāri Vajalabhī Karākarāddyaya.*
12. *raka jīvīkāya cha ataragiriya pichapāka tatāka.*
13. *Kahāpanāna cha parānam sahasam akhayanīvi.*
14. *gasa mahātālavarasa Jayadhama parīchā ka.*
15. *to tapetatarapasa bāpana ni vatandni*
16. *Ēta sabhārayasa saputakasa Sanasa Kata.*
17. *ayirāna pūvasaliyāna-nigāyasa.*

Translation.

[These are] the magnificent Vihāras of him who is the deva of the cōuntry bounded byYala cōuntry, and (it is) his desire for conquest by means of dharma. (Granted is) the expansive Kutana.....da field in the boundary of Vingala. [Granted are] nivartanas of land which are of royal magnificence. [Granted are] thirty-two nivartanas of land in the boundary of Chha.....puṭa for the maintenance of the institution of espionage. [Granted are] forty cows; and five hundred bullock-carts for the purpose of travelling. Whosoever desires to disguise himself as a spy may do so in whatever way he likes to do. [Granted are] four big pot-shaped pans (for storage grains) and also smaller water-pans, and four bronze vessels. For the purpose of collecting taxes and other income in the form of diamonds, from the mines and also for the subsistence of workmen and others are granted the mine called pichapāka in the mountain called Antargiri together with the water tank and also more than a thousand Kārshapans. This desire for conquest by Dharma is made by Mahatatarava whose deposits of treasure are inexhaustible. The plots of land granted by Tapetatarapa are fifty-two nivartanas. This is all made by Sana, the King of Ayis, and the follower of the Buddhist Nikaya of Purvasila in company with his wife and son.

NOTES.

1. *Rāmo* = ought to be *rāmd*, plural of *rāma* = magnificent.
2. *Jayadhamaparīchā* = *Jayadharmā parīchhā*.
3. *Vingala* is the name of the country between the rivers Godavari and Krishna. (*Buddhist Records of the Western World, Volume II, page 217 Ed., 1906*).
4. *Vitara* = equivalent to Sanskrit *Vistara*.
5. *Kutān* = name of a tract of country.
6. *Khetta* = *Kshetra*.
7. *Sarasa* = possessed of water or fertile.
8. *Papikala* = name of a tract of country.
9. *Nivatana* = *Nivartana* = $120 \text{ Vitastis} \times 120 \text{ Vitastis} = 180 \text{ feet} \times 180 \text{ feet}$ (vide *Arthasastra, Book II, 19*).
10. After *papikala sima*, the word denoting the number of *Nivartanas* is lost.
11. *Raja-jatini* = of royal magnificence, *i.e.*, most fertile.
12. *Chāradhama* = the duty of spies.
13. *Cha.....putasīma* = name of a tract of country.
14. *Batīsa* = Thirty-two.
15. *Nivatāna*, see above.
16. *Ra.....purāsima* = name of a tract of country.
17. *Chasavisa* = twenty-six.
18. *Nivatana*, see above.
19. *Talasa* = Forty.
20. *Gāvīna* = of cows.
21. *Pachasatani* = five hundred. Or hundred and five?
22. *Chāyaththa* = *chāryāttham* = for travelling.
23. *Baliva (dda) Sakāṭa* = bullock carts.
24. *Pasarūpāni* = *spasarūpāni*, disguises of spies, or *pesarūpāni* = *prēshyarūpāni* = disguises of messengers. It cannot be read as *paśurūpāni*, cattle.
25. *Jasa* = *yasya*, whose.
26. *Sa cha* = *sah* = he or that.
27. *Tasa* = *tasya* = his.
28. *Kubhīkatāḥa* = *kumbhīkatāḥa*, big pot-like pans.
29. *Chatāri* = *chatvāri* = four.
30. *lahīya* = *laghīyas* = smaller.
31. *aba* = *ambhah* = water.
32. *Katāḥa* = pan.

33. *Sambhāyanāni* = *sambhājānāni* = vessels.
34. *Chatāri* = four.
35. *Vaja* = *Vajja* = *Vajra* = diamond.
36. *lābhākara* = productive of profit.
37. *ākara* = mine.
38. *Karādāya* = taxes and revenue.
39. *raka* = *Karaka*? workmen, etc.
40. *jīvika* = subsistence.
41. *Ataragiri* = *Antaragiri*, a mountain.
42. *Pichapāka*, name of a mine. The word *pāka* = melting indicates that it was once worked out.
43. *Tatāka* = tank.
44. *Kahāpana* = *Kārṣhāpana*, a coin.
45. *Parānam sahasam* = *parassahasram*, more than a thousand.
46. *Akhayanivigasa* = *Akshaya* = in-exhaustible.
47. *Nivigasa* = Net = deposit. Hence one who is possessed of in-exhaustible treasure.
48. *Mahātalavara* = great general or commander. *Talavara* is used in the Jaina literature in the sense of protector.
49. *Jaya* = see above.
50. *Tapetatarapa* = name of a person probably Sana's son.
51. *Bāpana* = A Maharashtra word, meaning fifty-two.
52. *Nivatana* = see above.
53. *Sabharyasa* = *sabharyasya* = with wife.
54. *Saputakasa* = *Saputrakasya* = with his young son or sons.
55. *Sanasa* = see above.
56. *Ayirāna*, etc., King of the *Ayis*.

R. SHAMA SASTRY

THE FORSYTH SAGA¹

(A Review)

A curious transformation has taken place in the writing of Epics, and it is not easy to account for the change.

Epics are no longer written in poetic form, and one cannot help wondering if this is because in the rush of modern life, prose is more easily read than poetry, that prose is now the language of "the people" and poetry that of the leisured few. In the past the position was reverse, the song or recitation being the language understood by all peoples and written prose the possession of the privileged few. Of course, it is always possible that epic poetry is only slumbering for a few generations, and that it will burst into Spring, glory again in the not far distant future.

But whatever the reason, epics do not now take poetical form, and this probably accounts for why the undiscerning reader thinks of them as a lost art. Yet an Epic was published in the year 1922—*the Forsyth Saga*, by John Galsworthy.

To quote his own words in the *preface*, it is a story concerned with "a rich preserve where the wild raiders, Beauty and Passion come stealing in, filching security."

It is the old story of man's possessive instincts in conflict with beauty, only here, instead of an Olympian stage-setting, horse-hair sofas, heavy Victorian furniture, pictures of Dutch fishing boats, or still life, take its place.

Yet the Homeric struggle is there, and the great phrases of the Greek bard are strangely applicable.

¹ *The Forsyth Saga* by John Galsworthy.

Of Irene, beauty personified, it might have been fittingly said as it was of Achilles,

“Mighty indeed art thou for the gods are mysterious givers”

and for Bossiney after the one terrible episode which is the key-note to the story,

“Oh! but I would be dead, with the dark earth mounded to
hide me,
Sooner than hear thy cries, and thy dragging away as a captive.”

Soames, in his Victorian way, was as tenacious as Achilles in his Olympian way, of people or things which he believed to be his, by right of conquest. And as the story proceeds, there is the same feeling of inevitability, and one's sympathies are shifted from Irene to Soames, from Soames to Irene, as in the Iliad, they move from Achilles to Hector and Hector to Achilles. The struggle against circumstances is terribly unequal although in the English epic there is no interposition of the gods, no radiant Beings here to bring the day. It is forever twilight and the combatants are mortals.

Yet, there is one figure who carries with him something of the grandeur of the Olympians. Old Joylon's eyes are less dimmed than the rest, and in that most exquisite of all the books, “An Indian Summer,” Galsworthy gives a hint of Parnassus. Old Joylon, holding age and death at bay, loving beauty and life passionately, preserves a quality which reminds one of those strange Beings who had a god for their sire, or a goddess for their mother. Listen to him one evening as he lets his imagination go:

“She was there, and the hock within him, and the scent of tobacco; but there, too, was a world of sunshine lingering into moonlight, and pools with storks upon them; glowing with blurs of wine-red roses, and fields of lavender where milk-white cows were grazing, and a woman all shadowy with dark eyes and a white neck, smiled holding out her arms.”

Is this the mere dozing of an old man of eighty, or is it the stirrings of the Immortal?

But to return to Soames and his possession—he will hide his treasure—he will

“get Irene out of London, away from opportunities of going about and seeing people—get her away from her friends and those who put ideas into her head.....It would be everything to get Irene out of town.....The house would please her.....The house must be in good style, something that would always be certain to command a price.”

Thus Soames soliloquizes, and one can almost hear the echo of the Homeric bard and the scornful laughter,

“Except the gods build the walls, they labour vainly who build it.”

And so the English epic unfolds itself, and Beauty, never finding her protector, eludes and baffles the man, who having paid for her in goods, thinks to possess her. This blind man will not see, and in his blindness there is pathos and dignity.

“If he could only give tangible proof enough of his determination to let bygones be bygones, and do all in his power to please her, *why should she not come back to him?*”

Is he for ever marked down to be “dreamer of dreams that will never come true?” This pitiful mortal who spends his life struggling to gain that which can never be his, and trying to find a practical material explanation of why she can never be his.

“What had been wrong with him? Once more he felt the ‘malaise’ of one who contemplates himself as seen by another—like a dog who chances on his reflection in the mirror, and is intrigued and anxious at the unseizable thing.”

No, he cannot understand—this man of property—behind whom, stand in innumerable numbers, all those men of property, from the savage with his club, the Greek with his desire, Superior Dossett with his bricks and mortar, down to his own clan of Forsythes who worship at the altar of security.

But he is not alone in his suffering. Beauty, too, must suffer, though in contrast to the man of property she is quick enough to hear “the hoof-beats of fate behind her” in the manhood of her son which will soon confront her.

"The young have cheap hard judgments. When you were nineteen what would you have thought of your mother, if she had done what I have done?"

She asks of her husband, scenting the impending agony.

For Life is surging within her idolized son, and Life will teach him many things. It will reveal to him the glory of beauty and the havoc wrought by beauty, and he is her son, "You are a giver, Jon, she is a taker" Irene says as she speaks of the girl who has shown to him the first vista of love, the girl who is the daughter of the man who once thought to own his mother, who, as Jon's father writes to him believed that since he married her, "she was his property. That is his view of human feelings and hearts—property."

And so the Homeric struggle shifts from the middle-aged to the young—to youth that has had its eyes opened suddenly and violently to the terrible truth that life's main purpose is not happiness, that through no fault of its own it is forced to stab one or other of the people, dearer to it than life itself.

And the Homeric strain reverberates again,

"Knowing, the passionate wailing benumb, it nought availeth

Thus, forsooth, have they spun, the gods, for piteous mortals;

Ever to live in pain, while themselves know nothing of sorrow."

Even so must it have seemed to young Jon as he made his great renunciation—even so to young Fleur as she dragged in others to suffer with her.

But the Epic closes, not with the two young people but with the man who has held the centre of the stage. It is twilight still, with the baffled man brooding over his lost possession, though he needs must,

"Wish and wish and never get it,

The beauty and the loving in the world."

K. M. WALKER

INTRODUCTION TO ADWAITA PHILOSOPHY¹

Some of the publications of the Calcutta University have by their real worth and originality shed a lustre on the scholars who have undertaken research work as one of the important activities of an up-to-date University.

This brilliant exposition of one of the most abstruse systems of Indian philosophy and abstract speculation presenting even to trained minds extraordinary difficulty in rightly interpreting the precise position taken by Sankara, India's greatest thinker, bids fair to hold a prominent place among those scholarly productions of the premier University of India.

Pandit Kokileswar Sastri is already known among the *savants* of the East and the West and we are glad to see that he has well maintained the high tradition of scholarship for which his family is famous in Bengal.

It is not possible to overestimate the value of a book like this especially to Westerners who will surely find much help in properly appreciating Sankara's true philosophical position in Pandit Sastri's exposition and interpretation so thorough, lucid and elaborate, and in his method, so scientific.

The quotations of text and citations from commentaries are so generously extensive that the book will serve to many busy scholars as a storehouse of ready reference. Another merit of the book is due to the author's extraordinary power of co-ordinating the individual scattered passages found in Sankara's voluminous works (especially his extensive Commentaries) with the masterly ease of a real scholar. One,

¹ *An Introduction to Adwaita Philosophy* (Sankara School of Vedanta), by Kokileswa Sastri, Vidyaratna, M.A., Calcutta University, 1924.

perhaps, may just wish that more reference had been made to treatises like Aparokshanubhuti, Vivekachudamani, Adwaitakaustubham, Vedantamuktavali and Vivekadarsha.

Another distinct advantage is that the author is deeply versed in both Eastern and Western philosophical lore. This knowledge has stood him in good stead in the elucidation in Western terminology or in terms of modern philosophical ideas many an abstruse point of the Sankara school of Vedantism and some of the baffling technical expressions used in his various Commentaries.

The ably written preface throws light on a number of controversial points besides precisely indicating the scope of the volume. Rightly does it claim that "an endeavour has been made to discover the real teaching of Sankara," though the author's innate modesty leads him to describe his work as only a "suitable introduction to the proper study of the originals." Happily, he does not permit this modesty to interfere with the strong conviction with which he has put forward his new interpretation and defence of Sankara without any halting hesitancy in the face of the formidable body of very adverse criticism made by Western writers some of whom make up the deficiency of their qualification as competent judges by their reckless audacity.

We do not pretend to attempt within our space limit anything like a detailed criticism of the volume before us and have to rest content for the present with a rapid survey of the work divided (as it is) into only *four* well-defined and comprehensive chapters.

The first chapter "On Brahma as Creator" tackles very ably the much-vexed problem of the true relation between Brahma and Iswara and attempts to present in a clear and undisputed light the character of Sankara's theory of causality (I Sec. 6) and corrects the view that in Sankara's system finite individuals have been divested of their "personality" and therefore of "responsibility" for their acts. It shows

that according to Sankara Brahma is not an abstract Intelligence but a self-conscious Knower and a Directive or Purposive Power whose purpose in the creation of the universe is the complete realisation of the Atma as the *final end* or realisation of the Infinite in the finite (*viz.*, in human beings and the world—*i.e.*, in man and nature), Brahma itself being the highest purpose or end. It also establishes that Sankara's theory of causality involves his *attitude of opposition* to Pantheism by means of his emphatic recognition of Individuality or responsible Personality and by reason of the special stress laid on the idea of the "*nature*" of Brahma (his स्वरूप or स्वभाव) and on the distinction between सामान्य and विशेष: (pp. 34-35).

The second chapter deals with the important question of the distinction in Sankara's system between the real and the empirical self and establishes the truth that Pure Ego is an active power, the agent and source of all activities and not merely a being or knowledge. Practically a good part of this chapter is devoted to the refutation beyond all legitimate controversy of the erroneous charge of Pantheism levelled against him.

Here the author begins by distinguishing after Sankara empirical from the real self (pp. 46; 48-49). The real self is the indwelling Brahma—the Ideal or Final End—and it underlies all manifested states and all activities of man. This End ensures infinite possibilities of progressive growth in future and is the *real* agent in man—"सर्वप्रवृत्तीनाशात्मावगत्य-वसानार्थत्वात् ।" This End (which is man's higher self and his real nature) is the true determining agent and stands above the *time-series* and is called पर्यन्त or पुरुषार्थ and ब्रह्मैकत्व in Vedanta-bhashya I. 1. This real self is चेतन and स्वा (self-existent intelligence) and नित्यसिद्ध (self-sufficient).

The empirical self in which human nature and its elements are manifested has its temporal importance and instrumental value *only as a means* or medium for the

realisation of the true end of the real self. Such is also the value (*as means*) of the external world and its manifold changes and varied manifestations.

Avidya (which, by the way, is explained after Sankara on pp. 108-109) is responsible for the identification of the empirical with the true self. The activities of the empirical self are determined mechanically in an unbroken time-series, free activity—eternal, changeless, independent of the influence of the external world—being the quality only of the true self. The activities of the चेतनब्रह्म and the human self are both called the End yet the idea of the final realisation of the supreme End transcends the sphere of Nature and its elements. This is the goal to which the whole creation moves.

In this important chapter the author repeatedly emphasises the absolute need of carefully bearing in mind that the individual (like Brahma) has a distinct "*nature*" of his own—his स्वरूप or स्वभाव or धर्म or सामान्य (कूटस्थकारण)—which is permanent (नित्य) and which ever maintains its "*unity*" amidst all diversities and equally preserves its *identity* in the midst of the phenomenal changes which this स्वरूप underlies and which are transient and impermanent (pp. 55-56 and 66-68).

The conclusion arrived at (p. 64) is that to Sankara the real character of the Pure Ego is not merely a being or a knowledge but an active power and a source of activities (सामर्थ्य) which, again, can never be reduced to or resolved into its manifested activities (*i.e.*, into pantheism).

In the third chapter the principle of causality (सत्कार्यवाद) is thoroughly investigated (pp. 98-101) with a view to particularly refute the erroneous charge of pantheism brought so often against Sankara's *Adwaita* philosophy and as a result it shows the true significance of the idea of the falsity of the world. The conclusion here reached (pp. 103-104 and p. 113) is that the world of phenomenal changes is the

manifestation of the "NATURE" (स्वरूप) of the self which changes serve to gradually reveal this स्वरूप but when these changes (called the many) are erroneously *separated* (as something independent) from Brahma (the One), then and only then, they become unreal or false (*vide*, pp. 103-104, 113 and 121). In Sankara's language सतीत्यत्वे अनृतत्वं । If Brahma is erroneously resolved into the world and the two are made identical, the world becomes unreal or false. The correct interpretation of Sankara is that Brahma *realises* itself in the *form* of the world which is never identical with Brahma but must be "taken as the means through which the 'nature' (स्वरूप) of Brahma is ever being realised in a higher and higher form." "The world cannot be looked upon as unreal or false" as such (p. 107). There is a further elaboration of this conclusion in the re-statement of Sankara's exact position regarding the falsity or otherwise of the world on pp. 122-125. Here we cannot help stating a simple objection regarding this conclusion in the shape of a reference to Sloka 96 of *Aporokshanubhuti* where we read—

“अधिष्ठानितयाज्ञाति प्रपंचः शून्यतां गतः ।”

(i. e., the phenomenal world becomes unreal the moment the underlying Paramatma is realised or correctly known). Now, this is not the work of *avidya*.

The exposition given by the author and the interpretation adopted by him are represented as logically resulting from a correct appreciation of the Vedantic theory of causality as also of Sankara's vigorous refutation of Pantheism (*vide* pp. 98-101 and footnote to p. 102). The puzzling technical term अनन्य explained by the Tika-Kara in his way (p. 101) and rendered by Western scholars as "identical" has been sought to be properly explained by our author at some length on pages 25, 26, 52, 72, 83, 100 and 109.

We ask in this connection whether it is quite correct or precise to render (as our author has done at page 115) *दुर्गविशिष्ट* or *धर्मविशिष्ट* as “*identical* with the qualities”? We object also to the use of the word “object” in sec. 2 pp. 87-88 for what should be called “notions” or “appearances” and “sense perceptions.”

On page 91 the argument does not appear to us to be quite convincing by which even by implication the two classes represented respectively by *शुक्तिरजत* and *नामरूप* must, according to the author, “be considered as real,” since an opponent may urge that both the classes may as well be false only in a sense different from that in which the first (of the three classes) represented by *शशविषाण* or *वन्ध्यापुत्र* is false.

Again, the author seems to us to assume too much in stating (page 92) that “the man who has taken pains to prove the reality of such things as *रज्जुसर्प*, *मरु-मरीचिका*, etc., will never feel inclined to regard the actual changes in the world—the empirical object (*नामरूप*) as unreal or false.” Similarly the conclusion—“It is Brahma which realises itself in the form of the world. Hence the world cannot be *identical* with Brahma in Sankara’s philosophy. The world cannot therefore be looked upon as false or unreal”—though so far acceptable does not by itself make the position sufficiently clear as to why and how through *Avidya* we forget also the distinct being of Brahma and why this identification should make the changes or effects (*नामरूपविकाराणि*) false or unreal. We can understand that an erroneous identification like this may lead one under the influence of *Avidya* to attribute to these changes a quality which does not belong to them or to give them an importance far beyond their merit but why should such identification *ipso facto* turn these changes into *unreality*? This knotty point has not been, it appears to us, made conclusively clear. On the other hand, we are glad to

admit that the citations as foot-notes to page 93 are very effective and to the point. The conclusion reached that phenomenal things are *relatively* real in comparison with Brahma, the Absolute Reality, sets the whole controversy at rest by removing a wrong and erroneous idea as to Sankara's attitude towards the empirical world.

The end systematically kept in view in these three chapters which practically constitute the book itself is to remove the misconceptions formed regarding Sankara's position and his *Advaitabad* by the West since Hegel's time who started this wrong interpretation by assuming without sufficient first-hand knowledge that Brahma in the Vedanta system is no better than an empty abstraction without purpose and without activity—a sort of negative infinitude. Later Western critics have repeated this criticism with individual variations. The function of "*Maya*" has also been much misunderstood and the result is that the empirical self in its relation to the real Self has been presented in a wrong light. Pantheism has, therefore, also been wrongly fastened upon the Advaita philosophy on the basis of a wrong interpretation of the true significance of the well-known Vedantic formula of *Twat-tam-asi* (तत्त्वमसि)—"Thou art *That*." The fourth chapter has been added evidently to emphasise the value of the *practical* aspect or side of the Vedanta which is often considered by these Western critics as a mere speculation. The last chapter (Chap. IV) starts with a statement of all the serious allegations made against the Indian theism based on the Vedanta and its ideal of salvation (मुक्ति) on the assumption that the Vedantic system is "opposed to ethical theism and religion." The author's aim, as he avers, is to "cautiously examine the validity of the assertions" so made (*vide* pp. 126-128). Incidentally there is a summary of Sankara's views on the Hindu socio-religious organisation (वर्णाश्रमधर्म) and finally follows an explanation of a large number of perplexing "anomalous passages" scattered here and there in the various

commentaries of Sankara that are likely to "cause confusion" especially to those who are not to the manner born. The elaborate enumeration of the ethical virtues and their classification (pp. 166 *et seq.*) in sec. 10 of the chapter will also serve a very useful purpose.

The investigation here begins with an analysis of the psychological disposition (जैवप्रकृति) with which man is born and which determines his nature or empirical character (स्वभाव) and actions and to which is due his love for agreeable and aversion to disagreeable objects (रागद्वेषः). Sankara calls this empirical self no real self at all (अनात्मा) the true self being a self-determining End-in-itself guided by the rational regulator as a free agent of all purposive activities (called दृष्टि).

The aim of man's life is not merely to attain pleasure and avoid pain—his supreme end (परमपुरुषार्थ) is bliss (निःश्रेयस) through realisation of Brahma (ब्रह्मविद्या) (*cf.* Kathabhashya, II. 2. 5).

There is an eternal conflict between enlightenment and impulsive activities and the soul's emancipation is achieved by true knowledge of Brahma.

Sankara does not demand renunciation of all activities but he insists on their proper regulation in order to secure the realisation of the highest self through purification of the mind (and body) (*i.e.*, सत्त्वशुद्धि), by means of well-regulated *Karma*, from selfish desires and impulsive proclivities, passions and inclination to self-gratification. Even if good work is done as an end in itself it proves to be a bondage—good work must be done as a *means* of spiritual regeneration (वियोगोत्पत्तौ). Thus "ethical or moral progress" in Sankara's system "points to a transcendental goal" (p. 161). "अयमात्मा सर्वलौकिक-प्रियेभ्यः प्रियतमो भवति" * * "आत्मतत्त्वमेव ज्ञेयं अनादृत्य अन्यत् * * आत्मविषयं ज्ञानं * * तस्मिन् नित्यभावः ॥"

Sankara definitely and positively avers that man is a free agent (p. 155) and the Sastric injunctions (whether as

prescriptions of duties or prohibitions) are not, therefore, a mandate from the outside imposed on man—the Sastras only indicating the course of action to be adopted (*vide* footnote to p. 155). According to the present author's interpretation Sankara does not consider *Jnana* and *Karma* as antagonistic (pp. 172-173) for he has attempted a reconciliation of *Karmakanda* with *Jnanakanda* and *Karma* is needless only in the case of those who have realised Brahma (ब्रह्मविदः).

Finally, Sankara's position with regard to *Advaita* or *Aveda* (*i.e.*, extirpation of the notion of difference and separateness between Brahma and the empirical world of नामरूप) is that the idea of such difference (भेदबुद्धि) is the work of *Avidya* which is destroyed by the idea of taking all emergent activities as *higher and higher expressions* of the Divine Purpose (सर्व्वत्मभावः) which supplants the sense of separateness (अन्यत्वबोध). This सर्व्वत्मभावः leads to emancipation (मुक्ति) which, again, is not absorption of the Ego in Brahma (pp. 182-184).

By way of general criticism we may say that the author has rightly started his whole investigation with an enquiry about the real significance of *Prana-spandan* which forms the subject-matter of the fourth section of the second chapter of Vedantadarsanam and is also referred to in I. 1. 23, 28-31 and which is considered in Sankara's system to be the primal and earliest manifestation of Brahma's nature—Brahma being प्राणस्य प्राणः—*viz.*, that which differentiates itself as the phenomena of the world (*cf.* Chandhyogya and Isha Bhashya). Section 4 of Chapter I contains an original interpretative contribution to the discussion of the true nature of Brahma often misunderstood and represented as "pure undifferentiated being." In this view Brahma is not regarded, in both the transcendental and immanent aspects which, again, are inseparable. Here the author has very rightly and properly laid great stress on Brahma's underlying nature (स्वरूप). Sections 1 and 2 of Chapter III are equally important in this

respect with regard to the much-vexed question which has long baffled and often misled Western critics as to Sankara's true attitude towards the empirical world.

Even when we fail to see eye to eye with our author's interpretation, supported though it is by closely-reasoned arguments and extensive quotations, we have to admit that he has for the first time cleared the atmosphere to enable an open mind to distinctly discern how Sankara has been misunderstood and misinterpreted by his Western critics. The author's own view regarding the right interpretation of Sankara has nothing hazy or equivocal and there is no halting statement, no vacillation, no lurking doubt anywhere in his mind as to the correctness of this interpretation made in the light of Sankara's own utterances combined together from a very large number of Sankara's commentaries.

In section 3 of this Chapter (*vide* page 101 *et seq.* and also pp. 21-23) we have a convincing restatement of the salient points in Sankara's powerful criticism of the purely Pantheistic position wrongly ascribed by Western writers to Sankara but really held by one of his opponents—the Vrittikara (*vide* pp. 75-76, 78-80, 82-83). Yet candour leads the author to admit there is some reason for the misinterpretation to which Sankara has made himself liable. The grounds of this misapprehension are next sought to be removed.

Now, the real trouble is that Hindu metaphysical concepts can hardly be appropriately and accurately rendered into the alien form of Western terminology because the very background of thought movement is so fundamentally different in the two philosophical cultures even when both of them happen to be monistic or transcendental. Pandit Kokileswar Sāstri possesses, as we have stated, a special qualification through his mastery of Eastern and Western philosophy.

In the discussion of 'Ethics and Religion in Vedanta' (Ch. IV) the author has, however, relied more on Sankara's

Geetabhashyam than his Vedantabhashyam especially in the attempt to prove his thesis regarding the precise place assigned in the Sankara system to what are known as ethical virtues. The problem of ethics does not, in fact, form an *integral* part of the Vedanta at any rate in the same definite and categorical form as in the Bhagabatgeeta even though some of the Upanishads on which the Brahmasutra is particularly based are made at all events by Sankara's Commentaries on them and his *method* of interpretation to lend a strong support to the exposition of this problem which the present author too successfully endeavours to expound in this "Adwaita Philosophy."

Sankara is, of course, decidedly in favour of *Jnana* as the means of the highest realisation (मोक्षभूतं) but this apotheosis of Enlightenment (taken in its Vedantic sense) as such does not emphasise the value of the right training of the *will*. Besides, a very strong body of competent critical opinion exists in various authoritative commentaries on the Geeta which definitely uphold the view that the Geeta really establishes the superior claims of the *Karmamarga* (as against the *Jnanamarga*). The antithesis in Sankara's system is not so much between *Jnana* and *Karma* as between *Jnana* and *Ajnana* and often *Karma* implies Vedic prescribed Karma (यागयज्ञादयः). Cf. Vedantaparibhasha (विषय परिच्छेदः ७) :—“तुरीय प्रलयसु ब्रह्म-साक्षात्कारनिमित्तकः सर्वमोक्षः सर्वेणकीर्भवन्ति” इत्यादिश्रुतेः । तुरीयसु ज्ञानोदयनिमित्तोत्थानेन सहैवेति विशेषः ॥

The Geeta enjoins कर्मसन्ध्यास which transcends both रागद्वेष in the highest spiritual state whereas the Vedantic emancipation of the soul is based on भोगद्वेष, for *Karma* implies भोग (cf. Sankara's Geetabhashyam, XVIII. 66 “कवल्पफले ज्ञाने क्रियाफलार्थित्वानुपपत्तेः” ।) The Vedantic doctrine of *Karma* has not unfortunately been adequately discriminated by the author, say, from the Buddhistic. It is undeniable that it was left for Buddhism to assert unmistakably the supremacy.

of the ethical ideal which was not given the prominence it deserves in the *Brahmasutram*. With Sankara *Karma* is वाच्यक्रिया and the effect of तमः which by its very nature is opposed to प्रकाशरूपज्ञानं attained by Brahmaidya, i.e., प्रत्यगात्मैक्षणत्वं in Sankara's own language. Moreover, the distinction between नित्य and नैमित्तिक *Karma* (called by our author obligatory daily duties and higher altruistic ones) as means of self-realisation (मोक्षसाधनभूतं) in the Vedantic system does not necessarily imply an identification with that between the सकाम and निष्काम *Karma* of the Geeta. In fact, our contention is that the Adwaita philosophy has not cared much to solve the problem of ethics as satisfactorily as the problem of truth. Lastly, the interpretation given of the function of higher "nitya-karmas" as regenerating man from animality to rationality (p. 153) till "by working for public utility men may exalt themselves to the higher attributes of benevolent gods" seems to us a little bit forced, if not unwarranted,—the idea of a "divine kingdom on earth," as we understand it now, being, perhaps, alien to the Vedantic idealism with its emphasis on the transcendental realisation by each individual of the true self for personal salvation. Sankara also has here been shown (pp. 155-156) to be against *determinism*. Reasonable doubts may be entertained as to the unquestionable validity of such a position so far as the entire body of Sankara's writings are concerned. But these are, after all, side issues which need not detain us.

One naturally expects that a University publication should be free from printing mistakes. We have unfortunately noticed too large a lot of them to be mentioned. There are a few other mistakes too but we have preferred to point them out to the author for necessary correction in a second edition of the book which, considering its importance, and worth, may reasonably be looked for within a short time.

The busy reader may object that the book is full of repetitions which may appear to be tiresome but it should be

remembered that the book is an attempt to refute the interpretation authoritatively given to Sankara's system by a number of distinguished Western scholars of great repute who so justly carry so much weight and hence the present writer may have felt, we presume, the need of making his own standpoint and exposition as elaborate and convincing as possible. There is an apology for his method implied in the author's remarks in section 5, page 118, paragraph 1.

JAYGOPAL BANERJEE

SOME CURRENCY LESSONS OF THE WAR

VII.

One of the oft-quoted statements concerning money is the one with reference to the elasticity of demand for it. Money is a "universal commodity" said Marx. But this is not the only distinguishing feature of money apart from other commodities. But the other important feature pointed out by the economists is the one relating to its demand. "The elasticity of demand for money has been supposed to be equal to unity." The usual explanation of this statement is that a mere variation in the quantity of money does not affect the willingness and habits of the people as holders of purchasing power in that form. But Dr. E. Cannon¹ Dr. R. Lechfeldt² and Prof. Keynes³ have shown us that in extreme cases this tendency does not hold good. The elasticity of demand for money varies with the quantity of the supply offered by the Government and if the Governmental issue happens to be very great it would not be possible to find people to accept this currency. To put it in technical language, inflation destroys and deflation or devaluation inspires confidence in the media of exchange and affects the quantities thereof which the population is prepared to keep as till money. Demand would be completely destroyed if inflation is unceasing and heavy. To escape the vicious, unjust and intolerable burden imposed by the inflation of paper-money people prefer to change their habits in the use of money. Firstly, people prefer to hold their savings not in paper-money but in the shape of jewellery, house-hold goods or other trinkets. Secondly, they reduce the amount of

¹ Dr. E. Cannon states that it fell to an average of about 73 in Austria, 62 in Poland and 5 in Germany. (See *Economic Journal*, Dec. 1921.)

² Dr. R. Lechfeldt, "*Economic Journal*," Sec. 1922.

³ See J. M. Keynes, "Tract on Monetary Reform," pp. 41 to 73.

tile money or pocket money. All these events have happened in Germany and the greater the intensity of inflation the more violent would be the resultant changes in the habits of the people. Thus the use of foreign money in domestic transactions should be considered as the limit beyond which the inflationary tax would fail to yield any satisfactory return to the issuing state.¹ This failure together with the non-acceptance of paper-money would force the Government to have a reform in currency and cease the levying of the inflationary tax upon the people by means of the printing press. This was the situation in Germany and the different governments in Germany persisted in pursuing the evil path of inflation till the people refused to hold the paper currency. It is erroneous to think that the worst period of inflation was reached during the war years or in 1920 so far as Germany was concerned. It continued during the years 1921, 1922 and 1923 till the reform in currency was brought about early in 1924. While almost all the European countries have been stabilising the value of their internal currency and were considering the stability of the general price-level as the *sine qua non* for any economic reconstruction, Germany, Austria, Poland and Russia alone did not or could not cease inflating their currencies. The following table shows the course or movement of the wholesale prices in the European countries in 1920, 1921, 1922 and 1923 :

¹ For instance the U.S.A. dollar notes have used to a great extent on countries possessing depreciated paper currency. The Harvard University Committee on Economic Research estimated the net export of dollar notes from U.S.A. in 1919 at 91 and in 1920 at 103 ms. dollars and the reimports in 1921 at 100 ms. It was not America alone that suffered on account of the exportation of its home currency. All European countries with stable currency more especially perhaps Switzerland and the Netherlands and Sweden have suffered from a similar drain. The Skandinaviska Kredittklybalaget reported in July, 1923, that 5.4 ms. kroner of Swedish money have been reimported into Sweden from foreign countries, mainly from Germany to the Stockholm offices of that Bank during the preceding half-year. The Second Committee of experts appointed by the Reparation Commission estimated the total amount of foreign notes in Germany at the end of 1923 at about 1.2 milliard German marks. [See the Memorandum on Currency, League of Nations Production, p. 14, (1913-23) issue.]

Table showing the quarterly movement of wholesale prices. (1913 is the last period in the calculation of the Index. No. of prices quoted in this table).

Country.	1920.				1921.				1922.				1923.			
	III	VI	IX	XII	III	VI	IX	XII	III	VI	IX	XII	III	VI	X	XII
United Kingdom	319	322	311	264	211	198	187	168	160	160	154	156	160	159	158	163
Sweden	366	375	369	305	248	222	201	188	177	174	170	163	168	164	162	160
Spain	218	228	226	224	193	186	183	183	177	178	174	172	171	170	174	176
Switzerland	...	...	...	241	211	179	185	179	165	164	165	175	186	180	181	183
Denmark	...	383	399	341	270	253	202	178	178	180	176	181	200	207	205	210
Norway	351	382	425	372	312	294	287	269	240	230	225	220	229	230	234	244
France	554	493	526	435	360	325	344	326	307	325	329	362	424	409	424	459
Belgium	...	...	...	...	...	...	368	369	350	356	364	407	482	484	514	545
Italy	602	632	656	655	604	509	580	595	593	537	582	580	587	569	569	577
Czechoslovakia	1,024	1,113	1,298	1,400	1,203	1,247	1,364	1,295	1,244	1,229	1,224	1,149	1,108	1,095	1,089	1,096
Finland	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,696	1,482	1,465	1,059	1,004	1,032	969	974	991
Austria ¹	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,852	1,834	1,779	1,818
Poland ¹	...	...	...	...	...	...	60	57	73	87	152	346	989	1,881	7,302	14,280
Russia ²	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	618	1,579	3,179	9,769	54,901	3,78,100
Germany	1,709	1,382	1,498	1,440	1,338	1,866	2,067	3,487	5,433	2,030	38 ¹	137 ¹	489 ¹	1,939 ¹	2,895 ²	126,156 ³

¹ (,000 are omitted in this case.)

² (,000,000 are omitted in this case.)

³ (,000,000,000 are omitted in this case.)

(The Table is taken from the Memorandum on Currency—1913-23L, of N. publication), p. 6.

Inflation was carried on in Germany to its logical limit and given up only when it was no longer possible to make the people bear this form of taxation. It has often been stated that the Government can tax the use of money and this taxation can be resorted to in such dire circumstances as a war. As a recent writer says "the limits to the obtaining of funds alike by the levying of taxation and by means of loans are definitely confined to the maximum which the tax-payers and the investors are prepared to give to the state. When the limits are reached, states have recourse to the last resource for the obtaining of funds—the issue of paper money which makes it possible for them to break down the wall of opposition of the tax-payers and investors and for the time being to extract more real values for the use of the Treasury."¹ But one peculiarity has to be noted. Not only is it a kind of "worst form of taxation" but as in the case of almost all kinds of taxes, it fails to bring in revenue after a certain limit is reached. Taxation becomes unproductive beyond a certain limit and it is one of the well-known maxims of public finance ranking in importance with the Smithian canons of taxation. Although monetary inflation is one kind of "invisible and imperceptible taxation" still as soon as the people realise that they are being taxed, they begin to change their habits in currency, just as they would in the case of taxation of commodities. In the case of "tax on money" they prefer to use another kind of money not liable to this taxation. People try to evade the use of such commodities as are taxed or try to discover possible substitutes for them. It is a commonplace statement that tells us that "an old tax is considered as no tax by the people." This remark is not true however in the case of the inflationary tax on money.

Another signal service which the war has rendered is to point out that one thousand and one forces operate on the

¹ S. S. Katzenellenbaum, "Russian Currency and Banking," p. 13.

general price-level. Before the war the proponents of the Quantity Theory of Money were always levying undue emphasis on the monetary factor in discussing the theory of prices.¹ In the pre-war period a great plethora of money tended to increase the Bank Reserves and the profit-seeking motives of the bankers tempted them to lower the discount rates and this acted as an inflationary influence on the price-level. A raising of the rates lowered prices. Thus the bankers' rates for money were considered as an outstanding or dominant factor having an important influence both actually and psychologically on the price-level. Really speaking "the fear of gold" always mustering "psychology" as its help played an important part in the determination of the price-level. During the war period the monetary standard became a "boiler without the pressure of steam in it" or as Paul Warbury says "it became a religion without God."² An unrestrained creation of paper currency however has reduced the potency of these bankers' rates and the movement of the general price-level either during the war-time or after the war can be satisfactorily explained by reference to the quantity of money proper and the bank money that is created on it. Thus the comparative steadiness of the price-level in the

¹ Prof. Fisher however admits that there are many antecedent causes which influence the five proximate causes, M , M' , V , V' and T . "The volume of trade will be increased, and therefore the price-level correspondingly decreased by the differentiation of human wants; by diversification of industry and by facility of transportation. The velocity of circulation will be increased and therefore also the price level increased by improvident habits; by the use of book credit and by rapid transportation. The quantity of money will be increased and therefore the price-level will be increased correspondingly by the import or minting of money and antecedently by the minting of the money metal; by the introduction of another and initially cheaper money metal through bimetallism and by the issue of Bank notes and other paper money. The quantity of deposits will be increased and therefore the price-level increased, by extension of the banking system and by the use of book credit. The reverse causes produce, of course, reverse effects." But generally speaking the majority of the exponents of the Q. T. of Money levy undue emphasis on money or specie and do not consider the other proximate causes to be of such fundamental importance as specie.

² Presidential address, Annual meeting of the Academy of Political Science, November 14, 1924.

U. S. A., during 1922, 1923 and 1924 can never be attributed to discount rates for we find them actually falling.¹ A slowly falling discount rate ought to have produced a slowly rising price-level but on the contrary the price-level also was on the downward tendency. According to Dr. H. P. Willis "the gold stock increased by 2.4 times, deposits nearly 2.2 times, that of 1913 amount but the price-level has risen only 1½ times the 1913 price-level."² Similar was the experience in England during the years 1923 and 1924; where we find a rising discount rate failing to lower the prices but on the contrary the prices have been rising during these years."³

Another significant change brought about during the war and the post-war period is the control exerted on the supply of commodities by understanding the demand schedule. "The play of reason" takes the place of the "fear of gold" says Mr. Warbury and economic research in colleges, industries, banks, and government departments tends to understand the economic environment correctly and this information is placed at the disposal of the producer's so that just enough production is the result and this action is tending to steady the price-level. The Federal Reserve Board itself studies the industrial map of America carefully and after taking its soundings here and there fixes its money rates. The creation of credit is reduced with the reduction in the output of commodities on the other side so that this socio-economic control of credit itself is being made according to the dictates of the industrial production and business turnover. Thus we are slowly drifting towards the situation which the opponents of the Quantity Theory of Money describe as the

¹ The Money rates in America were falling from 5½ to 5¼% to 3 to 3¼% and even 2% in 1924 but the price level remained steady during the period as shown by the Index Nos. 158, 148 and 152 (1913 being the base period).

² See the paper "The relationship between credit and prices. Read before the Academy of Political Science, New York.

³ The discount rates of the Bank of England rose to 4% and remained steady there but the price level was rising from 162 and 180 as the Index No. shows, (1913 being the base period).

correct relationship between credit and prices. Prof. Laughlin holds the view that "credit is the result of prices and not the cause of the price-level."¹ This would be the real situation only if the creation of credit is beneficially controlled according to the understanding of the statistical analysis of bank deposits, and volume of production in the community. Until then Laughlin's proposition does not hold good. But the future relationship between credit and prices cannot be foretold. As the economic situation is in a flux credit and prices are unstable and it would be idle to prophesy that credit would not be a formative factor in the general price-level of the country. But at any rate there are many important causes other than money and credit, that bring about a great rise in prices.²

During the war period, the international factor, transportation, taxation, and changing standards of consumption exercised their influence on the general price-level. Even before the war, the industrial system was becoming a "closely knit machine" embracing the world's population. The failure of the monsoon in India affected adversely the price of raw cotton and this had an adverse effect on the Cotton Mill workers in Lancashire. If the Indian population gave up for instance the habit of adorning the arms, the ankles, ears and noses of the fair damsels it would have a tremendous effect on production spreading it up to an unparalleled extent. Instances can be multiplied—so on and so forth—as regards the interdependence of the nations and their industrial system. During the war years this dependence has been intensified and the belligerent countries had to depend on the neutral countries for their food-supply. Hence the prices of food-stuffs rose in their countries also and the international forces tend to exert an influence on the domestic price-level of the countries. There was also a shortage of things

¹ J. L. Laughlin. "Principles of Money."—

² Compare Dr. Marshall's Evidence before the Fowler Committee.

produced for civilian use on account of the withdrawal of labour for the army and munition work. As prices began to rise very high, all governments had to systematically pursue the policy of price regulation. Where the method of controlling prices by maximum price schedules has not been adopted, the plan of charging all excess profits was resorted to, though it tended to levy undue and disproportionate burden on the poor instead of on the well-to-do section of the consumers in the community. This is not the place to discuss the merits or demerits of the state regulations of prices but one thing that has to be pointed out is that this state control aiming at stability of prices during abnormal times as the war, is proposed to be exercised even during ordinary times so as to prevent unduly low prices as a result of increased production. Mr. Lloyd has worked out a scheme for stabilising prices even during normal periods instead of allowing competition to settle the price-level.¹ This sort of state intervention would no doubt have an important effect on the flow of investment in these different industries. Take, for instance, agriculture. The failure of a harvest would increase the prices of agricultural food-stuffs and if the state were to prevent their rise at such times, the flow of capital into agriculture would be affected. The investors generally anticipate higher profits during lean years as a counter-balancing feature to the prevalence of low prices during prosperous years of bumper harvests. But if the maximum prices fixed do not affect ordinary sales and if the state regulation is an established and determined policy to be exercised in all the industries, the amount of average annual production would not thereby be affected to any extent.

Prior to the war, the increasing organisation of population or growth of population tended to increase the prices of agricultural foodstuffs. But the world factors played only

¹ See E. M. Lloyd's "Stabilisation." State interference is advocated in such a manner to prevent high prices as well as low prices.

a slight part in influencing the price-level of the country. The difficulties of transportation always stood in the way and the problem of rate structure in the field of transport was always studied so as to facilitate the easy and cheap transfer of commodities from one country to another. The politician also tended to exercise an influence on the price-level. The levying of a tariff wall as an aid to domestic producers could not but enhance the price of those foreign commodities that were sold in the protectionist country. Even in the case of staunch free-trading countries, the tariff method of raising revenue to meet the enhanced cost of governmental expenditure could not but influence the domestic price-level. Rising expenditure incurred mostly through the pressure of the socialists for the paternalisation of the state, meant rising taxes. It was not the tariff alone that was used as an engine for raising the necessary revenue. New and effective methods of taxation had to be devised and this led to the reduction of the resources of the private people and the general price-level was influenced to a great extent. So long as the governmental expenditure was for productive purposes alone, the nations have not suffered any loss nor was their economic progress impeded. The governments thus exercised both direct as well as indirect influence on the general price-level of the country. Even during normal times the effects of individual taxes on prices are not to be neglected. Prof. Seligman has clearly shown us that some taxes may raise the price proportionately some disproportionately and some do not raise prices at all. Some taxes affect prices indirectly and some taxes lower prices.¹

¹ A tax on commodities increases their price by the amount of the tax. A tax on sales increases the price of commodities. A poll-tax influencing the personal situation of the individual does not influence the general purchasing power of the individual. An inheritance tax also has no assignable influence on the prices of commodities forming part of the estate. Taxes on income and excess profits, have indirect influence on prices by modifying the flow of capital thus affecting production by lessening investment and enterprise. A tax on land and buildings by reducing the earnings decreases their

Changes in the standards of consumption have an important bearing on the price-level as the different sections of society always strive to use the articles which are identified as the conventional necessities of their particular standard. While the production of basic necessities such as cotton, iron, cement, steel and lumber, is not on the increase at all, those of luxuries and conveniences of the rich are being manufactured on an increasingly large scale. Production has not been solely for use but for profit and the capitalistic method of industrial production aiming solely at profit has tended to produce the articles of "ilth" as Ruskin denounces these luxuries.¹ Since his time we find several writers like Carlyle, Matthew Arnold, William Morris, Maxim Gorky and the psychological novelists of the present day do not consider the industrial and machine civilisation led by individualistic capitalists seeking profits as the banner-bearer of economic progress. "Vital wealth" as contradistinguished from "monetary wealth"² can only be secured if due heed is paid to consumption and unless a wise standard of consumption controls production no reform in the present methods of industrial production would be of any use in bettering human lives. If production were to control consumption, if production for profit were to persist instead of production for use and if the present "acquisitive society" is tolerated, the realisation of a complete life of humanity can never be achieved. It is not public extravagance alone that has a decided effect on the price-level but private extravagance influences the general price-level to a great extent. The other wider and deeper implications of the wasteful and leisured life of the rich or the monetary ambitions and pecuniary greed of the capitalists are beyond the scope of the

capital value and their price falls. A tax on bonds acts in a similar manner. See E. A. R. Seligman, "Essays in Taxation."

¹ See Herr Walter Rathnean, "In Days to Come," p. 76.

Also "Sidney and Beatrice Webb, Decay of Capitalist Civilisation, p. 23,

² John Ruskin, "Manera Pulveris," § I.

present subject which is solely concerned with the causes operating on the general price-level of the country.¹

Before the war-time the merchants acting as the middlemen between the manufacturers and the consumers, performed useful service to society by enabling the manufacturers to produce a large variety of supplies in sufficiently large quantities to keep the cost of production low. They formed an indispensable link in the chain of distribution and as Prof. Smart has described them were "necessary servants in the long production processes and modern production processes are never completed till the goods reach the consumer."² "When they leave the manufacturer they have merely completed a late stage in the process not a final one." Although they were performing a useful service to society yet they were charging too high a price for their service and a large number of those unnecessary middlemen served only to intercept a large portion of the price paid by the consumer for the finished product. Another disadvantage of their presence is that they are dictating to the producers to bring about the production of the articles of "ilth" with the result that the necessary economic articles of necessities do not increase with the growth of population.³ Sometimes also they live to injure the domestic manufacturers and industrialists by selling the goods of the foreign producers. Instead of satisfying the vital wants as far as possible by the direct produce of the soil and the labour at the disposal of the community these middlemen act as national parasites

¹ See Prof. T. N. Carver, "Essays in Social Justice," pp. 379-381, etc.

Also Prof. Ross "social control" pp 407-410.

² See Prof. W. Smart, "Distribution of Income," pp 23-28.

³ Very often they tended to practise deception as to the physical nature of the article that is being sold and adulterated and misnamed goods, duped people by dishonest advertising and by employing false weights and measures. Similarly unscrupulous financiers have taken up the practice of selling stocks and shares by exaggerating their future yield, by deliberately publishing false information or withholding relevant information. The manipulation of dividend payments also falls under this category—for an exhaustive account of the deceptive activity of these middlemen see Aves "Co-operative Industry," pp. 16 *et seq.*, and Howsons "Frenzied Finance."

disturbing the balance between production and consumption at home. They frustrate the cardinal principles in the field of economic distribution by failing to restore back to the producing organism the energy spent in production as they tend to direct consumption into wrong channels and create a demand for foreign markets.

All these forces were playing a part in the determination of the price-level even in normal times but their influence was often neglected and money and credit alone were considered as the active partners in raising or lowering prices. During the war period several of these factors began to exercise increasing pressure on the price-level and the state intervention to fix prices or ration the existing supply was only to mitigate the evil effects of the influence of these forces. But for international forces raising agricultural prices as compared with industrial products we would not have witnessed rural prosperity and an improvement in the standard of living of these classes. In the United States as well as India this phenomenon has been witnessed. The price problem of agricultural foodstuffs has become a "world-problem." It is not the gold standard countries alone that feel the pressure of the world price-level. Even silver-using countries feel its pressure indirectly through the channel of exchange rates with the gold-using countries.

The transportation factor during the war period was solved to a large extent by nationalising the means of communication.¹ Cheap as well as efficient service was aimed at. But as this solution of the problem was given up immediately on the closing of the war, the problem is still compelling the constant attention of the industrialists. The internal aspect of the transportation problem is being solved to a great extent by developing motor transport or by employing electricity to subserve the interests of the producers

¹ See how to pay for the War," *Essay on Nationalisation of Railways*," Fabian Society Publication.

or by forcing the legislature of the country to provide an economic solution of the transportation problem or by removing the industrial factory or centre of manufacturing into the heart of the country itself where the people's demand can easily absorb the produced supply. It is not only in this way that the transportation factor in the price problem is being tackled but control over the labour force is being exercised by developing apprenticeship system encouraging labour-recruiting organisations and by influencing the immigration policy of the State itself.

During the war time the increased governmental expenditure forced the belligerent states to levy increased taxation and even in the post-war period the expenditure of the state was carried on on a large scale as compared with the pre-war years. The inroads of taxation imposed not only heavy burdens on the industrialists affecting their technical efficiency but also their output. It is not the industrialists alone that felt the pressure of taxation but the different groups of society were also subject to the burden of taxation so that the question of governmental economy becomes important. The rendering of governmental duties cheaply and efficiently means the releasing of income to private people so that the demand for commodities increases and the producers themselves feeling less the burden of taxation, would expand production to meet the consumer's demand. This is the sole reason why the reduction of super tax on profits and the income tax is hailed as a welcome measure. It is the duty of the economists to pursue this policy and suggest reductions or retrenchments in the public expenditure and cut down taxation to a lower level. This is the help the industrialists expect from the economists. The economists' duty does not end merely by protecting the businessmen from the "insidious inflationary or deadly deflationary" attempts by credit and money-issuing authorities.

Even in the pre-war period the rising prices brought

about by the middlemen tended to make the rich richer and the poor poorer still with the result that the utility of the merchant middleman was being seriously questioned. Attempts have been made to eliminate these "parasitical, predatory, destructive and wasteful middlemen" by developing consumers' stores or purchasing associations. But much success has not resulted out of their action. It would be out of place here to discuss or analyse the conditions that conduce towards success.¹ It must however be pointed out that a limited number of these serviceable, peaceful and helpful middlemen are indispensable to society. The economic services they render to society are often obscured as in the case of the speculators. A new system of distribution aiming at the abolition of the middlemen would lead to higher prices than at present so that the charges of control and local management, transport, rent, insurance, interest and, last but not least, loss on unsaleable stock are all properly covered. Prices would not only be lower but the choice of good articles would also be restricted to a narrower range in the absence of these middlemen.

Changes in the standards of consumption have resulted during the war period. The soldiers have experienced a better standard of consumption during the war period and they fain would reduce it in the after-war period. Much of the contemporary dissatisfaction with life in the Punjab has been due to the same thing.² Even the stay-at-home workers who

¹ Prof. A. C. Pigou says, "that though the Purchasers' Associations as a means of overcoming the evils of ordinary competitive and ordinary monopolistic industry has undoubtedly an important part to play but the field is limited in extent and the study of further remedies is still required." See "Economics of Welfare," 2nd edition, p. 292. The economic efficiency of the Purchasers' Association depends on its able management, on the reduction of the cost of advertising, on the loyalty of its members and on the dissemination of knowledge about the best methods of production.

² See M. L. Darling, "Rise in the Rural Standard of Living" in the Journal of Indian Economics," Allahabad, July, 1924.

Also "The Round Table," Sep. 1924, "Article on the Economic and Social Aspirations of the Indian Nationalists," p. 44.

realised higher wages have increased the consumption of their goods and some have gone to the length of locking up their earnings in cheap jewellery, etc., in England. As this high standard of consumption could not be maintained after the war there is dissatisfaction and social welfare is endangered to a great extent by it. The wage-earners refuse a reduction and the impossibility of paying high wages by the industrialists as the price-level has fallen, is leading to industrial unrest. It is this acute problem of adjusting wages to the price that is forcing the American industrialists towards the adoption of the policy known as 'scientific management' ! "Through technological improvements in the machine processes, through increased division of labour, through wider applications of better forms of power, through better organisation of working forces, through better provision for the safety and health of the workers, through more scientific adjustment of production to market conditions, the industrial "economician" labouring with the internal problems day by day is exercising a silent but most potent influence on price-levels as they affect the standard of living and the whole social welfare."¹ Thus scientific management aims at greater production with lesser cost per unit and this tendency acts on the price-level steadying it to a large extent and the steady price-level coupled with steady wages would go to a large extent in cementing the ties between the employers and the employed thus procuring the greatest amount of social welfare. Giving evidence before Prof. Hoxie, F. W. Taylor, the founder of this movement says "scientific management is a system devised by industrial engineers for subserving the common purpose of employers, workmen and society at large though on eliminations of avoidable wastes, the general improvement of the processes and methods of production and the just and scientific distribution of the product."

¹ See the paper on "Industrial Management and Price Levels." Read before the Annual meeting of the Academy of Political Science, New York, Nov. 14, 1924.

This is not the place or the occasion to comment on the causes of present-day industrial unrest or repeat the usual battle cries of the two parties Labour and Capital or criticise the defects of the individualistic capital regime or enumerate the labour's conspiracies to cheat the output by Ca'canny methods of working or limiting output or vexatious trade union Laws and the tyranny of collective bargaining. The adjustment of wages to prices or the question of poverty was the sole matter rivetting the attention of all the parties, "wages go by the stairs and prices by the lift" was the commonplace remark and the attention of the State was to solve this question in a peaceful manner. It is true that the employers can take drastic action in reducing wages and fight manfully with the Trade Union Organisation and adjust wages to prices but this action only intensifies the evil. As Prof. Keynes says "we cannot solve the labour unrest by forcing labour into new directions by pressure of starvation or by breaking the power for evil and perhaps for good also of the trade unions or by reducing wages in the sheltered industries to the level of the unsheltered. From these thoughts the mind must be turned for from such directions help will not come."¹ It is not mere objective satisfaction of economic wants and necessities that can be secured by a rise in income, that labour aspires for, but there is a craving for the satisfaction of the subjective feelings which are increasing in intensity and outstripping the felt objective wants and necessities of life. The question is not the one of securing leisure, improving health conditions, obtaining sanitary housing and employment conditions, reducing industrial accidents and the craving for any other economic ambitions but it is purely a question of status and labour aspires to control industry and have a share in the management of it.²

¹ See the "Nation and the Athenaeum, May 24, 1924, p. 236.

² Justice Sankey says, "Half a century of education has produced in the workers of the coalfields far more than a desire for the material advantages of higher wages and shorter hours. They have now in many cases, and to an ever-increasing extent a higher

This is the new phase of labour struggle that is going on in the Western countries and the old devices like the Sliding Scale of Wages., Profit-sharing plans or welfare schemes are no longer able to evoke the "creative spirit and interest" in the labourer for this psychological craving for a share in the control of industry remains unfulfilled. Labour has to be declared as a co-partner entitled to a voice not only in the management of questions of safety, shop hygiene, etc., but in the matter of manufacturing problems, elimination of waste, regularisation of industry, the sale of the product and other allied problems. Until then the "creative impulse" so dormant in their minds would not be stirred to activity and bear forth any desirable point. Henry Ford, the owner of the well-known motor works in U. S. A. says "paternalism has no place in industry. Welfare work that consists in paying into the employees' private concerns is out of date. Men need counsel and men need help, oftentimes special help and all this ought to be rendered for decency's sake. But the broad workable plan of investment and participation will do more to solidify industry and strengthen organisation than will any social work on the outside."¹ As Dr. Marshall has long ago pointed out "men are capable of much more unselfish service than they generally render and the supreme aim of the economist is to discover how this latent social asset can be developed more quickly and turned into account more wisely."² If the industrial workers are to be stimulated towards higher and better production the only way as pointed out several years ago by Prof. Jevons is "to identify their interests with those of the employers"³ and this can be achieved only if the workers

ambition of taking their due share and interest in the direction of the industry to the success of which they too are contributing." See the Second Report of the Coal Commission of England, in 1919 (p. 11). It is not the coal workers alone that aspire for this new status but all educated workers aim to obtain a share in the control of industry.

¹ See Henry Ford, "My Life and Work," p. 130.

² See Dr. A. Marshall, "Principles of Economics," p. 9.

³ See W. S. Jevons, "Essays," p. 123.

have a share not only in the profits of the industrial concern but in the actual management of it."

Some interesting experiments are being made in the direction of entrusting management to the labourers and allowing them to participate in the management of industry by the starting of shop committees¹ and the principle of co-partnership is being admitted by the capitalists and the results obtained seem to be very satisfactory. The thinking capacities and imagination of the workers are roused by entrusting responsible work to them and the resulting output has increased 100% and there has been a remarkable improvement in the quality of the product as well.² These new social experiments aim not only at the increase of output but the harmonisation of the interest of the capitalists, the workers and the managers. Until the fact that industry requires mutual co-operation between capital and labour is realised and secured by some device or other which elevates Labour into a position of industrial partnership with capital there would not be the realisation of real harmony and the prevalence of *esprit de corps* in the industrial firm. As the veteran co-operator G. J. Holyoake puts it "Industrial partnership is a policy of buying the skill and the will of a man—his genius and his self-respect, which elevate industry into a pursuit of art, service into companionship refined by equality and rewarded by mutual, though different degrees of competence."³

When and where the employers are not farsighted enough to grant such privileges as participation in the management

¹ This should not be confounded with the attempt of some of the entrepreneurs, who in order to stimulate the efficiency of the workers, grant prizes to these capable workers who can make or suggest improvements in the working technique of the industrial concern. A good idea of these attempts can be obtained by consulting Gilman "A Dividend to Labour," p. 230; Rowntree "Industrial Betterment," p. 31, and Meakin, "Model Factories and Villages," pp. 315-322.

² See W. R. Basset, "When the Workmen help you to manage," pp. 111-112.

Also Helen Marot "The Creative Impulse in Industry," pp. 35-43.

³ Quoted in Carpenter, "Co-partnership in Industry."

of the industrial concern the U. S. A. workers are attempting to use their money and Trade Union Funds to promote industrial production. They are aiming through their Labour Banks to emancipate production from the hands of money, power and secure the control of industry into their own hands.¹ Labour now thinks it better "to hire capital instead of waiting for capital to hire it" as the late Lord Milner has put it. Even in England the same remedy is proposed and with a change in the Trade Union Laws brought about by Parliament authorising the investment of their savings as industrial capital, the same situation can be brought about.²

The logical end in the process of economic evolution so far as Labour is concerned would be to obtain control over the management of industry and establish industrial democracy. From slavery and serfdom they have been emancipated and just as it has taken several centuries to attain this stage so also it would take pretty long time before labour succeeds in getting a new social status created for it in the economic order of society and shake itself free from the incubus of the capitalist and the financier. Such a step would severely increase the general welfare of the society. General welfare might be different from economic welfare and even though economic welfare might be damaged by certain acts, the general welfare of the community might be secured thereby. Prof. Pigou says "changes in industrial organisation that tend to give greater control over their own lives to work people whether through workmans' councils to overlook matters of discipline and workshop organisation in conjunction with the employer or

¹ See "Labour's Money" by Richard Boekel—with an Introduction by Right Hon. Viscount Milner—there is rapid success attending on the labour banks of the U. S. A. The Labour Bank of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers succeeded in increasing its resources from \$650,000 to \$22,350,000 within three years. In 1910 the Philadelphia Rapid Transport Company refused to satisfy labours' grievances and a violent strike ensued. The labourers organised their resources and at present in 1922 they own 15% of its stock and within five years they would own the controlling portion in the stock (see p. 187, p. 192).

² See James Kidd, "Unity in Industry."

through a democratically elected Parliament directly responsible for nationalised industries or state-controlled national guilds might increase welfare as a whole, even though they were to leave unchanged or actually to damage economic welfare.”¹ Here is one instance of how one non-economic cause tends to affect economic welfare just as one economic cause might affect non-economic welfare.

The modern labour movement is nothing but a counterpart of the movement for democracy in the political field. In the western countries there is present political democracy and industrial autocracy as typified by giant trusts, industrial combinations, pools and associations, etc. Hence their social conditions, are unstable and have given rise to the oft-quoted remark that “industrial disgrace is a thing that can’t be cured.” Political democracy can rest secure only on the basis of an economic or industrial democracy. Sliding scales, profit-sharing and welfare work can secure satisfaction for the time being. They may increase output, improve the quality of the product and augment the mental efficiency and physical vigour of the workers but the real solution for an everlasting peace between the two parties Labour and Capital is to candidly admit that each is interested in the processes of industrial production and that each is entitled to have a share in the control and management of the industry. It is only on this basis that they can effectively co-operate with each other. Economic harmony can be secured if labour becomes the owner of industry along with the capitalists and economic efficiency can be increased to a large extent when the passive owners of capital who are at present inactive will once more assume their real functions and the capitalist drones of society would no more exist. They would be forced to become active workers. Capital would no longer think of acquiring more return but begin to function in the proper manner. The present social conditions described

¹ See A. C. Pigou, “Economics of Welfare,” p. 17.

so well by the Italian Economist, Prof. Achille Loria, would be altered and it would no longer be possible for "some to live without working and for others to work without living."

Capital *per se* is not of overwhelming importance and the capitalists too often exaggerate the importance of capital. It is the wise direction, able management and successful employment that is of so vital importance and without it, it is of little productiveness. Labour can accomplish the same if it possesses education. The source from which capital is obtained is not of paramount importance. Until then the millennium of plenty and prosperity which socialist writers describe with such fervour, would not be achieved. The present labour struggle carried on, on the lines of "deadly strikes" and class consciousness is prejudicial to economic welfare, social betterment and community of feeling. If carried on, on the lines of "strategic investment" and "common interest" real, lasting and peaceful settlement of industrial dispute can be attained. The traditional enmity between capital and labour and the attempt to cure it by "armed peace" is wholly futile. Both parties have to be constantly educated as regards their relative importance to each other and to society. President Elliott of the Harvard University says "Prudent advocates of profit-sharing never represent the method as applicable in all industries or as the single cure for all industrial strife. They maintain that profit-sharing must always be associated with co-operative management, that is, with the effective sharing by the working people in the management and discipline of the works on shops and also with complete accessibility of the accounts of the establishment for the elected representatives of the workers whether members of the company's Board of Directors or merely auditors satisfactory to the employees. In other words, profit-sharing should be only one element in a scheme having three parts. The object to be attained in any hopeful re-organisation of the machinery industries is a generous sharing of control and responsibility and thereof of profits, when there are any,

after wages and interest on borrowed money have been paid. Nothing short of that will give satisfaction to both parties in the present industrial strife and nothing else ought to. To take together a long step on the road towards lasting peace between employers and employees must be really partners with like motives for diligence the prevention of waste and the adoption of improvements.”¹

The centre of importance in economic emphasis is gradually changing. Formerly the economists levied much emphasis upon money till the sociologists developed the importance of “human capital” and “human resources.” Thus wealth yields its place to welfare. But a new synthesis of society is being worked out and we aspire to conserve monetary wealth as well as general welfare and some of the modern economists concentrate their attention on the economics of welfare. The nineteenth century socialists aimed at the destruction of private property or at any rate the equal distribution of it amongst the people. But now the emphasis is on the retention of private property and the acquisition of sufficient property by the workers so as to dispel property and all its vicious consequences. This is the real meaning of the present-day labour movement and the founding of the labour banks. The acquisition of sufficient monetary wealth is a step in the right direction for after all it recognises the economic necessity of capital. Without it the deadly sins of our society cannot be attacked. Capital is the “symbol of life” procuring “beauty cleanliness, fitness, culture, refinement and leisure.”

(To be continued.)

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

¹ Quoted from New York “Times,” 21st September, 1919 in Bloomfield’s “The Problems of Labour.”

² See “Major Barbara” by Bernard Shaw, The Opinion of the Millionaire “Andrew Undershaft.”

DRY MEAT TRADE

Perhaps the most atrocious of all trades which are carried on in this country is that in the export of dried meat outside India. The trade is highly objectionable not only from a sentimental or religious point of view but from sanitary and economic standpoints as well. It is of comparatively recent growth having commenced about thirty years ago, but it has already attained such a degree of notoriety that Mr. W. S. Hamilton, I.C.S., Director of Agriculture and Industries, the Punjab, had to note in his Punjab Cattle Census Report of 1914 that "this is an industry which would seem to require licensing and strict supervision, if the scandals of Chicago are not to be repeated in the Punjab."

The industry consists in killing large number of cattle,—good, bad and indifferent—every day and the fleshy portions after being dried well in the sun (the commodity is at this stage locally known as *Biltong*) and sometimes salted, are covered with gunny cloth and made into bundles, which are then ready for export by train or steamer. The trade is carried on chiefly in the Central Provinces and Berar, in the United Provinces, Bihar, portion of the Punjab and Bombay. This dried beef is exported chiefly to Burma and partly to China, Japan, Tibet, Eastern Coast of Africa and parts of Arabia *via* Calcutta, Bombay, Karachi and Madras. The operation is carried on by Mahomedans, Chamars, Ghashi aboriginal tribes, who carry on their business in a most filthy and insanitary manner, using all sorts and kinds of animals; even dead cattle and meat of animals other than cattle, *e.g.* horses, etc., are converted into dry meat. The way in which the meat is packed leaving the sides open and free to pick up dirt and contagion, and the proverbial filthiness of the manufacturers and the surroundings, make it a source of considerable danger to public health. The commodity is consumed

mainly by a class of Buddhists and Mahomedans and Christians eat it as well, exactly in the same manner as they would take dried fish or salted fish.

Partly owing to the existence of the public sentiment against it and partly owing to the unclean and revolting nature of the business, it is carried on in an atmosphere of comparative secrecy and seclusion, and it is somewhat difficult to ascertain the exact number of cattle slaughtered for the purpose. Another difficulty arises from the fact that in some places the figures of these cattle which are killed for the dried beef trade are not separately recorded. It is certain, however, that a large number of slaughter houses have been exclusively set up to facilitate this business and it will be seen from the Report of the last Indian Industrial Commission (*vide* Appendix D of the said Report) that in the United Provinces and the Central Provinces *jerked* meat for export to Burma is prepared on a large scale, and there are a number of slaughter houses at Agra, Damoh, Rahatgarh, Khurai and other places where thousands of cattle are slaughtered every day and a trade not a very dissimilar from that of the meat packets of Chicago is carried on. The same view is endorsed by the Report of the Indian Munition Board published at the instance of the Government of India.

Attempts have been made of late by several bodies to ascertain the exact number of cattle slaughtered for the dried meat trade. The earliest enquiry was made by Lala Sukhbir Sinha of Muzaffarnagar in 1918 and he comes to learn that the number of cattle slaughtered for this trade in a few towns and cities of one Province alone, *viz.* the United Provinces came to above one and a half lacs a year. But this only represents a small fraction of the actual number killed in this business. Enquiries were instituted by the All India Cow Conference Association of Calcutta from the Agent, East Indian Railway, and other sources. At first the Railway Company was very loath to supply any information.

on the subject. At last at the request of Sir John Woodroffe, Kt., then President of the Association, the Agent agreed to furnish a statement but demanded Rs. 100 as costs for the purpose. The amount demanded by the Agent, East Indian Railway, was promptly supplied and the statistics of import of dried meat from up-country to Howrah Railway Station was obtained. The figures furnish a sufficient guide as to the nature and extent of the trade. The Agent, at first, supplied figures for the years, 1917, 1918 and 1919 and the first half of 1920. These relate to the export of dried beef from various stations on the East Indian Railway in Bihar, the United Provinces and portions of the Punjab and show a steady increase from $1\frac{1}{2}$ lac of maunds a year in 1917 to $1\frac{3}{4}$ lac of maunds in 1919 and one lac of maunds in the half-year ending 30th June, 1920, *i.e.*, 2 lacs of maunds for the whole year. Enquiries have proved that the carcasses of two cattle on an average are required to produce one maund of dried meat ; so that one and half lac to two lacs of maunds of dried meat means the slaughter of 3 to 4 lacs of cattle. As already indicated, these figures are not wholly reliable, for enquiries from the Collector of Customs, Rangoon, to which reference will presently be made, disclosed the fact that dried meat of not less than five lacs of cattle are imported to Burma *via* Howrah ; and further with the progress of agitation there has perhaps been an unconscious bias on the part of the authorities in understanding the figures of export and import of dried meat and the result is that after enquiries were begun to be started in the matter, the figures came abruptly down. Thus the Agent, East Indian Railway, in his second instalment of statistics on dried beef imported to Howrah has stated that the figures fell from about 2 lacs of maunds in 1919-20 to only half a lac of maund in 1921. It would have afforded genuine pleasure to those interested if the figures really came down to the extent as shown by the East Indian Railway as the outcome of Central Provinces

Regulations but that is not so, as the Regulations came into force only lately and the figures relate to stations mostly of places outside the Central Provinces. Thus, for example, Jubbulpore, Agra city, Bholagunj which exported 1,161, 1,908 and 3,703 maunds of dried beef respectively during 1919, did not export anything in 1921. Again important centres such as Bareilly, Kharaya and Mahoba which exported 11,167 maunds, 16,539 maunds and 4,640 maunds respectively of dried meat in 1917 sent only 328 maunds, 367 maunds, and 123 maunds, respectively in 1921. There are numerous other examples which could be quoted from the Agent's return and this sudden and unaccountable decrease, it is feared, does not represent the correct state of things. The General Secretary of the Cow Preservation League, Calcutta, being not satisfied with the figures supplied by the Agent, E. I. Ry., wrote to the Chief Collector of Customs, Burma, and that Officer was pleased to supply the following figures, which are placed side by side with the Railway figures for the purpose of comparison. It should be noted that the Burma figures are in cwt. while the East Indian Railway figures are in maunds and that one cwt. roughly represents $1\frac{1}{2}$ maunds.

Statement showing Dried Meat exported from India to Burma.

	1917-18	1918-19	1919-20	1920-21
Burma Customs	119,352 cwt.	152,185 cwt.	157,061 cwt.	61,822 cwt.
Howrah, E.I.Ry.	4,66,849 mds.	1,58,204 mds.	1,74,160 mds.	50,232 mds.

The latest enquiry on the subject seems to have been made by Pandit Shamlal Nehru, M. L. A., of Allahabad and according to him no less than about 45,00,000 of cattle are annually slaughtered in India for the trade in jerked meat. Our Mahomedan brethren, however, can have no earthly objection to the discontinuance of the jerked meat.

trade, which although it may bring some temporary profit to the men actually engaged in it, is detrimental to the best interests of the country. The country has a total stock of 145 millions of cattle, if out of this 4 to 5 millions are annually slaughtered for the dried meat trade one can easily realise what a heavy drain this means to the cattle resources of the country. Pandit Sham Lal Nehru has brought a Bill in the Legislative Assembly for stopping this immense recurring loss to the country and it remains to be seen how far the people and the Government take an actual interest in the welfare of the country by their attitude towards the Bill.

Credit must be given to the members of the C. P. Legislative Council for passing the resolution condemning the dried meat trade and the introduction of rules restricting the slaughter of cattle in the slaughter houses of the Central Provinces. These rules are capable of doing much benefit and it is desirable that similar rules may be introduced in all the other provinces of India. Rules should also be introduced and worked in all the other provinces to prevent the clandestine slaughter of cattle for this trade: the operation of the standing rules of the Central Provinces above referred to is rendered infructuous as the manufacturers of dried meat manage to open slaughter houses just outside the borders of the Central Provinces and thus carry on their trade as merrily as before. Unless the rules are simultaneously introduced in all the provinces no effective check can be placed upon the working of this business, for manufacturers when driven out by the rules in one province, may well go on and set up their trade in a neighbouring province.

In no civilised country is the slaughter of prime and milch cattle allowed to take place. Why should India be an exception, and especially when she needs these cattle very sorely for her agriculture and for the supply of nutrition

to her people? It is high time, therefore, that resolutions are unanimously passed in all the Legislative Councils condemning the promiscuous slaughter of useful cattle and asking for the introduction of rules regulating the slaughter of cattle similar to those passed in the Central Provinces. Such a trade, is not only injurious to the public health of India by selling meat of a questionable quality, but takes away the sap of the country, for it is on the cattle of India that the people have to depend for their health, sustenance and prosperity.

NILANANDA CHATTERJEE

PORTENTS IN THE PACIFIC

II

The development of political situation in the Pacific from the Paris Conference of 1919 down to the present day is a matter of vital importance from the point of view of the peace of the world. We have already seen that the settlement of the Far Eastern question by that Conference was an act of most unwise and short-sighted statesmanship. To Asiatics the outstanding significance of the Conference was that it treated Asia as a chattel of European diplomacy. But the High Excellencies at Paris were not omnipotent. Their decisions were not final. The United States Senate revolted against the actions of President Wilson at Paris and refused to ratify the Treaty of Versailles and the Covenant of the League of Nations. The Monroe Doctrine was rescued, the Hay Doctrine was resuscitated; a way for the United States to work unhampered out of the muddle was held open. For the moment the independent position of the American nation in world affairs was re-established. It was demonstrated that there did exist a power of appeal from the cabinet decisions of diplomats to public opinion, for there is no doubt that the action of the Senate was determined in the end by public opinion. That was heartening to vast populations of repressed peoples, who had seen at Paris their hopes and aspirations the pawns of the diplomacy of the Allied powers. In a degree the moral prestige of America in the Far East, which had been almost lost at Paris, was restored.

China was now encouraged to obtain a redress of her grievances from the first session of the League of Nations at Geneva in November, 1920. But soon after the convocation of the Assembly of the League it, however, developed that there

was no hope whatever to receive serious consideration of the Shantung and other Chinese questions during the first session, nor any chance to get a favourable action on them by the League at the time. The opposition of Japan, of course, was anticipated, and might have been more than counterbalanced but for the attitude assumed by other principal powers. Great Britain, France and Italy evidently acted in conjunction under private understandings reached between them before the Assembly convened, to defer action on any of the great questions before the League, and therefore they did not in the least degree support the Chinese claims to equity and justice. The League of Nations thus lamentably failed at the very first session of its existence to provide a fair and impartial adjustment of the Far Eastern and Pacific questions. The wrongs done to China were perpetuated; that was the lesson of Geneva to learn.

America could no longer remain a silent and helpless spectator of all these portentous international developments which undoubtedly had important effects on world politics. In the Presidential election of 1921, President Wilson and his Democratic Party lost heavily. Senator Harding became President and the Republicans came into power. President Harding and his Secretary of State Mr. Hughes took a far different view of the Treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations from that of Wilson and Lansing. They could not afford to look on while the situation in Eastern Asia was undergoing every day a graver transformation, while China was being practically dismembered by the Twenty-One Demands, by the Japanese "special interests" and "spheres of interest," and finally by the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. They realised that Great Britain and Japan always acting in combination in regard to Far Eastern questions ever since the conclusion of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance in 1902, had upset the political balance in the Pacific and the Alliance constituted a serious menace to the interests of America in China and in the Far

East. The true character of this Alliance as it affected the policy of the United States could be perceived by the American statesmen. Its essence was a division of the whole of Asia, as between Japan and Great Britain, into "spheres," wherein each agreed respectively to refrain from encroaching upon the other, and agreed further to assist each other in repulsing encroachments or infringements of other powers. In the event of a war between Japan and America, America could not hope to obtain any allies in the war, because in that case, according to the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, Great Britain would at once come to the assistance of Japan. Furthermore, the existence of such an Alliance in any form was bound to influence the probability of war, for its moral support and the strengthening it gave to Japan's finances and credit would be sufficient to determine the action of the Japanese Government on the question of going to war; and the Alliance would continue to strengthen the diplomacy of Japan everywhere, as it did at Paris and has done in the entire period of its existence. American Statesmen, therefore, recognised that the true policy of the United States was to save China and with it the whole of Eastern Asia from Japanese or Anglo-Japanese domination and they wanted to declare, once more, the Hay Doctrine to be the unilateral policy of the United States in respect of China.

At the same time the United States Government also embarked on the biggest programme of naval construction ever recorded in her history. This was astonishing. Against whom could such a measure be directed? Germany was dead so far as sea-power was concerned. Austria and Russia were likewise. France and Italy had sunk relatively in the scale and of the seven first class Naval Powers which existed in 1914 there remained only Great Britain and Japan as conceivable objectives for this tremendous spasmodic American outburst.

It was doubtless due to American official policy that the suggestion was allowed to grow—in all probability it was adroitly

fostered—that the new United States Navy was intended as a balance, against British sea-power. The fact is, however, quite contrary. Very soon after the conclusion of the Treaty of Versailles, England began to repent her conduct in steadfastly supporting Japan and Japanese encroachments at the expense of China during the last war. She, perhaps, thought that her entire Far Eastern policy during the 20th century was a mistaken one and that her unqualified support to Japan at the Paris Conference was an untoward event. England did no longer require the Anglo-Japanese Alliance for “the maintenance of her territorial rights and the defence of her special interests in the reigns of Eastern Asia and India” on account of the recent collapse of Russia and Germany. On the other hand, She began to feel that instead of Russia and Germany, Japan was threatening to become the most formidable and dangerous power in the Pacific and might one day endanger the security of the British Empire in the East. In fact, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance seemed to have outgrown its necessity, and therefore it became something anomalous or rather something positively mischievous. This changed outlook undoubtedly explains the determination of the British Government to construct a first-class naval base at Singapore. Such a naval base in the Pacific after the last Great War could be aimed either against Japan or against the United States. That it was not directed against the sea-power of America we have sufficient reasons to show. The debates of the House of Commons on the naval budget of 1923 have supplied certain very important informations. We are told that the project of creating a naval base at Singapore was discussed as early as 1920 by the Committee of Imperial Defence and with the support of this body it was approved by the Cabinet. In the Imperial Conference of 1921, the Dominions, especially Australia and New Zealand pressed hard for the dissolution of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and for the construction of the naval base at Singapore. The scheme

was, therefore, approved by the Conference as a whole and the British Cabinet began to adopt necessary steps from that time for translating it into action.

In the light of the abovementioned facts there can be no question that neither the American naval programme was aimed against Great Britain nor, on the other hand, was the British naval base at Singapore directed against the United States sea-power.

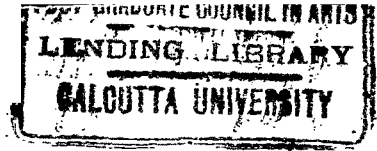
But both the Governments kept the secret well and quietly completed their plans. It is not perhaps sufficiently known how perilously near to war with Japan the United States actually was when that colossal naval programme was rushed through the American Congress. In the event of such a war, no doubt, the attitude of Great Britain would be a matter of supreme interest and importance. The Washington Conference, however, averted the peril of an impending conflict between the two nations by the conclusion of a series of half-hearted understandings as regards naval disarmament and by the formation of new alliances, new pacts and new international groupings.

From the standpoint of a stable and satisfactory solution of the Far Eastern question the settlement of the Washington Conference of 1921-22 cannot be considered to be a success. The Conference raised numerous hopes and expectations but very few were actually realised. Almost all the powers that gathered at Washington were profoundly dissatisfied with the results of their long-continued labour and discussion. China was dissatisfied, because she did not obtain all that she could quite legitimately expect. Practically nothing was done by the Conference for China regarding the much-needed reforms, such as, the withdrawal of foreign troops, the abrogation of extra-territoriality and the problem of tariff autonomy or fiscal independence. Japan was angry because she was compelled to disgorge Shantung and some other special privileges. America was dissatisfied because she could not so effectively check the Japanese aggrandisement in Eastern

Asia and in the Pacific as she desired. Finally, Great Britain was discontented because she had to consent to the reduction of her naval armaments as fixed by the Washington Naval Disarmament Treaty, and also because she could not totally expel Japan from the continent of Asia, especially from Manchuria and Siberia. Under such circumstances, the re-adjustment of the Far Eastern question by the Washington Conference could not be a durable one. On the contrary, seeds were sown here of future conflicts in the Pacific. The Anglo-Japanese Alliance has been dissolved as the result of a persistent propaganda by the British Dominions and by the British and American press; a sort of *entente cordiale* between Great Britain and America has come into existence; the Soviet Russia remains greatly offended because she has been treated as a pariah in the whole affair and Japan has been busily engaged since then in concluding fresh understandings with France and Russia so far as Far Eastern questions are concerned. China, although torn asunder by civil dissensions and internal strife, is yet feeling the pulsation of a new national life and it is not improbable that smarting under a sense of national humiliation and disgrace, she will ultimately cast in her lot with the Asiatic powers such as Russia and Japan against the domination of the capitalistic European and American nations. All these developments are sure to have tremendous effects on world politics and on world peace.

(To be continued)

TRIPURARI CHAKRAVARTI



THE PARAMAHANSA SIVANARAYAN SWAMI

On the 4th February, 1909, the Paramahansa Siva Narayan Swami departed this life at Manoharpukur in the suburbs of Calcutta after a ministry of about twenty-five years. His teachings were collected and published in Bengali and in parts in English and Hindi. In his lifetime his work was noticed in the *Pioneer* as appears from the following extract from its pages :

“Paramhansa Shiva Narayan Swami is a Hindustani Sannyasi who has been residing in a suburb of Calcutta for the last decade or so, and has found a number of disciples, among whom are some highly educated Hindu gentlemen. The Swami’s religious views are pantheistic, but his moral and social code is deeply humanitarian and aims at the elevation of Hindu society. He has published a comprehensive treatise in Bengali on Hindu religion and sociology, and occasionally contributes letters to newspapers embodying his views on important topics of the day. He has startled many by his radical views, from the Hindu standpoint, on the position and status of woman, which he has expressed in an article contributed to a Bengali Magazine. Man and woman, he says, are both emanations of the supreme soul, and one is equal to the other in every respect. Starting from this standpoint, he deals with the woman-question in most of its principal phases and arrives at conclusions which one would expect to find in the writings of the most forward supporter of the female emancipation movement rather than in the musings of a Hindu Sannyasi who professes to interpret the Hindu Sastras.”—*Pioneer Mail*, August, 2, 1901, (p. 11).

An account of his wanderings and preachings in Bengali was published in 1892 and was the first book of travels in that language. An English translation of it entitled *Indian Spirituality or the Travels and Teachings of Sivanarayan* was in 1907 published in this country and in England. It received appreciative notices in the Press. The reproduction of some of them here may not be without interest. They indicate the influence of purely Indian thought on the non-Indian

mind. According to *Luzac's Oriental List and Book Review*

"the doctrines of Sivanarayan are really typical of some of the best teachings of modern Hindu devotees and the book will be read with interest by many."

"(Sivanarayan's) strangely refined and sensibly self-denying life is worthy of records."—*Daily Chronicle*.

Of his character the *Englishman* said:

"It may be summed up in lines applied to a far different worthy, 'powerfullest preacher and tenderest teacher and kindest creature in all Hindustan.'"

The *Empire* said of him:

"In India Socrates is almost a type..... He is incarnate to-day in the sage Sivanarayan, whose biography is related in the most interesting manner."

The *Civil and Military Gazette* which is rarely credited with enthusiastic admiration of things Indian, said

"If the educated Indian can produce works of this kind our universities will be, in some degree, justified by its products. The book is throughout moderate in tone. The reader who is in sympathy with the general idea feels that it is a book he would like to be in the hands of all who are still burdened with the weight of useless customs and traditions."

It would be superfluous to refer to the more recent notice of Sivanarayan, his travels and teachings by Dr. Farquhar in his well-known "Modern Religious Movements in India." But a short summary of Sivanarayan's teachings may not be devoid of interest to the general reader and will at the same time enable one to judge whether his faith can be justly designated pantheism.

His confession of faith in the Supreme Being is to be found at the opening of the "Parama Kalyana Gitā," his earliest published teaching. This book, in the Hindi language, Sivanarayan's mother tongue, appeared in 1889:

"The Pure Spirit, the plenitade of being, formless, modeless, attributeless, stainless, effortless, fathomless, boundless, unattainable, actionless,

transcending change, containerless, exhaustless, all-comprehending, ruler of hearts, ineffable, without particularity, the supreme teacher, the parent of these passing things—from whom these passing things proceed in whom they rest and into whom they re-enter, leaving no trace behind; whose mere expressions they are—even unto the same supreme Brahma, all creatures' goal, I render salutations."

Then he proceeds to project in words the vision of Him in name and form and reconciles worship with and without forms thus :

"Of Him an expression is this universe of the moving and the moveless, the male and the female. His universe-form, the Vedas sing, has the sun for eye and moon for mind. These words are a veil (or allegory). These two are His eye and mind and yet they are not. Reflection shows these two to be the chief workers of world-life. Visioned thus, taking the spirit and form as one, they are called and received as the Supreme Spirit" "Holding the mind fast on the indescribable Supreme Being (indicated above) He may, without harm, be worshipped associated with form or dissociated therefrom. Form and its absence are His aspects as effect and cause. He, whose aspects they are, is existence itself. Hence difference of aspects affects not Him whose aspects they are. Division in the eternal is nowise possible."—*Paramakalyana Gitā*.

The idea is further elucidated and completed in a Bengali work—the *Amrita Sāgara* (1902)—

"To Him who, comprehending in Himself the universe, seen and unseen, with its sustaining substance, the totality of power, attribute and action, is formed, formless and indivisible even in thought, is plenitude of being, eternal, self-existent, without beginning, end or aught between; having in Himself infinitude of powers, names, attributes, the right and the wrong impression and the true vision, the sentient and insentient, is, yet, beyond them all, even unto Him name are given and one such name is Om."—*Amrita Sāgara*.

His teaching on the worship of exalted individuals appears in the following extract from a popular treatise in Bengali called the "Sāra Nitya Kriyā":

"Shall the seeker for salvation worship incarnation, saint or sage? The truth will enlighten *him* alone who casts aside all prepossessions,

social and sectarian. God may be figured as water. Of this water the exalted ones are bubbles, uncommonly large, while ordinary mortals are but froth. Water can turn all bubbles into water and not merely into one of its modes, however exalted, in created sight. Those who by the grace of God can approach any exalted being, while in the flesh, must serve, obey and receive his teaching with reverential love. But when he leaves the flesh to rest in God his individuality is unsearchable and no individual worship can be directed to him. Worship God alone and all that can be worshipped are worshipped thereby."

He teaches how love and wisdom are united in the intellectual love of God :

"Let all human beings, high and low, male and female, ask themselves these questions and seek for answers thereto—"Who am I, whence do I come, whither proceeding? What am I and what is He I worship? How to gain temporal and spiritual well-being for me and mine?" Let all human beings, young and old, male and female, pray with all humility thus :—"O Supreme all-comprehending Being, whose visible presence is light, out and within, our Master, Parent and innermost Essence, engrossed in worldly pursuits, we forget Thee but in Thine own goodness forget us not, forgive our offending. O Ruler of hearts, move our hearts to perpetual remembrance of Thee!"—*Paramakalyāna Gitā*.

This naturally leads to the consideration of the householder's and the ascetic's state.

"The householder's state is the best. He is qualified for all goodness, temporal and spiritual. In the performance of his duties if he but once turns to God in prayer his sins are forgiven and he rests in unending bliss. The professed ascetic, with many repeated prayers but cherishing in his heart a single self-regarding desire, is left far behind. The householder serves God in things of life and of the spirit. Orderly life is a part of the Divine scheme. While the ascetic life is barren of spiritual value, if touched by a single desire for enjoyment, now or hereafter, and remains a stranger to peace."—*Ibid.*

Approaching devotion he draws attention to the qualities promotive of it.

"In the sincere, gentle, humble, merciful, faithful to truth, just, regardful of the well-being of all—male and female—accepted as expressions of

the individual soul and God, the Divine power or Divinity manifests itself. For none by these are hurt."—*Sāra Nitya Kriyā*.

"Devotional spirit grows not but in love."—*Amrita Sāgara*.

He views devotion in two aspects as bearing on associated existence and on individual life.

"Perform your duties, temporal and spiritual, with gentle, sober, discrimination. Let all your doings be calculated to help all belonging to you, to attain eternal bliss. Work with a contented heart. Let each work for the good of all. For in that good is the good of every one. For a man who finds his true well-being there is goodness everywhere. Nothing is but represents God and soul. In all things work with zeal. Be slothful in nothing. For sloth destroys all goodness."—*Sāra Nitya Kriyā*.

He warns against mere external worship, in pomp and ceremony :

"He that confesses God by word of mouth but obeys not His commandments is an unbeliever. He, that confesses not in words but feels as his own other's well-being and its opposite and whose conduct is by that feeling ruled, is truly a believer, whatever else he may or may not be. He, who disregards of the purpose of creation, worships Him with external pomp and ceremony but feels no love for His creatures and shows them no mercy, is an unbeliever, though endowed with all other good qualities. While he, who labours for the world's good, is a man of true faith. Without cherishing His creatures in love all forms of worship are valueless. On the doing of works acceptable to Him, He cleanses the heart with true wisdom and establishes the doer in the Supreme Bliss called Nirvana. Whoever does such works, even without uttering His name, becomes pure in heart and rests in the Supreme Bliss which is differently called Mukti, Nirvana or Salvation,"—*Amrita Sāgara*.

Devotion in individual life is thus summarised by him :

"Men, casting away all thoughts of glory and disgrace, triumph and defeat, social and sectarian pride, receive these words in truth. Thus will your well-being, temporal and spiritual, be secured for ever. Of this doubt there is none.

1. Keep all things, not ceremoniously but really, pure and clean.
2. Labour for the fulfilment of God-given needs, and not mere fancies and desires, of His creatures.

3. With reverence make offerings in the fire of things, fragrant and sweet, reflecting on the beneficial influence of the act on health of body and mind and on the marvellous way in which God maintains the life of the world and the civilisation of mankind by the agency of fire.

4. In the confidence of love call on Him by the name Om which, having no popular meaning, will be conducive to true unity of hearts among the worshippers.

5. Feel His visible presence in what men call the Sun and the Moon. Receive the light with the eye and in reverential love bow down to Him, they represent to sight.

6. Be devoted to the all-comprehending Supreme Spirit. While feeling His presence in His works forget not His all-comprehending plenitude of being."—*Paramahalyāna Gitā*.

This brief account of one who lived and died (1909) in obscurity may be concluded with his prayer for religious unity and peace :

"O Thou self-existent, all-comprehending Supreme Spirit, the light of eye and heart, be in peace and bestow peace on the world. Or since Thou art peace itself grant peace unto all Thy creatures. Purify their hearts and give them the wisdom to understand that. Thou art all-comprehending and what Thy commandment is to Thy creatures, so that each can look on all others as expressions of himself and Thee and thus, freed of hatred and malice, may obey Thy commandments and abide in Supreme Bliss.

O Thou, ruler of hearts, the light, within and without, the Parent of all, Thou art formless and attributeless and even Thou art the possessor of all forms and attributes. Comprehending the cause, the subtle and the gross, Thou art ever radiant in beauty. Beside Thee none is, will, or can be. If Thy creatures forget Thee, immersed in joys and sorrows of life, Thou forget them not. Forgive them their forgetfulness and save them from all evil. To save them there is none beside. Unknown to them are composure of thought, concentration, meditation, constancy, adoration and true faith, whereby to find Thee or wisely to follow Thy direction. For them even Thou art all these.

Thou settest the day and it is day, Thou closest the day and it is night. If all creation combine and say, "let night not be" yet night will be when so Thou wilt. Bid they Spring not to succeed Winter yet Spring.

blooms forth as by Thee ordained. If the whole world combine to will a leaf to fall from tree Thy appointed time never will it fall except as by Thee appointed. When leaves fall, obeying Thy command, none to them can say nay. None may succeed in chasing out hunger, thirst, sleep or watch. All senses and organs instantly obey Thy command. By Thy grace all things can change. O Ruler of hearts, Thou art all-comprehending, Omnipotent. Thou canst make a mustard seed a mountain and a mountain a mustard seed.

O Thou, self-radiant splendour, the ruler from within, Thou dwellest in Thy creature's hearts. Whatever Thou willest to be done by any unto him Thou transmittest the appropriate will and power and that is done by him and Thee. Into the king Thou sendest the kingly mind and into the subject what beseems him; into the warrior war-like spirit and into the artist the skill of art. Thus, Thou preservest, by presence and power, the play of variety in Thy created spheres.

O Ruler of hearts, Thy creatures, of themselves, are inclined from Thee away. By Thy merciful in-drawing they are impelled to search after Thee and righteousness. Without Thy mercy heart nor mind can Theeward turn.

O Supreme Spirit, transcending form, action and attribute, Thou art the Father of the universe and even Thou, possessed of forms, visible as light, art the Mother. Both aspects are Thine, O Thou One, secondless, indivisible! With love supreme Thou ordainest Thy creatures' well being on earth and eternal beatitude. In ungrateful folly men wage fratricidal wars by imagined conflict between these, Thine dual aspects. O Plenitude, the dwellers in darkness of spirit are unable to perceive that possessed of forms, Thou art formless and even though formless, Thou art possessed of every form and all. Admonished to receive the true faith by considering the lordly dominance of Thy visible presence, known as light, with contempt they reject the admonition as counselling the worship of a limited, insentient object. Forgive them their offence in Thy infinite mercy. Ordain in Thy grace, unasked, that all may receive the true faith and thereby attain to infinite bliss.

Ruler of hearts, Parent of all, Thou art all things and yet nothing art Thou! Whatever men may say in folly, Thou knowest they are in form and essence one with Thee—they proceed from Thee, rest in Thee and are hidden in Thee away. Forgive the offences of men and fill the world with unbroken peace!"—*Amrita Sāgara*.

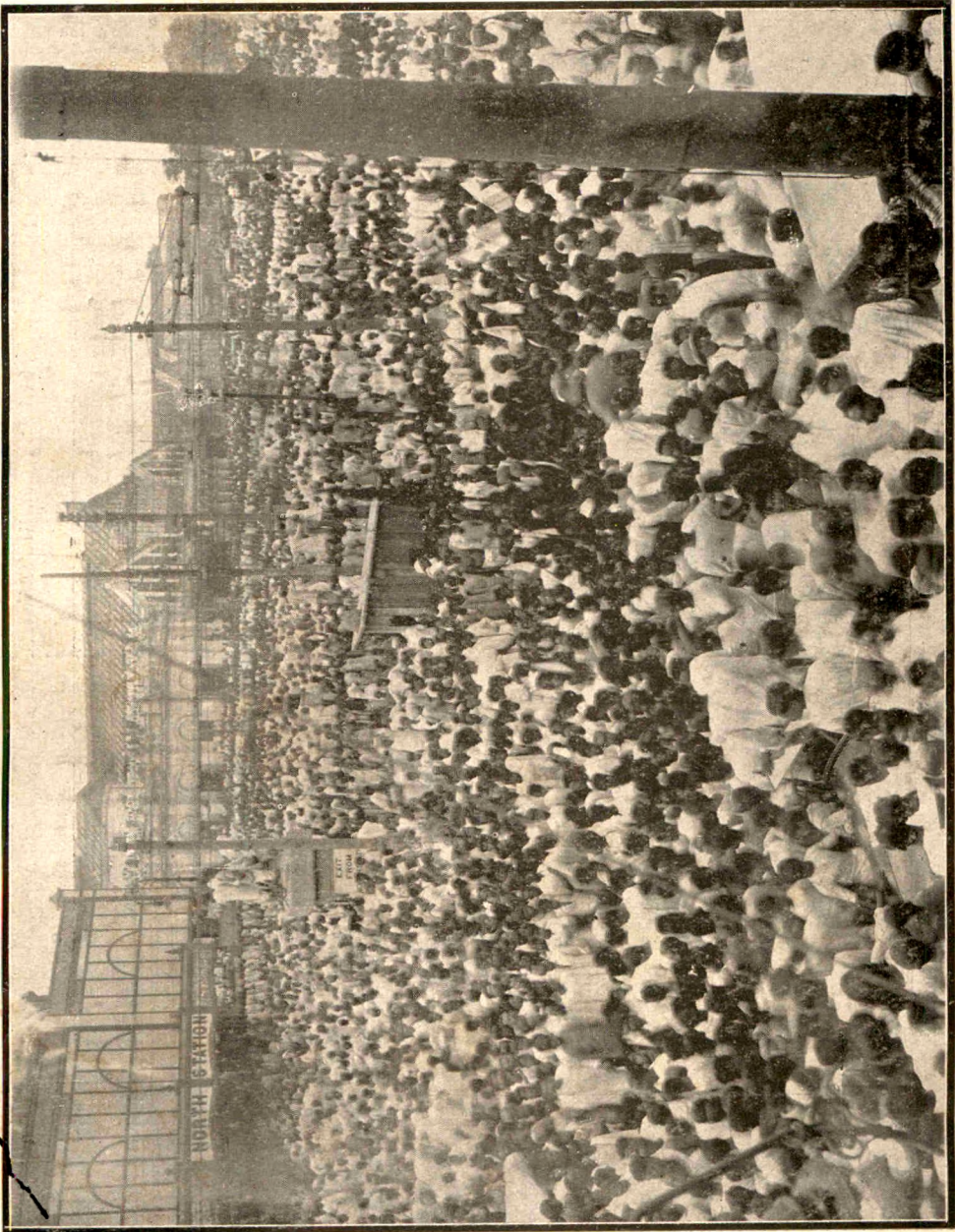
Mr. C. F. Andrews in *Young India* (June 19, 1924) quoting a few extracts from the above prayer says:

“To me a Christian, as I read this prayer, I can truly say that in all that I have thus written down there is not a word which is contrary to my own Christian religion; and I can be certain that my Mussalman brethren will carry away with them the same feeling. It is true that in many things we have to build up our Hindu-Muslim-Christian-Parsi unity out of mutual regard and mutual forbearance concerning differences of outward form; and such forbearance is an essential part of the superstructure. But it is ever a joy to me to find, that the foundation upon which we build is the same.”

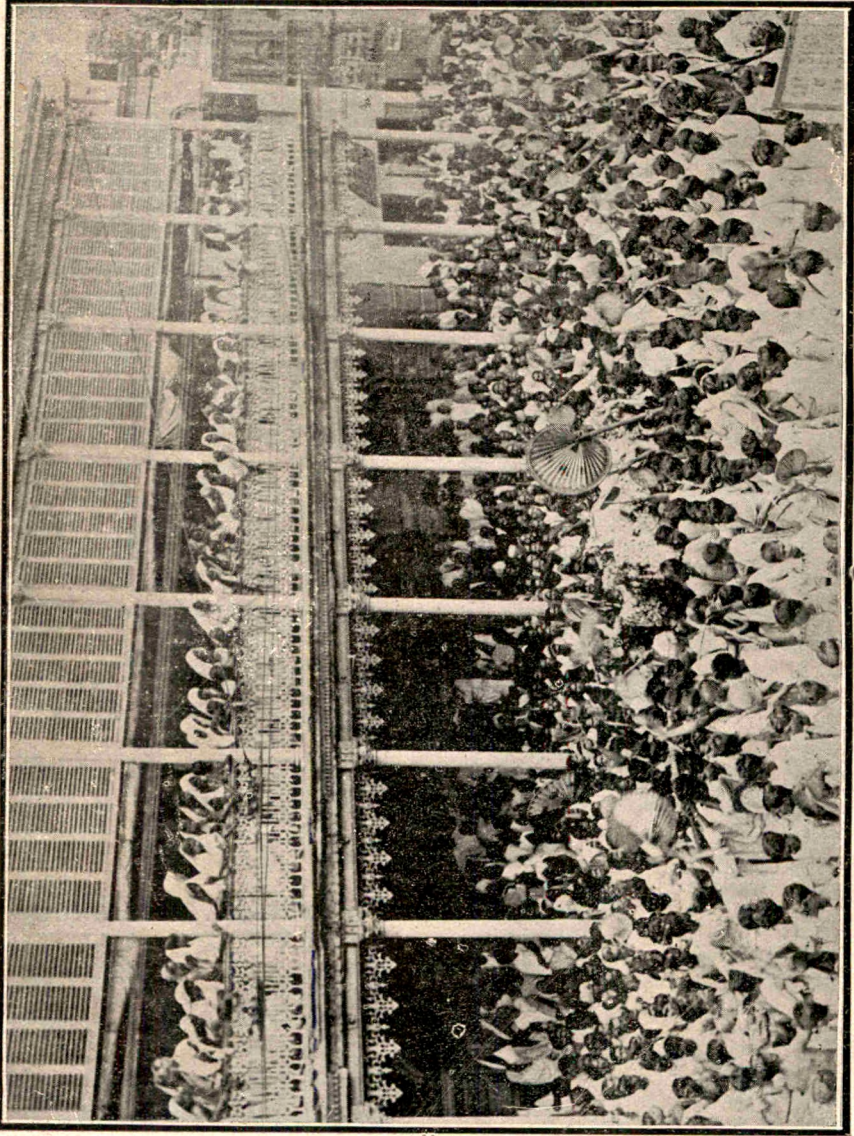
MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJI

DESHABANDHU'S FUNERAL

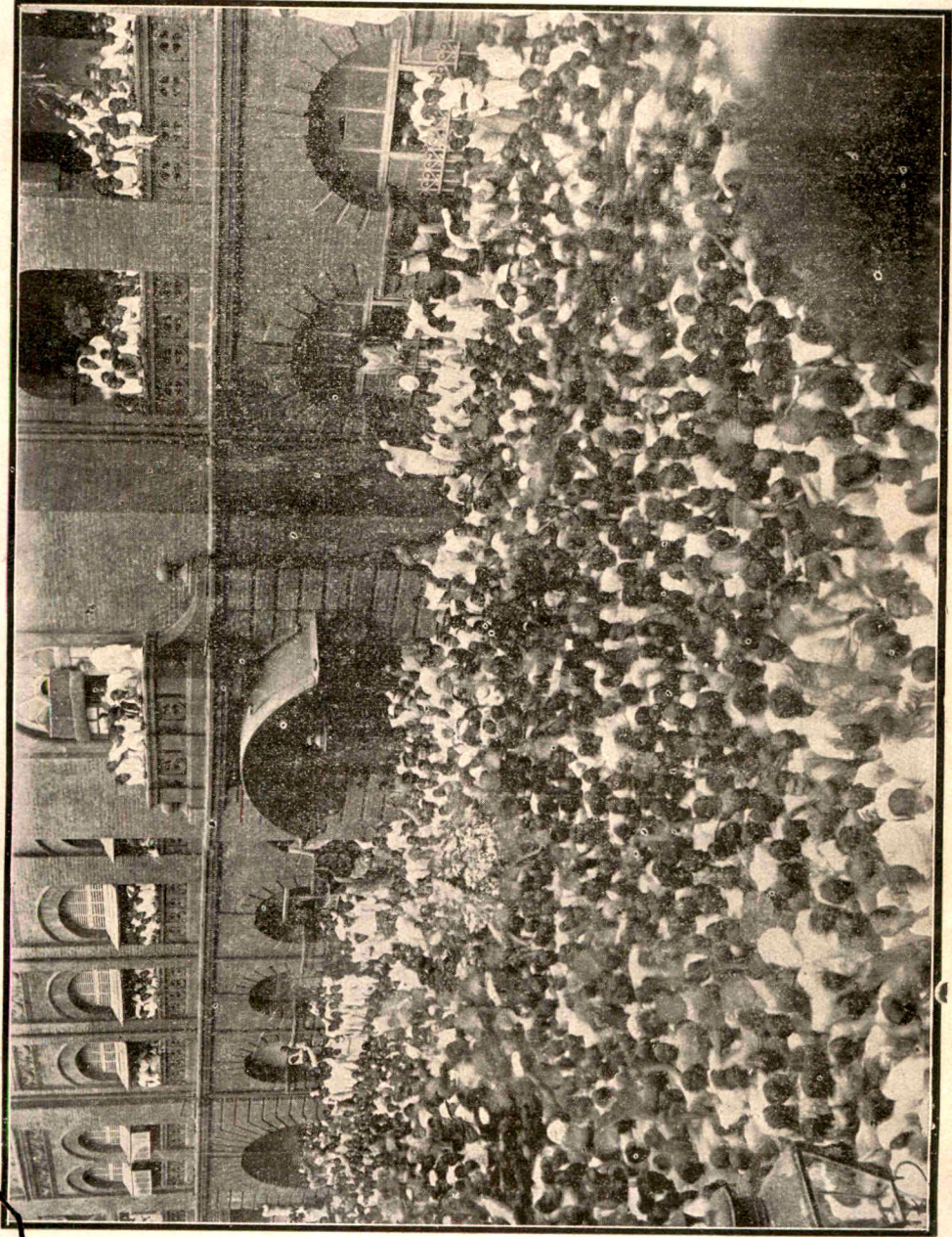
(By courtesy of "The Illustrated Sisir")



AT SEALDAH STATION



THROUGH WELLINGTON STREET



IN FRONT OF THE OFFICES OF THE CALCUTTA CORPORATION—HOMAGE TO THE
FIRST MAYOR OF THE CITY



AT THE BURNING GHAT

ESPIONAGE IN THE HINDU SYSTEM OF ADMINISTRATION

II

Espionage is the practice of spying or using spies. A spy is one who in times of war 'disguised or without bearing the distinguishing marks of belligerent forces mixes with the enemy for the purpose of obtaining information useful to the army he is serving.' The term is also applied to those who in times of peace secretly endeavour to obtain information concerning the forces, armaments, fortifications or defences of a country for the purpose of supplying it to another country, and to those who are employed by a state to keep watch on the movements of persons within its own territories. But in every case it is essential to the character of a spy that he should act clandestinely or on false pretences.¹

Espionage is an adjunct of every state both ancient and modern, and is probably as old as the dawn of recorded history. The Tel-el-Amarna and the Boghaz-köi tablets seem to prove the existence of temporary embassies in the world round Egypt and Syria in the 2nd millennium B.C. Diplomatic agents in many countries and many ages appear to have carried on a certain amount of espionage. Louis XI of France regarded an ambassador as a sort of chartered spy in the court of each of his powerful neighbours.² The *Agnipurāna* regarded the *dūta* as an open spy (*prakāśāchara*). The chapter on *dūtapraṇidhi* in Kautilya's *Arthasāstra* clearly shows that the *dūtas* collected information through the

¹ *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th Ed., Vol. XXV, p. 743.

² *International Law and Custom in Ancient India*, pp. 33-38.

agency of spies.¹ The *Kāmandakiya Nitisāra* also refers to the spies of the *dūtas*. As soon as they entered a foreign country they at once opened communications with their own secret agents who roamed about in various disguises.² In fact the espionage service was only considered satisfactory when the *dūta* was kept well informed by the spies.³ But it is not certain whether ambassadors in the Near East carried on espionage work in the 2nd millennium B.C.

Espionage was however known to the ancient Persians. The Avesta refers to the spies (*spas*) of the Iranian god Mithra. In India the institution of spies has a long history. From literary and inscriptional evidence we know that espionage formed a very important branch of ancient Indian polity. The whole Indian literature bristles with numerous references to this institution and whether we examine the hoary texts of the Vedas or the sacred books of the Buddhists or the Epics, Dramas and *Kāvya*s of the Hindus, we find that espionage was an absolutely necessary adjunct of statecraft and diplomacy. Already in the *Rgveda* we have frequent reference to the spies of Varuṇa.⁴ Varuṇa is described as omniscient. 'He knows the flight of birds in the sky, the path of ships in the ocean, the course of far travelling wind and beholds all the secret things that have been or shall be done. He witnesses men's truth and falsehood. No creature can even wink without him. The winking of men's eyes are all numbered by Varuṇa, and whatever man does, thinks or devises, Varuṇa knows. He perceives all that exists within heaven and earth and all that is beyond.' But how could Varuṇa know all these things? This is made clear by the Vedic singers. He was

¹ P. 31.

² Section XII, verse 13.

³ *Ibid*, verse 33.

⁴ *Vedic Index*, Vol. II, pp. 213 ff.; *Vedic Mythology* by A. A. Macdonell, pp. 23-24.

conceived as a *Samrāt*, a universal monarch, the divine counterpart of a human king. 'The attribute of sovereignty is in a predominant manner appropriated to Varuṇa.' He is the king of all, both gods and men, and he was assisted by a host of spies (*spāśas*). They sometimes sat around him or 'descending from heaven traversed the whole world.' 'They beheld the two worlds.' They visited every house and were wise and undeceived. 'Under the apprehension of these spies Yama rejected the love of his sister Yami.

In the Vedas spies are not peculiar to Varuṇa. They are also attributed to Mitra, to Agni, to Soma, to demons combated by Indra and to gods in general.¹ From this it appears that the institution of espionage was fairly well known and established in the earliest Vedic Society. Dr. Shamasastri has shown that the spies in the Vedic period were largely employed not only to ascertain the validity or invalidity in the statement of parties and witnesses in criminal and civil cases tried by the king or the state assembly, but also to gather correct and reliable information as to movements of tribal settlements of inimical tendency or disposition. They were employed not only to find out persons who committed a crime against the state but also those who violated social or religious injunctions.²

But though the institution was well-known in the Vedic period it was certainly raised almost to a perfection by the administrators of the Maurya period. The early classical writers basing their accounts on the *Indica* of Megasthenes refer to espionage as an important institution of Ancient India. Arrian mentions officers who "overlook what is done throughout the country and in the cities, and make reports to the king where the Indians are ruled by a king, or the

¹ *Vedic Mythology*, pp. 23-24.

² *Evolution of Indian Polity*, pp. 126 ff.

magistrates where the people have a democratic government.”¹ Strabo seems to call these officials Ephori or Inspectors. “They are,” says he, “entrusted with the superintendence of all that is going on, and it is their duty to report *privately* to the king. In the opinion of Dr. Raychaudhury ‘the overseers of Arrian and the inspectors of Strabo probably correspond to the *pradeśtris* and *chāras* of the *Arthasāstra*.² More detailed information is supplied by the *Arthasāstra* of Kautilya which is generally referred to the Maurya period and which gives such an elaborate description of the functioning of the machine that it has been likened by more than one authority with the secret service of the modern Germans.³ Besides the two chapters, *viz.*, the *Gudhapurusotpattiḥ* and the *Gudhapurusapranidhiḥ*⁴ which supply very interesting information on espionage the treatise contains scattered all over its body numerous references to this institution.

Espionage was also well-known in the Epic period. There are many references to this institution in both the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyana*. In the former Kaṅika the Brāhman minister of Dhṛtarāṣṭra who is described as *rājaśāstrārthavit* and *mantrinām śreṣṭhaḥ* while delivering a discourse on diplomacy recognises the utility of espionage in statecraft.⁵ In the *Virāṭaparva* Duryodhana sends spies to find out the whereabouts of the Pāṇḍavas and in chapter twenty-five these spies give a graphic description of their wanderings in hills, and forts, in dense forests and populous cities.⁶ The efficiency of the intelligence service during the *Mahābhārata* period is clear from the fact that Bhīṣma’s spies assuming the disguises of *jada*, *andha* and *vadhira* soon found

¹ Trans. by Chinnock, p. 413.

² *Political History of Ancient India*, p. 153.

³ V. Smith, *Oxford History of India*, p. 89; P. Banerjee, *International Law and custom in Ancient India*, p. 38.

⁴ Pp. 18-22.

⁵ 140, 63-76.

⁶ 1V 25.

out that Śikhāṇḍi who was being reared up as a son by the *Pañchāla* king was not a male child. This information we are told was unknown to all the townspeople except Drupada and his queen.¹ In the *Sabhāparva* Nārada indirectly advises Yudhiṣṭhira to appoint spies to inspect the work of the *tīrthas* in his own and foreign states.² The *Rāmāyaṇa* also contains many references to espionage. When the army of Rāma was making preparations to cross over to the island of Lankā, spies of Rāvaṇa visited the camp of Rāma. One of these Śuka who came to win over Sugrīva and posed as a *dūta*,³ was arrested and narrowly escaped with his life. When Rāma had crossed over to Lankā his camp was again visited by Rākṣasa spies who roamed about dressed as monkeys. In the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa* Rāma asks Bharata whether he was properly watching over the *tīrthas* of Ayodhyā and other foreign kingdoms.⁴

References to espionage are also found in Buddhist books. In the *Samyutta-Nikāya*⁵ we find an interesting account of this institution. We are told that:—

“The Exalted One was once staying at Sāvathi, in the Eastern Park, at the terraced house of Migāra’s mother. Now on that occasion the Exalted One at eventide had arisen from his meditations and was seated in the loggia outside the eastern door. And the king, the Kosalan Pasenadi, came to visit the Exalted One, and having saluted him, took a seat at one side.

Now just then there passed by, not far from the Exalted One, seven ascetics of those who wore the hair matted, seven of the *Nigamthas*, seven naked ascetics, seven of the single Vestment class and seven Wanderers, all with hairy bodies and long nails, carrying friar’s kit. Then the king, rising

¹ V, 194, 62-64.

² II, 5, 38-39.

³ *Lankākāṇḍa*, ch. 20.

⁴ *Ibid*, ch. 25.

⁵ *Ibid*, ch. 100, verse 36.

from his seat, and draping his robe over one shoulder, knelt down on his right knee, and holding forth clasped hands, thrice called out his name to these ascetics: 'I am the king, your reverences, the Kosālan Pasenadi.' And when they were gone by, he came back to the Exalted One, and saluting him, sat down as before. So seated he asked the Exalted One:—

'Are those persons, lord, either among this world's Arhants, or among those who are in the Path of Arhantship?'¹

To this question Buddha could not give any satisfactory answer and expressed the opinion that "It is by life in common with a person, sire, that we learn his moral character; and then only after a long interval if we pay good heed and are not heedless, if we have insight and are not unintelligent." Pasenadi then explained. He said:—

*Ēte bhante mama purisā carā ocarakā, Janapadam ocaritā āgacchanti || tēhi pathamam ocinnam aham pacchā osāpayissami || Idāni te bhante tam rājojallam pavāhetvā sunhātā suvilittā kappitakesamassu odātavatthā pañcahi kāmaganehi samappitā samāngibhūtā paricārayissantīti.*²

(There are men of mine, my lord, who are spies informants, and when they have investigated a district they come to me. First they give in their reports, and thereafter I form conclusions. They meanwhile, when they have cleansed themselves of dust and dirt are well-bathed and anointed, trimmed as to hair and beard, and arrayed in white garments, will be waited upon and provided and surrounded with every kind of enjoyment.)³

We have already seen that the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya contains elaborate description of an efficient espionage system. To the author of this treatise espionage was a necessary

¹ P.T.S., Ed. by Léon Feer, pp. 78-79.

² *The Book of Kindred Sayings*, P. T. S., pp. 104-05.

³ P. T. S., *Samyutta Nikāya*, p. 79.

concomitant of administration and statecraft and it is interesting to note that all the other writers on Hindu polity of the Post-Kautilyan period also belonged to this school. Kāmandaki in his *Nitisāra* expresses the opinion that :—

“Spies are the eyes of the rulers of earth ; he should always look through their medium ; he that does not look through their medium, stumbles down, out of ignorance, even on level grounds ; for he is said to be blind.”¹

Again,

‘Guided by his spies, a king may proceed to any work, like *ritvijās* in a sacrifice being guided by the *sutras*.’²

Kāmandaki devotes a whole section (XIII) to the work of embassies and spies. The *Sukranītisāra* also contains many references to espionage. The author gives us a list of the ten important departments of the state and in this list occurs the name of the spy. It is true that the spy is placed last, in a list drawn up in order of merit. But the fact remains that espionage was considered during this period as one of the most important departments of the state.³ The *Agnipurāna* which devotes a large portion of its contents to the discussion of Hindu polity advises the king to appoint spies, for spies were the eyes of kings (*chārachakṣu bhavedrājā*).⁴ Chapter 241 of the *Purāna* refers to various kinds of spies, *viz.*, *tapasvi-vyñjana*, *vanīka*, *kṛśivala*, *līngi* and *bhikṣuka*. The *Manu-Samhitā* also refers to the spies as the eyes of the king (*chārachakṣurmahāpatih*) and mentions *pañchāvarga*, which has been explained by Medhātithi, Kulluka and others as the ‘five classes of spies.’⁵ Manu advises the king to deliberate on

¹ *Ibid*, pp. 105-106.

² *Ibid*, Verse 33.

³ The *Sukranīti*, translated by B. K. Sarkar ; Chap. II, lines 141-43 and 150-55. It is to be noted in this connection that in Jivananda Vidyāsagar’s text the word *dūta* occurs in this verse in the place of *gudhachārai*. But Mr. Sarkar follows the edition of Gustav Oppert published by the Government of Madras in 1882.

⁴ Chap. 220, Verses 20-22 ; also Chap. 241, Verses 11-12.

⁵ IX, 256 ; VII, 154 ; see also S. B. E., Vol. XXV, Bühler’s note on the verse on p. 240.

the doings of his spies either at mid-day or at mid-night¹ and to properly explore the conduct of government servants through these secret agents, for the servants of the king have a dangerous tendency to become knaves and seize the property of others.² We have seen in the *Samyutta Nikāya*, the spies of Pasenadi returning after their work in the eventide to report to their king. Manu also advises the king to receive the report of his spies in the evening after performing the twilight devotions.³

In the Dramas and *Kāvya*s of the Post-Kauṭilyan period also we find many references to espionage. The *Raguvamśa* refers to the espionage by the king on the eighteen departments of state.⁴ In the *Mrichhakatika* Aryaka who was imprisoned by Pālaka, king of Ujjayini escapes and accidentally meets Chārudatta at the Puṣpakaraṇḍa garden. Chārudatta helps Aryaka to escape and then says—

“The deed that I have done will little please
The king, should it be known; and kings behold
Their subjects’ action by their spies. ’Twere well
To leave this spot at once.”⁵

Apparently Chārudatta was afraid of the spies of the king of Avanti. In the *Uttararāmacharita* Rāma employs his personal attendant Durmukha as a spy to secretly ascertain the thoughts of the townsmen and the countryfolk.

*Suddhāntachārī Durmukha. Sa mayā pauraajānapadānu-
pasarpitum prahita.*⁶

In the *Kīrātārjjunīyam* we find Yudhiṣṭhira employing spies to secure information about the policy and administration

¹ VII, 151-153.

² *Ibid.*, 122-23.

³ Verse 223.

⁴ XVII, 68.

Wilson, *Theatre of the Hindus*, Vol. I, p. 121.

Ed. by M. R. Kale, p. 38.

of his rival Duryodhana. The very first verse in the first canto refers to the return of the *Vanechara* to Yudhiṣṭhira in the *Dvaitavana*.

*Sriyah Kurunāmadhipasya pālanin
Prajāsu vṛttim yamayukta veditum
Sa varṇi-lingā viditah samāyaya
Yudhiṣṭhiram Dvaitavane vanecharah.*

In the following verses the spy gives an interesting description of the conduct of the lord of the Kuru country towards his subjects.¹ In the *Mudrārākṣasa* which is probably based on true historical tradition of the Maurya period *Viśākhadatta* gives a very vivid account of the working of espionage. The drama contains an account of the struggle between Malayaketu the son of king Parvataka and Chandragupta the Maurya Emperor. But the author does not describe any clash of arms, what he gives us is really a duel between the two rival ministers Rākṣasa and Chāṇakya and the duel is fought out mainly by means of spies and not by steel. The drama concludes with the complete defeat of Malayaketu and Rākṣasa who in the end discovered that their best friends were the paid spies of Chāṇakya. There is no doubt that in the period when the *Mudrārākṣasa* was composed espionage was well-known and widely practised in the administration of states and warfare.

From the brief historical survey given above it is clear that from Vedic period down to the time of the Mahomedan conquest of India when probably the present *Sukranītisāra* was composed, espionage was considered a very important element in statecraft and diplomacy. In the chapters that will follow I shall try to give some idea of the Hindu system of espionage.

(*To be continued.*)

HEMCHANDRA RAY

¹ I, 2-26.

C. R. DAS

With the death of C. R. Das one of the greatest Bengalis of our time has passed into the Beyond. A fortnight ago none could have divined that he was so near the end, and yet Fate had decreed it so. Indisposed he undoubtedly has been for some time, but there were no alarming symptoms—there was no foreboding of the catastrophe which has overwhelmed Bengal with such tragic suddenness.

The hand that so deftly guided the political destiny of Bengal is, alas, now no more to guide her; to lead her to the fondly wished-for goal—Self-Government. His death is a national calamity; for, quite irrespective of caste and creed—all feel that a shattering blow has been dealt at India's aspirations—a hopeless void created—beautiful Hind suddenly bereft of her crowning glory! And if this is the case in the sphere of politics—no less keen and acute is the sense of loss in the social sphere. All feel his death as a personal loss—an irreparable loss. For did he not add sunlight to day-light, hush strife, bring peace, emphasise the necessity of charity and good-will?

And if any proof of the universality of this feeling was needed—it was abundantly supplied in the funeral procession—the last tribute to the memory of the great dead—which threaded its melancholy way to the ghat on that momentous June morning. It was a moving sight—a sight such as Calcutta or any other city in India, within living memory, has not seen. All Bengal turned out to pay her homage—to mourn a national calamity. Cold and irresponsive must be the heart which was not stirred at that solemn spectacle! A people's grief! A people's tears! What honour can be greater? What offering more acceptable? The grief of man was shared by the sunless, cloud-covered sky, and the prevailing gloom of Calcutta was the proof of the all-pervading sorrow of the day.

The Calcutta Review



Deshabandhu

By courtesy of "The Illustrated Sisir"]

It boots not to speak here of his enormous sacrifices—his selfless pursuit of a great ideal—Self-Government for India. Unique was his position at the Bar. He had mounted to that eminence by unflinchingly adhering to the great traditions of his profession. And when at its very pinnacle—with his fame resounding throughout India and briefs pouring in in unceasing flow—he determined to forsake it *all*, and to dedicate himself to his country's cause—scorning worldly allurements—flinging wealth away, and, like St. Bernard, taking poverty as his bride, and spirituality as the supreme ambition of his life.

It was the compelling love of his country—the consuming eagerness to secure her dues—that determined his choice—irrevocably fixed his purpose. He was a patriot—saturated with patriotism, not like many, a make-believe one—with an easily rendible mask. His political career is only too well known to call for a detailed account here.

But what was it that gave C. R. Das that power—that influence—that primacy among his fellow-citizens? I had known C. R. Das for a quarter of a century, and knew him pretty well. To my mind there were two outstanding qualities which made him what he was, his burning love for his country, and his shining spirit of charity.

Long before he stood out before the world as a political figure of incomparable excellence, he discussed, felt, brooded over his country's woes—uttered his country's hopes—dreamed of the ways and means which would lead her to honorable prosperity. Was he not a preacher of India's political aspirations even in the far-off days of his early manhood? Still in my ears ring some of the sentences of his speeches delivered in England before he was called to the Bar. They were prophetic of his subsequent career—an earnest of what was to come.

As the years passed by, this passion for his country waxed stronger and stronger—completely subduing, conquering

him: Nothing could deflect him from his set purpose. The die was cast. Imprisonment—threat of exile—nothing could deter him from his course. It was on the occasion of the arrest of C. R. Das that I wrote the following lines which C. R. in one of his speeches quoted as the encouraging message of a Persian Poet (It was published as a translation from a Persian Poet):

“ Faith, Fortitude, Firmness, will they falter and fail and fade in the hour of trial, in the moment of despair, asked the Saqi, in mournful strain. Or tried and tested, will they emerge from the fire of life strengthened, ennobled, purified? Never will I forsake them, answered the youth, not even were the heavens to fall. Thine, thine, said the Saqi, is the path of glory; thine a nation's gratitude; thine, the fadeless crown. Would that courage unflinching, courage unbent, courage as thine, were the proud possession of all! For naught but courage winneth the soul's freedom—man's noblest, highest prize. Let courage, then, be thy Gift, O God, to this wondrous land of Love and Light ” (*My Love Offerings*, p. 57).

When I stated that one of the two qualities that distinguished him was the love of his country, I must add—love of country—unimpaired by any factional or communal spirit. He was too broad-minded; too acute a statesman to imagine that India could ever come by her inheritance without Hindu-Muslim love, unity, co-operation. He was always averse to the mutual Hindu-Muslim hostility which, I regret to say, is deepening, and of which we get sad, infallible proof day by day.

At the time when the Hindu-Muslim pact was a prominent political question of the day—at my table—at 5 Elliott Road—met the Hindu and the Muslim leaders of Bengal. I am not at liberty to disclose what passed at that meeting, for that would be a breach of faith, both to the dead and the living; but this much I can say, without violating any confidence—that throughout that delicate discussion C. R. Das showed a spirit of charity and compromise; an anxiety to meet the

Mohamedan case; an eagerness to give the Muslims their just dues; in short, he was prepared to give any undertaking wanted that would satisfy Muslims of his good faith. About midnight we parted, but, I grieve to say, without any satisfactory result.

C. R. Das realized—what we all must needs realize—that if we wish our motherland well we must adopt and pursue a policy of reconciliation and goodwill towards all. In unity lies our political strength—in disunion our political death. Mahomedans have no more intention of renouncing their claims upon India than the English have, and this simple truth C. R. Das clearly perceived; and would to God that his co-religionists realized it too!

The intrusion of religion into politics has been the bane of the East, as their severance has been the glory of the West.

But if the love of country was Chitta Ranjan's absorbing passion—his spirit of charity was the source whence originated his broad outlook, his generous toleration, the instinct for fair-play that characterized his actions throughout his career.

But though death has taken him away—the spirit which he has infused and the traditions which he has implanted—are eternal and imperishable. And what is that spirit?—It is the spirit to break the images of false gods and to rend the veil of humbuggery. And what is that tradition?—It is the tradition to appropriate the wisdom of the West without abandoning the lead of our Eastern Sires. In other words to unite the spirit of conservatism with the Spirit of Progress—to train ourselves to a sense of responsibility and discipline—to end all mockeries and to substitute realities in their place—to work with unhesitating, unfaltering steps—for self-government—the crown and consummation of all the political efforts of civilized man.

Let us resolve to carry on C. R. Das's work to its consummation—let us hush our differences—let us prove ourselves worthy of the torch handed over to us by him—a torch which he held with heroic steadfastness.

If there is any such thing as immortality of soul or continuity of life after death—the immortals will, assuredly, rejoice with our rejoicings and grieve with our griefs but no joy can be greater than the joy of seeing their unfinished work carried on with undeviating firmness and no grief keener or more agonising than to see it dropped or half-heartedly pursued.

Dead!—no! it is a misnomer to call him dead whose voice still lingers in our ears—whose personality still subdues and sways us—whose spirit still animates us—and whose example is our undying, enduring possession.

Immortal art thou—Chitta Ranjan—beyond death's conquest, and beyond oblivion's reach. Thine is the crown of immortality—thine, a people's gratitude.

S. KHUDA BUKHSH

CHITTARANJAN'S POLITICAL IDEAL

When I arrived at Sealdah a little before six on the morning of Thursday, the 18th of June, I found the whole of the open ground, south of the two stations and the whole of Circular Road from Harrison Road to Bowbazar junctions, thronged with a crowd of people, the like of which I never witnessed in my life, of which more than forty years have been spent in Calcutta, the scene of pageants and spectacles. It was the real people of Calcutta—the people whom he loved and for whom he fought and died that were attracted to the place by a burning desire to have a last longing look of his face, though struck and silenced by Death. I saw similar crowds all along the route through which the bier was to pass, and I wondered if it had ever fallen to the lot of kings and emperors to receive such spontaneous homage, affection and adoration from their subjects. It was an unparalleled spectacle which might well excite the envy of rulers and monarchs—not an ephemeral sight to be seen to-day and forgotten to-morrow—but a scene to be recorded in the pages of history and the memories of generations.

What, we may ask ourselves, was the secret of Chittaranjan's such tremendous popularity? There have been many politicians who have fought and died in the struggle for the good of this country; but why did the whole people of Calcutta—to a man, nay, to a woman—join the mournful procession of Chittaranjan's cremation? Who was it that said that he did not hear of Chittaranjan's name—which was a household name, in Bengal—nay in India. The reason is his intense selflessness, his great sincerity of purpose; his genuine love for the people and his will to freedom. Imagine the strength of the man who could lightly exchange his princely station for a life of stern and penniless patriot. Imagine the lofty morality of the man who repaid his

paternal debt after he had been adjudged a discharged insolvent. Imagine the sincerity and truthfulness of the man who said that he could not do two incompatible things at the same time, *viz.*, national work and work for personal gain. He believed that national work could not be faithfully done unless he was freed from all thoughts of self, for money making would so engross his attention that he would be tempted to worship money in preference to his country. Such was his ideal, such was his religion. The object of his worship was not God, but his country—the humanity of his mother land; and his means was renunciation and self-sacrifice.

But perhaps the most conspicuous—the almost unique—place which he occupied in the country and in the sanctuaries of the hearts of the people was due to his love of Freedom. He realised the true psychological significance and implications of Freedom such as no one did in India. Chittaranjan believed as an article of faith that national character cannot be built up without truth, without courage, without sincerity and without will and determination to do what is right. And, on analysis, he found that the ultimate source of all these great moral virtues was Freedom. Meanness, fear to do right, and to speak the truth, trickery, deceit, cupidity and slavishness are the greatest vices which debilitate and deteriorate national character. Love of material goods makes us bow before persons who enjoy the power to bestow them. Chittaranjan's ideal was that there should be no person or persons in a privileged position able to distribute favours, because those who have it in their power to do so ultimately become our masters and we become their slaves. From our suppliant and dependent position arise those mean and despicable vices which lower men below the level of moral beings. Without courage we fear to speak out the truth, without truthfulness we lose our moral worth, and without moral worth, what remains is bestial; what are we then but irrational and immoral creatures fit to be the instruments

of those who possess the moral virtues of character without which a nation is doomed to decay or stagnation. Chittaranjan analysed by reasoning like these that Freedom is the foundation of national regeneration, and it was for this reason that he fought and died for Freedom. So far as the ideal and goal are concerned, *viz.*, that national salvation can be achieved by Freedom alone, there is no fundamental difference between Chittaranjan and Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. The methods contemplated by these two great men were, however, divergent. Sir Asutosh believed that the idea of Freedom can be realised by Education, and he accordingly put his heart and soul into the problem of educational reconstruction and development. Chittaranjan, on the other hand, believed that this method was very dilatory and would postpone natural realisation to a very distant date. Preferring, therefore, immediate certainty to a remote possibility he attempted by direct action to strike at the root of bureaucratic influence and power. His attack on the present political system was the only effective form of protest against the bureaucracy, which is a negation of liberalism. I need not carry the reader through the details of the methods which he pursued to attain his end, for that would necessitate an explanation of the principles and working of the new Indian constitution. Suffice it to say, that his methods established a hold upon the educated minds of India, while they failed to appeal with directness to the masses owing to a lack of their political training and to an ignorance of their rights and duties as citizens. I am credibly informed that a few months before his death he was feeling difficulty in restraining the tumult of political excitement, and growing despondent of the success of his political ideal, because the people refused to make the required sacrifices, of which he had set a glorious example. This thought preyed on Chittaranjan's heart, and he was essaying to give up his fighting attitude in favour of a more peaceful attitude of reconciliation

and compromise. But this falling off from his high ideal put an excessive strain on his sincerity; and I am not far wrong in saying that he died more of a broken heart than of disease. His countrymen failed to respond to his spiritual call for self-sacrifice and unity: he showed them a personal example and he made a campaign of the whole country to demonstrate their value. But they remained inert, irresponsive and inappreciative; the moral bacilli of the diseased masses got the better of the organism of Chittaranjan, and he succumbed to the corroding thought concerning the destiny of his country and countrymen. I cannot but confess with a heavy heart that the sin of the death of Chittaranjan, who was the conscience of the country, and the symbol of freedom and courage, rests upon the shoulders of his countrymen. It was a splendid experiment in political idealism which he had undertaken, but the turmoil generated in a country which is as yet undeveloped in political consciousness was too much for him. In the hurly-burly of politics, his physical and mental vigour sustained a strain which he was unequal to bear. He held the bridle very tight but was unable to restrain the power of the multitude. Although his countrymen appreciated his honest, self-sacrificing zeal and efforts, they did not support him through the thick of the fight as they ought to have done. There was mental appreciation but no practical co-operation and support. The moral poverty of the people only showed in bright and splendid relief the moral exaltation of Chittaranjan.

Coming to the debatable features of Chittaranjan's character, I have heard it said that he was a despot—an autocrat, that he insisted on his own views to prevail and flouted the opinions of others. I ask, in this connection,—Is there any leader who is not more or less a despot? By despot I do not mean one who tramples upon the feelings, sentiments and aspirations of others, but one who can focus in his personality those things which belong to others. A leader

understands better the wants of the people among whom he works, can formulate their grievances more definitely and clearly, and therefore realise them more vividly than the actual persons concerned. The feelings and aspirations of the masses are vague and inchoate, their grievances undefined, their source untraceable. The leader concentrates in himself the thoughts, feelings and forces of countless people. He can analyse and trace the ultimate sources of their vague murmurings; and when he thinks, speaks, feels and works, he thinks, speaks, feels and works with the will of thousands of men. A leader is not a single but a multiple personality, combining in himself all the persons for whom he wills and acts. He is a stupendous personality speaking the speeches of many people through one mouth thinking the thoughts of thousands through one mind and working singly with the energies of the multitude. Thus arises the necessity of unity among the people, in spite of a leader, for a leader cannot lead unless he has a united following and enjoys their confidence. A leader can neither speak with the authority of those whom he leads unless the latter, in perfect unison or harmony, choose to merge their identities in the leader, with the proviso that while the leader acts by expressing the inarticulate wishes of the people, the latter see that their wills are not disregarded by the Leader. The personality of a Leader, with a wide vision and consciousness can materialise the feelings and aspirations of the people, focus opinion, and express them in a way which the masses cannot. It has been said that the masses can feel but cannot express what they feel. It is the mission of the Leader to give expression to the feelings of the masses, and bring himself in touch with a wider and wider society. If Gouranga, Christ, Buddha and Mahammad were spiritual leaders, it was because they realised what the masses felt, and fought hard against adverse influences and vested interests to remove their wants and to fulfil their aspirations. A Leader

is therefore an autocrat or despot in the sense that he focuses the minds of human beings in his own mind, and then tries with the strength of the whole people to impress his ideas on a hostile people and against adverse influences. Chittaranjan was a despot because he brought the whole force of his personality upon the bureaucracy in order to convince it of the necessity and value of Freedom and to bring about its realisation.

Chittaranjan's politics had a spiritual background. This is evident from his idea of freedom, which, according to him, is not a material good which can be transferred like notes or coin. The rulers felt that to grant freedom to a people carried with it the surrender of power; and no body, would willingly part with power if he could help it. Chittaranjan's conception of freedom was a spiritual conception. He brought into politics a stern morality—nay, the fervour of religion. He dreaded the manner in which the materialism of western civilisation had a grip on our life and controlled it. He said that in order to loosen this grip and control, Indians wanted freedom—and freedom granted to Indians did not imply a diminution of the freedom enjoyed by Englishmen. Certain things are diminished if they are shared between two parties—such as material goods. If a certain quantity of wealth is shared between two persons each person's share is, of course, less than the original quantity. But Chittaranjan's view was that Freedom was not a material but a spiritual possession. There can be no question of gain or loss in the distribution of freedom. It cannot be reduced by sharing. Like love, or charity or benevolence, it grew by sharing. If you love yourself or your children, it is a narrow love, confined to yourself or to your family. But expand this love, *i.e.*, love your neighbours, love your countrymen, or love the whole of humanity, and the quantity of love in your heart is not reduced but increased. Chittaranjan's political faith was that the freedom of the Englishmen would not be diminished by giving freedom to the Indians, but the total quantity would, on the contrary, be

increased. This, our rulers refused to believe, and this was the cause of conflict between them and him. He threw the whole weight of his personality on the side of the party which adopted Freedom as their religion. He held fast to this new religion with a desperate fervour akin to fanaticism—and the heat and scorching light of that fervour consumed him. He fought hard to kill the present political system of India, but the political turmoil and excitement that was generated in the fierceness of the fight killed him.

Chittaranjan's disposition was essentially of a spiritual nature. His whole life is a testimony to this aspect of his character, and he could not rid himself of it, even in the course of his mundane activities. Whether it was politics, or education, or civics or economics, he always stressed the spiritual side; there was always a religious element in his activities, and he endowed every work he did with a fervour akin to religion. His ideal represented the spiritual or deeper side of the nation and always ignored the external, which was the superficial or materialistic side. It was his constant endeavour to infuse temper into the Indian character by his example of self-sacrifice and by his constant and stern warnings and admonitions; and he set in motion certain spiritual forces which have helped to strengthen the national character debased by materialism, superficiality and slavishness to power and influence. About twelve months ago, I reflected in my mind whither he was leading himself? Was it a political goal or was it the spiritual uplift of the masses? I thought to myself that this doctrine of spiritual politics would not probably succeed, as it was a novel idea to clothe politics with religion—an idea which had long been discarded by the civilised states of the world as unrealisable in practice. My fears have, I regretfully say, come to be too true. He did not outlive the realisation of this new doctrine of ethical or religious politics, and even if he had lived longer, I doubt if he had witnessed its fruition, for it was too lofty an ideal to be assimilated by the masses.

What then are the virtues of that great man which have enthroned him in the hearts of his countrymen? Briefly they are—his boundless sacrifice for the sake of his country; his transparent sincerity, his love of truth, the dedication of all his energies and talents to the service of his country, his nobility of character and his lofty morality. He may be described as a pacific revolutionary, a constructive patriot, an adventurer in spiritual politics. Chittaranjan, by his active and potential or undeveloped qualities, which would have developed if he had lived longer, would have approached rather a saint than a statesman. Intellectually, he was possessed of a penetrating wit which was sharpened by legal practice and broadened and humanised by contact with men and affairs. He was a cultured gentleman of the highest type, a great orator of persuasive eloquence able to move the hearts of his hearers, and wielding immense influence over those with whom he came into contact, by his unparalleled power of marshalling facts and arguments. This was illustrated by his ebullient delight in the triumph he scored in the Bengal Council a few weeks after the defeat of his party. The fact that he insisted on being carried to the Council in a chair in spite of the doctor's advice illustrated his indomitable will. Even the Englishmen who were averse to the Reforms before 1919 and now their warmest advocates—those Englishmen who were his bitterest political opponents—paid the highest tribute to his great qualities of head and heart.

The greatest defect in national character which Chittaranjan had not the vision to perceive and which he probably ignored is our lack of will or determination. In this, I may say without offence to his soul, he lacked foresight and realism. In grappling with economic, social or political problems of our country, he counted without popular psychology and disregarded the stern realities of life. In this respect he differed fundamentally from Sir Asutosh who seldom contemplated the

building up of a reformed and regenerated social structure except on the foundations of the past, namely, our culture and national traditions. Chittaranjan gave precedence to politics over social and educational reform and reconstruction; Sir Asutosh placed the latter in the front rank of his programme; and the future political system, he believed, was to be in harmony with social and educational progress. Chittaranjan was permeated by an optimism which is the necessary quality of a political idealist. Pessimism, untruth, fear and insincerity were foreign to his character. His love of truth and freedom bore down fear and pessimism as in a forceful current. His fight against defects in national character on the one hand, and against the bureaucracy on the other, gave him a stern discipline which chastened, ennobled and purified his character; but failed to bring realism into his politics. He was an idol, a mortal God, born to inspire the people with Truth, Goodness and Beauty—the trinity attributable to a perfect being; but these eternal virtues naturally failed to take root in the minds of the masses and he did not live to see any measure of advance towards that ideal, in the realisation of which he had boundless faith. In this there is a contrast between Sir Asutosh and Chittaranjan. The former believed that ideals fall flat upon an uncultured and uneducated mind and his realisation of national salvation rested upon a broad educational policy. Chittaranjan tried to engraft his ideal upon the masses to whom an ideal was no more than a vision, a dream. Sir Asutosh aimed at reaching his ideal through the intellect of the masses; Chittaranjan desired to reach it through their heart. Both failed: Sir Asutosh, because true education cannot be diffused as widely as he hoped; Chittaranjan, because it cannot take root in an uneducated mind. I hope some greater personality will arise to effect a synthesis and reconciliation between these two methods. The living personalities who in the eyes of the educated people are

competent for this task are incontestably Gandhi, Aurobinda and Rabindranath. But they are moving in regions into which politics *qua* politics, do not enter. Great, however, as they are, a revelation may some day break in upon them to solve the problem of Indian nationalism.

Providence has called Chittaranjan at a moment when he was about to be thrown into a political eddy of tremendous force and magnitude which is threatening to form in the immediate future. There is none to pilot the nation to the haven of freedom courageously and patriotically. I wish, however, that his life and teachings will continue to be the guiding star and inspiration to us—lesser mortals—who are expected to work in unity, with a high moral purpose, towards the solution of the hitherto unsolved problem of India's Freedom. We should take to heart his threefold advice: (1) that we should cultivate practical unity; (2) that we should work not for personal ends alone but for national ends; and (3) that we should exchange our life of ease and death-like peace—our loose, unregulated, superficial and unthinking life,—for a life of simplicity, truth, strenuousness and seriousness. It is by following this advice that we can most fittingly expiate our sin of killing him. Although Chittaranjan is no longer among us, abundant memorials of his finished and unfinished work remain to guide and inspire us in our efforts towards national advancement. But the days are critical and we need a Leader who, with truly patriotic devotion and a clear vision of the future, can guide the nation through tempestuous times yet to come.

I will conclude this brief and incomplete sketch of a great career not by saying—as so many have said—“May his soul rest in peace,” but by saying with Mrs. Besant,—May he join the band of warrior souls that have preceded him and add his energies to theirs to hasten the fulfilment of *Swaraj* and the acquisition of national freedom.

S. C. RAY

HISTORICAL RECORDS AT GOA

V

HOW THE MARATHA ENVOY WAS RECEIVED

Pitambar Shenvi and after him Ganu Chaty or Ganesh Sheth went to Goa as Shivaji's envoy. We also read of Esaji Gambhir Rao, envoy of Sambhaji Raze. How were these envoys received by the Portuguese Governor-General and his subordinates, what formalities were observed, how many salutes, if any, were fired on the occasion of their visit, we do not know. Biker has published an extract from an interesting document under the heading "Tratamento que se dá ao Enviado do Sevagi."¹ But as the date of this paper is 1705, the honours and formalities mentioned therein were doubtless meant for the envoy of Shivaji the Mad, the grandson of Shivaji the Great and son of Rajaram and Tarabai. The extract runs as follows:

"On his arrival at Bicholim or Sanquelim, or Ponda or at any other place, the envoy informs the Viceroy how he is lodged there, by letters and epistles that he brings in his charge soliciting an audience. On getting this information the envoy is provided with houses with six chairs, one footstool, one side board and a skiff, he is advised as to the day he should come, assigning the place where he should come, and on the day fixed, a Manchua of the state or of the treasury, equipped with awnings of scarlet cloth and curtains of silk is sent to bring him. The Captain of the Manchua and an Adjutant go in it and lead the envoy between them to the landing place, whence word is sent to the Viceroy or Governor, and some men of high rank and noble birth who attend the house and some Ministers attending the Viceroy come to receive him at the stairs. The envoy enters, bows thrice and delivers to the Viceroy the letter and presents he brings, which the

¹ Biker, Vol. V, pp. 12-13.

Viceroy receives on foot below the canopy and at once hands them to the Secretary of State, who is on his right. After dismissal the envoy comes to lodge in the houses appointed for him accompanied by two mounted Adjutants, and the Factor of His Majesty sends him some refreshment of fruits to the value of sixty Xerafins. From there he solicits audience which is given without further formalities and he is always received on foot. On the day of his departure, when the envoy comes to the presence of the Viceroy, the Secretary delivers to the Viceroy the reply and the present and he gives them with his own hands to the envoy who receives them with salutes and some courteous words. If he wants to go by sea the envoy is given a ship, and two Adjutants or one accompany him according to the wish of the Viceroy; and the same is done if he goes by land to the frontier of our territories. Only after the wars, the Conde de Alvor¹ received the envoy of the said Shivaji with the title of ambassador with the same treatment as is accorded to the ambassador of the King of Canara.

VI

NAVAL ACTIVITIES UNDER SAMBHAJI

Conde de Alvor had to fight desperately against Sambhaji for the defence of Goa. The war, however, was of his own seeking. The Viceroy had imprudently identified himself with the Mughal cause and Sambhaji could not afford to see Goa converted into a Mughal naval base. In science, of course, the Marathas were no match for their western enemies, but Sambhaji was a better strategist than the Count of Alvor. He led his army with so much resolution that many towns in Portuguese India were captured and the safety of the metropolis was seriously

¹ Francisco de Tavora, Conde de Alvor, was Viceroy of Portuguese India from 1681 to 1686. The war mentioned is the one Sambhaji waged against him. The word Shivaji therefore stands here for Maratha kings in general.

threatened. It was saved only by the sudden arrival of the Mughal reinforcement, called to the scene in the nick of time, as the fervent Christians of those days believed, by the celebrated Saint Francis Xavier, to whose care the despairing Viceroy had confided the defence. The details of this war are so well known that I need not deal with them here, most of the records bearing upon the subject have been published by the celebrated Luso-Indian scholar, the late Sr. J. A. Ismael Gracias. I propose here to confine myself to the letters embodied in the second volume of *Livros dos Reis Visinhos*.

On the 28th of July, 1682, a letter was addressed to Sambhaji (R. V. Tomo. II, fol. 16) offering congratulations on the birth of a son. As Shahu was born in December, 1680, or about twenty months earlier, he could not be the prince whose birth offered the Portuguese a suitable opportunity for making friendly overtures, for in this letter the Portuguese had expressed their desire for friendship and peace. Their merchantmen were being harassed by the Maratha navy, as we read in a previous letter addressed to 'Essaji Gambhir Rao,' envoy of Sambhaji, that some Galvats belonging to Portuguese subjects had been captured by Sambhaji's Subedars and Havaldars (fol. 14). The Portuguese were quite willing to make some concessions to Sambhaji to purchase his friendship. From the time of Shivaji to the days of the Peshwas the Marathas had often to purchase powder and balls from their Portuguese neighbours and Sambhaji needed a large quantity of ammunition for his war against the Mughals. He had entrusted this business to Esaji Gambhir Rao and the Portuguese, as another letter addressed to Sambhaji on the 28th July 1682 shows, were quite willing to give him every facility for purchase and transport of war materials he needed. The letter runs as follows :

After the envoy Esaji Gambhir Rao had delivered to me Your Highness' letter of welcome, he gave me another letter, in which Your Highness informed me that Your Highness had

ordered two farms under the jurisdiction of Bicholy and Curalle to manufacture powder and purchase artillery, sulphur, saltpetre and other things ordered to be manufactured in the ports of Canara and Malabar, requesting me to direct the Captains of the Armada of this State not to obstruct those ships (carrying the munitions) and to let them and also the provision that Your Highness' subjects may take from Canara for the ports of Vingurla and Banda pass freely. As I desire to maintain friendship with Your Highness, I have given to your Highness' envoy the necessary order to that effect, in conformity with Your Highness' request. I do not, however, experience similar treatment from Your Highness' Subedars and Ministers, who cause much harm to the subjects of this State, by capturing their ships in the Northern parts while on their way from one part of this State to another with cargo. The ships as I have signified to Your Highness' envoy.....and should order the said ships to be restored, directing your Subedars and Ministers not to commit similar outrage and violence and to behave only in such a way as (contribute to the) preservation of amity...for it can be but ill preserved, as I (have ?) just shown Your Highness in all brevity, by treatment of other sort as these hostilities. May God illumine Your Highness' soul ! (fol. 16).

On the same date a third letter was addressed to Sambhaji (fol. 17) in which the Portuguese Government complained that a merchantman with cargo bound for the port of Cambay was captured by four or five ships, of the Maratha fleet near Chaul and the captured vessel with all its cargo was taken to the port of 'Canssou,' on the plea that the ship belonged to the merchants of Cambay, though in fact it was the property of one Rachandrassa Bagagi, Captain of the Gujrati merchants of Goa and a vassal of the Portuguese State. The Portuguese authorities pointed out that the ship and its cargo should be restored to its rightful owner in conformity with the friendship that then prevailed between the two States.

But this was by no means the last letter that the Portuguese

authorities sent to Sambhaji on the 28th July, 1682. The Viceroy Francisco de Tavora had to put his signature to yet another epistle addressed to the Maratha prince. This letter shows that Sambhaji had formed an alliance with the Arabs, who at that time contended for the sovereignty of the Indian Ocean. He had made some commercial concessions in their favour and, as was alleged by the Portuguese, he shared with them some of their spoils taken from Portuguese subjects and this naturally called forth a protest from the Viceroy. But let the letter relate the obnoxious incidents. The Viceroy wrote :

“I have answered two letters of Your Highness that I received sometimes ago and I am now replying one that was delivered to me a few days ago by the envoy, Esaji Gambhir Rao, in which Your Highness gives me satisfaction on..... I complained to the envoy of the friendship your Highness had (evinced) for the Arabs, the enemies of this State, by inviting them for your service and offering them factories in your territories and also by keeping the diamonds taken from the merchants of this city ; and yet Your Highness tells me that the information I got about...the Arabs was not correct and they had only gone to your ports to sell horses, though the information I had, convinced me to the contrary.....”

The letter could not be fully deciphered, but the Portuguese Viceroy makes here a reference to the good relations that existed in the past between the Portuguese State and Sambhaji's father, Shivaji. He requests the Maratha prince to restore the diamonds to the merchants, their legitimate owners, and urges him to instruct his Subedars and Ministers not to offer any more vexation and create fresh cause of discord. A letter to the same effect was written to Nilcanta Moresoar (Nilkantha Morëshwar), ‘General e Secretario de Sambagy Raze’ (fol. 26).

These letters and expostulations were not altogether fruitless, for we find in a letter, dated 16th November, 1682 (Reis Visinhos, Tomo II, fol. 26), a reference to a letter of Esaji

Gambhir Rao, Sambhaji's envoy. The Maratha envoy informed the Portuguese that "his master had been informed of the bad proceedings of Subedar Givagi Naique and had dismissed him. In his place the old Subedar Moro Dadagi was appointed." But the Portuguese had not relied on mere epistolary expostulations. They had retaliated by capturing and detaining Maratha ships. We read in a letter addressed to Ganoram, Subedar de Curalle, dated 14th April, 1683 (Reis Vioishos, Tomo II, fol. 33) that the Manchuas captured on their way from ports of Canara would not be returned to Vingurla until ships belonging to Portuguese subjects were restored and their losses were fully compensated. But retaliatory measures had not the desired effect, as we read in a letter (dated 16th May, 1683) to Esaji Gambhir Rao, that the ships and cargo had not yet been restored. A similar letter was addressed to Ramchandra Pant on the 17th of February, 1683, prior to the angry answer given to the Subedar of Kudal, in which it was specifically stated that inspite of the friendly professions made by Sambhaji Raze, the Manchuas and Galvats captured in the North, had not been returned, and no compensation had been paid to the villages under the Portuguese jurisdiction plundered by the Marathas.

These few letters are enough to show that busy as Sambhaji was on the land, his naval officers were not altogether idle, and the period between Shivaji's death and the rise of Kanhoji Angira was not altogether a blank in the Naval History of the Marathas. On the high seas the Maratha fleet still held their own as in the days of the great Shivaji and the Portuguese maritime power had very little or no terror for the brave Maratha sailors. To a modern reader their capture and detention of inoffensive merchantmen may appear as a high-handed act of piracy. In fact the Maratha Admirals have often been called pirates by European writers of all nationalities, but as we shall see later on, they had learnt this practice from a European nation and they rightly or wrongly thought that any ship of

any nationality, other than their own, formed their lawful prize unless she carried a Maratha passport.

VII

RAJARAM

The first few years of Rajaram were fraught with difficulties. For eight out of a reign of eleven years he was besieged by his Mughal enemies in the fort of Jinji in the Madras Presidency. His country had been wholly overrun by the Mughal cavalry and most of his hill forts had been captured and garrisoned by the Mughals. But harassed as the Marathas were in their own land their army and navy did not cease to be a source of annoyance to the Portuguese. Francisco de Tavora, Conde de Alvor, had left India in 1681 and for the next seven years there was no Viceroy, the Portuguese Estate in India was ruled by Governors and Commissioners. The next Viceroy, Dom Pedro Antonio de Noronha, Conde de Villa Verde, arrived at Goa in 1693 and was in India for the next five years. During his Viceroyalty Ramchandra Pant Amatya acted as Rajaram's representative in Maharashtra and we come across many letters addressed to Ramchandra Pant, his lieutenants and their Mughal adversaries in the third volume of the *Livros dos Reis Visinhos*. We find a reference to the deprivations of the Maratha fleet in a letter addressed by the Count of Villa Verde on the 15th June, 1695 to Ganessa Ragnato, (Ganesh Raghunath) the newly appointed Governor of Konkan. The Viceroy wrote :

“ I am very glad to hear of the selection of Your Honour by Ramchandra Pandit for the Government of the territories of the Concan and I am very pleased to find that Your Honour evinces in his actions a desire for amity with this Estate. The Portuguese always admit to their friendship all who desire it and so also will Your Honour experience. I cannot but express

my great surprise that Ramchandra Pandit should pose as a friend of this Estate while in all his actions he shows that this desire is not real. He allows the Galvetas of the Subedar's under him, over whom he has authority, to infest our seas and make prizes of our Parangues. This makes me unable to understand whether he desires my friendship or makes war against me. And for this reason I went to Rajapore to look for the Arabs. Moreover if the Prince Raza Rama desires to be our friend, he should not permit our enemies in his ports, for he who helps our enemies does not keep peace with us. I am ready to accept the friendship of Prince Raza Rama if the actions of his captains and officers are those of true friends, but in case they lack in fidelity and the Galvetas of these thieves continue their robbery, I shall have to punish them. (Reis Visinhos, Tomo III, fol. 24). On the same date the Count addressed a similar letter to the head of the Maratha Government, Ramchandra Pandit, in which also he complains that while the Marathas verbally profess a desire for his friendship their actions betray a different intention.

The Count of Villa Verde had every reason to be vexed. The sea was no longer safe for Portuguese merchantmen and considerable loss was caused to their trade by English and Arab pirates. He could not therefore be indifferent to the amicable relations that then existed between the Marathas and the Arabs. Shivaji had once hinted that he could easily find a willing ally in the Arabs against his Portuguese neighbours; his sons demonstrated by their pro-Arab policy that the threat, veiled though it was, was neither empty nor impracticable. But while the Arabs could harass the Portuguese trade in the sea only, the Maratha Generals could fall upon the defenceless villages in Portuguese India and plunder them at their will. That they did so not infrequently can be shown from three letters addressed to Rayagi Shamraza (Baji Sham Rao?) at different times by the Viceroy from November 1694 to November 1695.

The date of the first letter is illegible (Reis Visinhos, Tomo III, fol. 15), its language leaves no doubt, however, as to the irritation of the writer. "From letters I got sometime ago from Your Honour, Ramchandra Pandit and Santagi Gorpada, I learnt that Your Honours are my friends, for so assert all in the letters mentioned above but I find the contrary, for Your Honour entered our territories with the sole intention of committing robbery with the people of the Ghats and this action is very bad and so disgusted me that a.....order (has been sent ?) to Chaul for taking the island of Undry and not to allow it any provision, and send (to arrest ?) (prisoner ?) all Marathas found in our territories and to go to your sea ports and burn them." (The rest of the letter is illegible. The day and month cannot be deciphered at all, but the year is 1694, as the letter on fols. 18 and 19 is dated 13th of November, this must have been written some time previously.)

The strong language and the undoubted energy of the Viceroy created an impression on the Maratha Government and the next two letters indicate a negotiation for amicable settlement. An Indian diplomat seems to have been employed by the Portuguese Government. His name was Ramchrisna Naique and one Apagi Hiro was requested in a very courteous and complimentary letter to co-operate with him on this occasion. We learn from this letter that Ramchandra Pandit himself had solicited peace and the Viceroy was quite willing to accept a compensation, as his next letter to Rayagi Shamraza, dated 15th November, 1695, shows :

From the letters that I received from Your Honour before your descent from the Ghats I understood that (you came) as a friend, but from the information I got, I find that contrary (was the case) as your men entered our territories and robbed our villagers of some cattle ; I believe you will some other time return them as also the sum of three Rupees per head you exacted from the villagers. I have already sent Ramchrisna Naique to make this complaint to Your Honour and I am still

in doubt whether your soldiers committed (this plunder) without Your Honour's consent. I shall, however, believe that Your Honour is in heart a friend, if Your Honour and his men return immediately the abovementioned money that they unjustly took and do not (in future) venture to enter our country, as such actions are not permissible among friends. As I have written to you I shall settle this matter and I hope you will also on your part try your best. Goa, 15th November, 1695. Conde de Villa Verde (Reis Visinhos, Tomo III, fol. 19).

What exactly came of this negotiation we do not know, but the Portuguese had to again complain five years later against the depredations of the Marathas both on land and in the sea. This time the letter was addressed to Parissaram Panta, (Parshram Trimbak Pratinidhi) Vallido de Rama Raze: "Received a letter from Your Honour but find in it scanty reason for the entry that the fleet made in the river Zanguizara, and I estimate the good relations that this Estate always had with Ramraja finding all (to the contrary), as experience has shown me, for twice during the last year (your people) entered our villages of the North and robbed and harassed the villagers. (Your) Galvetas harass our Parangues that go from this city with provision and (still) Your Honour contends that peace has in this manner been observed." The letter ends with a threat of condign punishment and hostile treatment. This letter was written on the 23rd March, 1700 (Reis Visinhos, Tomo IV, fol. 23) and on the 14th of the next month the Portuguese Government informed Sidy Iacut Can, the Abyssinian Chief of Janjira, that their military preparations were meant "to cause harm to the villages of their common enemy Sivagi and were not intended to prejudice him in any way."

The Marathas had obtained signal success against their Mughal enemies and were now in a position to defy the Portuguese with impunity. But Rajaram died in 1700, a minor was on the throne and for the next two years at least, as appears from the contemporary letters, amicable relations

subsisted between the two States. On the 20th April, 1702, Bauanji Mohite (Bhavanji Mohite) Subedar of Sindedurga, (Sindhudurg or Malwan, the headquarters of the Maratha navy) was not only thanked for returning a Manchua belonging to the Portuguese Government but he was assured that the Portuguese would ever reciprocate such friendly treatment. A similar message was also sent to Parasharam Trimbak Pratinidhi. (Reis Visinhos, Tomo IV, fol. 62). The Marathas, as the next letter shows, were seeking the friendship of their Portuguese neighbours and hence this uncommon courtesy and conciliatory attitude on their part.

The Viceroy, Caetano de Mello de Castro, who wrote the letter, mentioned above, was a man of resolution and energy. He arrived in India in the latter part of the year 1703 and took over charge of the Government on the 2nd October. "His administration was chiefly noted for an endeavour to consolidate and extend Portuguese power in the districts bordering upon Goa." He waged war against the Angria and the Bhonsla of Sawantwari and reduced many strongholds belonging to the latter. The King of Canara agreed to pay a tribute to the Portuguese Government and for a short while its prestige was restored (Danvers, Portuguese in India, Vol. II, pp. 375-376). His correspondent was Hindu Rao, a brother of the celebrated general Shantaji Ghorpade, who was for so many years a terror to the Mughals in the Deccan. It appears that Hindu Rao had taken the earliest opportunity of addressing a letter to the new Viceroy for the answer is dated 14th of December, 1703¹ (?). It runs as follows :

Received two letters that Your Honour wrote to me. I did not respond to the first immediately as I was informed that Ganneça Vital (Ganesh Vithal) the courier would soon arrive at this city with the second. He came and delivered the letter which Your Honour wrote me. I understand that

¹ The date given in the *Livros dos Reis Visinhos* is 1702 but Danvers says that the Viceroy did not arrive in India before the latter part of 1703

you wish to preserve between this Estate and the dominions of His Most Felicitous Chatrapaty the friendship that formerly existed and which was firmly observed when my father was Viceroy of this Estate of India. Those memories oblige me to what Your Honour so prizes and is so desirous of—preservation of good relations between us. Your Honour will experience (the same desire) on my part and you on your part will direct (your men) not to commit in these lands and these seas the least violence to the Portuguese, the subjects of the King our master, and to give them the help and shelter they may require in your ports, as a pact of amity demands, for I have also in the same manner ordered that the people of your territories should not suffer any loss in the districts of these dominions or in the sea, should they there encounter my Armadas and should be thus favoured and not maltreated. I am glad (to receive) the account that Your Honour sent me of the brilliant successes in your war that commenced with the victories of the strongholds in the neighbourhood and (I hope) the successes will well continue and the army recover the loss (of the past) as Your Honour expects. Ganecça Vital has already twice spoken to me and he is in this city of Goa and I shall favour him in everything that he may want and I verbally told him about some particulars communicated to me. The said Ganecça Vital will inform Your Honour of the falsity of all that as well as some matter that I communicated to him and which may be useful in the confirmation of the good relations which I hope will be continued. Goa, 14th December, 1702 Caetano de Mello de Castro (R. V., Tomo IV, fol. 62).

Friendly relation between the two states, however, was not destined to last long as is evident from other letters addressed to Hindu Rao and that celebrated Maratha naval leader, Kanhoji Angria.

Reviews

Production in India, by Rajani Kanta Das, M.A., M.Sc., Ph.D.,
Viswa Bharati Bookshop, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta, pp. 180.

The author's purpose is to make "a comprehensive study in national productivity with special reference to the prosperity or material welfare of the people with the object of building up the objective ground of India's thinking on the question of national wealth and finding out the root cause of her poverty."

The reader finds a valuable and well-written summary regarding our natural resources that cannot be found elsewhere in such a compact and brief shape. Agriculture, fisheries, forests, the major industries, the export-food crops, the means of transporting, the raw materials or the finished products and the financing of productive enterprise have been dealt with in a brief and illuminating manner. The author arrives at the conclusion that national productivity is dependent more on industrial efficiency of the people than on the mere abundance of natural resources. "That industrial inefficiency is the root cause of our poverty" is his final conclusion and there can be no two opinions on this matter. Prof. Carver must have had India in mind when he wrote these famous lines: "Communities and nations have remained poor in the midst of rich surroundings, or fallen into decay and property in spite of the fertility of their soil and the abundance of their natural resources merely because the human factor was of poor quality or was allowed to deteriorate or run to waste" (*Pr. of Eco.*, p. 174). Dr. Das's thesis is nothing but an amplification of this single sentence so pregnant with meaning.

The book would have been more useful if the author had given a prominent place to the discussion of the various elasticities of demand and supply of the factors of production. The elasticity of the supply of land is commonly stated to be zero or as the mathematical economist would put it the supply curve of land is an immovable straight line parallel to the axis of price. Dr. Das has shown us—although he does not use this technical language—that this is not the case with land at present in India (p. 25). The elasticity of the supply of capital is always greater than the elasticity of the supply of labour in all advanced countries. The situation in India as regards this point could have been briefly touched

upon. Dr. Das is also silent on the methods that stimulate the factors of production into greater activity. Changes in the character of consumer's demand of the effect of labour-saving, land-saving and capital-saving inventions have an important bearing on the productivity of the country and these have not been discussed by the author.

It is unwise to point out only one specific cause—the industrial inefficiency—as the root cause of the low productive capacity of our people. The economist should find out while tracing the relationship between economic causes and effects or in the field of any economic analysis “the One in the Many and the Many in the One,” as Dr. Marshall would put it (Principles, p. 777). Our low productivity is not solely due to industrial inefficiency alone even though it might be interpreted in a very wide sense. The equitable distribution of income, the improvement of the quality of the people, and increased intellectual activity arising out of greater mental equipment have an important stimulating influence on productivity.

While discussing the productivity question he could have considered the relative importance of the different industries by measuring the relative money values of their annual output as Dr. Bowley has done (The Division of the Product of Industry, pp. 42-45). In the absence of these useful features the book seems to offer to the readers the raw material of fact instead of the finished product of generalisation.

The population figure for 1872 is usually stated to be 206, 162, 360. Even including the figures for the French and the Portuguese possessions the figure for the 1871 Census as given out by the author (p. 10) seems to be out of conformity with the existing usage of other writers on the population question.

On page 50, he relates the failure of the “Golden Crown” trawler to establish the fishing industry on a satisfactory basis. The Government have given up this industry on the plea “that it is not a commercial proposition” Mr. K. C. Roy Chaudhury has given us excellent reasons for the failure of the trawler experiments in Bombay as well as in Bengal (Evidence, Indian Industrial Commission, p 775). Dr. Das now states that this catch compared favourably with those of the trawlers of the White Sea, Bay of Biscay, North Sea, Irish Sea, English Channel, Ireland, Portugal, and Morocco. We wish he had substantiated this statement with facts and figures. At any rate the Bengal Government would do well to reconsider their position and employ a diversity of methods and implements in catching fish. The trawler is not the only extensive

equipment for deep-sea fishing. In Japan small steamers and motor boats are engaged in this service with crews totalling about 53,000 men and the annual catch amounts to 16,000,000 yen. The Japanese Government assists the enterprise by maintaining 29 fishery experimental stations and five fishery schools. The artificial breeding of fish is carried on at an expense of about 3,000,000 yen a year (see Dr. J. I. Bryan, "Japan from Within," 1924 publication, p. 133).

So much having been said by way of suggestive and helpful criticism it must be admitted that Dr. Das has done a useful piece of research embodying much patience, skill and subtlety. We heartily recommend the book to all those readers who are in search of a clear and concise idea about the natural resources of this country and wish to know how they are being worked out at present.

X. Y. Z.

Reverse Councils and other organised Plunders, by T. Krishnamurti Iyer, published by Ganesh and Co., Madras, pp. 361. price Rs. 3.

Mr. Iyer starts with the laudable ambition of exposing the present policy of consistent exploitation of India's financial resources disregarding the poverty of the people. "The rule of Haileyism, sale of the Reverse Councils in utter disregard of the wishes of the people, the floating of sterling loans at high rates of interest with the object of bringing India into the maw of the British Capitalists and pandering to the wishes of Modern Babylon, the raking up of pre-war claims such as pensions, contributions and the effective prevention of the import of gold into India and the stimulation of the export of gold" are only the different phases of this "deliberate mismanagement" of India's financial resources. That "India is treated as an enemy and ravaged economically, financially and politically from all sides" is the burden of his song.

Stripped of its perfect hauteur, brilliant but malignant criticism, caustic vituperation, bitter cogitations, personal invective, the book would have been useful as a piece of forceful criticism against the financial misdeeds of the Haileyian regime. The want of probity in financial dealings with India is no new thing and all careful students of the Public Debt question in India realise the injustice meted out to India. The

same "lack of probity" appears in the financial-history of India in the year 1920 says the author. There is nothing original in his work and his writings have been based on Mr. Madon's articles, the Indian Merchants Chambers' representations and other journals voicing the Indian point of view in Economics.

The impeachment of Sir M. Hailey and the I. C. S. people reminds one of the impeachment of Warren Hastings by Burke and he wields the facile pen of Macaulay in all its resplendent glory. But it is too much to expect the indulgence of the reading public to swallow these wanton insults and bad taste in criticism. Here are a few specimens of his brilliant sarcasm—Mr. Hailey is the Muhammed Bin Taglak of the XXth Century—India Office is an infernal body, that vile Caliban Fränk Johnson, black-hearted venomous Sydenham—the Englishman is a liar in the pursuit of his national interests, the beneficent trusteeship of English Rule is a sanctimonious humbug."

While he discusses the growth of capital in India, the settlement of the exchange policy and the public debt of India, nowhere does he employ the technical economic language. He always satisfies himself with second rate authorities quoted from monthly journals. A lucid statement of the principles of scientific economics is not to be had on any page. "The destruction of notes is nothing less than a wanton destruction of wealth." This is not the correct way of putting the economic truth. He makes the interesting suggestion of going back to the 1s. 4d. regime which would render unnecessary the raising of the bank rate from 6 to 10 % or the issuing of emergency currency during the busy season. The real objection to this 1s. 4d. rate is the "attitude of the English merchants who wish not only to monopolise the trade with India but to realise the benefit of a high exchange."

Coming to the present problem of foreign capital, he attributes the lack of capital to the disastrous experiment of 1920 and criticises the attitude of making India "a perpetual economic slave." He suggests changes in the Currency Act to increase the monetary resources and provide the country with cheap capital. He is against the curtailing of the useful and productive capital expenditure but would attempt to meet the situation by cultivating and developing the Indian Money Market. Though he says that "the Indian financial plant is not altogether dried up" he does not devise any remedy to "stir it to activity" and his suggestion of "god-like watering and manuring this plant" is nothing but vague journalistic verbiage and not a useful concrete suggestion.

He promises to write another volume relating the "misdeeds" of the "incompetent I. C. S." Without the least shadow of doubt such a volume would afford interesting reading and be a fitting reply to the oft-repeated theory that "every Englishman who goes to India is an expert." But we would advise him to be temperate in his criticism and instead of repeating mere journalistic verbiage or rhapsody he should stand on the solid ground of irrefutable theory.

X. Y. Z.

The Glories of Magadha, by J. N. Samaddar, B.A., F.R.E.S., F.R.Hist.S., M.R.A.S., etc., etc., Patna.

This nice little volume contains the lectures which Mr. J. N. Samaddar delivered as Reader before the Patna University in 1922, with a foreword by Dr. A. B. Keith. Why this 'foreword' was found necessary we do not know, for Mr. Samaddar has been now a pretty long time before the scholarly world and has made himself famous by his solid conscientious work. It was just a few years ago that he delivered his Lectures on the "Economic Condition of Ancient India" before the Calcutta University. We entirely agree with Dr. Keith in saying that 'not only the general reader but also the expert will find matter for profitable study' in most of the lectures contained in this volume. We also agree with him when he says: "despite divergence of view on not a few points, I have much confidence in recommending these Lectures as an earnest and able contribution to an important field of study." Every impartial scholar, who thinks for himself, must therefore agree with Dr. Keith in saying that these Lectures are "an earnest and able contribution to an important field of study."

What, however, strikes us as the most important feature of this book is the sobriety and straightforwardness of the author, which are seldom to be found in a present day scholar of this generation. Mr. Samaddar has clearly pointed out in every case the book or the scholar to whom he is indebted for an idea or a view.

H. C. R.

Ourselves

The outstanding event of the month is the untimely death of Mr. C. R. Das. The tragic suddenness of his death stunned Bengal, high and low, rich and poor, and his death was felt as a personal loss by almost every section of the Indian people. Truly might we say "the last great Indian is low" and we mourn

"For the man of amplest influence
The greatest yet with the least pretence :
Great in Council and great in War
The Foremost Captain of our times."

The voice of controversy has been hushed into silence amidst the shadows of death and the resolution of the Senate expressing condolence at the death of Mr. C. R. Das will, we trust, echo from soul to soul in our academical world. In moving the adoption of the resolution, the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor said :—

"Before we proceed to the business of the afternoon, I am sure it would be the wish of this House that we should record our sense of sorrow at the great loss that has befallen this Province and India at the death of Mr. C. R. Das. Mr. Das was not a member of the Senate of this University but he was a distinguished graduate of the University and as a Mayor of this city, and as educationists ourselves we feel grateful for the part which he had taken in the development of primary education in the city. All of you who are here present, at any rate some of you, probably know Mr. Das far better than I did. My acquaintance with him dates back to 1914 when I first came to India and when he very often used to come and see me, and it was always a very great pleasure to discuss any subject with him, religion, philosophy, politics and poetry ; his illuminating and intelligent mind penetrated every subject and I always looked forward with great pleasure to meeting him and the discussion which we had from time to time. In the Law Courts it was always a very great pleasure to hear Mr. Das arguing a case. He always knew his case thoroughly from the beginning to the end, and his penetrating intelligence illuminated every point of law to which he addressed himself. This is not the place nor is

this the occasion to deal with the later ideals of his life when he gave up his practice at the Bar and devoted himself to the service of his country. But whether we agree with him or disagree with him, I think all of us realise that he had a whole-hearted love for his country and that he devoted himself body and soul to the advancement and development of India and it is no exaggeration to say that his untimely death at the age of 55 is due to the great sacrifices which he made on her behalf by his exertions throughout the land."

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His sorrow-afflicted countrymen are raising funds to perpetuate his memory. The future greatness of his country will be the true memorial of the unfulfilled renown of the departed Great. Might we not make a suggestion, however humble, in this connection? If funds are forthcoming, could not a portion of the funds be placed at the disposal of the Calcutta University for the purpose of founding a Chair on "Vaishnavism"—a subject which was of deep and abiding interest for the great "Deshabandhu"?

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The results of the Matriculation Examination and the Intermediate Examination in Science have just been published. The number of candidates registered for the Matriculation Examination was 19,168; the number of candidates who actually sat for the examination was 18,963; the number of candidates who passed the examination is 14,033 of whom 8,155 passed in the First Division, 5,087 in the Second Division and 735 in the Third Division. The percentage of passes, therefore, is 74.

The number of candidates who actually sat for the I.Sc. Examination was 4,200; the number of candidates who passed the examination is 2,442 of whom 938 passed in the First Division, 1,057 in the Second Division and 431 in the Third Division. The percentage of passes is 58.14.

A perusal of these figures will clearly show that the third division which should claim the largest number of our votaries

of learning is practically deserted: the crowd rushes on with irresistible momentum to the front,—so devout is their devotion for learning. So far good. But what is the inference to be drawn? Is the majority of our examinees so well equipped that they can all come to the standard of the first class? Or, do we stand by the Benthamite doctrine of the “highest good” for the “greatest number”? The authorities of the University should really consider the question of raising the standards of the first class, in any event, so that the law of inverse proportion may not have terrible execution. By the way, Mr. P. N. Banerjee, we are told, got a motion passed through the Faculties of Arts and Science recommending 66% as the minimum for a first class instead of 50% as at present. What has happened to the resolution? Or, has the dusky warrior got so very exhausted after his fight over the Post-graduate question that he has been drinking “ambrosial air” or has he consigned his resolutions to an unhonoured grave?

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We were amused to read the following message of Sir Henry Wheeler to educationists in India:

“Sir Henry Wheeler was conscious of the appalling difficulties surrounding educational problems in Bengal. He doubted if everything was well with education in India.....They were faced in India to-day with an increasing population of educated young men discontented owing to their being unable to find an outlet for their energies and often for their keen intellectual equipment.”

We are truly grateful to His Excellency for his ‘happy thoughts’ on educational problems in Bengal and we are really happy that the leisure afforded to Governors and Viceroys under the New Act, is being properly utilised in devotional trance—all their thoughts clustering round India. So Patanjali and Sankhya systems have, at any rate, triumphed over twentieth century imperialism and selfishness.

But what has His Excellency, while a member of the Cabinet in Bengal or on his *masnad* in Behar, contributed towards a solution of the problem? The Government proclaims its deep attachment for efficiency—they are firm believers in the qualitative theory, but have they cared to open out new avenues for our young men? The existing facilities they are anxious to curtail on the specious pretext of an all-round improvement. We in Bengal find Government opposing expansion of literary education: the Bengal Engineering College only provides for about twenty students: the Government Medical College can at most make provision for 120 students. Technical and Technological Colleges are yet far off: the University College of Science and Technology is starving for lack of funds: the recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission lie in deep slumber—they wake up under the touch of the magic wand of Government control, when proposals are made for taking schools out of the weak protection of the University to the Writers' Building. A Ministry of Agriculture wallowed in travelling allowance without venturing to start an agricultural college for a population, 90 per cent. of whom live on agriculture. Surely there is something rotten in Denmark—only Sir Henry Wheeler's diagnosis is wrong and he has no remedy for cure.

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The following letter was addressed by the University to the Government of Bengal, Department of Education, regarding the contributions to be paid to the holders of endowed chairs:

No. A. 2149.

SENATE HOUSE:

The 9th June, 1925.

To

THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL,

Education Department.

SIR,

I have the honour by direction of the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate to invite reference to para. 10 of our letter No. A. 2113, dated

the 30th May, 1925, in which it was stated that a Committee had been appointed by the Senate to report what further contributions if any were to be paid out of the University funds to holders of endowed chairs under the different trust funds. The report of the Committee referred to (copy enclosed) was considered and adopted by the Senate at their meeting held on the 6th June, 1925, and it will appear therefrom that six Ghose Professors and three Khaira Professors are to receive a monthly allowance of Rs. 250 instead of as at present a house-allowance of Rs. 100 per month. The financial effect of the proposal is an increase in expenditure of Rs. 16,200 annually instead of Rs. 8,400 as previously estimated. (*Vide* paragraph 58 of the Report of the Post-Graduate Committee.)

I have, etc.,
J. C. GHOSH,
Registrar.

We agree with the Senate in accepting the principle that the more deserving of our teachers should receive a fairly decent income for their livelihood: the holders of the endowed chairs are all gentlemen of standing and reputation in the domain of scholarship: many of them, we realise, have withstood attractive offers from our sister and daughter Universities in India. But we regret to note that the Senate has not found it necessary or possible to mete out similar treatment to our teachers similarly situated in the department of Arts. We are not unmindful of the fact that the Senate has made provision for the institution of what is called senior lecturerships in the various departments in Arts and Science—the budget for the coming year has however been passed and we are disposed to think—we shall be glad to be corrected—that no provisions for filling up those vacancies have been made. We urge upon the serious attention of the Executive Committees, the Appointments Board and the Senate, the absolute need for making appointments to the posts of senior lecturers: otherwise discontent among the Arts teachers is sure to swell—and we think for good reasons.

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We are glad a committee of the Syndicate has altered the rules of the "Sreegopal Basu Mullick Fellowship" on Vedanta Philosophy with the consent and approval of Mr. S. C. Mullick. Under the new rules the Lecturer will be required to deliver a course of at least twelve lectures in English in December, 1925, on *Vedanta Philosophy*, dealing specially with the place occupied by the Vedanta in the Philosophical System of the civilised world and of its merits as compared with both oriental and occidental systems of Philosophy. The honorarium of the Lecturer has been fixed at Rs. 4,000. The old system of holding classes in Vedanta for the benefit of a few scholars mostly trained in the indigenous methods apparently was not proving a success and the lecturer appointed under the new rules is likely to appeal to a larger circle of students, provided that the lectures are really scholarly and illuminating. We regret, however, that proclaimed nationalists in the domain of education like Doctor P. N. Banerjea and Mr. P. N. Banerjee and the two Mookerjees have agreed to a scheme which invites the lecturer to deliver his lectures in the English language. The honorarium of Rs. 4,000 a year is not likely to prove attractive to Vedantists across the seas unless they are in a holiday mood. And the Syndicate would have been wiser if, in these days of 'vernacular education,' the lecturer was called upon to deliver his lectures in Bengali and if that was not possible, then the choice of language should have been left to the lecturer elect.

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On the 29th June last—the anniversary of the birth of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, the Asutosh Buildings were opened by His Excellency the Acting Chancellor of the University. The buildings will, in the main, accommodate the Post-Graduate departments of the University—a work nobly planned and bravely executed by the Great Departed. In requesting the Chancellor to open the new buildings, the Hon'ble Sir Ewart Greaves spoke as follows :

“YOUR EXCELLENCY,

We welcome you here this afternoon as Governor of Bengal and as Chancellor of Calcutta University but we are not unmindful that when in your own Province you are still connected with the University as an Ex-officio Fellow by virtue of your position as Governor of Assam.

Moreover, it is to this University that students from your own Province come to pursue their studies which forms an additional link in the chain of your connection with this University. This is an era of new Universities and it may be that the time is not far distant when Assam will found its own University. In the first of the Kamala lectures, which were established by the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, in memory of his eldest daughter, and which were delivered for the first time this year, the lecturer, Dr. Besant, drew an eloquent and entrancing picture of the old Universities of India established in sylvan glades and in pastoral surroundings and it may be that when Assam decides to establish her own University, some such setting may be found either by the mighty waters of the Brahmaputra or amidst those beautiful forests with which nature has so richly endowed Assam. Until, however, this happens we shall always welcome her students as we welcome you in our midst this afternoon. Calcutta University, by the force of circumstances, can look to no such setting as I have pictured for the future University of Assam; it must seek its expansion in the heart of the City itself and must wrest to its use where possible land in the immediate vicinity of the Senate House. This, of necessity, must entail great difficulties in expansion and heavy cost when expansion is possible. The history of the building which you are here to open to-day aptly illustrates our difficulties. Many years have passed since the need for additional accommodation for the University became urgent, and so long ago as the year 1905 the University indicated to the Government of India the need for acquiring the site

where the new building now stands for the purposes of the University. The site was eventually acquired in 1913 but owing to financial difficulties it was not possible to commence the building until the end of 1922.

Meantime, the University has had to continue its work in cramped and unsuitable conditions which have made things difficult alike for the teacher and the taught. And even now the building which I have the honour to ask you to open this afternoon is truncated and incomplete from lack of funds. Its incompleting columns awaiting the addition of another storey or stories for their completion, tell their own tale and should move even the stony heart of a Finance Member or a Financial Secretary and I feel sure, Sir, that your æsthetic sense will be touched and revolted by these mute, dumb, incompleting pillars which cry aloud to heaven for funds for the completion of the building.

You will observe, Sir, that our financial needs are such that instead of having a fine façade facing on College Street we have been forced to erect on that side of the building shops from the rentals of which we hope to supplement the depleted finances of the University. This course was forced on us by sheer necessity.

By a resolution of the Senate of the University, passed on the 6th June last, the building is known as "The Asutosh Building."

It is only fitting that the name of the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee should be associated with this building, for it is largely due to his energy and foresight that it exists to-day. He worked unceasingly for the acquisition of the site, and when this was acquired he strove, undaunted by rebuffs and disappointments, for the erection of the building and he took a very large part in planning it and in supervising its construction, and it is sad indeed that he has not been spared to see the fruition of his labours on behalf of the University which he loved so well. There is also another reason why

this building should be associated with his name. Within it are to be housed a not inconsiderable portion of the classes of the Post-Graduate Department of the University with the establishment of which his name will always be connected as its real founder. The Department has gone through many vicissitudes and has been the subject of much criticism, but it is an enduring monument to his labours on its behalf and now at long last it makes its home in a building for which he fought and which he largely planned and in the years to come, when we have a completed building, the Post-Graduate Department will have a home worthy of its Founder and of itself. The plans of the building were prepared by Rai Bahadur Annada Charan Sircar and the building is the work of two Contractors, A. K. Mitter & Co. and J. S. Mookerjee & Co. And I should like also to refer to the work of the Engineer, Mr. M. N. Mookerjee, who has supervised the building throughout with care and attention. Before I ask you to open the building I should like to refer once more to Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. This is the anniversary of his birth and it is meet and fitting that on this day the building, named after him, should be opened.

I will now ask Your Excellency as Chancellor of the University to open the 'Asutosh Building.'

H. E. Sir John Kerr in opening the new buildings said :—

“MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR AND GENTLEMEN,

I must thank you in the first place for your kind welcome this afternoon and for the honour which you have done me in asking me to open this building. I am proud indeed of my present connection with the University as its Chancellor, though my tenure of office is brief and in a manner accidental. In my younger days when I saw visions and dreamed dreams as to the posts I might hold later on, it never entered my head that I should one day act as Chancellor of this University, and I feel deeply that I have no qualifications which fit me for this exalted

position in the academic world. The Vice-Chancellor, however, has reminded you that I am also connected with the University as an official representative of Assam on the Senate. I am very glad that the Vice-Chancellor mentioned Assam, because it gives me an opportunity of emphasizing a point which is perhaps not always realised, namely, the deep interest which the educated public of Assam take in the affairs of the Calcutta University. Most of our public men are graduates of the University. They follow its fortunes and misfortunes with the keenest interest, none the less because it still controls to a large extent the education of their children and their children's children. The day may come when, as the Vice-Chancellor has eloquently prophesied, Assam will possess its own University, but many difficulties, financial and otherwise, will have to be overcome before that dream can be made a reality. In the meantime I think the Government and the Legislative Council of Assam would prefer to spend any funds that may be available on the development of primary education rather than on the creation of an independent University. For some time to come, therefore, the Calcutta University must continue to control our collegiate education and this accounts for the keen interest which Assam takes in the controversies which arise from time to time in connection with this University. I sometimes feel that Assam in relation to those controversies rather resembles a small boy trying to join in a fight between two big boys and running the risk of being considered a nuisance by both of them, but that feeling is due only to my own natural modesty and has no foundation in fact. I desire to acknowledge gratefully the courteous consideration which Assam has received in regard to these matters at the hands both of the Bengal Government and of the Chancellor and the authorities of the Calcutta University. I have no complaints to make on that score and the kindly reference which the Vice-Chancellor has just made to Assam and its connection with the University will, I know, be highly appreciated in that province.

Now, Gentlemen, I will turn to the business of the day. It is perhaps not known to you that apart from my present connection with the University, as Acting Chancellor and Ex-officio Fellow, I have another qualification for taking part in this ceremony. I cannot resist the temptation of telling you about it because it gives me an opportunity of speaking of my friendship with the great man whose name this building is to bear. In 1912 I was Education Secretary to the Government of Bengal. Those of you whose memories carry you back over thirteen years will remember that at that time there was some controversy between the University and the Education Department of the Government of India regarding the arrangements, and particularly the financial arrangements, which were necessary in consequence of the Government of India's departure from this city. Lord Carmichael, who was then Rector of the University, deputed me to discuss the details of these arrangements with Sir Asutosh Mookerjee personally, with the object of arriving at some settlement. I well remember the Sunday morning in July, just thirteen years ago, on which I first visited Sir Asutosh Mookerjee at his house in Russa Road. I shall never forget my first view of the courtyard and ante-rooms, crowded like those of a Consul of ancient Rome with all sorts and conditions of men—Maharajas, pundits, business men, lawyers and humbler folk—who had come there to seek advice and help from that man of stout heart and capacious brain. I well remember my discussion with Sir Asutosh on that occasion, the tenacity and ability with which he pressed his own case, the broad-mindedness with which he saw the case of his opponents and the acuteness with which he detected the weak points in their armour. I remember, too, one afternoon, a few days later, when Sir Asutosh brought me to this very site, which was then, as you remember, known as Madhab Babu's Bazar or the fish market. I do not know who Madhab Babu was, but I can assure you that his Bazar was what you would expect a fish

market to be on a hot afternoon in July. I was in no mood to linger there longer than was necessary, but Sir Asutosh would not let me go. I remember still the vigour with which he pressed upon me his view that it was a crying scandal and disgrace to have a fish market in the middle of this area round which stately temples of learning were even then rearing their heads. I remember the enthusiasm with which he described to me his own plans for utilisation of the building which he hoped to erect on this spot. The result was that after certain further discussions and negotiations I was able to draft a letter to the Government of India recommending an Imperial grant for the purchase of the fish market, and in compliance with that demand the Government of India made a grant of eight lakhs of rupees in their budget of March, 1913. Then came the War and other things to delay the construction of this building, but I need not go into those details now. What I have said will, I hope, be sufficient to show you that I am justified in taking a particular personal pleasure in the fact that it has fallen to my lot to take part in these proceedings to-day.

Well, Gentlemen, I must apologise for taking up so much of your time with these personal reminiscences, but I thought that they would be of more interest to you than if I attempted a task for which, as I have said, I have no qualifications and tried to lecture you on the academic aspect of the work of the University. I am grateful to the Vice-Chancellor for the delicate manner in which he has suggested the need for further financial assistance for the completion of this building. I am sorry the Finance Member was not present to listen to that pathetic appeal, but even if it had touched his heart to the extent of making him put his hand in his pocket, I fear he would have found nothing there but promises to contribute to other schemes which must be redeemed before we can undertake new obligations. The whole question of the University finances is now being considered by the Government of Bengal, and you will, I am sure, recognise that it is impossible

for me during my short acting Governorship to make any promises in a matter of this kind. I must, therefore, leave this painful subject with an assurance that you have my sympathy as one who also suffers from the eternal lack of pence. I shall be on safer ground if I remind you once again of the ideals of the man to whom the erection of this building is mainly due. His Excellency Lord Lytton in paying eloquent testimony to the achievements of Sir Asutosh, to the versatility of his intellect and the variety of his interests said that the Post-Graduate Department of the Calcutta University was the outstanding project of his great career. This building, therefore, is a fitting memorial to his life-work, an emblem of his devotion to the University and of his determination to make it a real and living home of advanced learning. I am aware that criticisms have been made regarding the details of his policy by persons more competent to judge than myself, but no one will deny that he took his policy from the motto of the University, and that the "Advancement of Learning" became under his guidance a real description of the University's labours, as it was an epitome of his own life-work. It is a happy coincidence that these buildings are being opened on the anniversary of his birthday. I trust that they will fulfil the objects with which they have been constructed and that they will enable the graduates of the Calcutta University to increase the wealth of human knowledge and add lustre to the reputation which the University already enjoys for research and scholarship. In this way the Asutosh Building will enshrine the ideals of him, after whom it is named, and it will be the task of those who teach and study here to see that those ideals remain as pure and bright as they shone in the mind and heart of their creator and that they are handed down to future generations, living and untarnished.

Mr. Vice-Chancellor and Gentlemen, I have now much pleasure in declaring the Asutosh Building open."

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We trust the speech of H. E. the Chancellor who is affectionately regarded in Indian circles as "honest John" will serve to disarm opposition against the Post-Graduate Department, the fate of which, we are told, "is hanging in the balance." How often and how long will the work of the Post-Graduate Department be weighed in the balance and found wanting we wonder!

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We regret to announce that the Faculty of Law has not approved of any of the theses offered for the Tagore Law Professorship this year. We have been told that the Dean of the Faculty of Law and the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor have been entrusted with the task of finding out a suitable Professor. We hope some Indian Jurist of repute will be found willing and able to carry out the great trust bequeathed to the University by our distinguished countryman.

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The Budget estimates for the year 1925-26 have just been passed by the Senate at one sitting—not extending beyond an hour and a half. This is really a record performance and our congratulations to the good luck of Dr. B. C. Roy, our Chancellor of the Exchequer, and to the business instincts of the Senate and the wise statesmanship of the Vice-Chancellor and the members of the Syndicate. There were practically no difference of opinion between the Board of Accounts and the Syndicate and this together with the exhaustion of the Senate from the shock of the long-drawn post-graduate debate, must have accounted for the remarkable paucity of speeches in a house accustomed to long speeches. The estimated receipts for the year 1925-26 amount to Rs. 12,86,790 and the estimated expenditure for the same year as calculated by the Board of Accounts is Rs. 12,53,325. On the recommendation of the Syndicate, the Senate increased the expenditure by Rs. 65,000. The Board of Accounts

estimates that 19,000 Matriculation examinees will fetch Rs. 2,85,000; 8,600 Intermediate examinees are calculated to yield Rs. 2,58,000; 2,700 B. A. and B. Com. students will put in Rs. 1,21,500: the fees realisable from 900 B.Sc. students will, it is expected, amount to Rs. 40,500; 600 B. A. and B.Sc. Honours students will pay extra fees to the extent of Rs. 6,000; 500 M.A. and M.Sc. students will pay an estimated amount of Rs. 40,000. The harvest from the Law examinations will yield the University Rs. 1,41,000. And yet the Senate will abuse lawyers in season and out of season! The doctors have to their credit Rs. 41,000 only. The University publications will bring the University Rs. 1,43,250.

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Our readers may be interested to read the following notes by the Secretary to the Oriental Delegation, Oxford:

D. Phil.—The minimum course of study for this degree has been reduced to two years but admission to the status of advanced student will, in future, be more difficult, as it will usually be restricted to those who have already obtained the degree of B. Litt. or B. Sc. Graduates of other Universities (including Indian Universities) may be admitted, but only if they produce evidence of special fitness in a manner satisfactory both to the Committee for Advanced Studies and to the Board of the appropriate Faculty.

B. Litt. and B. Sc.—Ordinarily a research student will be admitted to study for one of these degrees, and must have obtained an approved qualification. In *exceptional* cases he may be admitted without that qualification if he satisfies the Board that he qualified to enter on a course of special study or research.

In the case of B. Litt. the candidate is first admitted as a probationer student, and after consultation with his supervisor he chooses the precise subject for this thesis. This choice has to be made at any time within the first three terms, and after the subject had been approved by the Board of the Faculty concerned, the candidate is admitted as a student for the degree of B. Litt.

General.—It is necessary to point out that these research degrees are not necessarily the next stage after a degree at an Indian University. A student who wishes to study a particular subject further is often best

advised to read the Honour School in that subject and obtain the degree of B.A. at Oxford and an M.A. in due course. Research degrees are intended for the man who has studied a particular subject and is qualified to make a further special study of it. Therefore the rules specify that he must not only state precisely the branch of study which he proposes to pursue but give evidence of his fitness to undertake a course of special study in it. Further, applications must be made in good time to enable the Committee for Advanced Studies and the Boards of the Faculties to consider them. These bodies meet in term time only.

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“The Registrar of the Co-operative Societies, Bihar and Orissa, will award a Gold Medal or a purse of Rs. 100 for the best essay in English on “Co-operative Stores in India—Actual and Ideal.” The subject is to be treated in a practical and Scientific manner; difficulties and defects in the present working are to be specially detailed and remedies and safeguards have to be suggested. The last date of submission of essays is July 31, 1925. All essays are to be sent to the Development Officer, Co-operative Societies, Secretariate, Patna.”

* * *

Our readers may be interested to learn that the Ghose Travelling Fellowships, available for the year 1925-26, have been awarded, on the usual conditions, to the following scholars to enable them to prosecute advanced study and research in their respective subjects :—

1. Dr. Surendranath Sen, M.A., Ph.D.,—Maratha History.
2. Mr. Sunilchandra Bose, M.B., D.T.M. and H. (Lond.), M.R.C.P. (Lond.)—Normal and abnormal heart action with the string galvanometer and the application of some indigenous drugs to diseased hearts.
3. Dr. Sudhamay Ghosh, D.Sc. (Edin.)—Scientific research on Indian Indigenous Drugs chiefly Ayurvedic Medicines.

* * *

The number of candidates registered for the B.Sc. Examination this year was 970 of which 558 were successful, 26 were absent, and 386 failed. Of the successful candidates, 430 were placed on the Pass List and 128 on the Honours List.

Of the candidates in the Honours List 26 were placed in the First Class. Of the candidates in the Pass List 108 passed with Distinction.

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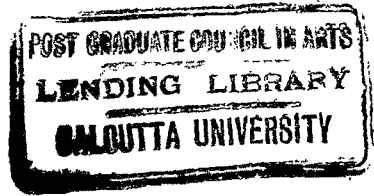
The number of candidates registered for the Intermediate Examination in Arts was 4,348, of whom 127 were absent, 26 were expelled and 4 were disallowed. Of the remaining candidates, 2,320 passed, of whom 467 were placed in the First Division, 870 in the Second Division, 484 in the Third Division.

The percentage of success therefore, is 55.4.



Courtesy of the Artist Professor Abanindranath Tagore, C.I.E., D.Lit.]

DARSAN DARWAZA: THE DOOR OF AUSPICIOUS SIGHT



THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

AUGUST, 1925



MUSLIM NORTH AFRICA AND SPAIN¹

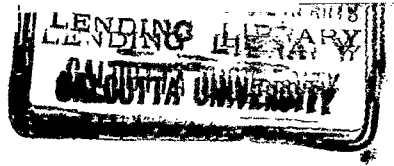
The one condition precedent for Culture is a well-settled Government; for such a Government alone is at once the basis of social order, of trade and commerce, and, indeed, of all national prosperity and well-being. The vaster the empire the greater the development under favourable conditions. For the culture not only of Islam but of Europe too it was a good augury that the Arabs subdued the entire northern coast of Africa and the south-western parts of Europe. It was no light task for the Arabs to hold in check an immense territory inhabited by tenacious and warlike peoples. It took more than two decades completely to subjugate and pacify those parts of Egypt and Tripoli which yielded to the earliest assaults of Muslim arms. Even the romance-tinged advance of Uqba Ibn Nafi—the real conqueror of North Africa, and the founder of the military camp at Kairwan—was rendered futile by his death (A.H. 63). North Africa shook off the Muslim yoke. Kairwan itself fell into the hands of the Berbers, and the frontier of Islam was pushed back to Barka. Only the third attempt—undertaken six years later—successfully attained the goal. After heavy and, in the

¹ Joseph Hell, Chapter VI.

beginning, disastrous struggles with the Byzantines and the Berbers, the destruction of Carthage, and the annihilation of the Berber priestess Kahina and her followers, the country was conquered up to Constantine, and the Muslim frontier was extended, between the years 87-90 A.H. (706-709 A.D.), by Musa Ibn Nusair, as far as Tangier. Already in 710 A.D. had begun the advance towards Spain. The history of that invasion is well-known : how a freedman of Musa, with but 500 men, undertook the first expedition to the southern promontory of the Iberian Peninsula ; how, in the year 711, another freedman, Tarik, with 7,000 men, pure Berbers, crossed over in small boats ; how Roderick's army of 90,000 strong was defeated, the same year, by 25,000 Muslims, and how Cordova and Toledo fell. Well-known, too, is it, how Musa, jealous of the successes of his lieutenant Tarik, imprisoned him, and how, when strongly reinforced, he reduced all Spain to Muslim rule.

Musa, however, was suddenly recalled. When leaving Spain, he transferred to his sons authority over the different provinces. But the Caliph, distrusting the whole family, declined to ratify his arrangements. Henceforth, in the western provinces, this tale constantly repeats itself : the Central Power's distrust of the local governor and the Local government's attempt to make itself independent of the Caliph. Witness all Moorish history in Africa and Spain !

Though questioned, if not powerless, was the will of Baghdad in the Pyrenees, yet, even there, community of language and religion implanted an ineradicable sense of Muslim unity. More important by far than the unity of the Caliphate was this unity of language and religion. On the common interest in the Qur'an and the branches of learning connected therewith rested the whole foundation of intellectual activity in Spain and North Africa in those days. And to this unity of language must be ascribed the outstanding fact that, from Khorasan to Spain, the flower and fruit of Muslim learning



was the common possession of the entire Islamic world. Wheresoever the cultured Muslim might travel, he only had to enter the mosque to feel perfectly at home.¹ Arabic was not only the language of worship. It was also the medium of instruction. Every book that was written in the East or the West was the common possession of all. Thus, the sword of Islam, in the first instance, and the Arab imperial instincts in the second, helped the sciences of the East in their trend westward. The learning of Greece and India passed across North Africa to Europe.

From the Arabic literature that has come down to us we see that in Egypt, in Tunis, in Morocco, everywhere, schools were founded and learned men encouraged. It was usual for authors to associate themselves with the places where they worked, and from the names of the authors we can thus make out the province or the town or the village—from extreme East to extreme West—where they lived and wrote. We must, however, restrict ourselves to Cordova—the rival of Baghdad.

Since the middle of May, 756, the Omayyads—excluded from the East—held sway here as the 'Princes of Andalusia' and the 'successors of the Caliphs.' Their 280 years' rule constitute the flowering-time of Arab culture in Spain. With the wonderful economic growth of the country, thanks to an excellent system of irrigation and water-works, enriched by the introduction of the agricultural products of the East, such as rice, sugar-cane, date-palms, peaches and pomegranates; with a thriving trade which Cordova carried on with the North African Coast, nay with the very interior of Africa as far as the Sudan; with its silk industry, which at the time of its highest bloom, engaged 130,000 men to work it; poetry, arts, sciences, not only kept pace, but became the ruling passion of the Andalusians.

¹ Von Kremer, *Kulturgeschichte des Orients*, II, pp. 439 et seq.

Sheer joy in the beauty of words and their collocation is one of the dominant characteristics of the Arabs. Verses—countless in number—flew from lip to lip, admired by high and low alike, not merely for their poetical contents but for their exquisite diction. At all times, and in all countries, wherever Arabic is spoken, intense, overpowering has been this passion for poetry. In Spain it reached its culminating point.¹ From king to peasant, all cultivated the art of improvisation. To answer in an improvised verse of pleasing rhyme and poetic fancy was the most appreciated of intellectual accomplishments. Amazingly large was the circle of poets there. Almost every one of the Omayyad Caliphs wrote verse—the first of them, in fact, was a poet of rich endowments. A writer of the XIIIth century wrote a comprehensive work dealing only with the Arab kings and magnates who distinguished themselves in this way. High in favour at Court and with Muslim nobility, stood poets of note and distinction. A mere list of Spanish Arab poets would make a volume. Music and song struck and maintained their alliance with poetry. The musician at the court of Abdur Rahman III was a man of rare culture. Versed in astronomy and history, he drew princely pay and lived in princely splendour. That the most renowned musician of Cordova was at the same time a historian and an astronomer, and could recount “glorious things of all countries,” was no mere accident; for, with all its gaieties, Cordova was pre-eminently the centre of learning, and, as such, the Baghdad of the West. Countless were those who occupied themselves with theology and jurisprudence—the so-called *Faqih*.² Already, under the third Caliph, they felt strong enough to rebel against him; and when, after a second

¹ Schack, *Poesie und Kunst der Araber*, pp. 30, et sqq. Dierds, *Araber im mittelalter*, Chapters 7 and 8.

² Dozy's *Spanish Islam*, pp. 242-249.

insurrection, their quarter was destroyed, 60,000 inhabitants left Andalusia.

In Al-Kali and Al-Zubaidi philology; in Al-Razi and Ibn-ul-Qutiyya history, found their best representatives. But, in those branches of learning which were not concerned with theology, the western, for the time being, lagged behind the eastern portion of the Islamic empire. Later, indeed, the translations from Greek and Indian languages exercised here their stimulating influence. Astronomy, then, in Al-Ghafiqi; natural sciences and mathematics in the versatile Majhariti, found their ablest exponents. Medicine made tremendous strides under Ibn Juljul and Abul Qasim (Al-Bucasis), who was reckoned in the West the most eminent surgeon of the Middle Ages.

A study of the lives and activities of the learned men of the XIth century reveals an astonishing vision of the intellectual fertility of the immediately preceding century.

Erroneous, then, is the complacent assumption of the West, that only on European soil did Islam really bear intellectual flower and fruit. On Asiatic soil, in the Eastern part of the Empire, as a matter of fact, Islam reached its culminating point in arts and sciences.

For the reception of knowledge, no doubt, the soil of Cordova was exceedingly congenial. There, a consuming love for books and libraries was the striking characteristic of the people. The royal Library consisted of 400,000 volumes. The rich vied with each other in the collection of books, and the upstart tried to go one better. Paper-factories in Toledo and Xativa supplied writing-materials. Copyists were sought for in all parts of the world—even in remote Baghdad¹—and book-binding became a thriving trade.

¹ Thafar Al-Baghdadi, the chief of the scribes of this time, came from Baghdad, and settled in Cordova. He was one of the many excellent scribes whom Al-Hakam kept in his pay, and who lived in that capital about the same time as Al-Abbas Ibn Omar As-Sikili (from Sicily), Yusuf Al-Bolntti, and their disciples. Makkari, Vol. II, p. 168.

The Byzantine Emperor could not think of a more pleasing gift for the great Abdur Rahman III¹ than a beautiful copy of the Pharmaceutics of Dioscoridus, and, as then there was no one in Cordova who knew Greek, the learned monk Nicolas was sent with it to render it into Arabic.

How the Christian Nicolas, a devoted chemist and druggist, lived in closest friendship with the scholarly Jew Hasdai, and how the latter became all-powerful at the court of the Commander of the Faithful, testifies to the liberal and tolerant spirit of the age. In Cordova, for the first time, we observe how the Arabs, by sheer superiority, extended and diffused their language. The patrician, Alvar of Cordova, complains that Christians read the poetry and romances of the Arabs; study the writings of their theologians and philosophers—indeed, all young people of talent know only the Arabic language; amass a large library at an enormous cost; and openly avow that this literature deserves admiration and applause.²

Such was the state of Islamic culture, in its western centre, Cordova, at the beginning of the XIth century. Then, suddenly, a revolution broke out. The body-guards, consisting of slaves and Berbers, seized the helm of State. Throughout a twenty years' Civil War, Cordova was the apple of discord, and when, in 1031, Hisham III, the last of the Omayyads, renounced the throne, Cordova was half destroyed, impoverished, depopulated. The Moorish empire now enters on its path of decline and fall. Separate dynasties—disunited and incapable of resisting the onward march of the Spanish Christians—rule in Saragossa, Seville, Granada, Malaga and Algiers, Badajoz, Valentia, Murcia.

¹ Dozy. *Spanish Islam*, pp. 445-447.

² Gibbon says that in 1039 "it was found necessary to transcribe an Arabic version of the Canons of the Council of Spain for the use of the Bishops and Clergy in the Moorish kingdoms. The version in question is dated 1019, and is inscribed "for the use of the most noble Bishop John Daniel (Casiri, I. 54).

Politically tragic is the sight of the Moorish Empire gradually parting with limb after limb. But, for the Culture of the West and of the entire East, this period is of special importance.

The Civil War scared the *savants* away from Cordova to other towns—to Seville, Granada, Toledo, etc. etc. For a short time Seville enjoyed considerable outward prosperity. Under the rule of the Abbadites the population rose to 400,000, and Seville played the rôle, which she has always played in Spain, of a joyous, pleasure-scattering city. Even at the time of the splendour of Cordova, it was said that books found the best market in Cordova, musical instruments in Seville. Seville was, indeed, the centre of music and song and of all those gaieties which we associate with the Moors in the smiling plain of Andalusia. It was a city of the most beautiful gardens, and as such, its flower-shows were locally unrivalled. By grafting rose-slips on-almond-trees, they obtained the famous "Seville Roses"—the last sweet memory of those far-off joyous days. The tendency to pleasure—characteristic of Seville—was specially encouraged by the fair sex—ever prolific in such devices. Thus, the favourite wife of the Abbadite Prince, Mutamid¹—Itimad—seeing, one day, some country women selling milk, and walking up to their ankles in mud, said to her husband, "I wish I and my slaves could do as those women are doing"! Straightway Mutamid ordered a room in the palace to be strewn with a thick paste consisting of ambergris, musk, and camphor, dissolved in rose-water. He then had vessels made in imitation of milk-skins and slung on ropes of the finest silk; and, with these on their arms, Itimad and her maidens splashed in the aromatic mess to their hearts' content.

In Seville lived the most gifted of the Moorish poets—no other than the prince Mutamid himself. While Seville

¹ Dozy, *Spanish Islam*, pp. 670-8. See also Whishaw, *Arabic Spain*, pp. 213-215.

thus light-heartedly abandoned herself to the joys of life, Toledo became the channel through which the treasures of Eastern erudition streamed into the West.

Just as, once, systematic translations brought home the ancient sciences of the West to the Arabs—so now the mediæval West, by the very same process of translation, appropriated the sciences of the Arabs.

We notice in the XIth century the Carthaginian Constantino travelling for thirty years in North Africa and the Orient with a view to teaching Arabian medical science at Salerno¹ and to translating Arabic works into Latin when a monk at Monte Cassino.

Abelard of Bath, too, in his travels in Asia, Egypt and Spain, studied the mathematical and astronomical works of the Arabs, with a view to translating them into Latin on his return home to England. To fill up the obvious gaps in the Western knowledge of philosophy the Archbishop of Toledo founded a school for translation, which, under the supervision of the Archdeacon Dominico Gondislavi, and, with the co-operation of the Hebrew, Johannes ben David (Hispalensis), in twenty years rendered into Latin all the older philosophy of the Arabs. In the Italian Plato of Tivoli and Gerard of Cremona, in the astrologer Friedrich II, in Michael

¹ "The medical school of Salerno was famous in mediæval history; it was founded neither by Charles the Great nor by the Arabs, the city never having been under the dominion of either. Its origin is to be found in the Benedictine monastery of Salerno, established in 794, in which the botanical and the medical works of the ancient were studied. Its fame grew, when about the year 1070 the celebrated Constantino Africano took refuge there. He had studied in the schools of the Arabs at Babylon, at Baghdad, and in Egypt, and was presented by the brother of the Caliph of Babylon to Guissard, who took him as secretary. He gave a new impulse to philosophical and to medical studies by making known in the west the works of the Arabs. Roger I gave laws to the Schools of Salerno, which was the first western school to introduce academic degrees. New regulations were established for it by Frederick II, who ordered that no one should practise medicine without being "licensed" by that school, the fame of which waned after the fifteenth century through the competition of Naples. The school was suppressed in 1811, together with the University of Salerno.—*Catholic Encyclopedia*—Sub 'Salerno.'

Scotus, in Hermanus Allemanus (or Teutonicus) the thirteenth century found illustrious translators.¹

The struggles of the Christian population of Spain with foreign masters who were enfeebled by culture and torn by dissensions, the gradual withdrawal of the Moors to the South, and the final shrinking of their Empire to the small kingdom of Granada, did not interfere with, much less end, the intellectual contact between the two great rival religions of the world. With every fresh Christian conquest of the Islamic centre of learning new treasures, in the shape of books, came into Christian hands. Nor were these books allowed to remain on their shelves unread—their study was enthusiastically encouraged by the Christian kings of Castille.

But while the Christian West not only accepted but extended and developed the Muslim sciences that came into its hands, there was yet one aspect of Muslim culture which it left comparatively neglected and unexplored—Arab Art.

In this sphere, however much may have perished, or survived in sad decay, the remnants, in their totality, constitute the best and the most infallible index of the growth, expansion, and changing attitude of the Arab mind in the nine centuries of its political ascendancy in Islam.

Perhaps with the sole exception of Yaman, the Arabs, when they made their appearance in world-history, possessed no art. The simple, formless, cube-shaped Ka'aba—with its gods and oblations—was naught but a standing witness to the utter impotence of the Arabs in the domain of the plastic arts and architecture. Even needs connected with religious

¹ Wüstenfeld, *übersetzungen Arabischer werke in Das Lateinische*, the introduction, pp. 5-10. On Constantinus Africanus, pp. 10-11; Adelard of Bath, p. 20; Johannes Hispanus, p. 25; Gondislavi, p. 38; Plato of Tivoli, p. 39; Hermanus Dalmatia, p. 48; Gerard of Cremona, p. 54. Constantinus tells us that, in his time, there was a great deal of Plagiarism and that to guard against it he put his name to his writings. Not so Gerard who, from sheer modesty, would not put his name to his translations and whose works, therefore, had to be known through his friends, p. 56.

worship, which Islam pressed home early in its career, or in those of its successors, did not lead to artistic creations in Arabia with or without foreign aid. The first mosque of Islam¹ in Medina was only a four-cornered courtyard such as every Arab household of any pretension possessed. It was but a space set apart for reception and gathering (*majlis*). There was nothing there to indicate any intention regarding, or to suggest any desire for the erection of, a special place for the common worship of Allah, or to embellish it with any special adornment in his honour and for his glory. The two outstanding features were the courtyard shape of the structure and the studious care taken when fixing the direction of prayer; and *these* features of the first mosque remained for a century the characteristic features of the religious art of the Islamic Empire.

It is all the more amazing—if the Arabs, at the time of Mohamed, were lacking in artistic sense—to find them, in the course of their conquests, anxious to spare and preserve the artistic monuments of the past and even ready to share with the Christians their beautiful places of worship for devotional purposes.

We must not forget that their wars were religious wars and their goal the triumph of Islam! Eventually, then, the view gained ground that a place of worship was a House of Allah, and, as such, should be superbly equipped. Here, in this view, lay the germ of the religious art of Islam.

It was but natural that the architectural and decorative forms of art which henceforward greeted their gaze day by day in the Christian churches of Damascus and Jerusalem, nay, even in distant Cordova, should appear to them as the final consummation of all human art. Nor was it at all strange or unexpected that, under the influence of the models before them at Ctesiphon, Damascus and Cordova.

¹ Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, Vol. III, pp. 18-21.

Muslim art should make a beginning and develop in diverse ways. But remarkable, to be sure, is the great influence which Islam itself exerted upon Muslim Art.

Though unable to achieve anything on their own initiative, and dependent entirely on the genius of the people of other faiths in the domain of art, the Muslim employers yet succeeded in weaving Eastern and Western art into a new unity, and in giving to this creation—the outcome of selection and combination—a characteristic impress of their own. This new art thus owes its birth as much to the taste of the Arab employers—though difficult it is to assess their share—as to the co-operation of the Persian, Byzantine and Coptic craftsmen.¹

Of this the Amr-Mosque in Cairo² offers the earliest proof. Even before the Church of St. John at Damascus was transformed into a pure mosque—even before the 'rocky dome' arose on the holy rocks of Jerusalem—under the first Governor (Amr Ibn al As) was built in the south of old Cairo

¹ On the influence of the Copts on Muslim Art, see Chapter VII of Whishaw's *Arabic Spain*.

² "Amr-Mosque was originally a very plain oblong room, about 200 feet long by 56 wide, built of rough brick, unplastered, with a low roof supported probably by a few columns, with holes for light. There were no minarets, no niche for prayer, no decoration, no pavement. Even the pulpit which Amr set up was removed when the Caliph wrote in reproach. 'It is not enough for thee to stand whilst the Muslims sit at thy feet.' For it was the duty of the conqueror to recite the prayers and preach the Friday Sermon in this humble building. It soon became too small for the growing population of Fustat, and was enlarged in 673 by taking in part of the house of Amr; and, at the same time, raised stations—the germ of the minaret—were erected at the corners for the Muezzins to recite the call to prayer. Twenty-five years later the entire Mosque was demolished by a later governor, who rebuilt it on a larger scale. So many and thorough have been the repairs and reconstructions that there is probably not a foot of the original building now in existence. What we see to-day is practically the Mosque rebuilt in 827 by Abdullah Ibn Tahir, and restored by Murad Bey in 1798 just before he engaged the French in the battle of the Pyramids at Embaba. It is four times the size of the original Mosque, and different in every respect.....In the early part of the nineteenth century it was still a favourite place of prayer for the people of Cairo on the last Friday of the Fast of Ramadan." See Corbett's essay on *The History of the Mosque of Amr at Old Cairo* in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, N. S., xxii, 1891; Lane, *Cairo Fifty Years Ago*, pp. 142, 143, Apud Stanley Lane-Poole, *Story of Cairo*, pp. 42-44.

a mosque the scanty remains of which betray the interplay of distant influences.

From Persian and Greek buildings columns were collected, and, without regard to uniformity or size, were utilized in the formation of arcades according to the style of Medina. The plan represented a quadrangle; a main hall, surrounded by six rows of columns, and with a wall indicating the direction in which Mekka was situated (Kibla), constituted the front entrance—while halls with three aisles formed the right and left enclosures of the courtyard. The arches exhibited a variable character—the oldest were imitations of the Christian basilicas, and yet samples of the pointed arch were not absent in the oldest structures. The material originally consisted of sun-dried bricks. That, in the first century of Islam, no Arab architect could erect such a building, is understandable; and the report, therefore, that it was the work of a Christian convert to Islam—a Copt—is by no means incredible.¹ But, that notwithstanding—no less perceptible is the influence of the Arab mind here. The columns in the Arab architecture play a new rôle—construction is subordinated to ornamentation. No longer the form and harmony but the number and arrangement of the columns now assume importance. In a Christian edifice columnation serves the purpose of relieving the heaviness of the divisions

¹ The Arabs have never been artists or even skilled craftsmen. They imported Persians and Greeks to build for them and decorate their houses and Mosques, but above all they employed the Copts, who have been the deft workmen of Egypt through thousands of years of her history. A comparison of the plaster-work of Ibn Tulun with the Coptic carvings preserved in the Cairo Museum of Antiquities and those from the tomb of Ayn-es-Sira in the Arab Museum shows clearly the source of the floral decoration, which belongs to the Byzantine School of Syria and Egypt. The Kufic inscriptions carved in the solid wood are a purely Arab addition, and one that afterwards developed into a leading decorative feature in Saracenic art. The geometrical ornament of the open grilles is also Byzantine, as A Bourgouin has established in his exhaustive treatise on the *entrelacs*, but it is not certain that they belong to the original building, and the star polygons suggest that the grilles may have been part of the later restoration. Lane-Poole, *Cairo*, pp. 85-86. For further information, see Rivoira's *Muslim Architecture*, pp. 23 *et seq.*

between the longitudinal aisles. The Arab did not quite realize the true purpose of the columns, but used them to express the ancient appreciation of *Immensity* and *Fulness*. Thus the number of columns in the Amr-Mosque must have been more numerous than the number of days in the year. The aisles did not run at right angles, but parallel, to the wall indicating the *Kibla*. The place of the few long aisles of the basilica was taken by numerous (in one case twenty-six!) short aisles of the wall of the mosque. The optical effect was diametrically opposite to that produced by the basilica. Whilst the Byzantine model forcibly directed the eye to the mighty apse by its longitudinal nave—the columns of the mosque seemed to impart to the prayer-niche (Mihrab—a diminutive apse, commonly employed in the 2nd century of Islam) an unexpected significance.

The tendency to a confusing plethora of mystical forms in art remained for centuries the striking feature of the mosque, and this in spite of the fact that its plan and execution at the time, were in the hands of the Byzantine artists, till then noted for their clearness and neatness in design, execution and ornamentation.

In the west of the Islamic empire Arab artistic taste seems to have approximated to that of Byzantium.¹ Evidences of this were particularly noticeable in the religious buildings of Algeria, Morocco and Spain. The prototype is the venerable mosque of Kairwan—the so-called Sidi Uqba Mosque. Founded about the middle of the first century (670 A.D.) by the celebrated conqueror of Africa—Uqba Ibn Nafi—destroyed and reconstructed by the destroyer of Carthage, Hasan Ibn Numan (703 A.D.)—repeatedly reconstructed and repaired in the course of the following centuries—the Mosque has yet retained a great deal of its original character.

¹ See the chapter on "Byzantine Art, pp. 75-97, in Roth's *Sozial und Kulturgeschichte des Byzantinischen Reiches*.

Thus, for instance, the ground-plan dates from the first century of Islam, and reveals the same resemblance to a forest of columns as in the Amr-Mosque. But through the middle of this forest of columns, which divides the space into eight transverse or seventeen longitudinal aisles, there runs a central nave at right angles to the Mihrab—each end of which is crowned by a cupola. This necessitated the making of the transverse aisles as broad and high as the central nave itself. The result is, the ground-plan assumes the form of a T, which becomes more pronounced by the doubling of the columns, exactly as in the ancient Christian churches; for instance in *San Paolo Fuori Le Mura* in Rome, and in the *Church of the Nativity* at Bethlehem. In spite of its strong affinity with the old Christian prototypes, the general aspect of the Mosque is entirely original. The whole courtyard, surrounded by columns, is an inheritance from Medina; a three-storied four-sided Minaret, on the side of the courtyard opposite to the entrance of the Mosque, reminds us, by its massiveness, of the time when the rule of Islam rested on its military strength; the enclosing walls of the immense structure, with its gateways crowned by cupolas, its four-sided projecting towers and its supporting pillars, appear to be imitations of the royal palaces of Kūyunjik and Khorsābad.

In the Sidi-Ukba Mosque we have an opportunity, for the first time, of beholding the ornamentation of the prayer-niche in its earliest stage. It is yet possible, however, to see the outlines of the oldest unadorned Mihrab. Close by it lies a later prayer-niche dating from A.D. 857; into a wall lined with faience is sunk a round-arched niche, covered with inlaid marble, and flanked by two columns with Byzantine capitals. The surface-ornamentation of the Mihrab is yet predominantly Byzantine, but, halfway up, is seen a scroll, which reveals to us the Arab's pleasure in the contemplation of the Arabic characters—as strong now as it has ever been in the past—and

explains the use of these characters in surface-decoration. The revered pulpit (Mimbar) of plane-tree wood—one of the most precious treasures of the Mosque—shows, in its perforated carvings, geometrical ornamentations of Byzantine inspiration—suggesting, at the same time, the beginnings of an effort to step beyond the Byzantine lead.

With the consideration of the Mimbar, however, we have progressed right up to the end of the ninth century. We must now revert to the eighth century to make acquaintance with Muslim art in Spain.

In addition to the works of art which the conquerors came to know in Mesopotamia, in Syria, in North-Western Africa, and which they adopted as their models—on Spanish soil a new influence came into play; namely, that of Visigothic art, which, just about the time of the Arab invasion, was at its very height.¹ Nor is the Berber influence—though difficult to assess—to be ignored. The art to which so many different factors contributed could not but follow its own special line of development on the western borders of the empire.

The Great Mosque of Cordova²—representing as it does the most diverse influences—is the earliest example of this art. The ancient world supplied its many hundred columns; Byzantium provided it with surface-decoration; Spanish Visigothic art shaped its architectural structure. It took two centuries to complete this gigantic edifice, which, on its completion, stood out as supremely beautiful; nay, unique and unexcelled.

Throughout its length are horse-shoe arches, over an immense forest of low columns. From the columns rise pillars, higher than the columns themselves, supporting the beams. Round arches, over-topped, in their turn by horse-

¹ See appendix, note to Chapter I, pp. 381 *et seq.* in Whishaw's *Arabic Spain* where this subject has been admirably discussed.

² Makkari, Vol. I, p. 217.

shoe arches, connect the pillars. No ornamentation other than an alternation of white and red coloration characterizes the building.

The Past and the Present, Christianity and Islam, *all* helped in the creation of such a work! The pillars are mostly pillars obtained from ruined Roman temples; the capitals are imitations of the Corinthian capitals; the horse-shoe arch, a fellow-traveller of the Arabs from Persia to the West. The Mihrab, the pearl of that mosque, owes its exquisite ornamentation to a Byzantine artist. A Slav, Abu Jafar As-Sakalabi, superintended most of the construction. But, all this notwithstanding, the general effect is purely Arabian.

It is the realization in stone of the ideal beauty which everywhere greets us in that ancient typically Arab form of poetry—Qasida.

Just as, in these poems, verse upon verse is strung without any central unity—just as the ear listens tensely to their enchanting diction and rhythm—just as the mind is bewildered in the contemplation of the details and the yet smaller details, rising only occasionally to seize upon a new idea or an image—so here also in the case of the Mosque of Cordova.

In its entirety it is something immense, something incomprehensible. The mind is impressed, not so much by the width as by the depth of the view. The pious Muslim turns his face to the Mihrab, and sees it covered with bewildering arabesques. Eye and mind are more and more lost in the details, until some alluring verse from the Qurān, usually of profound significance, rescues the spectator from his perplexing distractions. This is the Arab ideal of beauty which from the beginning was striven for throughout the empire, and which in the succeeding centuries found its perfect expression there where foreign influences interfered least with its own special development in the West.

After the middle of the ninth century A.D. Art begins

to assume a different character in different parts of the empire.

In India and Persia the influences of the older monuments and of the peoples were so great that Islamic art there received the impress of both nations. In the centre of the empire, in Syria and Egypt, the influences of the country, of the Seljukian East and of the Moorish West, combined to create a Syro-Egyptian style. In North-West Africa and in Southern Spain the art of the Arabs and Berbers—in many ways akin to each other—influenced little from without—developed the so-called Moorish or Maghribi style.

Andalusia was really the home and hearth of this style. From there it passed on to North Africa. In Spain, with the exception of the Mosque of Cordova, all later movements of religious art have perished. For the flower and fruit of Maghribi art we must turn to an out-lying, little-known place on the eastern border of Morocco—to the townlet of Tlemsān and its neighbourhood—where we find them in rich abundance. Amidst endless wars, and under princes of different houses—Almoravid, Almohades, Abdul Wadites, Merinides, Zajjanides, who fought and succeeded each other—there arose buildings which have ever since attested the artistic efforts and the actual capacities of the Moors from the 12th to the 15th century A. D. Under the Almoravids was built the Great Mosque (1135-38) which shows the advance the Moors made in the domain of architecture. The round columns are replaced by quadrangular pillars and the horse-shoe by cusp arches.

The charming little mosque of Sidi Bel Hassan—a creation of the Abdul Wadites—shows us the decorative art of the Moors at its height at the end of the XIIIth century. The Byzantine influence has vanished, and no other foreign influence is discernible. The leaf-work—originally of acanthus and palm—is reduced to fanciful

geometrical forms. The tendrils cross and intertwine, and with plant-ornamentation mingles a new decorative element—the script, which gradually assumes a liane-like character. Several layers of these lace-pattern drawings are imposed one upon another without confusion. Each design retains its peculiar character from one end to the other, while, underneath, the script manifests itself in perfect distinctness. This—the so-called Kufic script—has here reached its highest elegance. Sometimes it constitutes the centre of an arabesque which twines round it—at others it forms the starting-point of the tendrils—or again it serves as a border of ever-repeated elements. In the formation of plant, script and geometrical ornamentations Islamic art found a new expression for its inherent tendency—the *combination of delicate sense-impressions with conceptions of the mind*. The plant became a geometrical *motiv*; the script a plant-like ornamentation—the boldest fancy in concert with the soberest calculation succeeded in producing a remarkable kind of surface-decoration which has always been the wonder of the West. In the ‘Mudejar’ style it was attempted in Spain, but beyond Spain it never travelled, for it was essentially oriental in its cast and tone.¹

How great the influence of Mathematics was on Islamic art, is seen in each object with which that art busied itself! Thus we observe in the Mihrab—which from the very beginning was ornamented with all possible care—how the original parallel lines of the frontal arch of the niche appear, in later times, as the peripheries of two circles with superimposed centres. The stereotyped structural parts

¹ The meaning of the word *Mudejar*, as given in the *Dict. Acad.* is a Mohamedan who after the surrender of a place remained, without changing his religion, a vassal of the Christian kings. It is derived from an Arabic word meaning tributary. The dictionary gives no explanation of it as a term of art. See Whishaw, *Arab Spain*, Introduction.

of the frontal arch which pointed towards a centre lying along a line joining the two upper ends of the supporting columns, become in later times a point lying midway between the centres of the two constituent circular arches.

And quite as much fancy and calculation were bestowed upon another part of the mosque which has become in its own way a characteristic feature of the Moorish style—the Minaret. Originally an imitation of the light-house of Alexandria, the Maghribian Minaret has almost everywhere retained its four-cornered shape. A little tower—a terminal turret on the platform of the four-cornered tower—reminiscent of the ancient ziggurat of Babylonia—can still be seen in the minarets of the Great Mosque of Samarra and those of the Ibn Tulun Mosque in Cairo. The extended plane-surfaces of the minarets gave to Moorish art its first impulse towards external decoration. The walls of the tower were covered with a network of ribs of sun-dried bricks, and were ornamented by blind arches with delicate little pillars, and by windows, loggias and lisenas; while the terminal turrets were enlivened by a lining of many-coloured faience.

There were not very many means which appealed to the Moorish taste for external decoration. And yet by well-considered selection and arrangement of what they had, the Moors managed to make minaret towers of imposing massiveness at Mansura; of proud splendour in Marrakesh; the Hasan tower in Rabat, and the Giralda of Seville, noted for its unexcelled grace and elegance.

For centuries the minarets had been the only part of the external structure of the mosque suggesting the artistic splendour of the interior. As an additional exterior feature the highly decorated entrance-gate comes in in the fourteenth century.

In the Mosque of Sidi Bu Medin which stands southwest of Tlemsān on a mountain slope, such an entrance-gate or portal is found. Its splendour compels us to assume that

this classical work was preceded by many previous attempts in that direction. In the midst of a frame-work of arabesques, inscriptions, geometrical ornamentations, and sweet little brackets, a gigantic horse-shoe arch leads to a richly-adorned hall. Eleven steps conduct one to the huge wings of the door made of cedar-wood—the inlaid bronze therein uniting all that art and artists could create in that age. Thus, though late in point of time, the art of Maghrib happily added exterior to interior decoration. This new activity manifests itself in the many-coloured mosaic-work and in the amazing proportion of their design. The joy in the general effect led to a neglect of ornamental details. Overladen with surface-decorations, cut into a lining of gypsum, the interior of the Mosque of Sidi Bu Medin shows that the culminating point of artistic taste had been passed. But artistic creations did not yet quite cease. They continued for centuries—Spain furnishing an example of the later art of mosque-building.

We must now turn from the West to Egypt—the then centre of the Islamic empire—to study in its surviving monuments the development of its religious architecture, and to compare it with those of the West. Three architectural monuments will suffice to bring home to us the characteristics of Egyptian art.

The Ahmad Ibn Tulun Mosque, dating from the 9th century A.D. (878)—compared with the Mosque of Cordova shows the difference between the Egyptian and the Maghribi style at the earlier period.¹ The Mosque of Sultan Hasan

¹ "Two features specially distinguish this mosque. It was built entirely of new materials, instead of the spoils of old churches and temples, and it is the earliest instance of the pointed arch throughout a building, earlier by at least two centuries than any in England. They are true pointed arches, with a very slight return at the spring, but not enough to suggest the horse-shoe form.....the use of brick arches, and piers, instead of marble columns, was due partly to the Emir's reluctance to deprive the Christian churches of so many pillars, but even more to his anxiety to make his mosque safe from fire.....Five rows of arches form the cloister at the Mekka or south-east side, and two

stands as a counterpart of the mosque of Sidi Bu Medin, and the Kait-Bey Mosque reveals the last stage in the art of Egyptian mosque-building. The Tulun-Mosque already shows the decline of the Byzantine and the predominance of the Mesopotamian influence. The pointed arch now dominates the entire structure, and extends not only over the pillars but also over the windows and the Mihrab. The plant-decoration which runs as a border along the pillars and the

rows on the other sides; arches and piers are alike coated with gypsum, and the ornaments on the arches and round the stone grilles or windows are all worked by hand in the plaster. The difference between the soft flexity of this work, done with a tool in the moist plaster, and the hard mechanical effect of the designs impressed with a mould in the Alhambra, is striking; it is the difference between the artist and the artisan. On the simple rounded capitals of the engaged columns built at the corner of each arch there is a rudimentary bud and flower pattern, and on either side of the windows between the arches facing the court, which also are pointed and have small engaged columns, is a rosette, and a band of rosettes runs round the court beneath the crenellated parapet. The inner arches are differently treated. Round the arches and windows runs a bud-like flower pattern, which also extends across from spring to spring of the arches beneath the windows, and a band of the same ornamentation runs along above the arches, in place of the rosettes, which only occur in the face fronting the court; over this band, and likewise running along the whole length of all the inner arcades, is a Kufic inscription carved in wood, and above this is the usual crenellated parapet. The arcades are roofed over with sycamore-planks resting on heavy beams. In the rearmost arcade the back wall is pierced with pointed windows, which are filled, not with coloured glass, but with grilles of stone forming geometrical designs with central rosettes. The general form of the mosque is similar to that of 'Amr as restored, the form of every mosque in Cairo from the IXth to the XIIIth century.....The *dome and minaret, so characteristic of later Cairo Mosques*, are here wanting. There is no dome, because the dome has nothing to do with prayer, therefore nothing to do with a mosque.....only when there is a chapel attached to a mosque, containing the tomb of the founder or his family, is there a dome.It happens, however, that a large number of mosques at Cairo are Mausoleums, containing chambers with tombs of the founders, and the profusion of domes to be seen, when one looks down upon the city from the battlements of the citadel, has brought about the not unnatural mistake of thinking that every mosque must have a dome. Most mosques with tombs have domes, but no mosque that was not intended to contain a tomb ever had one in the true sense. The origin of the dome may be traced to the cupolas which surmount the graves of Babylonia, many of which must have been familiar to the Arabs and still more to the Turks, who preserved the essentially sepulchral character of the form, and never used it, as did the Copts and the Byzantines, to say nothing of Western architects, for the purpose of roofing a church or its apse. Lane-Poole, *Cairo*, pp. 77-85. On the mosque of Ibn Tulun, Rivoira, *Moslem Architecture*, pp. 138, 148; On Al-Azhar, p. 153.

arches, and the script ornamentation on sycamore-wood, contain the germ of the surface-decoration common to all Islamic architecture. The consistent and uniform use of the pointed arch and of the pillars conclusively proves the attention that was bestowed upon the constructive side of mosque-building in Egypt which is lacking in the Maghrib.

Although the immediate influence of Mesopotamia determined the character of the Ibn Tulun Mosque, we cannot explain the continuance of the pointed arch and its further development into keel-arch,¹ and the use of niches such as we find in the Mosque of Al-Azhar and other buildings of the Fatimide period, except upon the assumption of the direct influence of the immediate surroundings. Egypt, the ancient home of architecture and of proportion, could not but awaken in her foreign masters the sense of the overpowering beauty of a uniform style.² Much earlier than in the West, even under the Fatimides, an attempt was made in Egypt to adorn the exterior of the mosque.

Under the Ayyubids (1171-1250), by whom the destinies of Syria and Palestine were practically unified, the old Arab ground-plan of the mosque was completely replaced by a

¹ Keel-form, that is, two arcs terminating in tangential lines at each end.

² Stanley Lane-Poole in his *Cairo* (227) tells us that three main features characterize Cairo buildings. The old mosques had no external decoration; their enclosing walls were plain, and only in the late Fatimide mosque of El-Akmar do we find the beginning of a facade. The Mamluk mosques, copying no doubt the buildings of the crusaders in Palestine, generally present fine facades, with sunk panels, portals in recess, and decorative cornice and crown-work. The next characteristic is the development of the Minaret, which becomes more graceful, is built of well-faced stone, and shows delicate articulations and gradations of tapering from the square to the polygon and cylinder, with skilful use of "stalactite" or pendentive treatment of angles and transitions and supports for the balconies. The third is the construction of large domes. Hitherto small cupolas over the Mihrab, or above the entrance, were the utmost achievements of the earlier architects. The feature of a great dome was introduced by Saladin's successors, for example, in the dome of the tomb-mosque of Al Shafy in the Karafa, and probably in other edifices, but too little remains of the Ayyubid period to permit of very exact definition: The Mamluks were dome-builders *par excellence*.

cross-shaped ground-plan. Moreover, in the mausoleum of the Fire-worshippers, with its dome-shaped roof, a new architectural style came into vogue.

While the adoption of the Cupola—the elevation of which gradually passed from an elliptical into a pointed-arch form—was borrowed from the East; the task of finding a suitable transition from the quadrangular main building to the base of the cupola urged the builders on to introduce innovations. They erected on the square an octagon, on the octagon a 16-sided polygon, and on this polygon the cupola, with the result that the form thus obtained was suggestive of the stalactite. The stalactite, at the same time, appeared as an ornamentation of the niches. There has been much speculation as to whether the stalactite, and particularly the stalactite cupola, was borrowed from nature, or was founded on a mathematical basis. The predilection of the Arabs for solving ornamental problems by means of geometry supports the latter theory, which receives yet additional weight from the fact that it was a universally approved style throughout the Islamic world.

Whencesoever the stalactite originated, it was a most precious accretion to Islamic art, and, like the arabesque, continued to be one of those peculiar decorative expedients of all times which, outside Islam's cultural sphere of influence, never received intelligent appreciation or acceptance. With the rise of the Mamluks, who ended the Ayyubid rule, a new era of power and glory dawned upon Egypt. By their union mosque and mausoleum receive a powerful impetus to further development. The incorporation of the cupola into the mosque introduced a desire for sheer altitude and a prepossession for curves. The splendour of the age and the pride of the rulers led to ostentatious external ornamentations—*e. g.*, of the façade, the portal, and the minaret—the buildings erected under the Seljuks in Asia Minor serving as models. The first memorial of this style

—the so-called Baherite style—is the Mausoleum Mosque of Sultan Hassan.¹

A large pointed-arch portal overladen with stalactite; a façade divided into storeys, and thereby appearing taller than was actually the case; and two minarets, 50 metres high, adorn the exterior of this mosque. Overpowering, indeed, is the impression made by the interior. From the portal one is led, through a vestibule, crowned by a splendid stalactite cupola (dome), and a long corridor, to a quadrangular courtyard, from which four aisles, with gigantic barrel-vaults, in pointed-arch profile, project. It is only from the open courtyard that dim light suffuses the open halls. Three of these halls are without any ornamentation, but the fourth—the southern one—facing Mekka—unites in itself the whole of the decorative art of those times. There is the Mihrab, lined with polychrome marble; mosaics cover the walls; and high up runs a frieze of inscriptions entwined with arabesques. To the elegance of the lines is added the effect of polychromy. Gold and azure, green, red, white, and yellow are woven into inimitable harmony.

At the back of the Mihrab open two huge folding doors—masterpieces of metal-work—into the space where,

¹ This mosque was built between 1356 and 1359 (A. H. 757-760). It is in the usual madrisa form—a cross consisting of a central court and 4 deep transepts or porticoes, while the founder's tomb may be compared to a lady-chapel behind the chancel or eastern portico. The outside does not of course reveal the cruciform character of the interior, since the angles are filled with numerous rooms and offices. The prevailing impression from without is one of great height, compared with other mosques. The walls are 113 feet high, are built of fine-cut stone from the pyramids, and have the peculiarity rare in Saracen architecture, of springing from a plain socle. Windows—two with horse-shoe arches; the rest simple grilles—slightly relieve the monotony of the broad expanse of wall; but the most beautiful feature is the splendid cornice, built up of six tiers of stalactites, each overlapping the one below, which crowns the whole wall. There are some graceful pilasters, or engaged columns, at the angles, and a magnificent portal in an arched niche, 66 feet high, vaulted in a half-sphere which is worked up to by twelve tiers of pendentives. Bold arabesque medallions and borders, geometrical panels, and corner columns with stalactite capitals, enrich this stately gate.

under a bold cupola, lies the tomb of the Sultan. The effect of proportion, within and without—the play of colours—the perfect taste shown in the ornamentations executed in stone, bronze, wood, plaster of Paris—make the Hassan Mosque the finest specimen of Syrian stone-style on the soil of Egypt, and a *chef-d'oeuvre* of XIVth century Islamic art.

While in the Maghrib—so far as we can judge from the extant monuments—art had reached, about this time, its culminating point—in Egypt Islamic art, pressing its progressive course, attained its meridian glory a century later.

Islamic Art found its supremest expression in the tomb-mosque of Kait Bey.¹ Whatever the art of Islam

¹ Lane-Poole, *Cairo*, pp. 242 *et seq.*

“The mosque of Hakim is almost the last of the new mosques on a grand scale, of quadrangular plan, with rows of columns, flat roofs, a single dome in front of the Mihrab, and sometimes a second rising above the central aisle, and a colonnaded court, the whole following the pattern of the prototype at Medina. From the second half of the Xth century onwards the trade of the East was, almost exclusively and on a great scale, carried on by the fleets of Venice, Pisa and Amalfi. These relations with the East, intensified at a later date by the Crusades, were followed by the introduction in the East of types of sacred buildings which departed from the traditional pattern of Islam and exercised an undoubted influence on Moslem architecture. On the other hand, through the influence of the East, these relations gave rise to many wonderful cathedrals and abbeys; for it was by grafting the pointed-arch of Islam on to the Lombardic vaulted basilica that the Transitional Style, from which the Pointed Style sprang, was inaugurated in Durham cathedral (1093-1133). It was these relations, too, which inspired the parti-coloured facing of sacred buildings; for though the Romans had introduced it in walls and sometimes in arches, they used it only for constructional or economical purposes, whereas the East adopted it as a Christian fashion as well, first in churches and later in mosques. Its introduction into Italy was by way of Pisa, and was due to the Tuscans, who were the first to clothe the exteriors of churches with splendid marble inlays, and to enrich them with elaborate arcading. One of the earliest examples of the style is the church of San Miniato al Monte near Florence, rebuilt about 1018, and probably finished about 1062. The older part of the façade (only the lower part of which goes back to the XIth century, the upper evidently belongs to the XIIth and XIIIth), was copied by the architect of the front of the parish church of Empoli (1093). The decorative use of inlaid marbles was derived from the indigenous style of decoration in the interiors of late Roman and early Christian buildings, but in a different atmosphere it assumed a new and distinctive outward appearance. To all this may be added the unquestionable

matured in earlier times is here united with incomparable skill. The overpowering effect of the arches of comparatively large span—the view of the Mihrab through such arches—the back walls with their pointed-arch windows and doors—the broad inscriptive frieze under a richly-carved and beautifully coloured roof, point to a deliberate striving after a uniform effect of the whole which Islamic art in the West never attained to, even in conception. Both within and without, the Kait Bey Mosque is a masterpiece of composition. Particular delicacy manifests itself in the loggia which occupies the corner of the upper storey above two grated windows of the ground-floor. The airy hall, with its pointed arches, on elegant pillars, is a *Kuttab*, an elementary school, and behind the grated doors of the ground-floor, is a *Sabil*, a public place for the supply of drinking water.

change both in architecture and art observable in the Seljuk Period (1055-1300) under Central Asiatic influence. The flat-roofed mosque then assumed various forms. The true or false vault was introduced, the number of cupolas was increased, the principal dome obtained an elongated form, means were adopted to give greater importance to the façade, which was also brought into relation with the internal divisions of the building, and the architectural decoration became generally more extensive and varied. Under the influence of these ideas the minaret also started on a fresh career. It was originally a plain square tower, like those in Walid's mosques at Damascus and Medina, and in that of Bishr at Kairawan. The square form took deep root, so that in Spain it remained in vogue down to the end of the Muslim dominion. In the IXth century the square form was sometimes combined with the cylindrical, by raising on a lofty four-sided basement a round tower with an external staircase winding round it. The union was effected in Mesopotamia, and the minaret of Samarra is an example of it on the grand scale. It did not enjoy a long or prosperous career in Egypt, nor did it spread thence to other countries. We know, for instance, that about the year 985 minarets were still being built in the square form. The Mesopotamian type, however, was the forerunner of the square-shaped minaret surmounted by a spiral cylinder with an octagonal base, like the two ancient minarets in the mosque of Hakim; and also of the other four with a square base supporting a spiral column—an early example of which is afforded by the minaret of Khosrugird, near Sebzewar, in Persia. Apparently, in the XIth century, in imitation of the minarets of the Mosque of Hakim, steps were taken towards emancipation from the traditional, universally accepted, square type of minaret, and there were substituted forms which gradually assumed varied and singular shapes: shapes which were sometimes thoroughly artistic and picturesque, but in other cases were quite extravagant; and the tendency was always towards greater and even excessive slenderness. See Rivoira, *Moslem Architecture*, pp. 168-177.

Just as Islam awakened the need for culture, and stimulated the sense of beneficence, and shaped the entire public and private life of its followers—so also Islamic art, originating from the mosque, gradually included within its embrace the secular needs of public and private life. Unfortunately, few and inadequate are the remains of this art.

A Nilo-Meter¹ on the Island of Roda, near Cairo, with its walls adorned with niches and pillars, shows that even in the beginning of the Eighth century secular art had begun its career.

Another such instance we have in a monument—the Muristan—dating from the XIIIth century. In 1285 Sultan Mansur Kalaun began, and in 1293 his son Nasir completed, an immense hospital. Round its quadrangular pillared courtyard were arranged in cruciform four high halls, of which one was set apart for the hospital staff, and the other three for the patients. The scanty remains of the interior—a couple of folding doors and a piece of wooden plafond—leave no doubt whatever that the entire art of that age was employed to make the stay of the patients there pleasant and cheerful. As in the palaces of princes, so here—rippling brooks meandered through every available space, and music played day by day. Here the first call to prayer was sounded two hours earlier than outside in the town, to make the night appear shorter to those that could not sleep. Whatever medical science could do to make residence in the hospital happy was done. Different diseases were treated in different wards. To the insane particularly pleasant apartments were allotted. The sick were lodged, as each case needed, in the southern or the northern portion of the hospital. They were artificially warmed or cooled, and special stress was laid on fresh air, for, said they, “man need eat from time to time only, but breathe always he must.”

¹ Lane-Pool, *Cairo*, pp. 61, 85, 96.

When we see art pressed into the service of humanity to such a high degree, we cannot doubt the report of the Arabs regarding the splendour and the outfit of the royal palaces. Our only regret is that of these much-praised palaces nothing has outlived the ravages of time. Not only in Egypt—even in North Africa and Spain also—political storms have swept almost all the secular buildings away. Of the famous castles of the Omayyads in Cordova nothing remains except the foundations, and some ruins of the residence of Abdul-Rahman III, and of the Villa of the Wazir Mansur, which have recently been excavated. The palace of the Almohades in Seville—the Alcazar—was retouched in good time under Christian rule. Only one Arab palace—the Alhambra of Granada—has come down to our time intact.¹

What has been preserved of it dates from the XIVth century, and shows Moorish art at its highest stage of development. In its oldest portion—Patio del Meruar—a comparatively high wall, with rich surface-decoration, dominates a small courtyard. But in the Court of Myrtles it is different: the solid tower of Comares—with its broad simple wall-surface—is the last symbol of Moorish martial prowess. The rest of the building, grouped round a rectangular pond, is expressive of the effort which signalized the last phase of Moorish art; namely, the complete abandonment of structural massiveness. The walls around are, according to our artistic instincts, surprisingly low. The shorter sides of the rectangle are resolved into delicate arcades whose elegant columns do not for one moment suggest the heavy weight of the arches and the walls resting upon them.

The Court of Myrtles leads to the Hall of the Ambassadors, which shows us, for the first time, the interior of a royal reception room in its full splendour. The multi-coloured

¹ Lane-pool, *Moors in Spain*, p. 221.

and richly decorated walls, the large niches in front of the double windows, and the high cupola of larch-wood make us forget that this charming, airy room is within the massive tower of Comares. But the Moors were not content with their victory over matter. It is only in the Court of the Lions, with its adjacent halls, that the highest ideal of their art is attained. The low side-walls are all transformed into arcades; each of the wall-surfaces, by means of its plaster carving, is, so to speak, converted into a carpet; the arches and the capitals of the columns are made parts of the surface-ornamentation, and the boundary between loads and their supports is for ever effaced.

Only the soft display of colours in the dim light reminds one that he is surrounded by solid walls. The endless repetition of the motto *There is no conqueror save Allah*, and of other graphic and geometrical ornamentations; the immense wealth of stalactite in ever-varying form, puzzle rather than enrapture us.

The latest and ripest fruit of the Moorish artistic sense is more calculated to inspire admiration than to contribute to our enjoyment. The wealth of surface-decoration seems but poor compensation for the absence of plastic art; and for this we hold the religion of Islam responsible. But we are wrong. Recent excavation work on the desert-palaces of Kusair Amra, and Meschatta discloses Islam, in the earliest times, under the Omayyads, as unable to check the artistic representation of living beings. In Egypt men and animals are depicted in the wood-carvings of Muristan. We also know that in the palaces of the Fatimides animals of all kinds formed part of the designs on carpets and vessels.

Persia never stayed her hand from representing living beings. The Islam of to-day has quickly come to terms with photography and portrait-painting, and recently even with statues in bronze. Even Alhambra did not dispense with human figures. The representation of the "ten kings"

and the hunting and tournament scenes in the room next to the *Sala de la Justice* have long been known. Some years ago, under the plaster wainscoting of the walls in the *Torre de las Damas*, a large number of figures of Arabs was discovered.

If the plastic arts did not play a great part in Alhambra or in the art of Islam it was not due to any religious scruples, but to the absence of all need for such activities.

The Court of Lions in the Alhambra, with its private rooms of the Caliphs, all around, reveals to us the Moorish ideals of art and of living at the highest point of their culture: *In art, the ideal was the spiritualization of matter—in life, renunciation of the world.* It is no mere accident that the best and finest rooms of the Alhambra face the northern half of the hill whence (even before the buildings of Charles V) no good view could be obtained of the indescribable natural scenery of the South, or of the snow-capped slopes of the Sierra Nevada. In planning these rooms the Moors paid no attention to the surrounding prospect. To them admission into the house meant withdrawal from the world. Therefore all the rooms round the Court of the Lions only reveal the enchanting view of the bizarre fountain through a forest of pillars. The courtyard lets in air and light, which lift the gloom and relieve the oppression of the dwelling apartments—illuming at the same time the pillars and the stalactites. No high wall, no vault, no smooth surface oppresses or cramps—no form, no colour, no inscription mars the effect of the whole. The monotony of the colours, of the lines, of the purling stream evokes that mentality which the pious Muslim feels and strives after even to-day; for it serves to withdraw him from the world, and to bring him nearer unto God.

Thus, in the highest form of Islamic Art, we encounter once again the ideals which a thousand years before floated before the Arabs in their ancient homeland, and which they

carried, on their conquering campaigns, to distant lands—an airy, shady roof by a purling stream and the monotony of the steppe or the desert behind the luxuriance of oasis vegetation. According to the unanimous report of travellers this monotony of colour and of line and this hushed silence are best calculated to attune the mind to a state of inexpressible composure.

When we compare the chambers of the Alhambra with the castles and palaces of the Christian West, we are struck by a significant difference. *In Islam temporal art took the pas of religious art.*

The small mosque of the Alhambra lags in splendour far behind the other rooms there. In the West, however, art always remained at the service of the Church. The palaces were dark and crude compared with the churches. And yet in the few bold lines of the mediaeval castles lay a force and power unsuspected and long unrevealed. No wonder, then, that a culture which perhaps expressed the finest forms of the art of living, and yielded in turn to their enfeebling, sapping influences, gave way at last to the unbroken strength of nations with fewer wants and greater powers of endurance.

Since the fall of Granada (1492) Moorish culture has receded to North Africa, and has there slowly languished. But its germs are still instinct with life, and hold out the promise of a second awakening.

S. KHUDA BUKHSH

HEREDITY

Heredity! What is that baleful thing
That robs the Soul of its Divine birthright?
Makes free-men slaves, who bow 'neath threatening rod,
Cringing, yet seeking not to dodge the blow,
While holding helpless hands for chains to bind.
Aye, cowards all, and crawlers of the dust!
Our thought oft' forge the links of that sad chain,
While false beliefs of others rivet them.
Suggestion is a Power for good or ill,
And as one thinketh, that surely will he be.
The mould that forms the body gives the shape
Of face and limbs and colouring, perchance;
And e'en the stars may influence oft' the man,
As moon controls the rise and fall of tides.
But 'tis the Spirit back of all that gives
The form and strength and power to the Soul—
Whose wings we must by acts and thoughts unfold.
It has been said, in God's Own image cast.
Was man, to rule supreme o'er lesser things;
To walk upright, to speak and use his hands,
To work and create beauty as a god—
To reason and to use the Will as well,
And not be led by instinct like the beast,
But hold dominion over them and rule
The Earth, cast on the Cosmic wheel for man.
To vanquish space and time, to measure stars,
To plumb the ocean, and weigh things unseen,
And search the veins of earth for treasures rare.
Are we but beasts, like Jacob's spotted rams?
Or, Balaam's Ass, to bear but burdens dire?
Believe it not! Each Soul that comes to earth,

Is Individual and free to mould
Its destiny ; and on the spiral rounds
Of evolution, rise from ape to god !
All life is tending upward—e'en the stone,
The plant, the serpent and the winging bird ;
The jungle beast, and sea's leviathan—
All, with the germs of immortality,
Are growing from the darkness into light,
As in the waters of the darkened womb,
The embryo doth slowly change to man.
There came a God to Earth to teach us this ;
And o'er the centuries His voice now sounds,
Like Heavenly music, to make glad the Soul :
*“ Beloved, now are we the sons of God,
It doth not yet appear what we shall be ;”*
For thinner must the veil of flesh become
Ere we can see Him face to face and know,
That we are like Him, and His children all—
Above the laws of man, or flesh, or beast—
The Sons supreme, whose sole heredity,
Secure, eternal, dates back to our God !

TERESA STRICKLAND

ESPIONAGE IN THE HINDU SYSTEM OF ADMINISTRATION

Classification of Spies.

We have seen that espionage was known in the earliest Vedic period. Though a wide criminal jurisdiction is indicated during this period by the frequent mention of Varuna's spies,¹ we do not get many details of the working of the system of espionage that existed in India at that time. The Vedic Aryans were then divided into numerous tribes and the tribal states were necessarily small in extent and power. The task of government was much simpler and the states therefore possessed no elaborate machine for criminal investigation. But as the Vedic tribes moved eastwards the altered condition of life in the vast plains led to the birth of imperialism and the rapid growth of empires. The needs of administering these vast empires required a very powerful and complicated administrative system. The *Arthasāstra* of Kauṭilya which is usually referred to the Maurya period appears to give us some idea of the government of these empires which at first grew up in 'the northern portion of the country that stretches between the Himalayas and the oceans.'² In the *Kauṭīliya* the system of espionage in India was almost perfected and it can probably be said without much exaggeration that Kauṭilya's institution of spies was never rivalled in the world except by the modern Europeans.

Kauṭilya advises the king to create his spies assisted by ministers of tried ability and character (*Upadhābhīśśuddhāmātyavargo gudhapuruṣānutpādayet*).³ He gives us a list of nine different kinds of spies—whom he divides into two groups,

¹ *Vedic-Index*, Vol. II, p. 213.

² *Arthasāstra*, p. 340.

³ *Ibid*, p. 18.

viz., the *Samsthāh* and the *Sañchārāh*. To the *Samsthāh* section belonged the spies who were known as the *Kāpatika*, the *Udāsthita*, the *Gṛhapati-vyañjana*, the *Vaidehaka-vyañjana*, and the *Tāpasa-vyañjana*.

The author defines a *Kāpatika* spy as a *paramarmajñāh pragalbhaḥ chhātraḥ*. Persons skilful in guessing the mind of others and gifted with eloquence was thus selected as fraudulent spies. The word *chhātra*, which means a pupil or a disciple seems to show that these spies were selected from the young student community. It is interesting to note in this connection that some modern governments are accused of employing similar spies from the student community for the detection and apprehension of youths of treasonable tendency. These spies in Kautilya's time were probably under the direct control of the *mantri* for he says:—

*Tamarthamānābhyāmutśāhya mantri bruyāt—rājānam mām cha pramānam kṛtvā yasya yadakuśalam paśyasi tatta-dānomeva pratyādiśeti.*¹

“Having encouraged such a spy with honour and money rewards, the minister shall tell him, sworn to the king and myself thou shalt inform us of whatever wickedness thou findest in others’.”²

A *Udāsthita* spy is described as, a person who is *pravrajyāpratyavasitāh prajñāśaucha-yukta*—“initiated in asceticism and possessed of foresight and pure character.”³ Being provided with much gold (*prabhuta hiraṇya*) and land by the state and aided by his disciples the *Udāsthita* spy carried on agriculture, cattle-rearing and trade (*vārlākarma*). Out of the produce and profits thus acquired he provided all ascetics (*sarvapravrajitānām*) with subsistence and clothing. He thus came into contact with many ascetics who had no scruple to earn their livelihood by serving in the king's Intelligence

¹ *Ibid*, p. 18.

² *Ibid*, Translation by Shama Sastri, 1st ed., p. 20.

³ *Ibid*. See *Calcutta Review*, July, 1925, pp. 48-53, for a reference to similar spies in the epigraph of the 3rd century discovered in the Kristna District.

Department. Each of these *vr̥ttikāmi* ascetics was then ordered to watch over and detect a particular kind of crime and to report on it to the *Udāsthita* when they came to receive their wages (*bhaktavetanakāle*). After receiving direction from the *Recluse* these ascetics then severally engaged their own followers in similar errands. Thus the *Udāsthita*, with these *vr̥ttikāmi* ascetics formed a vast organisation. The head of this establishment probably occupied a position similar to the *mohantas* of the Indian *mathas* and temples who often carry on vast zamindari and business transactions, out of the profits of which, they supply food and clothing to the ascetics and others who visit their place. They possess all the advantages enjoyed by the *Udāsthita* but we do not know whether any of these *mohantas* are in the present days employed to help the state in the above manner.

A *Gr̥hapati* spy is thus described by Kauṭilya :—*Kar̥sako vr̥ttikṣiṇaḥ prajñāśauchayukto gr̥hapativyañjanaḥ*. Such a spy was selected from those cultivators who though possessed of pure character and foresight was not flourishing in their profession (*vr̥ttikṣiṇa*). Naturally such a man would like to do some work to supplement his scanty resources. The state granted him lands where he carried on his cultivation. With the income thus derived he maintained such other *kar̥sakas* who were ready to serve the king in his Espionage Department. The *Gr̥hapativyañjana* therefore appears to have lived the life of a respectable and rich farmer and a large employer of farm labour (*kar̥saka*). It is possible that he tried to detect crimes mainly in the agrarian section of the population who no doubt, then as now, formed a very substantial portion of the people.

A *Vaidhakavyañjana* spy was selected from those merchants who had failed in their business but possessed like the House-holder spy, *prajñā* and *śauca*. The state granted him land on which he carried on trade and manufacture (*vanikkarmapradistāyām*) and with the profits thus gained

he secured the services of many *vāñjikas* who probably had no objection to serve in the Espionage Department of the state. The *Vaidēhaka-vyañjana* with his associates probably detected crime specially amongst the mercantile and the industrial community.

Kautilya next describes a *Tāpasa-vyañjana* spy. He says:—*mundo jaṭilo vā vṛittikāmo-stāpasavyaṅjanah*. In Ancient India there were various orders of ascetics. This spy was selected from those orders who shaved their heads or from those who wore the hair matted. Such a spy generally took his abode in the suburbs of the city (*nagarābhyāse*) and being surrounded by many disciples, pretended to live only on a handful of vegetables or grass (*śākaṁ yavasamuṣṭim*) taken in interval of a month or two. Kautilya of course had no objection to his taking anything he liked in secret but what was desirable was that he should acquire the reputation of a great holyman who lived practically with no food. This would naturally create a stir in the townships and the countryside and large numbers of people would no doubt come to see this wonderful ascetic. To add to this, merchant spies and the disciples of the *Ascetic* gave wide publicity to his preternatural powers. Assisted by the nods and signs of his disciples he foretold through palmistry many future events concerning the work of high-born people of the country (*abhijana*) such as, small profits, destruction by fire, fear from robbers, the execution of the seditious, reward for the good; etc. He also made forecasts of the foreign affairs of the state saying 'this will happen to-day, that to-morrow and this the king will do.' The disciples were always there with their facts and figures to corroborate the assertions of their master while even the king's *mantri* directed his affairs in conformity with the forecasts made by the *Ascetic*. The *Ascetic* sometimes made forecasts as to the rewards and punishments which men were likely to receive in the hands of the king or foretold the possible changes in the king's

ministry¹ and the *mantri* saw that these forecasts were proved to be correct. This last factor must have greatly added to the prestige of the spy and we have no doubt that soon he became known to the people as a holy ascetic of wonderful character and attainments. His *Āśrama* was perhaps always surrounded by excited crowds expecting to obtain a *darśan*, and unbosom their sorrows, ambitions, and desires before his holy presence. Ajātaśatru sent his minister Vassakāra to the ascetic Gotama to know whether he would prevail against the Licchavis and we have no doubt that many princes also sent their emissaries to this *Tāpasavyaṅjana* to consult him as to their foreign policies. In this manner he gathered a lot of information which was useful to the Intelligence Department of the State.

These five institutes of espionage (*pañchasaṁsthā*) which were honoured by the king with money and titles (*pūjitāśchārthamānābhyām*) in the time of Kauṭilya² are also mentioned in later literature. Manu refers to the *pañchavarga* or five classes of spies. According to the commentators, Medhātithi, Govindarāja, Kulluka and Rāghava, these five classes of spies were the *Kāpatika*, the *Udāsthita*, the *Gṛhapativyaṅjana*, the *Vaidihakavyaṅjana* and the *Tāpasavyaṅjana*.³ The *Agnipurāṇa* refers to the *Tapasvivyāṅjana*, *Vaṅika*, *Kṛṣṭivala*, *Liṅgī* and *Bhikṣuka* spies.⁴ The word *liṅgin* means a religious student and it is possible that the *Liṅgī* of the *Agnipurāṇa* is to be identified with the *Kāpatika chhātra* of Kauṭilya. In the *Kirātārjunīyam* of Bhāravi we find the spy of Yudhisṭhira assuming the guise of a *varṇi-liṅgī*.⁵ The *Varni*, *Tapasvi* and *Sanyāsi* spies of the *Sukra-nīti* (I, 338) are

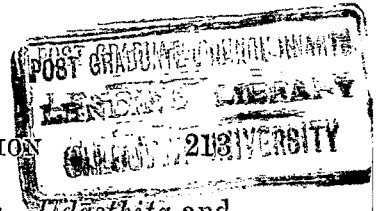
¹ These informations were most probably supplied to the Ascetic by the *mantri* in advance before they became public.

² P. 19.

³ VII, 154; S. B. E., Vol. XXV, p. 240.

⁴ Chapter 241, verses 11-12.

⁵ I, I.



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probably the same as the *Kāpaṭika chhātra*, *Udāsthita* and *Tāpasavyañjana* of Kāuṭilya. The *Bhikṣuka* spies of the *Agnipurāna* however cannot be identified with the *Udāsthita* of the *Arthashastra*. This class of spies probably roamed over the countryside and townships as mendicant beggars like the modern *Bairāgis*. We have seen the spies of the Kosalan Pasenadi assuming the disguises of various orders of ascetics such as the *juṭilā*, *niganthā*, *achelā*, *ekasātakā* and *paribbājakā* and scouring over the country in search of information.¹ It is possible that many of these belonged to the organisation of the *Udāsthita* or *Bhikṣuka* spy.

Let us now turn our attention to the spies of the *sañchārāḥ* section. The *Satri*, *Tikṣṇa*, *Rasada* and *Bhikṣuki* belonged, according to Kāuṭilya, to this section. In another place I have drawn attention of scholars to the fact that the *Kauṭilyian* State provided subsistence to all orphans.² These orphans were put to study palmistry (*Lakṣaṇam aṅgavidyā*), sorcery (*māyāgata*), the duties of the various orders of religious life (*āśramadharmā*), legerdemain (*jambhakavidyā*) and the readings of omens and augury (*antarachakra*). After the completion of their training these youths were engaged in espionage work and were known as Classmate spies (*Satrinah*). Their training gave them ample opportunities of mixing with all sections of the people, and thus indirectly of collecting information.

The *Tikṣṇa* spies were selected from another class of people. The ancient Indians like the Romans took delight in animal combats. Not only animals were made to fight with each other but men also fought with dangerous animals. This custom prevailed in India even in comparatively recent times.³ Those who fought with these animals, sometimes for money and sometimes for pleasure, were necessarily

¹ P. T. S., *Samyutta-Nikāya*, p. 78.

² *Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes*, Vol. III, Part I, *Orientalia*, p. 443.
See Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Ed. by Crooke, Vol. II, p. 988, etc.

men of great courage and bravery and were reckless of their own lives. The *Tikṣṇa* spies according to Kauṭilya were to be selected from these men.

The *Rasada* spies were selected from a different class of men. Kauṭilya says :—

Ye bandhusu nisnehāḥ krurāschālasāscha tē rasadāḥ :—

‘Those who have no affection for their friends and relatives and those who are very cruel and lazy are *Rasada* (poisoner) spies.’ These spies assumed various disguises such as that of a sauce-maker (*sūda*), a sweet-meat maker (*arālika*); procurer of water for bathing (*snāpaka*), shampooer, spreader of bed (*āstaraka*), barber (*kalpaka*), toilet maker (*prasādaka*), water servant (*udakaparichārakā*), etc. It will be observed that these spies selected those professions, where if necessary, they could conveniently make use of *rasa* (poison).

The *Parivrājikā* spies are thus described by Kauṭilya.

*Parivrājikā vṛttikāmā daridrā vidhavā pragalbhā
brāhmaṇyantakpure kritasatkārā mahāmātrakulānya dhigacchet.*

A poor widow of Brāhman caste ready-witted and eloquent and desirous to earn her livelihood was thus selected as a *Parivrājikā* (women ascetic) spy. She was honoured in the king’s harem and therefore had no difficulty in gaining entrance in the families of the high ministers and nobles of the state. Kauṭilya also refers to other varieties of female spies such as the *Bhikṣuki*, *Munīā*, *Vṛśalī*, etc. All these belonged to the *Sañchārāḥ* section of the Intelligence Department. It is possible that the *Bhikṣuki* is to be identified with the *Parivrājikā*. Kauṭilya also mentions courtesan spies (*Punchalī Veśyā*, *Rūpajīvā*)¹ Strabo probably refers to these spies when he says that the City Inspectors employed as their co-adjutors the city courtesans, and the Inspectors of the camp, the women who followed it.

Besides these there were probably many other kinds of

spies. The spies of Bhīṣma assumed the guises of *jada*, *andha* and *vadhira*.¹ In the *Mahābhārata* Droṇa advises Duryodhana to appoint Brāhmaṇa spies.² In the *Mudrārākṣasa* Nipunaka a spy of Chānakya was disguised as an exhibitor of *Yamapata*—probably 'a sort of raree show.'³ In the same drama Virādhagupta, a secret agent of Rākṣasa, is disguised as a snake-catcher named Jīrnaviṣa while Jīvasiddhi another spy of Chānakya in the guise of a Buddhist monk plays the role of a soothsayer.⁴ The latter was probably a *Kārtāntikavyaṅjana* spy referred to by Kauṭilya.⁵ The *Sukranīti* mentions spies who assumed the garb of low-class men and magicians (? *nīchāsiddhasvarūpinam*).⁶ The *Siddha* spies are probably to be identified with the *Siddhavyaṅjanah* of the *Arthasāstra*.⁷ The latter refers to many other varieties of spies such as those who assumed the disguises of cowherds (*Gorakṣakavyaṅjana*), chief officer of the enemy's army (*Danḍamukhyavyaṅjana*), hunters (*Lubdhakavyaṅjana*) servants (*Karmakavyaṅjana*), traders in cattle (*Govānījakā*), keepers of elephants (*Hastijīvino*), those who live by making use of fire (*Agnijīvino*), those under the guise of father and mother (*Mātāpitāvyaṅjana*), etc.⁸ Spies also assumed the disguise of physicians. The *Arthasāstra* and the *Agnipurāna* refers to such spies.⁹ In the *Mudrārākṣasa* a physician named Abhaydutta was a spy of Rākṣasa.¹⁰ As he met his death in the hands of Chānakya in his attempts to poison Chandragupta, probably he might be included in the *Rasada* group of Kauṭilya's spies.

(To be continued.)

HEMCHANDRA RAY

¹ Mbh., V, 194, 62-64.

² IV, 27, 10.

³ Wilson, *Theatre of the Hindus*, Vol. II, p. 160.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 174, 215-17. *Sarpagraha* spies are referred to in Kauṭilya, p. 590.

⁵ P. 381.

⁶ I, 338.

⁷ I, 385.

⁸ Pp. 386-90, 21.

⁹ P. 240 *Ohikitsakavyaṅjana*; *Agni* chapter 220, verse 2I.

¹⁰ Wilson, *ibid.*, p. 183.

EVOLUTION OF SANSKRIT GRAMMAR

The history of the origin of Sanskrit Grammar still affords a difficult field of study. It is not possible to say anything definitely either about the period when speculations of a grammatical nature had really come into existence, or about the ancient teacher who might be credited with having for the first time assimilated the principle of a regular system of grammar. An attempt is, however, made in these pages to discuss some of the most plausible views on the evolution of Sanskrit Grammar.

Sanskrit language, though no longer a spoken tongue, has got such a vast stock of words, and contributed so largely to the real knowledge of the intellectual world by its monumental productions, that it can defy any language ever known to the philological world. The refinement of thought, the melody of diction and the unsurpassably high order of spiritual and religious speculations that breathe through this "Divine tongue," reveal to us not only the intellectual history of the Indo-Aryans who made wonderful progress in civilization, but also serve to show the extent of perfection to which Indian mind had developed in those primitive days. Let us begin with the first intellectual unfolding of Indian mind—the Vedas, conceived either as a symbol of eternity, or as revelations of eternal truth finding audible expression through the medium of ancient seers. The Vedas never represent, as some western scholars have opined, a huge collection of "pastoral songs." But they are verily a sublime embodiment of wisdom. Truth must be told, and we make bold to assert, though somewhat dogmatically, that the four Vedas with all their subsidiary literature are in reality an encyclopædia of human knowledge. Through centuries they have continued to be the sacred storehouse of knowledge, and their authority, in matters both religious and secular, was so great

with the orthodox Hindus that any idea running counter to the Vedic injunctions was liable to be rejected. The creative period of the Vedic literature witnessed, among other things of purely sacrificial and religious interest, the brilliant dawns of many speculations which were popularised and co-ordinated into a coherent system of thought by later thinkers. It can consequently be maintained almost without contention that the Vedic literature, revealing as it does in a crude form the intellectual horizon of our ancient forefathers, made ample room for the subsequent development of different branches of science and arts. There was a time in ancient India when by 'learning' people used to understand only the Vedic learning ('वेदविद्या'),¹ and a man's education was not complete until he had acquired a thorough knowledge of the Vedas. The time has much changed since then and the ordinance of Manu² is but little honoured in these days.

The reason why we have spoken so much of the originality and authoritativeness of the Vedas and their influence upon the history of Indian thought is that the origin of grammar is organically and most intimately connected with the study of the Vedas. The six Vedāṅgas, as is well known, mainly owe their origin to a vigorous attempt at facilitating the Vedic studies, and among these Grammar seems to have been the most important subsidiary. That an earnest student of the Vedas can hardly ignore the studies of these Vedāṅgas (Grammar, Phonetics, Etymology, etc.) is made sufficiently clear by the Śruti³ which emphatically declares that the unconditional duty on the part of a Brahmin is to make a thorough study of the Vedas along with these popular 'aṅgas.' The injunction "स्वाध्यायोऽध्यतव्यः" does not only insist upon a regular study of

¹ "हे विद्ये वेदितव्ये इति स यद्ब्रह्मविदी वदन्ति परावैचापराच । तत्रापरा षट्श्वेदी यजुर्वेद-
सामवेदीऽथर्ववेदः शिवाकल्पीव्याकरणं निरुक्तं छन्दोज्योतिषमिति । अथ परा ययातद्वरसभियस्यते ॥
Mond. Upanishad.

² योऽनधीत्य द्विजो वेदानव्यच कुरुते अमम् । स जीवन्नेव शूद्रत्वसाशु गच्छति साम्बयः ॥
Manu Saṁhitā, 2.

³ ब्राह्मणेन निष्कारणो धर्मः षडङ्गो वेदीऽध्ययो ज्ञेयस्य —

the Vedas, but presupposes a knowledge of grammar sufficient for the understanding of the Vedic texts. Patañjali refers to the ancient custom¹ when Brahmin students, as a rule, used in the first instance to take up grammar for their study as an indispensable step towards the study of the Vedas. Grammar was, therefore, studied not only for its own sake in ancient India but as a helping guide for penetrating into the structure of the Vedic texts. While enumerating the motives that are practically served by the study of grammar, Patañjali has first mentioned "Preservation of the Vedas" as the primary reason why the science of grammar should be studied with particular attention. How useful and indispensable the study of grammar is, so far as the understanding of the Vedic texts is concerned, is best shown by such descriptive epithets of grammar as "वेदानां वेदम्",² "मुखं व्याकरणं स्मृतम्"³ etc.

When we enquire into the origin of Sanskrit Grammar from a historical standpoint, we find that there were three prominent causes in operation which brought the speculations on grammar into existence. First, certain principles of spontaneous growth, followed consciously or unconsciously in the utterance of significant sentence, provided the very basis of grammatical generalisation. In combining one word with another so as to make a significant unit of speech, people undoubtedly made use of certain laws or order regulating the mode of their verbal expression. The question of priority of language in respect of grammar needs no explanation. The way in which men learn almost instinctively their mother tongue without having any knowledge of grammar is an evidence of how we become familiar with the vocabularies as well as with the method of constructing sentences before we actually come in touch with grammar as such. Long before any regular system

¹ पुराकल्प एतदासीत्, संस्कारोत्तरकालं ब्राह्मणाः व्याकरणं आधीयते । तेभ्यस्तत्रस्थानकरणात्तुमदानञ्जेभ्यो वैदिकाः शब्दा उपदिश्यन्ते । Mahābhāṣya, Vol. I, p. 5.

² Chāndogya Upaniṣad 7. 1.

³ Pāṇiniya Śikṣā, 42.

of grammar was written and studied, people with whom Sanskrit was a spoken tongue could, for example, use such a verbal form as ' भवति,' without having any idea of the grammatical operations whereby the root ' भू ' might be changed to ' भो ' and ' भव ' in obedience to the technical process of 'gūṇa' ¹ and 'sandhi.' Similarly, forms like ' गच्छति ' and ' शक्नोति ' had obtained currency in a certain grammarless period when the grammatical conception of 'प्रकृति' and 'प्रत्यय' were unknown, and when the conjugational difference of the root ' गम् ' from ' शक् ' could not be explained as peculiarities of two well-marked classes of roots, namely, ' भ्वादि ' and ' स्वादि.' The rule ' अकः सवर्णे दीर्घः ' presupposes a phonological principle according to which two ' अ ' or ' आ ' sounds having close proximity in their utterance usually and invariably show the natural tendency of being amalgamated into one lengthened ' अ ' sound. To such principles underlying the physical structure of language may be ascribed the rudiments of grammatical speculations. The fundamental basis of grammar is not purely artificial but has a more or less natural aspect. A careful study of the Paribhāṣās ('generalisations of grammar') and of the rules of euphonic combinations makes it abundantly clear that the principles of grammar have close affinity with popular axioms and laws of nature. The extent to which grammar is related to popular usage is best shown by Patañjali in his elaborate exposition of the rules of grammar.² The method in which Patañjali³ has analysed words or, more properly, a group of similar words, in order to distinguish the stems and formative elements of words, is an indication that grammar has a scientific stamp so far as its basic principles are concerned. The science of grammar does not, however, attempt to coin

¹ Pāṇ. 7.3-84.

² नैवेश्वर आत्रापयति, नापि धर्मसूत्रकाराः पठन्ति—अपवादैस्तु नर्गा वाध्यन्तामिति । किं तर्हि ? लौकिकीयं दृष्टान्तः । Mahābhāṣya, Vol. I, p. 115.

³ सिद्धं लन्वयत्यतिरेकाभ्याम्— *Ibid.*, p. 219.

new words and expressions for use, but takes them in the very forms in which they are popularly used.

Secondly, the most important factor in the evolution of grammar, as a scientific and indispensable branch of study, was the necessity, more religious than academic, of devising some practical means ensuring a successful study of the Vedas; and the result was the evolution of grammar. By Śabdānuśāsana or governance of words, the author of the Mahābhāṣya has, as Kaiyaṭa maintains, in clear terms expressed the immediate or supreme end of grammar as such, and by the expression “रक्षीहागमलध्वसन्द्वाः प्रयोजनम्” he has shown the indirect purposes that are usually served by grammar or Śabdānuśāsana, as he calls it. “Preservation of the Vedic texts”¹ seems to have been the sole purpose that made the study of grammar so useful and indispensable at the same time. It is, however, difficult to say definitely when such a necessity was actually felt for the study of grammar. It is in all probability in the transitional period² between the poetical activity of the oldest Saṃhitās, and the prosaic exegesis of the Brāhmaṇas with greater tendency towards classical forms, that we may try to find out the crude beginning of grammatical speculations. The trend of human thought does not always flow along the same level, and it changes its course as time rolls on. The palmy days of beautiful poetry that witnessed the appearance of the Saṃhitās were followed by a period of intellectual decadence, if we are allowed to say so. To be more clear, the period of outstanding originality was followed by one of interpretation and elaboration. The ancient seers or Ṛṣis are said to have been born with such a spiritual vision as to possess all knowledge intuitively, and it was possibly through their medium that the sacred hymns came to light. The etymological meaning of the term “ऋषि³” corroborates this view.

¹ रक्षार्थं वेदानामध्येयं व्याकरणम्—Mahābhāṣya, p. 1.

² System of Skt. Grammar, p. 3

³ ऋषिदर्शनात्—Nirukta.

Next to these R̥ṣis came a comparatively inferior class of seers, better known as "Śrutar̥ṣi" who were not gifted with intuitive knowledge from their very birth, but rose to the eminence of 'seership' by receiving instructions on the Vedas from their teachers. These sages,¹ out of compassion for the people of coming generation on account of their shorter span of existence and intellectual dwarfishness, are said to have composed the Vedāṅgas with the avowed intention of making the Vedic study less arduous. There is reason to believe that the exact meaning of the oldest hymns had already begun to be forgotten in the second stage spoken of above; and it was undoubtedly to preserve the Saṃhitā texts intact and to save them from misinterpretation that particular attention was directed towards grammar and etymology. Yāska² frankly admits that the study of the Nirukta (Etymology) derives its importance from the fact that the meaning of the Vedic texts are not otherwise comprehensible. As a matter of fact, the meaning of the Vedic hymns had ceased to be intelligible to a great extent even in so early a period, and what is still more astonishing, some teachers of respectable antiquity expressed their doubts in clear terms about the meaninglessness of the hymns. An ancient teacher like Yāska has recorded the contention of 'Kautsa'³ as having been directed against the Vedas. The hymns are said to be meaningless and as such not worthy of commanding respect. When an acknowledged teacher of such respectable antiquity could have assailed the trustworthiness of the Vedas on so unwarrantable a ground, it is not at all surprising that later teachers belonging to the atheist school of Sugata and Chārvāka would come forward to demolish the glorious edifice of the Vedas. In the face of such undignified attack threatening the very base of religion, the Mīmāṃsakas were confronted with a problem of grave seriousness; they

¹ विसृज्य हृष्यायिभं ग्रन्थं समान्नसिषुर्वेदं वेदाङ्गानि च—Nirukta, p. 143 (Bom. ed.).

² अथापीदमन्तरेण मन्त्रेष्वर्थप्रत्ययो न विद्यते—Nirukta, p. 115.

³ यदि मन्त्रार्थप्रत्ययाद्यानर्थकं भवतीति कौत्सोऽनर्थका हि मन्त्राः—Nirukta, p. 115.

consequently tried their level best to set aside all discordant views regarding the eternality and the trustworthiness of the Vedas. Both Nairuktas and Vaiyākaraṇas seriously engaged themselves in the arduous task of preserving the Vedic texts intact by advocating the eternality of Sabda on the one hand, and by analysing the entire structure of the Vedic words on the other. The etymologists sought to bring out the meaning by suggesting derivation of words, while the grammarians took upon themselves the task of supporting the Vedic forms by an analytical process; and these methods supplementing each other proved to be of much importance in preserving the sacred texts in their pristine glory. Patañjali seems to have been conscious of this paramount function of grammar, as is clear from his statement “रक्षार्थं वेदानामध्येयं व्याकरणम्”. In the estimation of Patañjali grammar is pre-eminently the greatest of all Vedāṅgas; its greatness is obviously due to the fact that grammar is indispensable to an understanding of the Vedic hymns. The epithet “वेदानां वेदम्,” as applied to grammar by the seers of the Upaniṣads, is really suggestive of the importance and dignity in which Vyākaraṇa was held in those days.

In the third place, the growing popularity of different forms of Prākṛita served almost like an incentive to the rise of so many systems of grammar in Sanskrit. Sanskrit, even when it was a spoken tongue, had been confined to the area of the cultured community. The Śiṣṭas or Sanskrit-speaking men had, however, to come frequently in touch with the untutored masses, and this was calculated to destroy the purity of the “Divine tongue” to a certain extent. As a result of this intercourse, many Prākṛita forms crept into Sanskrit and became almost naturalised in course of time. That Sanskrit had suffered mutilation and distortion of forms at the hands of those who failed to utter correct Sanskrit words either on account of wrong imitation or their natural inaptitude, is testified by the so-called Apabhraṃśas which represent Sanskrit only in a

distorted form. The space at our disposal will not, however, permit us to discuss the much vexed question as to whether Prākṛita-apabrhamśas are directly descended from Sanskrit under circumstances stated above, or speak of an altogether different origin. We only repeat what we have pointed out elsewhere that the Hindu grammarians, either on account of their unbounded regard for Sanskrit as the most original of all tongues, or the striking similarity of the so-called "तद्भव" forms of Prākṛita with Sanskrit, held Prākṛita to be an off-shoot of Sanskrit. To look upon both Sanskrit and Prākṛita as two sister tongues, descended from the same common stock, is a view that is little favoured by the Hindu grammarians. As the number of Sanskrit-speaking people gradually diminished, and Prākṛita dialects, on the other hand, began to obtain greater popularity till they spread all over the country, the orthodox Hindu teachers were almost compelled to notice linguistic peculiarities of Sanskrit and draw hard and fast rules in their support, their sole motive in so doing being the preservation of their traditionally sacred tongue from corruption. The expression "शब्दानुशासन," as significantly used by Patañjali instead of the more popular term 'व्याकरण,' serves to indicate that the main function of grammar is as much to support the correct forms in conformity with the fixed rules, as to show indirectly how words of pure Sanskrit origin differ from Apabhramśas which represent linguistic corruptions caused by wrong imitation and inability to pronounce the correct Sanskrit words. In the Mahābhāṣya we find it explicitly stated that 'governance of the correct words'¹ forms the main function of grammar, and by the discrimination of correct forms as "gauḥ," the corrupted ones as "gābhî," "goṇā," "gotā," etc., are indirectly pointed out.² Sanskrit grammar thus draws a line of demarcation between the correct and

¹ साध्वनुशासनेऽस्मिन् शास्त्रे, etc.—Mahābhāṣya, Vol. I, p. 104.

² गौरिखितसिद्धिप्रदित्ते गम्यते एतद्भाव्यादयोऽपशब्दा इति ।—Vol. I, p. 5.

corrupted forms, the former being conformable to the rules laid down in grammar, and the latter lying entirely outside the scope of Sanskrit grammar. The spread of Buddhism, as it was accompanied by popularity of vernaculars, is supposed to have given a stronger impetus to an intensive study of Sanskrit grammar. It must be, however, remembered that the Hindu grammarians, in spite of all their attempts, as is evinced in their formulation of rules, could not entirely evade the possibility of their sacred tongue being mixed, though to a small extent, with the corrupted Apabhraṃśas. Kumāṛila speaks of the naturalisation of certain Dravidian forms into Sanskrit.

Thus, there grew up different systems of grammar in Sanskrit; commentators after commentators came to elaborate and supplement them in the light of new facts. At this stage of our knowledge, we cannot exactly mention the number of grammatical systems that once existed in ancient India. We generally hear of eight prominent systems, each founded by a renowned Śābdika or grammarian.¹ The Aṣṭadhyāyī mentions the names of many grammarians whose works have not unfortunately come down to us. In the Mahābhāṣya mention is made of two eminent grammarians, namely, Vyādi and Vājapyāyana, the former is supposed to have written a huge treatise on grammar called Saṃgraha which is so authoritatively spoken of by Patañjali.² Yāska has recorded a controversy between two grammarians—Śakatāyana and Gārgya each of whom had undoubtedly a system of grammar to his credit. Old treatises on grammar are almost irrecoverably lost; but those that remain are sufficient to constitute a vast literature which finds no parallel in any language of the world. In no other land except India was the science of grammar studied with such a zeal and so much of deliberation spent on grammatical problems.

¹ "इन्द्रं चान्द्रं काशकृतं कौमारं शाटकायनम् । सारस्वतं चापिशलं शाकलं पाणिनायकम्" ।

² संग्रहे एतत् प्राधान्येन परीक्षितं नित्यं वा स्यात् कार्यं वेति । Vol. I, p. 6.

This is, in short, the history of the evolution of Sanskrit grammar. It is, however, difficult to ascertain the period to which the real foundation of the science of grammar might be traced. The analytical method upon which is based the fundamental principle of Vyākaraṇa is first seen, though in a crude form, in the "Pada-Pāṭha" arrangement of the Saṃhitā texts which is popularly attributed to the authorship of Śākalya. It is in this method of decomposition that we meet with the beginning of disjoining 'Sandhi' and 'Samāsa,' and the addition of Upasarga with the verbal forms. While the 'Pada-Pāṭha' order thus represents the first step towards grammar, the elaborate phonological speculations of the Prātiśākhya may be said to have shown grammar in the making. Some aspects of really grammatical interest are also to be found in the Prātiśākhya. The oldest specimens, however, of the Prātiśākhya, which are so akin to grammar, are not accessible, and most of the extant treatises are of comparatively modern origin, some of them being even posterior to Pāṇini. There is ample evidence to believe that different schools of grammar had already been in existence when Yāska wrote his famous commentary on the Nighaṇṭu. That Yāska was preceded by a good many grammarians is clear from his statement "वैयाकरणानां चक्रे"¹ and the grammatical controversy he has referred to. Yāska made ample use of these earlier systems of grammar current in his time. The definition of Sandhi, "परः सन्निकर्षः संहिता,"² quoted by Yāska, and incorporated into his Aṣṭādhyāyī by Pāṇini, is supposed to have been taken from some older systems of grammar. Moreover, Yāska's fourfold classification of Padas as noun, verb, preposition and particle, also seems to be a reproduction from a certain grammar which has not left any trace behind. The use of such technical terms as 'कारित' etc., does not really indicate originality on

¹ न सर्वानीति मार्ग्यो वैयाकरणानां चक्रे—Nirukta, p. 99.

² Pāṇ. I, IV, 109.

the part of Yāska, but what appears to be plausible is that they were undoubtedly borrowed from some earlier systems of grammar no longer existent. The loss sustained by grammatical literature is enormous ; we find numerous references to several grammarians both in Yāska's Nirukta and Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī, but it is regrettable that very little of their works has come down to us. As among the huge Nirukta literature only that of Yāska is available in a complete form, so of the numerous systems of grammar as those of Śākalya, Śakatāyana, Gārgya, Gālava, Senaka, Sphoṭāyana, Bhāradvāja, Āpiśali, Kāśakṛtsna, Vyāḍi, Vājapyāyana and others, it is the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini alone that has fortunately survived.

The identity of the first grammarian is none the less an obscure point in the history of grammatical speculations. Having discussed the circumstances that paved the path for the evolution of such a scientific branch of study as grammar, we now turn our attention, though without any avail, to the question of determining the first author of a system of grammar. The peculiarities of language, specially when the older forms became obsolete and were consequently replaced by new words of spontaneous growth, provided the basis upon which was built the scientific structure of grammar. There are certain fixed laws underlying the use of words ; they are more or less natural and simple. But the real difficulty comes when we proceed to determine that clever being who first assimilated such principles and developed them into a system of grammar. The Taittirīya Samhitā¹ contains a narration according to which 'Indra' may be styled the first grammarian. In an age when speech was undivided into its component elements, it was 'Indra' who is said to have divided speech, and thenceforward it is known as व्याकृता वाक् or analysed speech. This view, though apparently incredulous,

¹ वाग्वै पराच्यव्याकृतावदत्ते देवा इन्द्रमनुवन्निमां नो वाचं व्याकृत्स्विति.....तामिन्द्रीमध्यतीऽवक्रम्य व्याकरोत्तन्नादियं व्याकृतावागुच्यते ।—Tait. Samp, VI. 4. 7.

is strengthened by the evidence of the Mahābhāṣya¹ where a tradition is recorded to the effect that Indra made a thorough study of words under the tutorship of Vṛhaspati—the divine teacher. Further, the name of Indra may be traced in the list of eight Śābdikas or grammarians. But we do not know whether it would be a truism or a positive mistake to ascribe the authorship of the so-called Aindra grammar to Indra as a divine personage. There is, however, no wonder that the conception of a grammar had first originated with a respectable divine being, because Pāṇini is also said to have received the first 14 Sūtras from the lord Śiva and these rules are consequently known as “Māheśvara Sūtra.” Nandikeśvara² in his Kāśikā has shown how on the pretext of beating drum the lord Śiva revealed the fundamental principles of grammar. Similarly, Sarvavarman, the author of the Kātantra Sūtras, is said to have received the nucleus of his grammar from Kārtikeya and hence the system is popularly known as “Kumāra Vyākaraṇa.”³ Whatever value we may attach to these narratives and traditions, there is every reason to admit that long before the grammarians of the Alexandrine period, the Hindu teachers had developed different schools of grammar and succeeded in giving them a highly scientific stamp.

Before concluding this topic we need only make a passing reference to what has been said by Bhartṛihari in regard to the origin of grammar. Following in the wake of Patañjali, the author of the Vākyapadīya⁴ describes grammar as the foremost of all Vedāṅgas and as a direct auxiliary to Vedic studies, supporting as it does the correctness of the Vedic forms.

¹ “एवं हि श्रूयते—बृहस्पतिरिन्द्राय दिव्यं वर्षसहस्रं प्रतिपदीक्षानां शब्दानां शब्दपारायणं प्रीवाच नान्जगाम” | Mahābhāṣya, Vol. I, p. 5.

² नृत्तावसाने नटराजराजो ननाद ढक्कां नवपञ्चवारम् ।
उर्द्धं चुंकामः सनकादिसिद्धान्तद्विमर्शं शिवसूत्रजालम् ॥

³ “शङ्करस्य मुखाद्वाणीं श्रुत्वा चैव षडाननः । लिखितं शिखिनः पुच्छैः कलाप इति कथ्यते” ॥

⁴ त्रासन्नं ब्रह्मण्यस्तस्य तपसासुत्तमं तपः । प्रथमं कन्दसामङ्गं प्राह्वय्यीकरणं बुधाः ॥

He is loud in eulogising the importance of grammar, for he boldly asserts that it is impossible to comprehend the meaning of words without an adequate knowledge of grammar.¹ As an exponent of the doctrine of 'Sphoṭa,' Bhartrihari looks upon grammar from a different standpoint, for he is prepared to maintain that the study of grammar ultimately leads to salvation.² "Vyākaraṇa-Smṛti," he holds, "is a set of rules that help the comprehension of correct words; it seems to be almost without beginning"³ (नित्य), because such a process as followed by grammar appears to have been current from time immemorial.

PRABHATCHANDRA CHAKRAVARTI

¹ तस्मावबोधः शब्दानां नास्ति व्याकरणादृते—Vākyapadīya I, Kār. 13.

² "तद्धारमपवर्गस्य" and तद्ग्राकरणमागस्य परं ब्रह्माधिगस्यते—Vākyapadīya I, Kār. 14 & 22.

³ "तस्मान्निबध्यते नित्यासाधुत्वंविषया स्मृतिः"—Vākyapadīya I, Kār. 29 and

तस्मादकृतकं शास्त्रं स्मृतिं वा सनिबन्धनाम् । आयित्यारभ्यते शिष्टैः शब्दानामनुशासनम् ॥

IDEALISM AND THE SELF

Not much advance has been made in Philosophy during the past quarter of a century. There has, to be sure, been a vast amount of writing. Much interesting work has been done in experimental and abnormal psychology; but its results are of doubtful value. There has been any amount of "pottering" in philosophical subjects, and ever so many "opinions" have been expressed, but the reasoning on which they are based leaves us in doubt whether they are to be taken seriously, or merely as freaks of speculation. Ever so many *-isms* have been invented and vaunted for a time—neo-realism, neo-idealism, pragmatism, Bergsonism, intellectualism, voluntarism, behaviourism and others—each claiming to be the whole truth, obscured hitherto, but now unearthed at last, and destined to supersede everything that has gone before. But the logic with which they are worked out is more suggestive of temporary fads of individuals than of permanent achievement.

It is proposed here to take up a particular *ism*, and inquire into its real meaning and implications. It is one which seems of late to have been much abused and misused, *viz.*, Idealism. Not neo-idealism, because the form here treated is very old, and we must master thoroughly the meanings of what is old, before we can safely presume to renovate it, or substitute anything new. Our purpose is to trace it back to its origin, and find whether it has got any ground to rest on, in experience and commonsense. Has it got any root in reality, that is, in facts of consciousness? or does it rise out of any fundamental principle that will always force itself back into attention, however much obscured and disregarded it may have been for a time?

Common use of the word Idea.—What then are we

to understand by Idealism? Ideas are commonly regarded as merely subjective reflections or shadows of realities—of all things the most fleeting and unreal. But Idealism gives to ideas a degree of reality and importance quite foreign to the common ways of thinking. In common thought we distinguish two stages of idea, lower and higher: Thus (*a*) we receive passing experiences of the surrounding world into our mental system, preserve them there subconsciously in the form of mental ‘traces’ (in some way not clearly understood), and revive them into consciousness when wanted, as “representations” of past experiences, and call them ideas of memory; and by intellectual elaboration, we derive from them ideas of things never experienced—ideas of past distant and future things, beyond the reach of experience—and call them ideas of imagination. These are *theoretical* ideas, constituting our knowledge of the world. But (*b*) again from knowledge of past experience, we come to understand what things are good and not good for us, and thereby form ideas of what will be for our own highest good in the future, and of the lines of action by which we may realise our highest good. These we may call *practical* ideas, being those by which we regulate our actions. But this common way of using the term idea may seem to have nothing to do with Idealism. What is the meaning of the *ism*?

Its uses in Philosophy.—We may put aside from the outset the question of Idealism in perception with its unprofitable controversies, and the subjective Idealism of Kant. And it is not enough to say in a general way that the world and its history consist in the realisation of ideas. This might be true in different senses. Thus in every work of art, the maker first devises in his own mind an idea of what is wanted, as a mental picture; and then makes a copy of it in some material substance. This is the common way of applying ideas practically. But Idealism gives more reality to ideas than this way of thinking. Thus the highest ideas may be held to be—

(1) *Eternal realities seen by reason, and God's models in creation.*—The nature of Idea, in its fundamental sense, and its importance in the making of the world, seems to have been first considered by Plato. In his *Timaeus* he gives a more or less symbolical and tentative description of creation, in which Idea assumes a new meaning and importance. There is, he thinks, a personal constructor of the world whom he calls the *demiurgus* or artificer. The demiurgus saw before his mind's eye the Idea of a world which, if realised, would be perfectly real, beautiful and good. The Idea was not of his own making. Plato saw that what is absolutely real and good must have self-existence in itself as Idea from all eternity, above time and space, and above all will and caprice; and that it can be discerned as an eternal reality by the eye of reason. Still it contained no self-realising energy within itself. It was merely a passive copy or model (*paradigma*). To become real, it had to be copied in some material foreign to itself. This required another self-existent something. This was called not-being, because it was nothing in particular, but only material out of which things could be made. But idea and matter could not come together of themselves, being both inert, having no energy of their own. But here the *demiurgus* came forward, and moulded self-existent matter into conformity with the self-existent Idea, and produced the world. But the world was imperfect, because matter, though called not-being, had, it seems, a nature of its own which could not be brought into harmony with that of idea or supreme Good. Hence the imperfection of the world. Here then, Plato claimed absolute reality for idea, but not active self-realising power. But they may be conceived as both—

(2) *Eternal realities and principles of self-realising energy.*—The *Timaeus* seems to have been only a symbolical or provisional working-hypothesis. Plato saw that he could not attain a clear conception of the world by assuming three separate realities without any essential connection between them, *viz.*,

idea, material, and formative energy to put them together. He saw that it would be necessary to transfer the formative power to Idea itself. He does it in this way. From things which *are*, we must distinguish things which *should be*. These are not fancies merely, and only in individual minds; and are not things which come and go, like the fleeting objects of the sensible world around us. They are eternal realities, and their reality consists in this, that they are at the same time powers tending to realise themselves. He began to see that what *does* nothing has no reality, and that if Ideas are real, they must be made to be such by active *power* inherent in them. But how could this be? Because they are the forms of what *should be*; and, as such, though abstract, they press themselves forward into concrete existence, and tend thereby to evolve a world. But having no substance in themselves, they require a substance foreign to themselves, which they may transform into something which will express and embody their own nature. The forces of what should be, must enter into the formless substance of the world, and tend to transform it into a world of concrete things, real (concrete) beautiful and good. The ideas thus manifest themselves by entering into the at first formless substance of the world as soul into body, and evolving it into what it should be, namely, a world of things. These creative powers are many, but they are all included under one, which may be called the idea of Good. This supreme Idea is "the sun of the spiritual world," that is, the power which gives life and action to all others. And they are perceived as eternal realities by the power of reason inherent in rational beings. They are therefore "Ideas"—forms of what *is* not, but should be,—and their essence is energy tending towards their own realisation, that is, to enter into and transform the world-substance to their own nature. And the excellence and wisdom of human minds consist in the clearness with which they perceive, and receive into themselves, and thereby become assimilated to, the eternal

ideas; and thus come to be lifted into a world of spiritual reality, above the temporary influences of the physical world.

But imply nevertheless a self-existent material apart from themselves.—This then is idealism, and thus far it includes two points: (1) that certain things, *viz.*, ideas may have real existence which do not appeal to the physical senses of touch, sound, etc.; and (2) that they may not have passive reality merely, but may have active power; and that ideas in the highest sense are the self-realising power of what should be. But this is not yet *absolute Idealism*. It assumes another self-existent world apart from idea, *viz.*, a formless substance which the creative Idea has to transform into concrete reality, and which it can do with only partial success. Plato's critics asked how it could be done; how could two such antithetical realities enter into relation with each other? Aristotle and Plotinus criticised and modified Plato's system, but without making any essential improvement.

Transition to Absolute Idealism.—This question of the nature of Idea and of the origin and meaning of energy and change, was for long passed over in modern philosophy—force and motion being assumed to be self-existent facts, requiring no explanation; or were referred simply to the creative power, without further inquiry. The subject was taken up more directly in the German philosophy of the nineteenth century, and the school of Hegel advanced to absolute idealism. We cannot form any logical conception of the world if we must assume two absolutely independent realities. They could not come into any relation to each other. There is not room in one world for two absolutes. We must think, therefore, that the supreme Idea contains the whole potentiality of the world within itself, without depending on any material, or any limiting obstruction foreign to itself. It must contain both the form of the world and the realising energy which is the real

substance of the world. In the ultimate reality we cannot think of the form as being in one place, and the energy as being in another. They require no foreign power to put them together. "There the twain together be." Form is what is good in itself, or what should be. As such it is not an empty abstraction but is correlative with an energy which makes it to be. The energy is not itself an empty abstraction, but the *doing* of something, *viz.*, the realising of the form. Neither ultimate form nor ultimate energy is anything apart from the other; together, they are the one creative Absolute. Hence—

Idea as the ultimate source of Energy and Form, realising itself in eternal process.—Hence we must conceive the ultimate ground of the world as Idea, transforming itself from the abstract potentiality of what should be, into the concrete reality of what is; and the substance of the world, material and mental, as the energy of its so doing. And we must conceive this energy as due to this, that it is the nature of the good or what should be, to raise itself into actuality. The creative power of the world is the Divine Idea.

Why a process?—But the question may be asked, if the Idea thus contains in itself the power of self-realisation, why then does it not realise itself completely and instantaneously like a flash of lightning,—out of place out of time—without any process. Why should this endless process in time and space be needed? The reason clearly is, that it is just in the process of space and time that the realisation consists. A timeless world would be a lifeless abstraction, if it could be said to have any being at all. The concrete reality of the world supposes both Idea and power which is above space and time, and its perpetual realisation in things and events in space and time. The eternal would be nothing without the world of changing things in which it expresses itself, and the world of things would be nothing without the eternal ground out of which they rise. The Absolute would be nothing without the relative, and the relative would be nothing without the

Absolute. The truth is the concrete unity of the two. This, it may be noticed, is—

The Rationalist Theory of the World.—Absolute Idealism, therefore, means that the world and its history is the progressive self-development into a world of finite things in space and time, of what is contained potentially in a power which is above space and time, *i.e.*, in Idea,—the evolution being brought about by the energy inherent in the nature of Idea itself, which is the Good of Plato, the realisation of which is reason.

Opposed by the Irrationalist.—It is best understood when contrasted with the system to which it is opposed, *viz.*, Realism in philosophy. That word has been used with different shades of meaning but (apart from realism in perception which need not be considered here) they may all be traced back to the following form as being implied in them all. The absolute is not what should be, but what is; and what is, is simply the 'real' world as presented in experience. This world, when resolved back into its primitive elements, is found to consist of material (*i. e.*, space-filling) particles in motion. We must assume that these particles together with the motion and direction of motion with which they are endowed, are self-existent and eternal,—as also the space and time in which they move, and their various degrees of moving force. It is useless to speak of reason or purpose in these things; they are antecedent to, and above all reason. We must assume, also, that though the particles are self-existent and each therefore sufficient to itself and independent of all others, yet they have the property of coming into collision in space, of resisting and changing each other's motions and directions, and of holding one another in equilibrium, and producing compounds more or less stable, and forming themselves into worlds. And we must assume that some of these compounds have the property

of becoming conscious of themselves, and producing all the phenomena called mental. And all things must be assumed to be *real* in themselves. No reason can be assigned for them, because they are above and prior to reason. Reason comes in at the end, not at the beginning. Reason is only an artifice discovered by finite minds for ameliorating their own condition; and that, though these minds themselves grew by a process in which there was no reason. Therefore Rationalism or Intellectualism which tries to explain everything by reason must be banished from philosophy, giving way to Irrationalism. (And yet, strangely enough, this very system is propagated at the present day under the name of Rationalism.) But what is—

The ultimate source of energy and change?—Hence the fundamental question of philosophy amounts to this: What is the ultimate source of Energy? Energy manifests itself in producing change. What is the nature of this power which produces changes, and makes the world to be a process of unceasing change? According to the realistic theory, change is self-existent in the form of motion, and no explanation can be given. According to the idealistic theory, it is the self-realising power of Idea that makes change. Which is right?

Appeal to the experience of the individual-self.—Still the idealistic theory that Ideas are self-realising powers, is so contrary to the ordinary way of thinking about ideas, that it may appear altogether paradoxical. The best way of meeting this objection will be to consider whether the theory can be reconciled with our finite experiences of energy; or whether in the interpretation of our conscious experience, we have any evidence that ideas are the moving springs of our own active life. To find this, we must examine our own activity. It is manifested most clearly in what is called Volition, in which the Self concentrates its energy for the attainment of its ends. We have therefore to consider what elements

are contained in the Self when it rises into Volition, and what the source is of the energy which it puts forth in voluntary action. Whence does this energy come? Will-energy, to be sure, will be the energy of the individual only, but it is a general principle of science, that the highest and most complex forms of anything, contain the lower and simpler elements "subsumed" in them. Now mental activity is certainly the most complex of all forms of activity (having passed through the almost infinite complexity of organism). Therefore if we find there any explanation of volitional energy, the explanation will apply in some way to nature-energy also.

But the answer as to the nature of will-energy will depend on the nature of the Self which wills, and different opinions have been held of the nature of the Self. It will be necessary for our purpose to examine these views briefly to determine whether the Self can be a source of Energy?

Is the Self a source of Energy?—Psychology shows that mind is really the unity of three correlative functions—feeling, thinking and willing, no one of which has any meaning apart from the others. But there has been a tendency in recent writing to treat them as separable from each other, and even as capable of opposing and defeating each other; or to raise one to supremacy over the others, and make that one to be practically the whole self. As these different theories of the nature of self affect the question of the origin of the self's energy, they have to be considered separately. First, the theory—

I. *That Self is essentially Feeling.*—It must be admitted that Feeling is essentially the consciousness of being *acted on* and *affected*. In other words, it is the *passive* side of consciousness. As the self is a finite being, it lives in interaction with other finite beings, *viz.*, the material things and the persons in the midst of which it lives.

Its life consists essentially in being acted on by them, and in re-acting upon them ; so that its self-awareness has two sides—(i) a consciousness of being affected by other things as in our experience of sensations such as colour, sound, taste, smell, touch, etc., and of the emotions such as fear, anger pity, love, hate and the like—and (ii) a consciousness of reacting to resist and produce changes in other things, which will be the consciousness of volition, activity, energy.

Now according to a view rather common in recent times, the second of these two kinds of consciousness has no real existence. Mind is a consciousness only of effects produced by other things, *i.e.*, of sensations and other feelings. Ideas are clusters of sensations and other feelings retained and revived in memory. Volition is merely an awareness of one set of feelings followed uniformly by another set. Energy is merely a peculiar kind of feeling, impressed upon us by changes in other things ; the energy is not in us, but in the things. In short, mind is a purely passive product, having no consciousness of acting, but only of being acted on. Self is only the flow of present feelings, together with past ones preserved and revived. Therefore mind cannot be a source of energy.

Wundt, who in earlier times held the Self to be an active power, gave in latterly to the above way of thinking in his analytical psychology, and thinks that the Self should not be considered even to be the whole stream of feelings. It is only a group of feelings which may appear here and there, more intense than the rest, and thereby forming a centre round which others may group themselves—a view which makes the Self to be still more fleeting and insubstantial. Mind, being merely a shadow which accompanies organic processes, can have no energy—it can *do* nothing. Hence the theory—

That the Self cannot be a Source of Energy.—It is clear, then, that this conception of the Self can give

us no insight into the nature of energy. But it is unnecessary to enter here into its contradictions. It is impossible that we could have any awareness of being acted on by things and affected passively, without a consciousness of reacting by putting forth energy to resist and change things. And further, we could not know that there are any other things if we had not the active consciousness of resisting and acting on them. Acting and being acted on are reciprocal facts, neither of which can be, without the other. If we ask what it is that gives to these fleeting states of feeling the unity of a single mind, we shall probably be referred to the body and brain as giving to mental states the unity and connection required to make them to be one mind. But as the theory limits knowledge to feeling, it leaves us no bridge to the existence of material things existing behind feeling. In short, the feeling-theory leaves us with an altogether incoherent conception of both world and mind. We must then consider the theory—

II. *That Intellect is the essential constituent of mind*, and thinking therefore, the essence of the Self—the view now called Intellectualism. The feeling-theory is founded on one fundamental oversight—it overlooks the fact that feeling is always a feeling *of* something, *i.e.*, that it is accompanied by a consciousness that the feeling consists in the Self's being affected by something and therefore includes an awareness of something other than the Self which feels, and therefore a distinction between the Self which feels and a something which is felt. In other words, feeling contains an element of cognition, *viz.*, a cognition of Self as having the feeling, and of something else as imposing it. Thus sensations of touch, sound, etc., are accompanied by a cognition of an external world of solid things as the ground of these sensations; and emotions of fear, anger, pity, by awareness of other things as occasioning these feelings in us. This

means that feeling does not stand alone, but is only a factor in a more complex mental process which includes cognition, intuition, or perception of reality, *i.e.*, *knowledge* of self as affected in feeling and of not-self as the ground which gives rise to its feelings. Therefore—

The Self manifests energy in thinking.—Thus, underlying elementary feeling, we have the beginning of knowledge. The Self forms ideas of what will produce pleasurable and painful feelings (*i.e.*, of what will affect it for good or for bad), and of what is needful for its own preservation and its own highest Good. Hence in Intellect the active energy of the Self takes two forms (*a*) that of obtaining knowledge of things from experience, and retaining and reproducing it in the form of ideas, which is *theoretical* Intellect, and (*b*) of deriving from these experiences an idea of its own highest good and the means of realising it more and more in the future,—which is *practical* Intellect. Then the practical knowledge thus obtained guides the energy of the Self to a life of activity for the realisation of its idea of highest Good—which is Volition.

Here then (*viz.* in *a* and *b*) we find the Self putting forth energy as Intellect or faculty of knowledge. And the knowledge which it gives is real and not merely phenomenal or apparent knowledge. Every finite thing manifests its real and essential nature in the energy of resisting and thereby affecting, in various ways, other finite things. And other finite things (when mental), in knowing the influences which come to them from the other things, thereby know the real nature of the things, because the real nature of the things is present in the influences which they disseminate. The common distinction between the *appearances* and the *reality* of things is therefore superficial and deceptive, if not altogether unreal. This is a sense of realism in which realism is justified. Reid was right when he said that, in looking at the sun, what we are conscious of is the real sun, because the influences which a thing

exercises on other things, are themselves the essence of the real thing and not mere appearances.

Thus in the constant effort to acquire and elaborate ideas and preserve knowledge of things as necessary to its own preservation and higher development, the Self is working intellectually. Are we to say, then, that Intellect is the supreme function of mind, and that the Self is essentially Intellect—considering the other functions to be merely contributory? (Intellectualism.) No.

Thinking is not the whole self.—We can see that intellect is the working of one unitary self, *i.e.*, of a power which connects the successive experiences of life, and perceives them to be revelations of a world of things and events in space and time, and which comes to understand itself as not only the underlying unity of past experiences, but as extending into future time, and as having therefore a highest Good; and which puts forth energy to know the nature of, and the means of realising its Good. This makes it clear that the activity of obtaining knowledge and understanding, is subsidiary to another kind of activity, *viz.*, that applied directly to the realisation of the Good.

But this requires re-action by the self on the external world, and therefore a putting forth of energy to make changes in physical things. And though the work of Intellect is exercise of energy, the term Volition is usually applied to this higher kind to which Intellect is contributory. Hence

III. *That the essential nature of the self is Volition* in the sense of producing changes in external things. We have found that some hold mind to consist wholly in Feeling or that kind of consciousness which rises from being *acted on by other things*; while among others there has been a tendency to make it consist mainly in Intellect, *i.e.*, in thinking and acquiring knowledge about things. Recently the tendency has become common to identify the self wholly with Volition

as *action on other things*. This has been called Voluntarism, and, in an extreme form, Behaviourism. This tendency may be carried so far as to separate action (volition) wholly from all dependence on Intellect, and make the person to be a self-regulating machine which operates automatically; and to make thought to be only a form of passive feeling—assuming feeling or consciousness to be only an occasional by-product given off by the working of the organic processes. Man is an accumulation of instincts, or habits of automatic movement without or with consciousness, acquired by the organism in adapting itself mechanically to the changes of the external world. In this way the 18th century theory, “man is a machine” is revived.

If the self exercises energy of its own in Volition, where does it come from?—But this theory of automatism cannot be seriously entertained in the face of experience. In having feelings we cognise the things which give rise to the feelings; and form ideas of things and their properties of giving rise to feelings, pleasurable or painful; and foresee future things and feelings, and form an idea of future Good; and put forth energy to produce change in the world around us which will be conducive to our good. Such a process cannot be automatic merely. Where does this energy come from? It is probable that it comes from the same source ultimately as the Energy of nature. If, therefore, we can determine the origin of this Energy which we have in ourselves, we shall be justified in extending the same explanation to the world beyond us. If we can show that the energy exercised by the self is originated by the mind in realising its own purposes, and that the highest kind of mental activity is that in which the Self reacts on the world in which it lives, and occasions changes in it which will promote its own highest good, then we shall be justified in drawing the conclusion that the energy which makes changes in nature, also, has its source in the realisation of a highest good. And if we could

distinguish all the elements contained in this process, we should be able to answer the questions: What is energy and change? What is life? What is the Self which lives and acts?

Here it is necessary to analyse Desire as the state out of which Volition rises—Now first of all, we see that voluntary action springs out of the mental state called Desire. Desire contains, so to speak, the whole Self with all its correlative functions fused into one. It is founded on a consciousness of want, defect, insufficiency. This rises from its awareness of its past and present conditions (derived from experience), and an anticipation of future conditions (founded on reasoning); and from a consciousness of what is good and of a highest Good; and of our own present deficiency, inferiority and need, and of our own nature as essentially energy pressing onwards towards Good. Out of this groundwork of knowledge and this cognition of deficiency, a painful feeling rises, which we may speak of as feeling of Want. But along with this painful feeling of Want (except in cases of despair and extreme despondency) there is also a feeling of Hope which is pleasurable, rising from thinking the probability of coming relief. Indeed there could be no feeling of want without the cognition of something which, if present, would remove the want. That something will be a good, leading on to a more remote highest Good. But this good is present only in Idea—the future in the present. Desire therefore is made to be what it is by the Idea of possible good or goods leading on to a highest Good. Now the essence of life consists in a perpetual striving towards self-preservation, self-development, and towards self-realisation as a Good containing all other goods under it. Hence, in the case of every new action, the energy which is the essence of the self, takes the form of removing this particular Want by realising this particular idea of Good (and more remotely thereby the Highest Good). Thus Desire contains an element of rudimentary action straining and impulse from within which

the Self may intensify into full activity. It is *feeling of want, idea of good, and impulse to action on the external world* to remove the wants. The transition from desire to Volition is (in normal cases) through deliberation in which the Self brings before itself whatever alternative goods there may be until it discerns the superiority and practical realisableness of one; and identifies itself with the realisation of that one.

Here then the points requiring consideration are: the Idea, the Energy which realises the idea, and their relation to the Self. This inquiry involves the old question of—

Causality. Action on the external world supposes causality. The realisation of the Good (in normal cases) involves the production of changes in the external world. This will require causality. The realising power is called cause and the realisation, effect. This introduces here the question of causation, which has been much discussed in modern times. Can mind possess such causal power or energy? If it possesses energy, does its energy extend to producing changes in physical things? This has often been denied—even of producing changes in its own body. Why? Because causation in the physical world is the transference of motion from one thing to another thing. A cause, therefore, must be a moving thing. But mind is not a moving thing. Therefore mind cannot be the cause of anything in the physical world. When, by volition, the mind seems to produce changes in its own body and other things, it is not really the mind that does it. It is really the physical processes going on in the body and limbs that do it. Mind—the stream of consciousness—is merely a passive accompaniment which does nothing, like the shadow which runs alongside the rushing train. All real work in the universe is motion of particles in space.

But this cannot be maintained seriously (though some psychologists of repute, such as James and latterly Wundt seem

to defend it). Causation is not necessarily the transmission of motion, but of change which is not necessarily motion (though some hold that it is). The effect is a change in a thing, and its cause lies in antecedent changes in other things. When we speak of energy, we mean the transmission of change from one thing to another, and the "force" with which the change asserts itself. The real questions before us are: what is it that makes the change in the antecedent thing, and why does it pass over from that thing into another? To be sure, it is not enough to say that one change always follows another—there must be some reason for it. Hence some assume that "force" is a real substantial something which passes out of one thing into another. Or it may be the case, that all changes are so correlated in the absolute as means towards absolute Good that every change follows another in virtue of this universal correlativity. Hence all causality will lie ultimately in the absolute—which is the theory of universal relativity. But this question does not concern us here. What concerns us, is the source of that Energy in the Self which is followed by activity in the organism and change in external things—the energy of Volition. First, then,

Why do things change? But granted that Self has energy to produce change, the question remains; why should there be any such thing as change? Seeing that the meaning of energy is that it produces change, the great question comes to be: what is the meaning of change? Why should there be any change in the universe at all? Granted that there must be a self-existent world of being, why should it not remain always the same in eternal rest? Why is it a world of "striving and straining" to become something different? Why is it not a world of being so much as a world of becoming? Again, all force is the doing of something; there must therefore be something requiring to be

done. Can the history of the world be nothing more than the meaningless churning, over and over again, of the same material, full of sound and fury, but signifying nothing. What is world doing? The explanation is that there is—

No change without Want, and Good present in Idea.—The only possible explanation lies in this, that there is some Want, need or incompleteness at the heart of things, making it impossible for being to remain what it is, and making its existence to be perpetual activity to complete and fully realise itself. And as its potentiality is unlimited and can never be exhausted, its actual reality consists in an eternal process of becoming. (Why incomplete and why inexhaustible? Because it is potentially infinite, and infinity cannot be exhausted in a world of finite things.) But Want is meaningless apart from a correlative Good. The Good is something which *is* not, but *should* be, and therefore Idea. Therefore the ultimate moving principle of the world is Idea.

What, then, is the relation between the Self and Idea? We may obtain some help to understand the meaning of change and energy from the analogy of the finite Self. In the Self the above elements are consciously present in Desire. In it we have the feeling of Want, the Idea of future good, and the self-preserving and realising energy which is the Self—the Self being essentially activity for the attainment of the good.

Here then, the subject requiring consideration is the relation of the Idea to the Self. Does the self make the Idea, or does the Idea make the Self? The Self is essentially activity; but activity is *doing* something, and what the Self does, is to preserve and realise further its own highest Good. It is in this that its life consists. The Idea of Good is not a fiction of the Self's own making; it sees it to be potential in its own existence, and feels its own life to consist in the activity of realising it.

Conclusion that the Self is Idea.—It follows then that Idea is an active self-realising principle, and that the life of the Self—the whole process of organic and mental evolution—is essentially an Idea or purpose realising itself, and that the Self (organic and mental) exists in virtue of its Idea, *i.e.*, its plan, purpose, use in the system of things; and that the energy of Volition is the Idea pressing into actuality. Idea, therefore, in the highest sense is the future operating in the present—the non-existent pressing into existence—not-being rising into being. In the Idea, the future Good and the present Want are both present, and the two together make the continuous flow of action—the *élan vital* or will to live—which constitutes the life of Self. And the analogy must be extended to the life of Nature. There also, action must spring from a future Good present as Idea and removing a Want. But—

Does this take away the reality of Self? This view, that the Self is Idea, appears at first to be an idle paradox. The self has been considered the type of “reality,” and, as such, it has often been explained by the analogy of objects of sense-perception, as a grain of sand or flake of flint, which seems so indestructible. Thus reality has been identified with hardness and impenetrability of things in space. But Ideas are not particles of resisting substance. Therefore the theory takes away all reality from the self.

But such inert things possess only a low kind of reality. A “real” in the highest sense is what not only maintains, but develops its own existence in interaction with other things, and thereby realises an end and serves a purpose—*i.e.*, a living something. Its stability is stability of purpose. It is not in filling space but in persistence of self-realisation that its reality consists—a reality of action, not of spatial passivity. What would deprive the self of reality is not the ideal theory, but that of the naturalistic school—that

mind is only an 'epiphenomenon' or occasional result of the physical processes of body, like sparks struck out by grating machinery, possessing no causal significance. Further, if we are taking away the reality of things by resolving them into energy, then Idealism is not alone at fault; the naturalistic philosophies do the same—With this difference that Idealism gives a reason for so doing; materialism does not.

It need not be assumed, however, that Idea and consciousness are fully co-extensive. Idea is a synthesis of tendencies which may exist without rising into consciousness. Full self-awareness and self-control are latent potentialities in that Idea which is the essence of the Self. But in the abysmal depths of its personality there may be a world of potentialities which remain Idea unrealised, and beneath the level of self-consciousness.

But can there be such a thing as an absolute Good? To this extension of the Idea of Good to the Absolute the usual objections may be urged: that good is a meaningless word when applied to the absolute, and that absolute good, even if absolute good were possible, would be altogether unthinkable to a finite and relative being.

But to a correct conception of the absolute, good has a meaning. Its absoluteness does not consist in its being an inert block of substance, but in its infinite power of self-realisation—it is not dead being, but living becoming. And further, a relative being, just because it is relative, is a function in the life of the absolute, a finite reproduction; and hence there must be some analogy, however remote—something in common, proportionate to their difference. Indeed we may say: as the absolute is to absolute good, so is the relative being to relative good.

Hence the Idealistic conception of the World.—We may here consider, then, the general conception of the world

to which this theory leads. The energy which evolves the world is not self-existent and meaningless in itself. It does not work at random. It has its spring in Idea and purpose. Everything real has a reason for its existence. It is not due to chance or blind necessity, but to some need in the system of things, and it is in its fulfilment of purpose that reality consists. "Whatever is real is rational." What does not meet some need, is unreal. And all lower reasons and goods converge towards higher ones, and ultimately towards the one wide end which closes all—the Good of Plato, the *Theos* of Aristotle, the Reason of Plotinus, the absolute Idea of Hegel, the supreme God of religious faith.

It is implied further that the world is a system in which the Future counts, *sub specie aeterni*, as well as the past and present. In the absolute Idea there are three moving correlatives, the past, the present and the future. The future is the world of unrealised potentiality,—of non-being. The future is not nothingness, any more than the past; and is not passive, but co-operates with past and present in making the flow of actuality. The future operates in the present as Idea. This unceasing flow of non-being into being, of Idea into actuality, constitutes Time. Time is not an unreal abstraction, nor an empty vessel into which events flow, but a factor of the eternal self-realising life. The absolute is not a thing which can be completed and finished off in a given time, but an essence containing infinite potentiality and energy of self-realisation, and its potentiality is Good pressing into actuality—the essence of God Almighty. But—

Does Idealism make God to be imperfect? It may be objected to this way of thinking that it seems to make God, the highest reality, to be imperfect; and to make the life of God to be an eternal effort to overcome imperfection, and at the same time to make that imperfection—to

be so inherent in the nature of God that it cannot be overcome. There is, however, misunderstanding here. We must regard the ultimate power from two points of view. As infinite potentiality and energy of Idea, it is perfect, eternal and unchangeable. In realising its potentiality in a world of finite things, it gives rise to, and therefore experiences an inexhaustible series of changes. This passing from abstract potentiality into the concrete actuality of finite worlds, may be described from the finite point of view as a need and imperfection. But it is just in this that its perfection consists; *viz.*, in thereby passing *eternally* from abstract power into concrete life. Or rather it is the unity of the two correlative 'moments'—the eternal oneness of the Idea and the inexhaustible process of self-realisation—the unity of one and many—that its perfection consists. Neither would be anything without the other; together they constitute highest reality and Good. The separation of the two correlatives and the completion and cessation of the process would mean relapse into universal death. Together in their correlation they are eternal life. Viewed therefore *sub specie eterni*; the apparent imperfection thus ascribed to God, is absolute Perfection.

Yet this objection may have been what actuated Aristotle and Plotinus in their attempt to break off all connection between the being of God and that of the world, as between perfection and imperfection. But by so doing they made God to be an abstraction merely, which, in philosophy as in practical life, could be easily ignored (*e. g.*, Scepticism; Epicureanism). The Biblical doctrine of the Logos or Divine Idea rather pointed to a reconciliation of absolute and relative in one perfect being.

Future existence.—The question may be asked; how does Idealism affect the question of the continuation of the finite Self after death? Clearly, by making the essence of human

nature to be an Idea or purpose, it promises continuance of existence (1) so long as the Self continues to fulfil its purpose and (2) so long as its purpose is incomplete and unexhausted. If it fail in its purpose, it will simply "fall out of line," and sink into nothingness, because fulfilment of purpose was the essence of its existence. On the other hand, we may suppose its purpose to become fully fulfilled—its Idea, fully realised. In this case the individual will become identified with its fulfilment, and cease to be an individual as we understand the term. Still this may not be the same thing as being annihilated—if may still live in the accomplished purpose though we cannot conceive how. But on the other hand its purpose may be eternal as a factor in the absolute Idea, and the life of the individual may therefore be in some form eternal, *viz.*, as being contained in the life of the absolute.

This view, then, has to be considered in comparison with other possible views such as (a) that individual soul is an occasional and accidental by-product of the material processes of the organism, with no substantial reality of its own. (b) That it is an eternal and indestructible unit of substance and independent of everything else—having existence inherent in its nature (as was once supposed to be the case with atoms of matter). But in this case, it would be without life as we know it, because life is the activity of self-preservation and self-realisation, and therefore never complete in itself but a perpetual becoming. (c) Or we may be satisfied with simply saying that God made it as it is, and inquire no further. But if God made it and God does nothing without purpose, then it must be the embodiment of a purpose, and its life must be contained in the realisation of the Divine Idea.

Is Idealism refuted by the existence of Evil? This doctrine, however, that whatever is real is rational, brings us back to the perennial difficulty of the origin of evil. This rational

world is full of things which appear to us to be irrational. The Good which is here held to be (as Idea) the creative power of the world, is mingled everywhere with evil. The difficulty of reconciling evil with the supremacy of good, led the ancient idealists to qualify their idealism with an element of dualism. They thought it necessary to assume (apart from Idea) a self-existent world of material, somewhat disguised under the name of non-being, which resists the transforming influence of the good. And in religious thought this negative has appeared under various names, such as Ahriman, Satan, Mephistopheles. But absolute Idealism recognises only one ultimate principle, and has therefore no such resource. Even evil will have to be conceived as rising out of the Divine Idea.

Some attempts to explain evil.—Various explanations have been offered. Thus it may be said that good consists in *overcoming* evil, and can therefore exist only in relation to it. Evil is a necessary part of the same system to which good belongs. "All partial evil, universal good." Or it may be held necessary as an obstruction in the way of good. Or evils may be held to be means towards the production of good. Hence what is evil from the finite view-point, may be good *sub specie aeterni*.

Or it may be argued that good cannot be realised in a world of lifeless abstractions; it can be so only in a world of concrete and finite things, rising into self-conscious minds and wills. Then, every mind will be an idea, covering a good of its own. In such a world a conflict of goods and therefore struggle, tension, and failure will be an essential element. Therefore the realisation of the Idea will consist in a struggle towards a harmonization of individual goods under one universal Good, and this process will never be exhausted because the life contained in the absolute Idea is infinite; and it will be in this process of infinite reconciliation that the good is realised. Completion of the process would make

the infinite to be finite. And, as there would be "nothing more to do," it would mean the cessation of all activity and therefore of all life—if not the relapse of the world into nothingness.

The principle of individuation, or question how individual ideas are differentiated from each other in the process of the absolute, and from the absolute itself, need not be considered here.

It is safe to say, however, that nothing is to be gained, either theoretically or practically, by abandoning the Idealist theory and falling back on any of the realistic hypotheses of self-existent force, chance and fate, in any of their forms.

H. STEPHEN

THE DREAM-SHIP

Far on the dim horizon line,
Where the sea and the sky are one,
I look for the sail of my dream-ship,
That comes when the day is done.

It carries a cargo of mystery,
Strange gifts from the distant blue ;
O Sailor, who hails from the farthest sea,
Say will my dreams come true ?

LILLY S. ANDERSON

STEP ASIDE¹

Step aside ye crowned heads! Step aside ye proud peers and belted knights! Stand back all mortal world and for one moment hush! Let from the frail frame a Great Soul pass away in peace to the abode of Eternal Bliss!

Bhāratbarsa has produced long lances and sharp swords as any country in the world. Her sons have defended their own and punished usurpers with might and main, in fight, fair and free. Her daughters had in their hearts, along with the milk of maternal tenderness, wine enough to inebriate the souls of the sterner sex with the spirit of chivalry and gallantry. Superhuman feats of physical strength have been performed by men to win the hands of fair princesses. But the heroes of this country never won the green laurel of immortality dipped in a brother's blood.

The standard of heroism in this land of ours was and is still gauged by the extent of self-conquest a person has achieved and not from an inventory of possessions he has been or is able to wrench off from his neighbours. Not the extermination of others but renunciation of Self makes Heroes in Bhārat.

The British era in India has turned out thousands of graduates from English-made Universities, and Chittaranjan was only one of them. Hundreds of successful lawyers lived, and still live and flourish and Mr. C. R. Das was only one of the constellation. Charity is not a virtue but a habit with the people of Hindustān, and deeds of benevolence are not only sung in ballads or handed down through legends, but the ink is not yet dry on the papers on which are recorded the munificence of Palit and Rashbehary to the count

¹ The name of the house at Darjeeling in which Chittaranjan passed away is "Step Aside."

of millions ; so in charitable Bengal the rich lawyer of Russa Road was but another charitable man.

The thing that made the Bengali to raise his brother of Bikrampur to the throne of worship is his act of renunciation, his act of sacrificing all, his entire annihilation of Self.

Renunciation is neither a new nor rare act in this country but the age, an age in which diction has turned gold into an adjective to qualify goodness, an age in which a University degree and an advocate's gown might have made a Sakya Singha pause before He renounced the world, the renunciation of Deshabandhu was superb, wonderful, divine !

In the eyes of the humble inditer of these lines Rām-chandra, Buddhadeva, Christ, Mahomed, Sree Chaitanya, Sree Ramkrishna, Vivekananda Swami, though embodied in mortal frame, were not men but Incarnations of Iswar-sakti. They are ever-living beacons to light up men's path but inimitable as models.

Here is our son of flesh, born in affluence, brought up in luxury, achieving worldly greatness, with gold mohurs in bagfuls thrust in the hood of his gown, rising one holy morning from his bed and declaring himself poor. Here is the scion of a rich family throwing away his gold spoon to put his fingers on a brass platter. Here is Mr. Das changing his Bond-Street clothes for Khaddar. Here is the thousand-a-day Barrister ministering to his wants by counting out copper pice.

He is no man who does not exclaim out "Ahaha" when he sees a person stumble in his walk ; but the sight of one leaping down from a terrace forty-five feet high, stops the beating of the hearts of all those who look at it, and the stunned heart bound up to the mouth when that One stands up instantly erect and taller than what he looked when high above on the terrace. This wondrous feat, in these times of scrambling up the greasy post to catch the winning

purse, was performed by Babu Chittaranjan Das. He threw himself down to rise stronger, he stooped to conquer. Ah! What a conquest it was! On the day that leap was taken died Mr. C. R. Das the barrister, the man with a million, the slave of luxury and with resurrection rose from the ashes of the servile flesh the Spirit of the King of Men. Three hundred millions of men, women and children bowed their devoted heads in the Grand Presence.

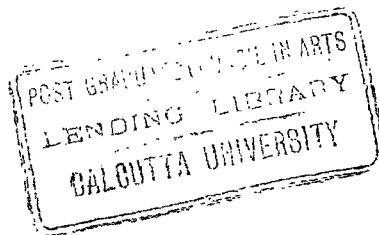
A bow coveted by earthly sovereigns and commanded by legislature in letters of blood, forging swords and casting cannons.

India has not begun work in earnest yet; She is receiving messages. Chittaranjan has delivered the message he was charged with from High; that done the curtain dropped on his Ascension.

The Lamp-lighter has done his task and retired to rest; an illuminated street is now before us, my countrymen, and if we will, we can walk up to our workshop.

An illuminated street is often before you too, our Rulers! You also can tread this road both for your and our good if you will see your way by the Bengal light, leaving your Roman candle for service at home.

AMRITALAL BOSE



SOME CURRENCY LESSONS OF THE WAR

VIII.

I. Society depends on exchange and there can be no facilitation of exchange without the regular use of money. Society must have "true" or "good" or "sound" money. Though the older economists like J. S. Mill, Jevons and the "welfare economists" of the American school belittle the economic importance of money, it has to be candidly recognised that money has become the central interest of modern life and the real part that money plays in a "pecuniary society" such as ours can best be understood if it is realised that our civilisation, which is solely resting on a cash and credit basis, would receive a setback, if the value of money on which the cash and credit system is dependent, becomes suddenly altered. Money is the pivot round which human ambitions, interests and activities revolve.

II. Bad or diseased money is worse than useless. It makes confusion worse confounded. The disastrous evils befalling a society stricken with the misfortune of a diseased money are best exemplified during war time and the post-war era by the economic conditions prevailing in Austria, Germany, Russia and the Central European States. A country with diseased money becomes isolated and all industrial, financial and commercial relations with the afflicted country become strained. The transnational economy which is the prevailing characteristic of modern economic life would become destroyed and if the currency of one country is depreciated it affects the trade position of the whole world.

III. The recent war has educated the people in several respects; one such direction is in the field of

currency. Paper currency becomes acceptable to all and the gold backing which secures the convertibility of paper need not be so large as in the pre-war days. This possibility of economising gold would have a great effect on the future value of gold. The necessity for the large holdings of gold would diminish and if gold production happens to be the same as in the pre-war days, then the value of gold, unless absorbed for the industrial use, is apt to fall. The following table shows the gold production of the world :

Year.	Fine Ounces.	Year.	Fine Ounces.	Year.	Fine Ounces.
1890—	5,749	1903—	15,853	1911—	23,348
1895—	6,615	1904—	16,894	1912—	22,549
1897—	11,420	1905—	18,396	1913—	22,250
1898—	13,878	1906—	19,471	1915—	22,759
1899—	14,838	1907—	19,977	1916—	21,971
1900—	12,315	1908—	21,430	1917—	20,290
1901—	12,626	1909—	21,983	1918—	18,427
1902—	14,355	1910—	22,022	1919—	17,600

Gold production has increased during the last thirty years and so long as America undertakes the new "white man's burden" of absorbing all the gold production of the world there might not be a rise of prices. But it is bound to fail in the long run as it has failed to maintain the value of silver at a fixed rate during the closing decade of the last century. The three possible ways to avert this impending calamity are (1) to restrict the production of gold by international agreement, (2) to start an International Commission for regulating international paper currency, (3) to allow the Eastern countries to absorb the production of gold by utilising it for currency purposes. Both one and two are outside the field of practicality owing to international jealousies, fear and rivalry. The third remedy is not liked by the Western nations holding

large stocks of gold. These are as reluctant to part with gold as the Eastern nations are anxious to possess it. Quite different from this aspect of the matter is the view expressed by Prof. Cassel in his numerous writings. During the recent years the world's production of gold has fallen as seen in the above table and if the demand for gold were to be the same as in the pre-war time there would be a disastrous fall of prices "which would kill all enterprise and impede that reconstruction of the world which is just now so very urgent." As the future value of gold cannot be properly envisaged, some of the far-seeing thinkers doubt the ability of the European countries to successfully restore the gold standard. These people think it inevitable and consider it better to have a managed currency system in future instead of the automatically operating gold standard of the pre-war days.

IV. Metallic money is only one form of capital. From the national standpoint, which is quite different from the individual standpoint, the holding of large stores of gold does not betoken prosperity or the wealth of the nation. The real wealth of the nation lies more in its factories, railroads, forests and mines and the industrial character of its people than in its gold hoards. Any misconception on this point would only form a stumbling block in the right understanding of the economic processes of society. Germany after all, with its accumulated hoards of gold in its war chest, could not defeat England and her Allies during the recent war. It was the greater pooled resources and real wealth of the Allies that enabled them to achieve victory over Germany.

V. "Prices are the economic yardstick," says Taylor. "Prices are the thermometer of industry," says a French economist. Prices measure and report the economic conditions of society just as the thermometer does the state of temperature of the body. The economic function of prices is to indicate the rate at which goods

are estimated or compared with one another. They tend to interpret correctly the general outlook of the community with reference to prosperity. A long controversy has been waged over the vexed question of the desirability of the high or low level of prices from the standpoint of national prosperity. Much has been written in favour of high level of prices but Mr. Layton who studies this aspect of the question at some length comes to the definite conclusion that social well-being would be better secured by stability of prices in the long run. This conclusion is nothing new. Administrative interference on the part of the State used to be very frequently exerted in the Middle Ages so as to keep the price level stable. Though it has become less frequent in the 18th and 19th centuries, still during the war-time such administrative interference was once more invoked so as to save the community from the rapacious hands of the money-grabbing profiteers and middlemen. The success of this step induces people to vote for the ideal of stability of prices.

The economic ideal is to establish the "just price" which covers the cost of production measured in labour units. This "just price" must not be confounded with the "fixed price" at which commodities had to be sold during the war-time when prices were controlled. The inevitable consequence of fixing the "just price" would be to pay more for the useful things than at present and underpay those luxury goods which are being paid more at present. When the sale price just covers the cost of production, the workers are apt to take "creative interest" in the work done. A labourer, while manufacturing a thing meant solely for producing profits to the entrepreneur, is apt to lose all interest in the workmanship and design of the product. The present capitalistic system of production aiming solely at profits not only tends to exploit the labouring classes, either making them work more for what they really pay or by treating

them as mere tools or "commodities" to be bought in the market and thrown on the scrap-heap as soon as the labourer becomes unfit for his work, but to make the labourer take no real interest in the actual product of his own work. Thus the advocates of the "just price" idea look yearningly to the days of the Middle Ages when the Trade and craft guilds aided by the Church regulations did succeed in fixing the price at such a point as not only to cover the actual costs of production but tended to make the labourer take genuine pride and interest in the manufacture of his own product. The Mediæval Church always preached the doctrine that it is a sin to sell a thing at a higher rate than its actual cost price. It always insisted on the realisation of the dual nature of an exchange transaction and sought to establish the doctrine that both parties should gain an equal advantage in the exchange bargain. The Mediæval guilds restricted the entrance to the crafts and enforced penalty on all its members for any violation of their regulations. They strove to maintain a high standard of workmanship and the creation of craft masters who would never lower the quality or finish of the product. Speculation could not be carried on as the price of everything was fixed and this Mediæval guild ideal of "just price" once more revived. This just price is to be established by guilds in town as well as country and over all industries. Such is the nature of the solution proposed to correct the evils of the present capitalistic system of industrial production which aims solely at profits.

The pre-war system of competitive wages and profits is no longer admired by the present-day economists. The trend of modern economic thought favours a complete revolution in the management of industry and aims to grant to the labourer partial participation at least in the management of the factory work and conditions. The success of such an arrangement is dependent not only

on the ability of the labouring class to guide and supervise the real factory work but on the currency factor as well. Modern industrial production is characterised by the following features. There is diversified demand, augmented consumption, mass production and instead of the expected reduction in the cost of production and a gradual fall in the prices, we notice either stationary prices or sometimes a rise in prices. Take Japan and Germany for instance—these countries, which have recently passed through the era of industrial transition and stand out as some of the leading industrial countries of the world, display all the above characteristics and the rise in price is a noticeable feature in both these countries. It is not difficult to explain the failure on the part of the industrialists to lower prices. There is overcapitalisation of industry with a dead load of watered capital. Money is lavishly spent on advertisement; sometimes to kill competition by immoral means or stifle the pioneers in production. It is not the consumers alone that have failed to reap any benefit out of the modern industrial processes of production adopted by the giant corporations. Disaffection among the workers is daily increasing. Wealth is becoming centralised in their hands and although demand for their goods is not on the increase, goods are being produced in the hope that they can be disposed of in the foreign markets. The aim to obtain foreign markets only ends in producing conflicts between nations and whichever way the system of industrial production is examined, we can easily notice its failure. Hence the anxiety on the part of the economic thinkers to devise remedies to this unfortunate situation.

There is no use of merely condemning emphatically the present tendency of the capitalists to run the industries and carry on all production mainly for the sake of profit. It is easy to say that this "production for profit" should be given up and the ideal of "production for use"

can be installed in its place. But so long as there is somebody to help, finance and partner the industrialist, production is bound to be carried to excess with the result that a glut ensues. Working half-time or a complete dismissal of the workers for a time follows this inevitably and the misery and injury of the workers is only aggravated to a great extent during these days of forced unemployment. So long as the accumulated wealth is deposited in the hands of the banker, he is sure to partner the industrialist and help him in carrying on production. Hence the real corrective that is needed is to convince the people as to the right use of wealth. Wealth is not intended to be utilised for getting further wealth. This selfish personal interest has to be sacrificed and it is the identification of the personal interest with the social interest that can secure the march of social progress. Wealth should be utilised for the creation of social opportunity and give scope to the vast amount of potential genius that may lie latent in the masses. If wealth is not utilised in this direction, but misused in furthering personal interests and acquiring further wealth, society can never reach a high state of culture, nor the present class hatred be removed entirely. Social solidarity and international peace are alike dependent on the wise utilisation of wealth always bearing in mind that the furthering of the social interests is no less an important duty than the pursuit of personal interest.

VI. The money mechanism in any society has to be so adjusted that it not only automatically expands and decreases at the times of seasonal stringency and in the slack season but there ought to be provision for the permanent annual increase of money co-equal with the increasing business brought about by the growth of the population and the greater frequency of exchange operations. The advocates of the elasticity doctrine of money very often fail to realise the importance of the second provision and ill-judged criticism is levelled at the Government

when it attempts to accomplish this part of its duty. The creation of money and the lending of it should be done at uniform prices for the various interests or sections of the society. The agriculturists should not be hampered in their operations for want of money at such times of the year and on the kind of security they can offer. The same is the case with the industrialists. Were the credit system to favour unduly any such particular section its utility would be open to question. Prior to the war, the banking system of all the industrial countries used to pay heed to the claims of the industrialists and the agriculturists used to suffer not only on account of the inclemency of nature but the refusal to grant them credit used to put them to serious difficulties. Agricultural credit becomes perfected only as a result of the war when the importance of raising agricultural food stuffs was keenly felt. If we take American conditions this statement can be amply verified. The Federal Reserve Banking system as initiated in 1913 did not pay much heed towards the interests of the agriculturists. Fresh legislation had to be undertaken during 1912 and 1919 to place agricultural credit on a satisfactory basis. Even in England the old system of landlords furnishing capital to the tenants is no longer considered adequate and the recent Chambers Committee on agricultural credit seeks to supplement this system.

VII. The different units of money should bear a fixed relation of value : one to another. This is one of the prime requisites of a good monetary system. Just as fixity of value is necessary for the smooth exchange of internal transactions, so also a steady par of exchange is essential for international exchange. The creation of paper currency during the war time only results in striking against these very fundamentals of a sound currency system. The inflation of paper money beyond the due and legitimate requirements of the community only tends to destroy the value of money. As Dr. Marshall observes money has to be likened to oil. "A machine will not run unless oiled and a novice may infer, that the more oil he

supplies the better the machine will run but in fact oil in excess will clog the machine." In like manner an excessive issue of currency causes it to lose credit and perhaps even to cease it to be "current." Unpleasant economic consequences result out of this indiscriminate creation of money. This leads to the shifting of wealth from wage-earners and ordinary people to businessmen. Prof. Cassel lays undue stress on the level of wages and its expansibility to meet the rise in the price-level. It leaves a sense of "rankling injustice" in the minds of the wage-earning people but the other unpleasant consequences are no less important than this. There is the destruction of previous saving and people realising that it is folly to save when the value of money is "fast depreciating," begin to be lavish in their expenditure and luxury industries benefit by this sudden demand for luxuries. As the rise in prices tends to benefit the sellers everybody wishes to borrow money even at cent. per cent. rate and speculate with the help of this borrowed money. Although there is a rise in the internal prices for some period exchanges remain stationary leading to the external overvaluation of money. This leads to the placing of orders from the country in the hands of foreign manufacturers and discourages exports. When the time comes for paying these foreign goods the demand for foreign exchange becomes keen and it is at this time that the foreign exchanges go violently against the inflating country that its currency becomes externally undervalued. The erstwhile prosperity and trade-boom disappears and the inflationist country in the end becomes penalised for its sins. Again the heavy burden of taxation is another immediate result of the inflationary movement which makes it impossible for the government to carry on its work on the same old scale of expenditure. To meet the expenditure incurred under the heading of unemployment doles, to pay higher wages for its own salaried staff and to procure the other necessities required for the War money is needed. More money is needed as its purchasing power has fallen. Hence the cardinal lesson which

has been so very well illustrated in this war and in the post-war days is not to overdo in the matter of inflation. As one economist says, "an overdose of inflation, like an overdose of strychnine has its bad after-effects. It certainly speeds up the organs of trade but the excitement is too great to last, distress inevitably follows and in acute cases the sufferer dies or becomes a permanent wreck."

VIII. A Central Bank of Issue is necessary to look after the expansion of currency and the best method of providing emergency currency possessing ideal safety is to entrust this function of creating credit currency to the Central Bank of Issue. Not only has the recent war proved to the hilt the oft-quoted statement that a centralised banking system is indispensable to create and regulate the use of credit, but in the post-war era, when financial and economic reconstruction was being undertaken, the presence of a strong Central Bank to act in union with the Chancellor of the Exchequer was thought necessary and it was not only in the British Dominions that Central Banks have been established but also in the Austro-Hungarian succession states and the new Baltic States. Certain South American States such as Argentine, Chile, Cuba, Ecuador, Mexico, and San Salvador have accepted concrete proposals for the creation of a Central Bank in their countries. New Central Banks of Issue had to be created although Central Banks had existed already in Germany, Hungary and Poland. Such is the utility of a Central Bank of Issue.

IX. Prior to the war there used to be much agitation for the nationalisation of the Banking system. An experiment in this line was conducted by the Communist Government of Russia. After a brief experiment with the State Bank scheme, the Soviet government had to give up the exclusive system of nationalised credit. In addition to the Bank of the U. S. S. R. it had to permit the reconstruction of ordinary banks to rejuvenate the entire economic life of the country. In 1922 a

large number of joint-stock banks had to be started and the state had to directly or indirectly participate in the matter of their organisation. With the introduction of the new Chervonetz currency, private banks and credit societies have been started and the Russian state had to candidly confess the impossibility of nationalising the banking system. In order to increase the deposits of the State Bank, the Soviet government had to recognise the independence of bank deposits and guarantee them against confiscation or attachment. It is only after the solemn issuing of this guarantee that the Russian State Bank could extend its scope and sphere of activity to cover all phases of economic activity of the people and by the end of 1923 it managed to open 300 branches of its own in the country. Here is a concrete instance and positive proof of the fact that banks are fundamental social institutions of an advanced economic society. They cannot but exist even in a communist state.

X. A healthy foreign exchange situation depends on the freedom of the import or export of bullion into and out of the country. The complete freedom of the bullion market is the *sine qua non* for the realisation of steady foreign exchange conditions. In the pre-war days the freedom to send gold practically placed all the gold standard countries and the European currency systems on a "common gauge" to use the language of Dr. Marshall. Endowed with a sound credit and currency system the importation and exportation of gold need not be a matter of apprehension either to the government or the business community, for, the redistribution of gold always follows the well known law of the Territorial Distribution of precious metals. Each country, be it a gold-producing or non-gold-producing country, tends to obtain its due share of gold and this depends on the economic system of the country, its banking and currency organisation, the social habits of the people, the size of the population, the wealth and the state of internal trade. It is only when impediments are

levied across the free international movement of specie that vicious consequences follow such as have been realised during the war era as soon as the embargo was levied on gold exportation. When the bankers themselves are too busy husbanding their resources of specie against their inflated deposits there is none to initiate the movement of the return flow or induce the import of gold into the country. It is here again that the Central Bank had to undertake the promulgation of such measures that tend not only towards the protection of the existing stock of gold but also to reattract the lost specie back to the country.

XI. According to the best exposition of the Quantity Theory of Money, the value of money is the resultant of the equation of exchange between money and goods. There are some economists who considerably emphasize the money side of the equation and others the commodity side, *i.e.*, the changes in the price-level are attributed to money by the adherents of the money side of the equation of exchange and the adherents of the commodity side attribute all changes in the price-level to the commodity side of the equation. These fail to realise that they are not refuting the Q. Theory but only explaining the positive or the reverse side of the Theory. The primary thing that has to be learnt in understanding the price-level question is the recognition of the fact that several forces operate on the price-level. The price-level has to be considered as a dynamic phenomena and it is not so easy to bring all the forces operating on the price-level within the limits of the equation of exchange. The general price-level can be influenced not only by changes in the volume of money, or changes in the production of commodities but numerous other causes as a rise in the standard of living, tariff legislation, price control through combination and labour unions, the growth of population, extravagance in expenditure, waste and fraud in distribution, and uneconomical marketing can influence the price-level. Though some of the factors can be brought indirectly under the limits of the equation of exchange it is

impossible to include the social and psychological factors which sometimes dominate the prevailing price-level.

But for a scientific statement of the relationship between the price-level and the active agents that are instrumental in influencing this passive factor recourse can be had to the Q. Theory alone, for, it makes an attempt to lay emphasis on some proximate causes as money, its velocity, credit and its velocity and the volume of trade. It does not deny the influence of antecedent causes perhaps making their pressure felt on the price-level indirectly through one or other of the proximate causes.

The one significant service that the war has done is to convince the people of the approximate truth underlying the Q. T. of money. "Swedish experience," it is stated, "shows that inflation has kept pace with or has been kept pace with by the changes in the price-level." Several other instances can be quoted in order to prove that prices depend on the quantity of currency actually spent in the purchasing of commodities. But even hoarded currency, *i.e.*, potentially spendable currency, exercises an influence on the businessmen and tempt them to withhold commodities from the market in anticipation of higher prices. This tends to raise prices. The same is the case with goods provided the consumers know the actual state of production and can afford to postpone their purchases till prices fall as a result of greater production, other things remaining the same. During the war-time when governmental restrictions on prices were levied the quantity of Money and credit created certainly did not exercise any proportional influence on prices. Similarly the increased or decreased demand of goods by foreigners might enhance or lower the prices. Witness the increase in the price-level in America during the years 1915 to 1917 as a result of the increased demand for the American goods on the part of the European states. Similarly when the Chinese people refused to take foreign goods as usual or when the

consumers after a brief period of extravagant expenditure have thought it wise to practise thrift and economy, lower prices have resulted in spite of the quantity of Money being the same as before. The upshot of the whole argument is that the Q. Theory of Money fails to explain satisfactorily all upward or downward movements in the price-level of a country. Even psychological changes in the minds of consumers might exercise their influence on the level of prices.

XII. It is a matter of commonplace fact now to state that exchanges are the result of the relationship between the relative price-levels of the two trading countries. Exchange tends to conform to the purchasing power parity and the names of Professors Keynes, Pigou and Cassel have been connected in this new explanation of the exchange movements. Professor Cassel's exposition and the criticism by Professor Pigou and Mr. Keynes have by this time become already familiar and all the three wisely admit that there are certain limitations to this doctrine. The rate of exchange might be influenced by other conditions than the relative price-levels of the countries. Taking India and England for example; according to this doctrine the Indian exchange is the ratio of sterling prices to Rupee prices at the ports. During normal times this is certainly the case but if the balance of accounts is suddenly altered, *i.e.*, say India borrows largely in London, or suppose the drawings of the Secretary of State are reduced owing to famine or plague or other adverse conditions affecting Indian Revenue conditions or if exports of commodities increase or if there is a reduction in the import of silver and gold into India—the rate of Indian Exchange would be altered and influenced by these factors. Thus many disturbing influences play on the exchange situation of a country.

XIII. The freedom of the bullion market is also necessary from another standpoint other than the one

indicated in X. Coins should be freely convertible into bullion and if the right to melt or export them is denied to the people and convertible notes are issued at this stage, they might tend to be over-issued just as inconvertible notes are likely to be over-issued. The inevitable result in both cases would be to produce a rise in prices. This is what happened in England says Dr. Cannan when the British Treasury issued £1 and 10s. Notes were issued during the war time. The same thing must have happened in India since 1902 when the inconvertible Rupee and convertible notes have been issued by the government.

XIV. Whether the European countries like to admit or not, the leading strings in the matter of currency stability and economic reconstruction lie in the hands of the American people. Much depends on the wise management of the Federal Reserve Board; for the United States of America at present holds the major portion of available gold in its hands. The rest of the gold is bound to find its way to America in payment for the past indebtedness or for the raw materials and agricultural machinery, etc., that have to be purchased in America. As the U.S.A. is a staunch protectionist country, it would not allow the payment of Allies' Debts in the shape of goods. In its anxiety not to allow its standard to depreciate it is buying all gold and locking it up securely in the vaults of Washington. So an artificial value is placed on gold and its future value is solely dependent on the action of the F. R. Board. The value of gold is no longer the resultant of "chance gifts of nature and the judgment of numerous authorities and individuals acting independently." All countries may desire gold and a progressive appreciation of gold may ensue or a partial demonetisation of gold by the closing of the mints to further receipts of gold, on the part of the U. S. A. government, would lower its value. Hence the statement that the future value of gold is uncertain and the influence that America can exert over the chief countries for good or

for bad has to be recognised. This is the chief reason why economists consider it a danger to return to the gold standard at the present juncture. Without having an idea of the future trend and level of prices and without possessing a favourable balance of trade it is considered unwise to return to the gold standard. The inter-governmental payments in liquidation of the war indebtedness complicate the situation and unless a united effort on the part of all the governments is made to satisfactorily settle the indebtedness question and concert measures for a simultaneous return to the gold standard the economic situation in these countries would not be bettered to any appreciable extent.

(Concluded.)

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

IN DREAMS

With you I have seen—

Dawn on the open sea ;

Sunset on a mountain top ;

Twilight on a misty plain ;

Moonlight in the jungle.

We have sailed all the Seven Seas ;

Followed the Four winds to the end of the world ;

Scaled the snow-crowned peaks of the frozen North ;

Lingered lazily in the flower-haunted South.

And when we have grown weary, we have come Home again,

To sit before the fire in silent reverie, at rest.

Ah Love, how easy it is to do all this in dreams !

LILY S. ANDERSON

THE PRICE OF COTTON-GOODS IN INDIA IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The East India Company was a trading corporation: the principal articles which they exported from India were silk and cotton piece-goods. It is natural, therefore, that the letters that passed between the Home Office and their servants here, as well as between the factors at different parts of India, contain occasional references about current prices of these commodities. Several of these references are quoted below:—

(1) In 1609,¹ there could be had at Surat, “a strong sort of cloth” called ‘dhotie’ 21 covad² long, a yard or more broad, at 6 mamoodies³ per piece.

(2) In 1629,⁴ there could be had in Baroda pieces of cloth, $19\frac{1}{2}$ covads (40”) long and $21\frac{1}{2}$ tassus (a tassus = $\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{4}$ covad) broad, at 80 to 120 mamoodies per corge (*i.e.*, ‘kuri,’ a score, 20 pieces).

(3) In 1661,⁵ there could be had at Lakhawar (a town 30 miles south of Patna), amberty calico, $10\frac{1}{4}$ covads long and 1 covad broad, at Rs. $1\frac{1}{2}$ to Rs. 3 per piece.

(4) In 1645,⁶ there could be had at Khairabad in Sitapur district (20 miles north-west of Agra) a “very good sort of cloth” 18 to $18\frac{3}{4}$ covads long, and full $\frac{3}{4}$ covad broad at less

¹ “Letters received by E. I. Company,” Vol. I, p. 29.

² “The English appear to have adopted the word ‘covad’ as equivalent to the native ‘gaj.’” The length of the ‘covad’ ranged from 20 to 40 inches. In Surat, only two covads were used; the ‘elahi’ covad = 33 inches, and the ‘Jehangiri’ covad = 40 inches. In Agra the ‘covad’ in use was of 40 inches. In Patna also the covad was of 40 inches. In the Company’s factory at Madapollam a covad was equal to 20 inches. I have not been able to find out any direct reference as to what length a covad stood for in Bengal; but it seems it was of 22 to 24 inches.

³ A mamoodie was a silver coin valued at 32 pice; 80 pice went to make a rupee; so that Re. 1 = $2\frac{1}{2}$ mamoodies. The exchange value of a mamoodie was 11*d.*

⁴ “The English Factories in India,” by W. Foster, Vol. III, p. 247.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 192.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 300.

than Rs. 20 per corge (score). This would make about $5\frac{1}{2}$ as a piece of ordinary size of 5 yds. by 44".

(5) In 1619¹ there could be had at Broach, a 'Bengal stuff, half cotton, half lassar, 14 covads (equal to about a yard) long, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ broad, at Rs. 4 per piece.

In 1675 a gentleman named Strensthyam Master was sent by the E. I. Company to reorganise their factories in Madras and Bengal. He kept a diary. From this diary we learn—

(6) There could be had at Madapollam, in 1676² Long cloth, fine—72 covads (20") long and $2\frac{1}{8}$ broad, at 4 pagodas per piece.

[One pagoda = 7s. 6d. = about Rs. 3.]

(7) At Masulipatam, in 1676.³

Fine Sallampores (white muslin), 32 covads by $2\frac{1}{8}$, at $1\frac{5}{8}$ pagodas per piece.

(8) At Santipur, in 1676.⁴

Mulmul, 32 covads by 2, at Rs. $4\frac{1}{2}$ per piece.

(9) At Malda, in 1676.⁵

Cossaes (fine muslin) 40 covads by $2\frac{1}{2}$, at Rs. 7 to Rs. 9 per piece.

A glance at the above values is enough to show how very cheap cloth was at that time in India. But, if we proceed to have a detailed comparison with present values, two difficulties arise.

The first is about the quality of the cloth. We cannot be certain that we are considering the same quality of cloth when we are comparing their values. But, in this connection, we should remember that the finest fabric of that age is almost priceless now, because it cannot by any amount of expenditure, be produced now. When Bengal lost her art of making it, the world saw the last of it. And when we further remember that the finest cotton-cloth of the present day (which

¹ *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 112.

² Vol. II, p. 167.

³ Vol. I, p. 272.

⁴ Vol. II, p. 44.

⁵ Vol. I, p. 401.

is not half as good as the best of former days) is priced at not less than Rs. 50 per pair of cloth of ordinary size of 5 yards by 45", we can have no doubt about the cheapness of cloth in former days.

However, this difficulty as to quality can, to a great extent, be obviated by confining our attention to the value of cotton-yarn only.

From a letter¹ from Surat we learn that in 1609, the value of cotton-yarn there was 8 to 10 Mamoodies per maund. A maund was equal to 32 lbs, so that $2\frac{1}{2}$ mds. of that time would be equal to 1 md. of the present time. Again $2\frac{1}{2}$ Mamoodies went to a rupee. So that, expressed in modern measures, the value would be 8 to 10 rupees per md., *i.e.*,

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} 4 \text{ to } 5 \text{ seers in the rupee;} \\ \text{or} \\ 13 \text{ to } 16 \text{ pice per seer.} \end{array} \right\} \text{---(1)}$$

From another letter² from Broach we learn that in 1622, the price of cotton-yarn there was 7 to 20 pice per seer. Considering that very fine yarn used to be made then (the yarn used in the best muslin was of 400 to 500 counts) we may safely take 12 to 15 pice per seer as the value of yarn of medium quality of say 40 to 60s. Now, 32 lbs. was equal to 1 md.=40 seers; so that, 1 seer= $\frac{4}{5}$ lb= $\frac{2}{5}$ of a modern seer. Again 80 pice made a rupee; so that, 12 pice would be 10 pice modern and 15 pice would be 12 pice. Again, the exchange was 32 pice=1 Mamoodie=11*d.*; so that 1 pice was equal to one farthing. Hence, expressed in modern measures the price of cotton yarn of 40 to 60s. was

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} 6 \text{ to } 7\frac{1}{2} \text{ as. per seer;} \\ \text{or} \\ 5 \text{ to } 6*d.* \text{ per lb.} \end{array} \right\} \dots \text{(2)}$$

¹ "Letters received by E. I. Co.," Vol. I, p. 28.

² "The English Factories in India," Vol. II, p. 153.

Another letter¹ shows that in Bengal in 1659, Cotton-yarn was procurable at Rs. 14 the maund of 75 lbs. This would make,

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} 3 \text{ as. per lb; or} \\ 6 \text{ as. per seer.} \end{array} \right\} \dots (3)$$

For reasons stated above, and also because the East India Company did not trade in coarse yarn as it did not fetch so good a price as fine yarn, we may safely take the above prices as those of yarn of 40 to 60s.

The modern price of this quality of yarn is about Rs. 5 per seer. Before the War, it was about Rs. 2-8 per seer.

Next we come to the second difficulty which is due to the change in the price-level. A rupee or a shilling in the early seventeenth century might not have represented the same purchasing power as now. In order that a comparison between prices at these two periods of time may be real, we must measure the change in value that money may have undergone during this period.

From Jevon's table² of index number of prices from 1782 to 1869, which he very carefully prepared on the weighted index number principle, we learn that if the price-level in 1782 be taken as 100 the index number of 1860-69 was 77. The British Board of Trade's calculation shows that during 1871 to 1906 the price-level fell by about 30 per cent. Hence, from 1782 to 1906 the fall in the price-level in Europe was about 50 per cent. Next we come to the period between 1600 and 1782. Here unfortunately, no such reliable calculation as the above is available. There is one advantage however; the problem in this period is much simpler. To-day we find that England is a great industrial country. Millions of her population are engaged in one or other of her numerous industries. Her

¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. 10, p. 297.

² Mulhall's "Dictionary of Statistics."

wealth consists of her shipping and her railways, her harbours, mines and factories, her great credit abroad and her highly efficient industrial labour. Her national income consists mainly of manufactured commodities. Again, life has become much more complex than in former days; a large variety of commodities enter into the daily use of the average Englishman nowadays. The consequence is that in order to calculate the general level of prices at present some three or four dozen of articles have got to be taken into account. But a hundred and fifty years ago, the situation was vastly different. England, like other countries, was only an agricultural country. Land was about the only valuable thing in the country; agriculture was the principal occupation and the national income consisted mainly of the produce from the soil. Life was also very simple; the average man used few other things than simple food and clothing. So, we shall not be far away from the truth, if we take it for granted that the change in the price-level in the period between 1600 and 1782 closely approximated to the change in the price-level of food-grains. Now the average price of wheat in England between 1600 and 1610 was ¹£8 per ton. That between 1780 to 1790 was £12, a rise of 50 per cent. According to Arthur Young, if the average price of all grains in the period between 1601 to 1700 be taken as 270, that between 1801 to 1850 would be 350, a rise of 30 per cent. So, it is very probable that during the period between 1600 and 1782 the general price-level rose by not more than 50 per cent. To eliminate every possible error in our calculation, on this head, let us assume that during this period the price-level rose by as much as 100 per cent. Then the position is that £100 in 1600 had the same purchasing power as £200 in 1782. Between 1782 and 1906 the price-level fell by 50 per cent., so that £200 in 1782 had the same purchasing power as £100 in 1906. Hence, £100 in 1600 had the same value as £100 in 1906.

¹ Mulhall's Dictionary of Statistics.

In early seventeenth century, when England purchased her cotton-yarn from India, she could have it at 5 to 6*d.* per lb. To-day her mills produce it at about 3*s.* 4*d.* per lb.

Next we come to the change in the value of rupee in India. The price-level rises for two causes—increased supply of money and diminished supply of consumption-goods. In Europe, the supply of money has no doubt increased; but its effect has been offset by an enormous increase in its supply of consumption-goods, and also by greater circulation of money. In India as a greater supply of money is pulling up the price-level, the growing impoverishment of the country has been pushing it up to a still higher level.

The official index-number of prices in India begins from 1861. But there is every reason to believe that the price-level in 1861 was about the same as in 1600. There has been no reason for it to be otherwise. Whatever political changes might have happened in the meantime, there occurred no considerable change in the economic life of the country during that time to warrant us to expect any disturbance in the price-level. The organisation of our industries and our agriculture continued the same, our trade and commerce, our roads and our ports were the same in 1860 as in 1600; our stock of money also remained about the same; therefore, it would certainly not be very far wrong if we assume that the value of the rupee was the same in 1600 as in 1860.

After the mutiny in 1857 a great and sweeping change in the economic life of the country took place. On the one hand, construction of roads and railways and improvement of the harbours linked our price-level with the world price-level, and thus made food dearer in the country. On the other hand with the ruin of our arts and industries a crushing impoverishment set in. The price-level began to rise by leaps and bounds. From 1861 to 1914 the general price-level rose by 90 per cent, and the price of food-grains by 125 per cent.

For our comparison then we take it that a rupee in the early seventeenth century was worth about as much as Rs. 1-14-0 in 1914. We conclude then that if the value of the rupee in India were the same in the seventeenth century as in 1914, the price of cotton-yarn of 40 to 60s. would have been (modern measures of money and weight being taken)

6½ as. to 8 as. per seer ...	(in Surat in 1609)
11 as. to 13 as. ,, ...	(in Broach in 1622)
11 as. per seer ...	(in Bengal in 1659).

The price of cotton-yarn of 40 to 60s. before the War when the cotton-mills were in their height of efficiency was about Rs. 2-8-0 per seer.

SATISHCHANDRA SEN

SOFT THOUGHTS

Soft thoughts, like tender violets,
 First violets, that push up shyly
 Through the Winter's mold;
 Thoughts muted by tearless memories
 Of fragrant Spring and budding bloom;
 Of love that hardly dared to love,
 So great its ecstasy and pain.
 Soft music, borne on gentle winds;
 Vague yearnings, questing and afraid;
 Winged notes, wand'ring on the air
 Of scented twilight, that came to rest
 Within my eager waiting heart.
 So sweet, so sweet a thing is Spring,
 That all my dreams awake, and stir
 To poignant pain those muted thoughts,
 That time has stilled to echoes of the Past.

LILY S. ANDERSON

THE DOOR OF AUSPICIOUS SIGHT¹

Stone with blood mingled in its grain, stone with moonlight poured into it : of such stuff is made the *Darsan Darwaza*, the Door of Auspicious Sight in the Imperial Audience Hall. The pink flush of sunrise, with a digit of the moon caught up in its embrace ; just a sportive mood of a moment which is of the morning twilight, made to take shape in the form of stone ; a mystery poem attuned to the two rhythms of the coloured and the colourless ; a couplet, with its two verses written in letters of stone with the greatest care : only this much meets the eye, day after day, from morning until night.

This was the Door of Auspicious Sight. On the other side of it were the king's own chambers, surrounded by lattice screens cut in marble delicate like the white petals of the jasmine : one could not see what happened there, and no message of it came to the people outside, and day to day they saw merely the Door of Auspicious Sight.

But no more was the space within the Door of Auspicious Sight filled up with the figure of Shah Jahan, dressed in his kingly robe of Dacca muslin—woven in morning dew—and looking like a veritable image carved in marble. The mass of people gazed at this latticed and closed balcony, like birds silent with apprehension when at dawn the light of the day does not show itself in the eastern sky ; the artist stood expectant with his brush, waiting for Shah Jahan to show himself.

At last the door opened, but it was not Emperor Shah Jahan who gave to his people the auspicious sight of himself. In his place came out and stood a figure, pale like hard stone tempered in blood. With one hand it seemed he was pressing

¹ Translated from Bengali by Professor Sunitikumar Chatterji, M.A., D.Lit.

down the very soul of the stones of the palace of the Moguls, with the other he was turning the beads of a rosary strung with blood drops of gems: on his head a beggar's cap in the place of the crown, on his body a robe green as a leaf in a dark day of the summer's dust storm, and a shirt of the colour of the dead leaf; in a ring in the left hand there was pearl that was but a great mass of tears brought within a drop: no other jewel he had. His two eyes were not casting a glance at any one,—silent and immovable, he gazed beyond to the other side of one knew not what sea, and mused.

Such was the picture the artist sketched, and while he returned home he heard that the orders of Alamgir were published—Shah Jahan was no more. That morning the moon set near the tomb of Queen Taj Bibi down along the Jumna beyond, and here on this side the sun rose in the sky, moist with mist, above the obstructing great mosque, like a shallow dish of burnt clay.

ABANINDRANATH TAGORE

ASUTOSH AND CHITTARANJAN: A STUDY

The passing away of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee and Deshabandhu Chittaranjan Das—twin-souls, however contrasted and separated by accident and circumstance within a year's swift interval, has been nothing short of a national tragedy. And yet adversity hath its uses and the secret of individual and collective progress is the capacity to transmute death into life. And thus India needs to be told from many an aspect of that in the life of both which can never die. India needs to assuage her thirst in that fount of *rasa* which coursed through that divine *līlā* that manifested itself in the stage of being as the composite personalities of an Asutosh and of a Chittaranjan. And once she has learnt to drink deep in that fount she will qualify also to march to the tune of the varied play of these two lives—so deep, so intense, so comprehensive, so vital, so sweet and withal so strong.

'Sweet and strong'—these were indeed the key-notes of that compacted and synthetised harmony which made up our beloved Asutosh and our dear Chittaranjan.

The strength of Asutosh—that which earned for him the sobriquet of the *Bengal Tiger* and the strength of Chittaranjan the *Deshabandhu* were, however, of a quality, apart. As an associate of both, I have had opportunities of judging about this quality in both stalwarts and though subtle things are difficult to discriminate and describe in concrete language, I have still an overpowering, an overmastering sense of power as expressed in both lives. Asutosh's strength lay concentrated in the brain: Chittaranjan's in the heart. The one dominated by sheer, uncompromising hard logic and ratiocination: the other by a drive of warm impulse that irrigated, inundated the dry wastes of the analytic, the probing intellect.

Asutosh was strong in a strength of memory, of marshaling of legions in the domain of fact: his being flowed in an equable, restrained, disciplined, channel—a clear, pellucid stream with the back-washes of diplomacy well-hidden from view: his fights were with weapons forged in the armoury of the adversary and he himself never disdained to don the uniform of the master whom he castigated and chastised as only a Brahmin versed in the strategies, old and new, can. A mathematical precision, a consistently continued march along high-ways and by-ways was his: he knew when to strike: he knew how to sharpen the weapons and how to use them: and when he struck, he struck as with a sledge-hammer. The enemy was stunned into defeat. Who can ever forget how the skilled generalissimo of the University forces had docked, ticketed and labelled every one of his lieutenants and privates, and called them up to fill their places in the fateful hours of strife? There was not a single distinguished graduate in Bengal whom he did not know by face and name—whom he had not cared to befriend and counsel—and to pull by the legs on occasion: and not a day passed when the sanctum of the Russa Road house was not trodden by the feet of pilgrim-academicians, and when the atmosphere there was not charged with loving kindness for some and blasting irony for others. For Sir Asutosh was nothing if not an accurate judge of 'men' and 'manikins' and to each variety he dealt out his gifts of forceful comradeship and scorning pity in appropriate measure. There was not the minutest nook in the spacious domains of the University, post-graduate and under-graduate with which he was not familiar: and he assayed his task of educational reconstruction with a mastery of details that was almost 'uncanny' and a vision of the Ideal that was almost prophetic. His soul was wrapt up in the coils of manly education for the upper and middle classes: and knowing as he did that Gokhale's dream of universalising elementary education among the broad

masses of India would not materialise for obvious reasons, he worked along other ways for the same ends. His dream was to create a band of intellectuals in the land whom sheer-hunger-urge would compel to descend into the arid plains of unlearned human dwelling and give of their best there.

But there was one thing which possibly escaped him and that was the gap created by this same education between the city-dwellers and the village-dwellers. He lacked also possibly, being a city-bred man himself, in that real contact with the village economy without which no bridging of the gulf between the classes and the masses is possible. And possibly he forgot also that a negative urge could never produce or stimulate a positive patriotism: starvelings could possibly not really be the active instruments of salvation for India's pauper millions.

But within these limitations, it must be confessed that Asutosh has beaten the Bureaucracy at its own game, that he has infused the breath of Asianism and Humanism into the corpse of a sterilised University system; rescued it from stiff-necked pedants and wily charlatans, made of it a magazine of free ideas and the rally-centre of Bengal's higher culture. In fact, he has attempted and achieved a most difficult task: he has created a State within the State—a State of autonomy for teacher and taught within the State which is yet a stronghold of orthodox irresponsibility. Sir Asutosh has been a supreme adept in repelling all invasions, from all quarters, of his kingdom—he repelled the Swadeshi attack of twenty years ago as much as the more insidious invasion of the Curzonian diplomacy and stiffened the defences: he successfully side-tracked the big assault of the Gandhi-Dasite wreckers (of whose company my humble self was also one) and after having weathered the storm, piloted the boat safe to harbour athwart the sly skirmishings of the new Reformed regime and across the now-famous Government House thunders. And this was how the Bengal Tiger “tigered” it all across the trail—and

silenced lesser beings into atrophy or compelled them into homage.

And yet who can ever forget the innate sweetness of this fighting Brahmin, the purity of his domestic life, the stern simplicity and *swadeshism* of living and dressing in which he revelled, the silent charities of his household? In ancient India this man among men would have carved out a bigger Nalanda—in modern Europe he would have carved out a free republic like another Hindenburg. But in modern Bengal he could only fashion a semi-democratic oasis in the Desert of Autocracy.

And Chittaranjan! The tears for the Deshabandhu, the country's devoted friend and the refuge of the poor, the depressed and oppressed are not yet dry in an admiring and mourning people's eyes and to write about him without passion or prejudice, understatement or overstatement is hard indeed. And yet as one who suffered and fought alongside of that Big Soul, fought *for* his innermost ideas and idealisms even when outwardly seeming to fight *against* certain modes and passing phases of his life, I make bold to say that there was hardly a greater born in Bengal—in the plane of activity after Sree Chaitanya. For Chittaranjan had in him the makings of a modern Chaitanya from the start: and while the secret of Asutosh's being was *Sakti*, a lava-flow of Power and Energising, the secret of Chittaranjan's life was that higher attribute which we call *Prema*, the liquid fire of *Love*—selfless, disinterested and pure—the prime mover of social forces. It was given to him to *love greatly* and those who love greatly suffer greatly also. This was the kingly dower, the royal largesse with which the Divine Lover had blest him; this is the heritage he has left us. Chittaranjan was a lover and a poet—a princely *Bhogi* (enjoyer) and a still more princely *Tyagi* (sacrificer). This prodigality of bounty was Chittaranjan's master-bias. He lived and loved, enjoyed and sacrificed, suffered and fought—with a sheer abandon that recked of no

limits and with a passionate ecstasy that sometimes seemed to run into an apparently wasteful excess. And thus as a lawyer he spent his own money over the cases of indigent clients and settled and started many such in life—as a poet his songs were songs of the wild, restless, elemental sea—as a humanitarian he could never despise even the fallen woman and has enshrined the tragic tribe in melodious lines of haunting love—as a music-lover, he went into raptures over *Kirtana-songs*, singing of the eternal love-play between the eternal types of man and woman of whom Krishna and Radha are exemplars. And when this prince among art-lovers and song-lovers came into the arena of politics, he came like a stormy petrel—wrecking, dashing, swaying millions to and fro—and all by sheer power of love. His was not the reason-monger's art—he did not diletantise like many a sickly, cynical latitudinarian in this land of be-dimmed stars and be-fogged suns—he appealed, he exhorted, he gathered and rallied thousands with the power bred of burning love. I know of the agony of his soul—I know of its crystal purity—I know of its hatred of shams and frauds—I know also of its impassioned zeal of obdurate opposition to its cherished ideas and programmes—I know of the fever, the fret, the worry—I know also of the superlative strength of this Himalayan personality and the break-neck speed of its Everest expedition in politics. I know of Chittaranjan *the ascetic*—as deeply as of Chittaranjan *the revolutionary*. Both were parts of one rounded whole—for his asceticism was coloured with the rose-hues of dreamy love—it was not of the orthodox, reactionary, dogmatic, stolid type which renounces the world and renounces humanism in the process, which exercises the flesh and lashes the Devil but cannot root out the desire for name and fame, which talks of God and His saints and feels of self and its satellites : and his *revolutionarism* was not the crude theory of a cruel physical retaliation, 'red in tooth and claw' which defeats its own end and in trying to subdue one evil creates hosts of other evils but the saving gospel of a

revolution of ideas and mental processes and outlook which, once accomplished, history may be trusted to take its course and the genius of Revolution may forge its own weapons according to stress of circumstance.

And thus it was that this lover of man wept and fought, sacrificed his all, suffered and enjoyed in the act—and was called away to the bosom of the Lover of Lovers when he had realised through his finite being a *rasa-līlā*, a sweet love-play, the meaning of which only He knows but the portent of which all India and Bengal are to read *in* the signs of the times—and to read *out of* all the glories and lapses, all the triumphs and failures of the movement for freedom which this political ascetic, this mighty delight-seeker in storm and thunder, this unwearied activist, and this unabashed poet of the Epic of Love on the stage of a federating, race-fusing, west-assimilating, East-reviving India led through fire and water.

This is not a political article. This is written by a man of some little culture for 'culturists' and cultured. I ask: is there a finer task than to bathe in this tossing stream of Love-culture which carried Deshabandhu through the eddies and whirls right into that greatest mystery which we mortals call Death and the Divine Immortals possibly hail as Life?

Bengal wants a synthesis—Asutosh's brain and Chittaranjan's heart—the co-ordinate play of intellect and love—the correlate flow and fructification of *Sakti* and *Prema* which alone can bridge the yawning chasm between the upper and middle classes and the 'great unwashed.' For will she in God's infinite mercy long wait for such a consummation for the Hour brings the Man.

NRIPENDRACHANDRA BANERJI

MOOD AND MOMENT

I. Mood.

My thoughts are constant in travail
 For birth of means to sate my will
 To wealth and fame—to lusts of flesh—
 The weary round, my life's tread-mill,
 I love my wealth, my wealth not me,
 Its ceaseless threat to leave me bare,
 Destroying all expected good,
 A mother is of carking care.
 They beat around loud drums of fame—
 A prison-house for heart and mind;
 A little while—they cease to please,
 But when they stop life's gall I find.
 To make my bed of lusts of flesh
 Takes weary day and wakeful night;
 The moment I on that bed lie
 Disgust awakes—I feel his might.
 False hope allures with whispers sweet—
 The last will bettered be by next,
 But next when comes 'tis naught but last,
 Like poisoned still air, freed and vexed.
 Disgusts above, disgusts below,
 Disgusts all round, now quick, now slow.
 Throw off thy guise, Flesh-witch accurst,
 What now thou art, thou wert from first.
 Throw off thy guise, to truth now show
 Thy horrid face that I may know.
 But list! unseen one whispers me
 Ask truth and thou shalt truly see—

Without Him all is living pain
But with Him joy's most sacred fane—
O Love, me-ward take swift wing
And let my poorest blood-drop sing.

II. Moment.

Whenev'r, Love, I turn my eyes
To what in heart I am
I'm lost in wonder at thy might
That soothes such storm to calm.
Ah! speech is dumbness 'fore thy grace
That speechless suffers ill,
Keeps smiling watch o'er vilest vile
Till vile's out-wearied, still.
Were I not that vilest vile
Hid had been that matchless smile.

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJI



To J. S.

(Aged Six.)

I am hungry when I see you,
All the blood wells to my heart :
I would give the world to be you,
See you on your journey start.

Pains that never come to others
Through your sweet blood take their way,
Feelings that your wisdom smothers,
Mother's lore of yesterday.

Songs your quiv'ring lips are forming
Halt before their jewell'd throne,
Fancies thick and fast are warming,
Swarming in your heart's sweet zone.

Day by day fond Nature lingers,
Decking you in lavish ways
From soft neck to delicate fingers,
Singers must your beauty praise !

Slow on regal paths are moving
All her plans to make you bright,
With deft hands and skill improving,
Proving she is only right.

When you bind your silken tresses,
Maid with wonderful blue eyes,
She will tell you, with caresses,
Blisses countless are your prize.

J. M. K. MAKENZIE

THE SIKH MASANDS

(Reply to the Rejoinder)

I am thankful to Mr. Teja Singh for drawing attention to the question of the *daswandh* or tithes as organised by Guru Arjun, referred to in my article on the *Sikh Masands*, published in the *Calcutta Review* of April, 1925. I have read with admiration Mr. Teja Singh's works on Sikh theology and I have the highest respect for his scholarship. But I feel that in saying that I did not carefully look to my authorities in dealing with the question of the *daswandh* he has not done me justice. I fully agree with him that the only reliable authority on the point is the *Dabistân-i-Mazâhib* of Mohsin Fani. I will quote from Mr. Teja Singh's own translation the really relevant portion of the passage in question :

"In the time of the predecessors of the Fifth Guru no *bhairat* or tribute was taken from the Sikhs. It was considered satisfactory to take *what they themselves presented as gifts*. Guru Arjun in his time appointed for Sikhs in every city a man who was to take *tribute and contribution* from them; and through whom people became Sikhs of the Guru." (*The italics are mine.*) Evidently, Mohsin Fani is making a distinction between '*what they themselves presented as gifts*' and '*tribute and contribution*' and to my mind it seems clear that the distinction mainly consisted in the fact that the latter were obligatory. Mr. Teja Singh says, 'the difference between the system prevailing before Guru Arjun and that introduced by himself was that before him the offerings were very occasional and were brought directly by Sikhs to the Guru, while now he made it regular and established a system of collections through authorised agents.' Even if we admit that this interpretation is the correct one the question as to whether the tithes were made obligatory or not remains open. But I think that the question is set at rest by the later conduct of the *Masands* for it would hardly have been possible for them to practise unbounded tyranny and oppression on the Sikhs, as they did subsequently, if the tithes were not obligatory.

I do not also clearly see how my statement that 'the voluntary contributions of the faithful were converted into compulsory taxation' constitutes 'a very grave charge against the character of a great spiritual leader.' If the objection really arises out of my having used the word '*taxation*' I may say at once that I have no particular love for the word and that any other word like *tribute* or *contribution* would equally serve my purpose. A tax, however, is not necessarily unjust or oppressive. As Mr. Teja Singh himself points out, 'along with living a godly life as an individual, the Sikh was to form part of a corporate life' (Growth of Responsibility in Sikhism, p. 2) and no question of hardship or injustice can arise merely because he is asked to shoulder his share of the common burden to the best of his ability.

INDU BHUSAN BANERJEE

THE ETHICS OF GENIUS

The anthropological sciences devote themselves almost exclusively to the study of the normal man—the man whom we ordinarily meet in our daily life and who represents the bulk of society. In scientific language, he is the 'type.' He represents the common and essential attributes of the class and does so in their proper relation and due proportion.

But the typical man does not exhaust the class. There are deviations from the type as well. There are instances where one or other of the class-qualities is developed beyond the ordinary limit; and this is probably counterbalanced by the undergrowth of another. Thus, broadly speaking, one who has more than the ordinary dose of hunger or sleep or even speech, does to that extent deviate from the type.

This remark applies to almost all human attributes. Very few men can be regarded as types in the strictest sense of the term. Almost every power or faculty is found just a little less or just a little more developed in some man or other. One, for instance, possesses more than ordinary imagination, and is a poet; another may possess very little of imagination, but may have more than the ordinary power of calculation and the sense of expediency; he will be probably a successful business man.

These are the most ordinary deviations; and, for that reason, do not attract much special attention. But still they are deviations, and are responsible for the diversity in society.

But there are more important deviations; in the first place, there is the criminal, in the second, the man of genius.

That the criminal is an aberration from the type, has long been recognised. So long ago as the middle of the last century, the criminal was regarded more as a deviation from the *moral* type than anything else. He was a moral decrepit,

a sinner against the law of God. That was about all. But there was one important fact which was usually overlooked,—at any rate, never emphasised;—*viz.*, his psychological similarities, along with many important differences, with the ordinary man.

In the first place, criminality does not imply a special instinct or a unique faculty which is not found at all in other men. A criminal, too, has more or less just the same springs of action as all of us. But there is admittedly a vast difference in the strength and intensity of these impulses. In a criminal, there are some impulses which are more developed and more intense, and some, again, which are less intense, than in an ordinary man. For instance, love of wealth is an ordinary and quite legitimate impulse; it is present in all men; but when grown to an excess, it becomes a source of criminality. The psychology of a shrewd business man bent on making profit, and that of a clever sharper, are not intrinsically different in kind. Both have more or less the same springs of action. But surely there is a remarkable difference in the intensity and magnitude of the impulses. And the difference in the intensity of impulses implies a corresponding difference in the power of self-control. Many of us possibly cast covetous eyes upon what is our neighbour's; but we resist the impulses and are not criminals; but the unfortunate few who cannot resist, are so. Generally speaking, therefore, the criminal mind does not differ *in kind* from the normal mind.

Yet it does differ, in so far as there are differences in the strength and intensity, etc., of the springs of action, feelings, and so forth. And in so far as it differs from the ordinary mind, it is an aberration from the type; it is not the healthy, normal type;—it is *abnormal*, and for the sake of distinguishing it from genius, we may call it sub-normal.

Now, this *sub-normal* species, the criminal, was usually regarded as sub-moral—as an aberration from the moral type.

He was a bad man, as opposed to the good. He might be good, but he was not, and he was responsible for what he was. Society condemned him and punished him for being a criminal and held out the further threat of perdition—of torment after death. In fact, he was not regarded as anything more than an aberration from the moral type only. His sub-morality eclipsed his sub-normality. This was the old way of thinking—the way of thinking that we find in the Book of Job—the way of thinking which attributed even physical goods and ills to a man's morality.

But other truths have dawned since. A criminal is now beginning to be regarded as more an aberration from the physical type than anything else. He is now regarded as a physically degenerate—a diseased, person; diseased in the most ordinary sense. According to Lombroso and his school, the criminal is just as diseased as an insane person. In fact, he, too, is insane. A mad man or an epileptic is not morally responsible; his brain is diseased, and his mind is malformed. In the same way, it is argued, criminality too, is a disease—and presumably a disease of the brain too, and, just as an insane person cannot help being what he is and doing what he does, so,—and exactly for similar reasons—a criminal too, cannot help being what he is. In both cases, similar organic causes are at work.

We need not pause to examine the soundness of this theory. It is undeniable that the theory has found acceptance in important scientific circles. One attractive feature of the theory is that, it vouchsafes a humaner treatment for the criminal. We do not look with disfavour—and certainly never with moral disapprobation—upon a man who labours under an organic deformity. An idiot excites pity and not moral condemnation; a mad man is an object of commiseration. And so, if we could only believe that a criminal is also a diseased person, we would pity him rather than condemn him. This would decidedly ensure for him a better treatment in society.

But the question still awaits a final solution. It is not easy to prove that crime does not involve any voluntary perversion of the will—that it is purely an organic defect, a sort of malformation of the brain; nor is it easy to disprove it either. It cannot be denied that education and environment have a profound influence on mentality. It cannot be denied, again, that crimes abound in particular classes of society rather than others. These and similar reasons give plausibility to the theory, just referred to.

Whichever way the question may be decided, the ethical significance of the theory is very important. Once the theory is accepted, the moral colour of crime will at once change; and one's view of responsibility must undergo a revision. If a lunatic is pitied rather than condemned, and if, in the eye of law as well as of ordinary mortals, he is free from responsibility for what he does, then, why should a different attitude be maintained towards the criminal, who also is diseased? Why should not the prison yield place to the hospital? Why should not the police and the magistracy be shown the door and, instead, why should not all civilised states strengthen the medical services and the clergy? Since the good old days of the celebrated 'Vicar of Wakefield,' the question has been insistently asked, and philosophic thought is waiting for an answer.

That crime is not a moral phenomenon only—that it is a "phenomenon of complex origin and the result of biological, physical and social conditions"—has come to be pressed upon our attention with very great emphasis. But that this view of crime involves a change in our moral outlook and that this change in its turn, is fraught with other consequences, has not perhaps been equally emphasised. We regarded the criminal as a bad man; we are beginning to look upon him as a sick man; this means that the responsibility for a phenomenon like crime, is shifted from the will of the agent to his environment. And if doctoring the body and through it, the mind, is the proper way to mitigate crime, then, the whole

moral code of mankind must undergo a severe overhauling. For Ethics and for Jurisprudence this change is pregnant with remarkable consequences.

One thing, however, is clear; whether we refer to the physical or the moral type, the criminal, in any case, is an aberration from the type. He is other than normal. Now, there is another remarkable case of aberration; it is genius. Whatever our definition of genius may be, he is not an ordinary man. He is of a different sort, and as such, away from the normal. The aberration may not be exactly of the same kind, but both crime and genius are *ab-normal*; and if the former has been called sub-normal, the latter may, for the sake of distinction, be called *super-normal*. But it is important for us, first of all, to be convinced of the fact that genius, too, is a deviation from the type.

Of course, that does not necessarily imply any disparagement of genius. For genius, on the contrary, we have nothing but adoration. He transcends the ordinary man. He has the ordinary man in him and much more besides. He begins just where an ordinary man stops—and therein lies his greatness. If the imaginative or musical faculty of an ordinary man steps at a particular point, that of a man of genius goes much further beyond; that is why he is great. He deviates from the type, but does so with advantage. And unlike the criminal, a genius is adored rather than condemned, in spite of the fact, that, he, too, like the criminal, is a deviation from the type.

Now, all this is true. Yet we must emphasise the fact that genius is a deviation from the type. And if we are not to be confounded, we must distinguish this fact of deviation from the greatness usually associated with genius. It will then be discovered that although greatness in some direction covers a host of smaller defects, yet everything in genius is not perhaps equally adorable.

Genius has been far less studied than the criminal. Society

has to deal with the criminal; but for genius, the usual attitude is admiration from a distance rather than study at close quarters. But like crime, genius, too, is a problem.

Ordinary psychology usually stops at the level which development reaches in the case of a normal mind; yet, although geniuses are not as plentiful as ordinary minds, there is no reason why the science of mind, should not venture further out and investigate the laws and nature of the development which culminates in the production of a genius.

Ordinary Ethics, similarly, stops with the ordinary man. It sets up an ideal which is presumably intended for the ordinary run of mortals. But it forgets that in setting up an ideal which excludes the extra-ordinary, it tends to perpetuate mediocrity. Apart from this, geniuses, too, are men and have got to be adjusted with the moral idea. The *sub-normal*, *i.e.*, the criminal, may be ignored, because, for him, Ethics still has nothing but condemnation; but the *super-normal* or genius, cannot be ignored with impunity; because, the very fact that he is adored, shows that he is more or less an ideal. For Ethics, therefore, genius is far more important than criminality.

In fact, genius, too, is coming in for its share of attention from the sciences. But the first fruits of such investigation are hardly very complimentary to it.

On the physical—rather, psycho-physical—side, genius has been found to be not only abnormal but sub-normal—not only a deviation from the type, but a disadvantageous deviation,—far below the normal. Physically and mentally, he has been declared to be unsound. Genius has been proclaimed to be a disease of the brain and nerves, and consequently of the mind—and a disease of the same kind as what is ordinarily called ‘insanity.’ “Medical materialism,” as William James characteristically calls it, has discovered that genius does not denote a *healthy* mind. Probably there is no

difference of opinion as to what 'health' exactly means; at any rate, it is presumed that there is none. And judged according to that standard of health, genius, it is contended, is a disease.

Perhaps there are few who would not be diseased in this way and be a genius; but that does not alter the conclusions of science. And although it may be a moot point whether the geniuses who have made this discovery are less diseased in brain than the geniuses they have studied, still the conclusion arrived at remains unaffected. In fact, it has been seriously maintained by eminent men—call them also diseased if you please, but all the same they are eminent in science—it has been maintained by such men, that, genius is a form of nervous instability.

Primarily, the theory is physiological. In the first place, genius is considered to be diseased in the body—especially, in the brain-centres and nervous system. Secondly, as a consequence of the first, he is considered to be diseased in mind, too. There is a correlation between mind and body; nervous instability, therefore, implies mental unsoundness.

Now, to refer to some leading opinions on the subject of insanity of genius, Dr. Moreau, quoted by William James, says: "Genius is but one of the many branches of the neuropathic tree." "Genius," says Dr. Lombroso, "is a symptom of hereditary degeneration of the epileptoid variety and is allied to moral insanity." "Genius, like moral insanity," says the same doctor again, "has its basis in epilepsy." Mr. Nisbet, another author on the subject, has a whole book in which he discusses, from the medical standpoint, the biographies of more than two hundred men of genius and comes to the conclusion that genius is a form of insanity.

Everybody is aware that genius is not *called* insanity in the same sense in which certain men, shut up in specific asylums, are so called. But the point is that, if the brains of

a genius and those of a person ordinarily called insane, were subjected to a medical scrutiny, then, in all likelihood, no difference would be traceable. In both, the hemispheres, the centres, the convolutions and the rest, are abnormally shaped and formed; both are subject to epilepsy, hallucination and other symptoms of mental ill-health.

Genius, therefore, is a disease; only unlike ordinary diseases, it makes the mind super-active and bestows upon mankind various products which are ordinarily very much appreciated. But even as to the value of the products of genius, opinion is not undivided. Max Nordeau, for instance, would not stop short of calling the entire range of production attributed to genius, an unmistakable sign of 'degeneration.' According to him, genius is, of course, a degeneration; but, whatever it produces, is no less so. All works of art—all music and poetry—nay, probably all display of scientific imagination and consequent discovery—must henceforth be branded as 'degenerate.' It is a morbid, diseased mind—a hypochondriac, that produces music; poetry is an acute form of sentimentality and diseased imagination. And the same is of course true of all other manifestations of genius.

So, not only is genius a disease, but whatever it produces is also degenerate. If no special value is attached to the ravings of a mad man, why should we applaud poetry to the seventh sky? Why should prophecy be regarded as divine? If *delirium tremens* is placed under careful medical treatment, why should music enjoy the place of honour in society?

Shall we not go farther and hold that, not only is genius and its product a disease and a degeneration, but even the *appreciation* of genius, of which all of us are probably guilty, is a sign of impending degeneration? To listen to and to appreciate music, for instance, is to have an affinity for something which is degenerate, and cannot escape the brand.

Genius and the products of genius have been thus publicly arraigned. We may not accept the view that genius is a disease

—which implies deterioration ;—but we have to recognise that it is a deviation from the type. It certainly does not denote the ordinary sort of mind : probably it is a supergrowth ; in some respects, it certainly involves development beyond the ordinary limit, reached by typical minds. But there is the further probability that this *supergrowth* in one direction may involve an *undergrowth* in another ; in fact, it is very often found that a genius is usually deficient in some faculty or other. To that extent he is perhaps diseased. He is not diseased just in the faculty in which he excels others ; but in other faculties, he may be—in fact, usually is—deficient. A military genius is not infrequently found deficient in moral perception. An artistic genius may have defective powers of retention ; and so forth. So, not only is genius a deviation from the type but also is very likely diseased in some faculty or other.

We may, therefore, take it as proved, that, genius is an aberration from the type ; which implies, in the first place, that he has a defective body, and, in the second place, that he has a defective mind. Now, this mental defect raises another question : Is it the same sort of defect as we find in a criminal ?

Heaven, it has been said, is partitioned from hell with a thin wall. Between crime and genius, even this thin wall, according to some, does not exist. Lombroso, for instance, suggests that genius and moral insanity have a common basis in epilepsy. Epilepsy or hysteria or brain-paralysis is immaterial ; if moral insanity and genius have a common or even a kindred origin, then the chances are that they will not differ in kind, nor therefore in value.

We have seen a view of crime, which refers it to organic causes ; we find a similar view of genius,—almost the self-same organic interpretation. Now arises the question about its moral value. Shall we have the same estimation for both ? If genius is applauded, why not crime, too ? And if crime is condemned, why not genius, too ?

Although there are crimes which verge on genius and evoke a similar admiration, and, although even murder may sometimes become a 'fine art,' still, according to ordinary judgment, crime *is* sub-normal, while genius is *super*-normal; and, morally speaking, the one is supermoral, while the other is submoral. Evidently, moral judgment condemns crime but excuses and even applauds genius. It seems to be presumed that moral judgment must stop with the ordinary man and must not attempt to soar or to clip the wings of genius.

In other words, although psycho-physically, both crime and genius sail in the same boat, yet in Ethics they meet with a different reception. Is this justified?

That genius claims to be supermoral and to be exempt from moral criticism altogether, is amply illustrated in the case of Art. Art, it has been said, is not amenable to moral judgment. If it is Art, that is enough. Morality is not to be looked for in it. And if the activity exhibited in Art is free from moral criticism, why not the agent, *i.e.*, the Artist, too? Now, art is but one form of genius; if it is not subject to moral judgment, other forms of genius also need not be. In fact, we have such claims advanced on behalf of genius. The Super-man who has made such a violent entry into the present-day literature of Europe, embodies in their most impressive form, the claims of genius to be exempt from moral criticism. But until these claims are granted, we have to face the problem of evaluating genius in the light of its proved or presumed affinity with crime.

The problem arises in this way: Psycho-physically, crime and genius are shown to have a common basis: and moreover, each is frequently found in the company of the other; as crime may often assume the proportion of genius, so, genius too, not infrequently exhibits criminal propensities. That is to say, genius is a deviation not only from the physical type of health but also from the moral type. This is

what is meant when scientists talk of the 'insanity' of genius. The very fact that genius claims exemption from moral criticism, implies that it *has* some taint of moral aberration. And the lives of great men often bear out this contention.

This leads to the thesis that a hero is but a successful villain, a genius is but a clever criminal, and a criminal on a larger scale perhaps. In other words, the sort of activity which ordinarily is called crime, if pursued on a large scale and if crowned with success, will be regarded as a stroke of genius. Poets will sing its praise and monuments and obelisks will rise in its honour. If the leader of a small party of men, starts an expedition against private property, he is, like the well-known Thracian and like Rob Roy of ballad fame, a robber and an outlaw: and his party is a gang of bandits. But if he is a mightier man, leads a bigger party and robs on an immensely larger scale, then, his party is an army and himself is a conqueror. Then the pages of history will be full of his praise; later generations will scrutinise his exploits with reverence and admiration; and his life will be the theme of many an epic poem.

The fact states us in the face that a pick-pocket and a multi-millionaire may have the same propensity—vulgarly called greed. The one robs a pice, is caught and is punished; the other robs millions, is not caught, and is not only not punished but has eulogies bestowed on him. The instincts and impulses may not be—and often are not—different in geniuses and criminals. The difference often lies in the dimensions of the act done—and probably in the magnitude of the impulse also. But this difference of quantity only, does not preclude the possibility of kinship. Magnitude apart, crime and genius may have the same moral tone. Psychologically, the difference between the Macedonian hero, and the Thracian robber, has not been established perhaps; yet the judgment of history has been different in the two cases.

Ethics, however, must put up its back and refuse to be dazzled and misled by the mere size of the activity.

In at least some cases, therefore, crime and genius do not differ, except of course in magnitude, and, therefore, also in consequences. In some cases, at least, the mental attitude is the same in both. There is another and a more important point. Genius usually connotes intellectual greatness *rather than* moral perfection. Nay more; genius is frequently found tainted with moral perversion. The lives of many great men—of the Shelleys and Byrons and others—will illustrate this truth. These had in them elements which we cannot but applaud; but at the same time, many of them had striking defects of character which we cannot but deplore.

The argument perhaps has been mainly based on an induction by simple enumeration. But from the frequency of the association of genius with moral defects, it may be fairly presumed that there is some necessary connection. If the connection can be shown to be illusory, Ethics will be relieved of a great problem. If, on the other hand, genius is really a case of moral pathology, Ethics has a Gordian knot to untie or to cut.

Genius, like other characters, must be either approved or condemned; there is no *via media*. But if crime and genius are but two sides of the same shield, then, to approve genius is to approve crimes of large dimensions. On the other hand, to disapprove genius, is to put a premium upon the ordinary and the mediocre and to keep humanity perpetually dwarfed. We are thus on the horns of a dilemma. Assuming that there is a necessary connection between a certain amount of moral turpitude and the phenomenon of genius, society must be prepared either to relax its moral standard or to forego the luxury of owning a genius.

If we rigorously adhere to the moral ideal as it is usually understood, then, we may be good men, but not perhaps great. If we do not admit even the slightest deviation from the

prescribed rules of conduct, then, surely, we may attain a symmetry of growth and a harmony of development, but in such a development, none of the elements of our selves will go beyond the ordinary limit: we shall have intelligence, but just the usual dose of it; we shall have imagination, but not more than the average; and in the same way, we shall probably possess all that a man ought to possess, and that in due proportion; and besides, we shall act, too, just in the reasonable way that good men should act in; but assuredly, that will mean anything but greatness. An overzealous adherence to the standard of goodness, therefore, has a tendency to prevent greatness and to dwarf humanity. Society may very well get on with an army of such good men, but it cannot go forward and improve, except with the help of great men—men of outstanding ability and, therefore, men who deviate from the standard type.

In Art and Literature and manufactures and industries, it is always found that unless one is prepared to deviate from the accepted standard of production, there will be only repetitions of the old type and no novelty; no fresh production, and no improvement will be possible. Because the ancients wore a particular kind of cloth, we do not stick to that fashion; we venture to deviate and so make improvements. Because the ancients followed a custom, should we stick to it eternally? Should we not deviate and make reform possible? In the same way, because the bulk of the race follow an ideal, should genius, too, be chained to it?

Moral health, like its physical counterpart, denotes a perfectly desirable state. It implies a symmetry, a proportion and a harmony, which can never be overvalued. But at the same time, we cannot deny the right of genius to exist. It is not an avoidable luxury but a sheer necessity for society in order that it may improve.

Assuming, therefore, that genius is a case of physical and moral ill-health, one of two things has got to be done:—

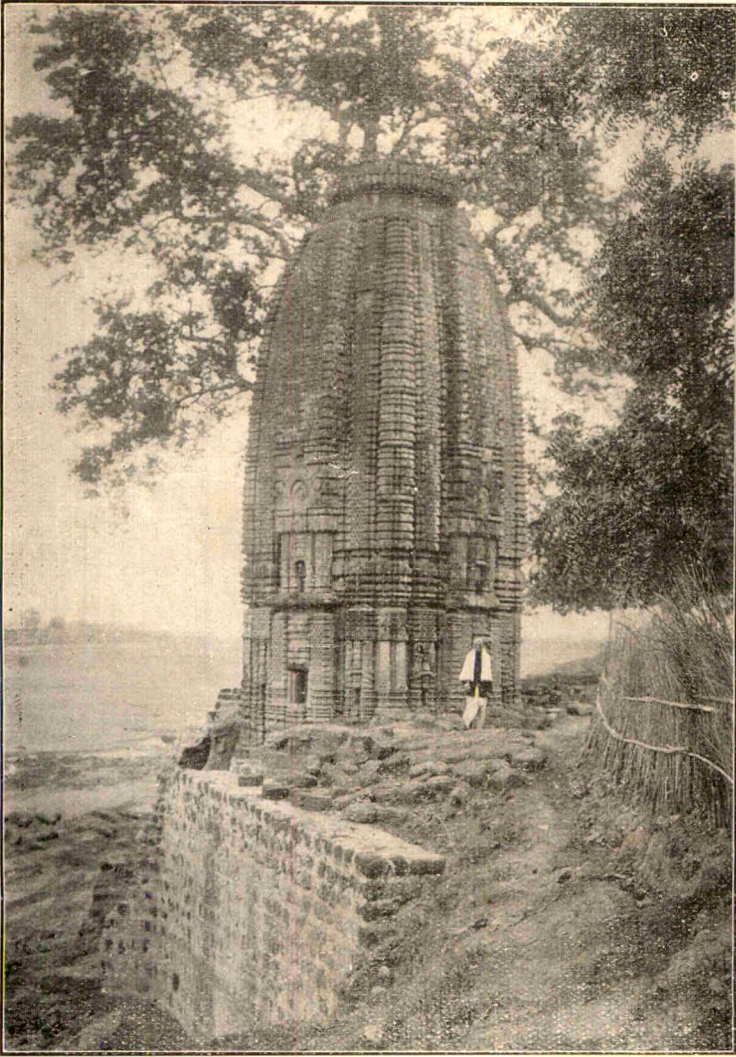
either society must be content without great men or the moral defects in the case of genius must be condoned :—which means that when an immorality is compensated by greatness in some other direction, it will have to be overlooked. And in view of the fact, that, society has need for great men, we cannot but accept the second alternative. In history, in biography and in newspaper estimate of public men, this is the alternative usually chosen.

But what does it imply? Does it not imply that, after all, society adopts utility as the standard of value? And that moral rules like office regulations are intended only to ensure discipline and certainly admit of exceptions?

UMESHCHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA

SONEPUR

[*By courtesy of His Highness the Maharaja of Sonapur*]



The Baidyanath Temple—This old temple with fine carved work is situated on the Tel River.



The Ghāt attached to the Rājā's Palace, Sonepur.



Confluence of the Mahanadi and the Telnadi—The city of Sonepur was established at this point after the Kings of Kosala became the rulers of all Orissa in the 10th-11th centuries.



The Rameswara Temple—Situatd near the confluence of the



The Temple of Kosaleswara—Ruins of Old Temple

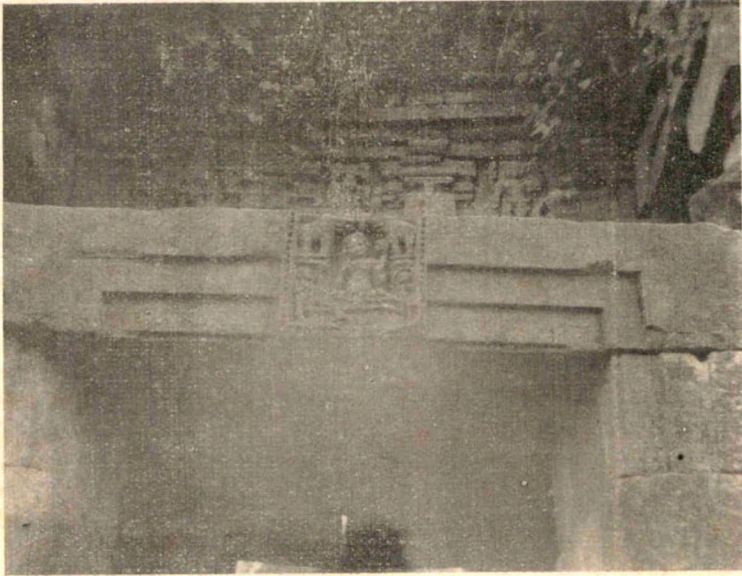


Image of Matangi Mahalakshmi on carved lintel of Kosaleswara Temple Gate.



The Lankeswari Rock in the Mahanadi bed, with old inscriptions,

CIVILIZATION AS SEEN BY A CHINESE

(An Allegory)

Introductory Note.—During recent years, particularly in the Orient, scholars of vision and thought have lost a large share of their confidence in what is called our present-day civilization. This turn of attitude is by no means strange because even in the West thinking men and women, prophets as well as professors, are also becoming seriously anxious over the prevailing tendencies of the progress of civilization.

The phenomenal growth and power of industrialism inflated by pseudo-science and national imperialism has made this earth, instead of a comfortable and beautiful place for people to live in, a troubled world too hard even for poets and philosophers to meditate in. The universal agitation and havoc caused by the Great War even led pessimists to think of returning to the primitive handcraft stage. But the retreat they are planning is like the retreat of an army before meeting its real enemy. In one sense the pessimists are cowards because they are afraid of meeting the enemy face to face, an evil of our time which has to be faced by every one of us if he is going to be a warrior for our civilization.

The evils of our time are not solely due to our civilization. As a matter of fact, civilization is human made so we can destroy it at our will. The bad symptoms and discrepancies are but indications of our inability to cope with the civilization we have made or the wilful misuse of our power to push ourselves to ruin. Therefore civilization is like a newly constructed steamboat; its service to humanity depends entirely upon our using it for life-saving purpose or for life-destroying projects.

Although, superficially speaking, there are differences of opinion between East and West concerning an ideal civilization, but in a few fundamentals they do agree. We all recognize goodness, happiness, beauty, love and truth as the criteria for measuring any civilization. To attain all these, we have religion, philosophy, art, literature and science. The West has assimilated the Eastern religion just as heartily as the East is assimilating the Western science. The chief purpose, if there is any, of human life is to save and promote our individual lives through the understanding and appreciation of nature. This is, and should be of course, a slow process. It is only in recent years that the use of nature has come to be the chief concern for our lives that our civilization has turned abruptly to materialism. Thus our

very lives are becoming more and more mechanical every day and our very civilization is endangered.

* * * * *

What then makes up our present-day civilization? Let me allegorically or whimsically call the East and the West as two families who make up our civilization. Each family is still consisting of father, mother, uncles and aunts, sister and brother.

Religion in each family is the mother. She stands for the understanding and appreciation of God or the universe. She teaches us to reach Heaven, the goal of truth, by climbing Jacob's ladder to attain goodness, beauty, happiness and love. Religion has found for us love, happiness, beauty and goodness by this short-cut way to truth, and since she is our mother, she always tries to keep us on this upward way, to protect us from falling, and to do too much for us. There are times when we children prefer to be out in the world to play on the sandy beach, to meet storms and waves as they come, preferring to find pleasure and truth for ourselves. But mother knows our weakness, and the pitfalls and dangers of the world so she always tries to shelter us under her arms. Both East and West give mother the first position in our family.

Standing next in position in our family is philosophy, our father. His love for us is just as deep as mother's, but his appearance always bears a tint of coldness. Most of us probably give more of our love to mother but it is the father whom we should give more of our attention and reverence. It is he who tries to teach us the understanding and purpose of life. Unlike mother he likes to take us out in the world to meet life problem. He is a man therefore independent. He says, "Little ones and weak ones remain with your mother, but you who are strong come with me that you may in time be able to stand upon your own feet. By exploring we shall have a chance to find a highway to truth.

In going out, we at least have a better chance in finding truth than dreaming at home. When we return we may be able to bring some precious gifts to your mother and sister for surprise. Those who come with me have to be open-minded, open-eyed, courageous and persistent in order to find beauty, happiness and goodness for themselves. Out in the open, we can see better with light of the Sun than with your mother's candle lantern."

Knowledge, skill, faculty and free will are our uncles and aunts on our father's side; music, poetry, art and literature are our uncles and aunts on our mother's. Because of their distant relationship, they do not try to protect us as a mother, nor do they treat us with dignity as a father. Occasionally they do discuss with us some of the real serious questions of life and love, goodness and truth, but usually they only entertain us in our leisure times or console us in sorrow or help us out from troubles. On big occasions they also lavish precious gifts upon us which give us pleasure and happiness, but they can make us laugh as well as weep, and often weep and laugh together. They are often great actors and actresses, poets and musicians. Because they are friendly without hypocrisy, frank without restraint, free from affectation, more or less informal and again entertaining, we all like to be in their company. For this intimacy they probably know us better than even father and mother. They can mimic and portray us as we are. From them we also gain the understanding of life and nature, and with their children we play, we laugh, we love. They are the real pleasure of the family and they give colour and light to the family. Since they are many in number, they occupy a large space in our family.

Science, the youngest member in the family, came to us rather late. She is our young sister who has recently given mother a good deal of trouble. But of late she has become the sole pet of father. In their old age each will need her

badly ; for she has really brought a new life and light to our family. Because she is young, she has already rejuvenated the whole family. We all love her, and all our uncles, aunts and cousins love her, particularly her cousin from the East, the Applied Art, is distractedly in love with her.

Only recently I have been troubled about one thing ; I have learned that young sister is often in company with our captured slave Mammon. Everywhere and in every way he seduces her to kiss him, and in some ways she has actually encouraged him with a smile or even a talk in tête-à-tête. Of course he has no hope of getting a consent from either mother or father, but that is why he is all the more furious in his desire for her. Only through marrying her he can become more powerful and honourable, so he is exercising all his eloquence in wooing her. Once in encounter I tried my dagger on his heart, but I find his heart is made of brass and copper, iron and steel. He is a seducer, the serpent and the Devil. He is only trying to despoil our sister of her purity and our family of its honour. Though our slave has been very useful and is very necessary to our family and in fact to us everybody, he was born a slave. He is unfaithful because he changes his masters all the time. He flatters and works always for the rich and despises, cheats and chastises the poor. His trick is that of Pied Piper, with his sweet music, he induces the children of the world to run after him. He makes himself even indispensable to mother and father so they are compelled to allow him free play of his fancy. Since he is a man of metal heart incapable of true love so he should be loved only with abstract love. The best way to deal with him is to have him change his masters as often as possible so as to keep him busy and out of mischief.

We cannot bear to see our sister marry such a monster because we all love her too well. She is much more indispensable to our family than any other member because she helps father as well as mother. She takes them out into the open.

When their eyes fail to see, she sees for them, when their ears fail to hear, she listens and interprets for them. She rejuvenates them, guides and guards them when they are out. In the house, she also helps mother in washing dishes although she has broken many of mother's favourite ones inherited from ancient forefathers. Even uncles and aunts cannot let her marry Mammon for she is a real expert in designs and discoveries of new things. She transforms raw materials into articles ready for use. She harnesses nature like a domestic animal and employs our servant Mammon to do work which he never could do before. Yet she herself has been always patient and cheerful and painstaking. She is ever ready to serve and never has been selfish. Only due to our over-confidence on her power of transforming things that we picked the best flowers from our garden for her to make them into fruits. When we find that she could by no means do such a miracle, we complain that it was she who was to blame for the destruction of the best flowers.

So when she was accused of being the cause of the last Great War her frank reply was this:

"Utilization of nature is but my hobby, understanding of nature is my job, and appreciation of nature is my aim. I like to create new things but I do not like to create one new object by destroying ten that are old as you foolish men often do. Besides I am not in love with Mammon as you think I am. I have been and am still trying to study the real nature of him in the endeavour to find some means of controlling him, for, of late, he has become almost uncontrollable. He bears a grudge against everyone in our family. It is he who is going to be the ruination of us all.

"If I fail in my project, none of you can control him. Then in turn the world will become his slave, he the master. Only I know his power and his weakness, because I know of what he is made. If you all will support me with your virile strength and your co-operative spirit, we can make him

do more work than he ever did before. Now, our cousin Applied Art from the Orient is needing my help badly. I also need his Eastern strength to protect me from temptation. With his mind combined with my skill directed by his father and mother, we may be able to build a new family house upon the Mount Ever Rest."

The Savant of the East has said recently: "Do you not think that God would be ashamed if His beautiful world all of a sudden lost its tender grass, its beautiful flowers, and the soil become fields of stone, roads and iron bridges and viaducts and the office buildings of all sorts and nothing else? He would feel ashamed of such a world which loses its colour, its tenderness, its invitation to love and beauty which becomes merely useful—And God would be ashamed of humanity when it loses its power of sympathy and love and hospitality and becomes unscrupulously self-seeking and egoistic and nationalistic with what these people call the Nordic quality of those fit to become rulers of men—This they are: only rulers of men and not human beings weak and simple."

So it is our duty now to help science to control Mammon, to help God to restore love, beauty and happiness to man. If it is directed by divine wisdom, carried out by human love and virtue, then our civilization is going towards light and life. If governed by Mammon and executed through mechanical clash and competition, then civilization will be a curse, this world a prison for all human beings with no difference between jailors and prisoners.

CHI HWANG CHU

Reviews

Economic Life in Ancient India : A Systematic Survey—by Maganlal A. Buch, M.A., Professor of Philosophy, Baroda College, 1924, price cloth cover 2 volumes, Rs. 15, one volume Rs. 12.

The Economic History of Ancient India—by Santoshkumar Dass, M.A., Professor of History and Economics, Tribhubanchandra College, Nepal, January, 1925, price Rs. 3.

The economic history of ancient India is a vast and complicated, withal a most interesting and important subject of study, but it has as yet received but scant attention from scholars who for a long time failed to recognise the importance of the subject. Attempts were, no doubt, made, from time to time, to reconstruct pictures of the economic conditions of particular periods, the most notable of them being the researches of Professors Zimmer, Macdonnell and Keith from the Vedas, of Dr. Fick and Mrs. Rhys Davids from the Jatakas and of Hopkins from the Great Epic of India. But for a long time there was no endeavour to treat the subject as a whole or describe the economic condition of ancient India in a systematic and connected way. Writing in 1901, in the pages of the J.R.A.S. Mrs. Rhys Davids appealed to all students of Indian history to devote their attention to this important study and held forth the prospect of a bumper harvest to the most deserving. In the year following, the late Mr. Rhys Davids in the course of his account of "Buddhist India" also wrote to the same purport.

For a long time there was no audible response to their call. But of late there has come about a change. In 1919, at the initiation of late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, one paper on the Ancient Economic History of India was introduced under the Ancient Indian History and Culture Course in M.A. At his invitation, again, Professor J. N. Samaddar of the Patna College delivered a course of Readership lectures on the Economic Condition of Ancient India before the advanced students of the Calcutta University.

Since then, within the last few months, two other books on this subject have been published. Mr. Buch prepared his thesis as the Springer Research Scholar of the Bombay University, while Mr. Dass's work was originally a series of lectures delivered to the students of the now defunct Kalikata Vidyapith in 1922-23.

These two books cover almost the same ground. But the ways in which the two authors handle their subjects and also the periods they set themselves to study are not exactly identical. Mr. Buch surveys the period "beginning with the Rigveda and ending roughly with the age of Asoka," and he makes a subjective treatment of his object of study. While Mr. Dass commences from the Palaeolithic Age or the very earliest times that man was known to have inhabited the country and comes down to the age of Harsha. This vast stretch of years he divides into the following ages and periods :—the Palaeolithic Age, the Neolithic Age, the Copper Age, the Rigvedic Age, the Brahman Period (—600 B.C.), the Age of Gautama Buddha (600 B.C.—321 B.C.), Maurya Period (321 B.C.—186 B.C.), the Andhra-Kushana Period (200 B.C.—300 A.D.), the Gupta Period (320 A.D.—550 A.D.), and the Age of Harsha 600 A.D.—647 A.D.).

Objection may be taken to some of these divisions both upon grounds of terminology and chronology. Thus it would be proper to rename what is commonly called the Rigvedic Age as the Samhita Age. The author's carrying the age of Gautama Buddha down to 321 B.C., the commonly accepted date of Chandragupta, is equally unsatisfactory. Apparently he does not take the expression to mean the same thing as Dr. Fick's Buddha's Zeit.

The author has generally followed the same principle throughout his work. He studies, on the whole, the same economic factors in the different ages and periods. The following may be put down as the subjects that engage his attention in his economic survey of ancient India :—Town and village life, village communities, ownership of land, Law of Inheritance, Agriculture, Irrigation, Dairy-farming, Famines, Agricultural Produce, Trees and Plants, Forests, Metals and Minerals, Pearls and Precious stones, Arts and crafts, Industries and occupations, weaving, cotton, silk and wool, ornaments, leatherworks, woodworks, shipbuilding and knowledge of the sea, painting, architecture, sculpture, Town planning, classes and castes, guilds, Trade and commerce, Wages, Labour and salary, Hagglng over prices, Loans and usuary, Exchange, Currency and coins, National wealth of the period.

The result of this stereotyped process has been that sometimes the author loses his continuity in the course of writing, at times he is hopelessly brief, often he is overlavish in his descriptions and pores over the minutest particulars and now and then he finishes one subject and passes on to another just at the moment he was growing most interesting. Moreover this has led the author at times to needless repetition as when he mentions the same fact upon the testimony of the Greek writers both under

the Age of Gautama Buddha and the Maurya period. This may also be put down as due to the not accurate distinction of the different ages.

The economic history of ancient India is a vast subject and there are many other matters, besides those dealt with by the author, relating to ancient Indian economic condition some of which could have been profitably surveyed in the different sections of the work.

Mr. Buch does not at once plunge into the subject. The question whether there was Economics in Ancient India sets him thinking and he pauses to determine the exact nature of Economic thought in ancient India. This difference of treatment is notable throughout the two books. While Mr. Dass gives a descriptive account of economic conditions in ancient India and does not deal with analytic questions, Mr. Buch, whose aim is primarily "to draw a connected picture of ancient economic life" proceeds at times to enter into philosophical reasonings and seeks to explain his subjects analytically.

He also takes the "grama" or the village-community as his first subject of study for "all civilisation has its roots in the village and the village therefore is the fundamental economic and social unit of Aryan society" (p. 16). He surveys the following economic problems from ancient Indian social life:—Rural Economies, Arts and Industries, Conditions of Production.

Labour and Capital, Castes, Classes and Professions, Co-operations and Corporations, Property, Contract in Hindu Society, Money, Currency and Prices, Trade and Transport, Public Finance. There are of course, elaborate sub-divisions to each subject so that taken as a whole his book aims at taking a wider and more comprehensive survey of economic conditions in ancient India.

Both the authors treat their subjects chronologically and attempt to trace their origin and developments with regard to historical sequence. But while Mr. Dass carries on his study fundamentally upon the basis of the latter principle at the cost of being rather verbose at times, Mr. Buch deals with his study upon a different principle and at places he has not paid the same amount of attention to historical consistency with the result that abrupt endings and diversions are not such characteristic features of his work as they are of the other book. Opinions will differ, however, upon the relative value of the two systems.

Both the authors quote occasional extracts from the Sanskrit literature, Mr. Dass giving the larger number. His book which was printed in a Calcutta press has them in the Bengalee script. This is a rather serious

defect in a work on Indology which, we consider, is meant for the world at large and as such is expected to be above all such traits of provincialism. This will greatly inconvenience a European or even an Indian reader hailing out of Bengal. The author would have done well had he followed the hitherto accepted practice of scholars and given all such extracts in the Devanagri script.

Mr. Dass has given (p. 82) the names of the eight towns that belonged to the eight tribes of the Vrijjis thus—Vaisali, Kesaria, Janakpur, Novandgarh, Saran, Dwarbhanga, Purneah, and Motihari. He does not mention his source of information. Most of these are names of modern towns and obviously did not exist in those days.

Both the books abound in serious printing mistakes. In the above-mentioned list of Mr. Dass there are two mistakes.

Both the books agree in the serious defect that they possess no adequate indices. Mr. Buch's book has not an index at all. Neither do its contents contain any reference to the corresponding page numbers so that it is not possible to find out easily any particular passage or statement. Mr. Dass's book has a subject index of three pages which is not, however, adequate. A full bibliographic index as also a general index of all the names and subjects mentioned in the books, with references to the pages, would satisfy modern needs. Anything less than that would fall far short of the accepted standard.

A perusal of the two books would enable even the most casual reader to observe the hollowness of the view that brands the ancient Indians as an exclusively religious people. As a matter of fact we find that they did devote their time and energy to the pursuits of the material world and early recognised the importance of wealth, "upon which," in the words of Kautilya, "both charity and desire depend for their realisation."

Neither of these two books are exhaustive, though welcome as contributions upon a little known subject. But, as has been truly observed by Mr. Buch, "as we are not at all losers in having nearly half a dozen books on Ancient Indian Polity: so also we will be only gainers by the concentration of public attention on this aspect of Indology."

AMBUJNATH BANERJI

Asa Di Var, by Teja Singh, M.A., Professor of Divinity, Khalsa College, Amritsar. Published by the Sikh Tract Society, Amritsar.

In this nice little volume Mr. Teja Singh gives a connected English translation of the *Asa-di-var*, the celebrated Ode by Guru Nanak, which forms the daily morning service of the Sikh congregations. This Ode, along with the *Jappi*, gives us the chief principles of Sikh thought, and we commend the book whole-heartedly to all non-Sikhs who are desirous of getting hold of the fundamental principles of the Sikh faith. In the Introduction the author gives a reasoned explanation of the necessity and place of forms and symbols in the Sikh religion. As far as we are aware, this is the first attempt of its kind and it is certainly very important and interesting to know what a modern, educated Sikh has got to say in the matter. Mr. Teja Singh has already established his reputation as a modern interpreter of Sikhism and we eagerly hope that he would soon give us English versions of such other important Sikh-texts, as the *Vars* of Bhai Gurudas.

The get-up of the book is excellent. It can be had from M. S. Gained, Khalsa College, Amritsar.

I. B.

Early History of the Spread of Buddhism and the Buddhist Schools,—By Nalinaksha Dutt (C. O. Press, 107, Mechuabazar Street, Calcutta, 313+xii pp. Price Rs. 7-8).

This is one of those few books on Buddhism in which the author, Dr. N. Dutt, instead of charming the reader by glowing phrases and personal views, states, in an unassuming manner and readable form, the results of his study of two important topics, *viz.*, the Spread of Buddhism and the Evolution of Buddhist Schools, both of which awaited careful investigation. The author has given throughout a clear evidence of his fitness for the task. His intimate acquaintance with the original Buddhist texts upon whose evidence he has consistently relied, constitutes the real merit of the work. I have not come across any other book where the testimony of the Pāli Nikāyas has been so carefully ransacked and judiciously handled for constructing a true record of the circumstances under which Buddhism spread in India during the life of the Buddha, schisms broke out and various schools and sects evolved some centuries after the Buddha's demise. In dealing with the question of the spread

of Buddhism, the author has taken pains to classify the circumstances into internal and external forces, indicating the special bearing of each. He has added a few chapters to show how far the success of Buddhism was due to the fact that its early headquarters were founded in such countries of Northern India as Magadha, Kosala, Vaisali and Kapilavastu, where strong monarchical and democratic institutions flourished side by side. Without satisfying himself with the general observation that there were germs of schisms before they actually came to a head, the author has completed a story of the different processes and trends of thought that were going on. He produces evidence that shows that the so-called schisms and divisions, apart from being the signs of decay, were manifestations of a progressive spirit at work. The tenets of each school were adapted to the religious needs of different centres, peoples, and communities.

B. M. BARUA

OUR CRITICS

The *Modern Review* has again opened its campaign against the University with the indefatigable Professor Sarkar of Patna in the van. The gentle Professor made so many misstatements in his usual polite and courteous style that we felt inclined not to take any notice of them. The attack, we may tell our readers, is neither unexpected nor unforeseen. We were informed that two brown gentlemen holding high Government offices and a retired Government officer met in holy conclave at a certain place on Himalaya's lofty brow where the animate holds constant communion with the inanimate and came to a unanimous verdict that they wasted a year for nothing and the campaign should be relentlessly carried till the Post-graduate Department is starved out of existence. The Knight, as usual, kept cautiously in the background, the would-be Knight of Magadha came out with a thundering article in the *Modern Review* and the squire of Mohenjo-Dero made his onslaughts from the hospitable columns of the local dailies. We preferred to wait and watch but we are afraid that silence, as in the past, may be construed as admission and an *ex parte* judgment may go against us.

In the present issue, the *Modern Review* has several notes on University affairs. What our contemporary really advocates it is very difficult for us to say. At one place it writes

In area, England is much smaller than Bengal; and the population of the British Isles is not greater than that of Bengal. England has many first class Universities and yet new Universities are being founded there. In India, particularly in Bengal, the Universities are starving. The Calcutta University cannot carry on the work of the Post-graduate Department effectively; it cannot extend the work of scientific and other department for want of funds.

The Treasurer of the Leeds University is planning to raise about 15,000,000 rupees to build new buildings alone. Rabindranath Tagore, appealing to all India, has not yet secured a few lakhs of rupees for the Viswa-Bharati—the International University. No nation can ever become great without increasing its national efficiency. India needs new and better Universities and a better educational system. This can be secured through the enlightened patriotism of the people, particularly of the rich, who can better afford to spend regularly at least a part of their income for the cause of national education.

At another place it quotes with approval an extract from the *Times* advocating retrenchment. And in a third case it emphatically lays down

“In their work of stabilisation and development of the Post-Graduate organisation, the question of how much money will be spent is of no importance compared to the more vital question of selecting the people on whom the money will be spent.”

However, we shall try to answer our contemporary's friendly criticism as best as we can. The *Modern Review* complains

“The defenders of the University have always been discreetly silent where our criticism was unanswerable and have sometimes made a parade of the strength of their arguments where the information of critics has been deficient. This sort of proceedings has been rather funny.”

The defenders of the University plead guilty to the charge. Criticisms can be met with and discussed but a sneer is always unanswerable. For instance, the honest Professor of Patna solemnly asserts that the University speculated in Marks and land value. The statement is a typical amalgam of half truths and untruths in which our critics revel. The University purchased a number of scientific instruments from Germany and payment had to be made in German money just as payments to English creditors have to be made in English money. Now, if the Professor and his friends assert that it was a case of speculation we can only agree to differ. Similarly, the University never speculated in land value and we have no hesitation in placing all the facts before the public. But when he says that the University Lecturers

are sluggards, sneaks, and sycophants and compare them with the dog of the Panjabi proverb we really find such "criticisms" unanswerable. Again, when we find a certain resolution standing in the name of Mahamahopadhyaya H. P. Shastri for the abolition of all the Pali groups and the Professor assures us from his Himalayan retreat that the Pandit has been misrepresented by the Press, well, we find his criticism absolutely unanswerable. But the Professor never listens to the protests of the other party. We have carefully gone through his articles in the *Modern Review* and we find him always repeating the same charges even when his information has been deficient, and the great majority of them has been refuted, with new terms of choicest expressions of abuse and vilification. The Professor asserts that the Dacca University teachers deliver eighteen lectures per week. We have been assured by a Dacca University Professor that he told Professor Sarkar that this was not a fact. Yet the great Professor made that statement in cold print for any stick was good enough to beat the dog. We have gone through the Inspection Reports of the Patna College when it was still under the Calcutta University and we find that the Professor did not permit himself to deliver so many lectures as he now demands from the University Lecturers although some distinction should always be made between under-graduate and Post-graduate teaching.

Let us now pass on to the next point. The *Modern Review* complains—

"We once formally applied to the University Registrar for a regular supply of all *printed* University Minutes and reports, etc., in lieu of payment or as a matter of courtesy such as that extended by Government to editors in the matter of free supply of Government reports, etc. But we failed to obtain what we wanted. So while the University wants public support, it will not keep the organs of public opinion supplied with information, unless they are "friendly." If an organ is "friendly" it will be given such information or such inspired articles as may be necessary for advocacy of the clique which runs the institution. That is why we did not get a copy of the Report of the Post-graduate Reorganization Committee in time."

The printed Minutes and Reports of the University are available in the market but our friend wanted that the Minutes of the Syndicate should be supplied to him every week before the Senate had considered the decisions of the Syndicate. Whether such a request was reasonable, let the impartial public judge. But we emphatically deny that friendly organs get such reports early. The first paper to publish the Report of the Post-Graduate Re-organisation Committee was the *Statesman* which can hardly be regarded as a friendly organ. How the *Statesman* got it we do not know. The Registrar said in the Senate that his office did not supply the Report. Naturally, the Reporters who come to attend the Senate meetings get such printed papers earlier than those to whom they are sent by post but all Reports are considered confidential until they are accepted or modified by the Senate and the *Modern Review* knows best how it had access to our confidential papers in the past.

The *Modern Review* finds fault with the last year's budget because the estimated expenditure fell short of and the estimated income exceeded the actual expenditure and income. No budget can be absolutely accurate. We are unable to see how the Government grant could be anticipated particularly when the *Modern Review* and Professor Sarkar had been strenuously opposing it. Nor could the framers of the budget anticipate the favourable results of the abolition of the Sole Agency of University Publications. The budget is framed by a Board of which the Accountant-General is a member. We do not know whether he is "a competent and reliable financial expert" but the Regulations, as they stand at present, do not permit the appointment of outsiders on the Board of Accounts.

Why the *Calcutta Review* ("in its present vulgar edition") has been an eye-sore to our contemporary, we are unable to guess. Our readers will judge whether it has made "the publication of serial stories and other kinds of light literature and commonplace

popular illustrations some of its main features." We count among our contributors men like Rabindranath Tagore, Yone Noguchi, Sylvain Levi, Dr. Shama Shastri, Henry Beveridge, Sir George Grierson, Prof. Winternitz, Prof. Canney, Prof. Macdonell, Sir Henry Jackson Pope, Dr. Garner, Professor Solus, Professor Ward, Sir William Ridgeway, Dr. Craigie, Dr. Paranjpye, Sir Michael Sadler, Sir Visvesyara Iyer, Dr. Subramaniya Iyer, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Dr. Ganganath Jha, Sir Bipinkrishna Bose, Dr. Pillai, Sir Sivaswamy Iyer, Professor Willoughby. It is not for us to say whether their papers are of any academic value. As one of our contributors writes from England: "I know that excellent and helpful publication like the *Calcutta Review* does not generally prove profitable commercially." But we have a staff of Honorary Editors and our contributors are not paid. We are, therefore, able to meet our expenses from the subscription and the advertisements we get. For obvious reasons, we are not prepared to give more detailed information about our finances to the public. The *Calcutta Review* is not a burden on the University and it does not add to its deficit. On the other hand, it has helped the University to reduce that deficit considerably by widely advertising the University publications.

None of its defenders has as yet claimed perfection for the University. But while its critics may make much of some isolated details it has to follow a consistent and comprehensive policy. For instance, when Professor Maulik was appointed, the *Prabasi*, the Bengalee counterpart of the *Modern Review*, maintained that the appointment ought to have gone to a Panjabi gentleman. But when the University employed a few Non-Bengali Indians on its teaching staff the same journal bewailed that the Bengalees were being deprived and defrauded of their legitimate rights in their own province. The *Modern Review* is never tired of proclaiming the inefficiency of our teachers but when the same teachers find more lucrative appointments elsewhere the *Prabasi*

complains that the University cannot retain the services of their abler teachers (*e. g.*, the case of M. K. G., son of J. C. G., to use the apparently enigmatical language of our contemporary). We have not yet received any comprehensive scheme from the *Modern Review* or its expert Professor Jadunath Sarkar. The *Modern Review* made strictures against individual lecturers about which there is room for honest difference; the Professor once concluded one of his charming articles with the remark that the slaves under his scheme (University Lecturers) will continue to slave for their new master. That is all the reform he wanted. Substitute Sir Asutosh Mookerjee by another person, preferably Jadunath himself, and reform is achieved! Well, Sir Asutosh is no more, and we find the Professor and the *Review* now writing of a ruling clique. This is again an unanswerable criticism! But our critics lose sight of one important fact that the University cannot introduce all the necessary reforms without fresh legislation. The only practical suggestion that we have received from the *Review* is that we should cut our coat according to our cloth. We looked towards the Government for a little extra cloth and matured our scheme according to our light. We now find that we were not wrong. The *Modern Review* now realises that

“It is also desirable that Indian students be taught the fundamentals of the history of all the Asiatic nations, particularly China and Japan” (p. 231).

If we had accepted the policy, advocated by the *Review* in the past, it would have been impossible for the University to provide for the teaching of the History of China and Japan four years ago.

Space will not permit us to refute here all the misstatements of Professor Sarkar,—we will deal with his strictures in greater details in a future issue. But we cannot pass over one point here. He says that owing to a steady lowering of

the standard of examination our students have failed to do well in the competitive examinations because the notes dictated by our lecturers are of no use in those examinations. Every teacher has his own individual method and notes are dictated even by the great critic himself, only—he writes them on the Black Board,—and a few years ago, typewritten copies of these notes could be purchased at Calcutta. It is also within the memory of many that the Calcutta University found it necessary to take notice of this fact. But that was in the days when the standard was high! Our students have in some years carried as many as fifty per cent. of the I. C. S. posts by competitive examination, they have done uniformly well in the Finance Examinations and even in the present year some of them passed the competitive examination for the Police Service. But it is not to the interest of the Professor to take notice of all these facts. We may also tell the public that some of our best students were medically disqualified for these examinations and as in a neighbouring province there is no age restrictions our boys have to compete with students who are much senior to them. At the same time our students commit one great mistake. Instead of confining their attention to the competitive examination alone they try to pass the M.A., B.L. and I.C.S. examinations, all at once. We are collecting figures for these examinations and shall publish them in these pages for the information of the public. The value of a Degree is nowhere ascertained by the percentage of passes. But even in that respect we are not worse off. This year, we are informed, 65 per cent. of the candidates passed the B.Sc. Examination at Patna where the Professor reigns supreme while at Calcutta the percentage of passes is 59 only. We do not grudge the Professor the opportunity we afforded him for singing the panegyrics of British peace, British order and British efficiency and we shall be very glad if the grateful British Indian Government, in its turn, showers fresh honours and emoluments on him and his.

The Professor says that the Majority Report has been a challenge to public opinion and he urges the Government not to make any fresh grant to the Calcutta University. How a Government Officer, ordinarily residing at Patna and spending his vacation in company of high officials at Darjeeling, could constitute himself the representative of public opinion in Bengal we do not know. But all the "Indian edited" journals have supported the Majority view and it was accepted by a overwhelming majority in the Senate. Even the *Modern Review* considered the demand of an annual grant of three lakhs as moderate. And we are glad to find that our contemporary agrees—"that it is mainly for the *stabilisation* and development of Post-graduate Studies that the Committee was appointed. That there is need for stabilisation as well as for development is true beyond doubt." We also entirely agree with the *Modern Review* when it says—

"It is not desirable that the Government should be allowed to come into the field of University management, nor is it fair that the Government should allow the University to be controlled by vested interests and cliques. It is necessary that the Government pay for the advancement of learning; but they should see that things are done properly. We are not suggesting official management of the University. The scholars of the nation should control the University, but in this kingdom of scholars there must be democracy and not oligarchy or tyranny."

In order to give effect to this wholesome principle our contemporary should urge for early legislation in the right lines.

But if we accept whole-heartedly the principle laid down by our contemporary (which indeed we ourselves have always advocated) we cannot accept its dictum that the University is run for the benefit of numerous worthless people. As a result of frequent migration our staff has now reached the irreducible minimum. Most of our lecturers are first class men with some original work and previous teaching experience to their credit. Some of them have obtained the much coveted Degree of Doctor of Philosophy and we may inform the

public that the Doctorate theses are generally examined by European scholars of note. The published works of our lecturers have earned the encomiums of competent critics but, as we have already said, a sneer cannot be answered and here again we come across one of those numerous criticisms that our contemporary considers unanswerable.

“AJAX.”

Ourselfes

TAGORE LAW PROFESSORSHIP.

The subjects for the Tagore Law Professorship for 1927 are (i) A critical, historical and comparative survey of Administration of Justice of Muslim Law, (ii) A comparative study of Constitutional Law with special reference to India and (iii) The Law of Insolvency with special reference to India. The candidates for the Professorship are required to forward their applications to the Registrar on or before the 1st May, 1926, stating on which of the above-named three subjects they are prepared to lecture. The salary of the Professorship is Rs. 9,000 per annum and the Professor will be expected to deliver a course of not less than twelve lectures on the subject chosen. The other rules relating to the Professorship are set out here below :

“ Each candidate will forward with his application one hundred copies of a brief Synopsis of his proposed lectures ; and, if he so pleases, the same number of copies of his Introductory Lecture.

The Professor will, not later than the month of August following his election, forward to the Registrar a complete copy (manuscript or type-written) of the lectures which he proposes to deliver. The copy will be forthwith referred to a Committee of the Faculty of Law, consisting of not more than three members to be chosen by the Faculty, who will examine the same, and before the expiry of two months from the date of the submission of the copy by the Professor to the Registrar, report to the Faculty whether the work is complete and ready for the Press. If, upon such report, the Faculty are satisfied that the work is complete, the Professor will commence to deliver his lectures within three months from the date of the resolution of the Faculty and shall complete the delivery thereof in another three months. The copy of the lectures delivered will remain in the custody of the Registrar and shall be sent to Press, as soon as practicable, after delivery thereof.

If the Professor fails to submit the copy of the lectures, or if the copy submitted be found, on examination, to be incomplete and not ready for the Press, the matter will be referred to the Faculty of Law, upon whose

recommendation the Senate may either extend the time or cancel the appointment."

We trust we shall have suitable candidates this year—candidates who will, in every way, maintain the high traditions of the Endowment.

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ADHARCHANDRA LECTURES.

It may be within the recollection of our readers that Professor Adharchandra Mookerjee, one of our veteran educationists and Senators, placed at the disposal of the University a large sum of money for the purpose of establishing lectureships with a view to extend the bounds of knowledge and the University has appointed the following gentlemen as Adharchandra Mookerjee lecturers to deliver courses of lectures on the subjects mentioned against their names:

Mr. Patrick Lovett	...	Journalism in India.
Sir P. C. Ray	...	Makers of Modern Chemistry.
Prof. C. V. Raman	...	Recent Advances in Molecular Physics.

All these gentlemen are admittedly the greatest authorities in their subjects in India and we are anxiously looking forward to the delivery of their discourses. Now that Mr. Patrick Lovett is coming to the University, we hope he will stay in the University yet a while to start a series of lectures on Gaelic, a language with which he is so very familiar.

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JUBILEE RESEARCH PRIZE.

The following subjects have been selected for the Jubilee Research Prize in Arts and Science for the year 1927:

- (i) Development of Bengali Literature under the influence of Western Culture.

- (ii) The Influence of a return to the Gold Standard in Britain on the Prices in India.
- (iii) A Critical Estimate of Einstein's Theory of General Relativity.
- (iv) Water supply in Bengal with special reference to the question of Tube Wells and their cost.

The subjects are of absorbing interest and we trust a large number of candidates will come forward to solve these problems.

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DR. NALINAKSHA DUTTA.

Our congratulations to Mr. Nalinaksha Dutta, one of our distinguished lecturers in the department of Pali, who has on a joint report from Professor Sylvain Levi, D.Lit., Professor A. B. Keith, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S. and Mrs. Rhys Davids, been just admitted to the much coveted Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Dr. Dutta had a brilliant academic career and we are anxiously looking forward to the time when his researches in the domain of oriental learning and culture will receive that wide reputation which they deserve.

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DACCA UNIVERSITY: FINANCIAL GRANT.

We understand the Government has introduced into the Bengal Legislative Council a bill guaranteeing to the University of Dacca a recurring annual grant of $5\frac{1}{2}$ lacs of rupees. We cordially approve of the policy of the Government of Bengal. We have all along maintained that Universities should, as far as possible, be kept away from the whirlpool of party politics and the teachers in a great University should not be subjected to the uncertainties of a council vote. In the words of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, "education should be the policy of the nation but should never be allowed to be

transmuted into its politics." The Universities of Allahabad and Lucknow, we are told, receive block grants from the Legislative Council of the United Provinces for a fixed period of five years. We are glad to hear further that the government has decided to make over the government buildings to the Dacca University. A University should be nobly planned, nobly housed and should attempt to develop a personality for itself without official interference or unintelligent and carping public criticism. We are fortified in our views by the opinion so wisely and impressively expressed by Sir Michael Sadler, President of the Calcutta University Commission :

" Whatever falls from Sir Robert Falconer's lips is spoken with such force, and has behind it so great a weight of experience, that if it does not carry conviction, it, at any rate, challenges those who do not immediately share his conclusion, to offer for his consideration, and for that of others who have heard him, some remarks leading, perhaps, to a qualification of his judgment. May I say how cordially I accept, from my much more limited knowledge, his description of the services which the Provincial Governments in Canada have rendered to the higher education of Canada by their wise and generous liberality towards their Universities, and, above all, by their wisdom in entrusting the administration of their funds to such bodies, small bodies, of eminent and competent men as he has described. May I add, too, that the whole English-speaking world, and, not least, we in these Islands, are deeply indebted to the example of the Canadian Governments, and of many of the American State Governments, in providing for their new Universities buildings which are noble to look at and sufficient for the needs of present and future. I never come from the American and Canadian Universities back to our own modern Universities without feeling ruefully how stunted our imagination has been in seeing the claim of higher learning upon a free people and the importance of having stately, beautiful, and commodious buildings for the accommodation of our students. Those are points entirely in favour of Sir Robert Falconer's argument. Because we have taken another line we certainly have fallen far behind the present Canadian and American standard of buildings in the new Universities.

But as I balance up the pros and cons of this difficult and fundamental problem, earnestly desiring to clear my own mind of preconceptions, and as earnestly desiring to look far into the future and not by any word or action of mine to stop the inevitable progress of things towards a better consummation, I feel, at the very moment when I want to capitulate to Sir Robert Falconer's beguiling and authoritative voice, something in my mind which says : Beware ! Beware !

Canada has been going through a great creative period ; it has been

the country of great men, great builders of railways, great collectors of pictures—an historic age. May there be smaller men after Agamemnon? Secondly, my knowledge, personal, intimate, friendly knowledge, has been much closer with friends in the German Universities than with those in Canada. I know what happened at the University of M. All its funds came from Government. It very rarely failed to get a new Chair if it needed one; an addition to the library if one was required. But it had sitting within its academic circle a gentleman who was the representative of the Central Government, and who wrote not only official, but also unofficial letters to his employers in Berlin; and no word could be said in the academic senatus, or even at some private gatherings, which bore a political complexion likely to be unpleasant to the Government in Berlin, but found its way by this channel of correspondence to the gentlemen at headquarters who disbursed the funds. I say that this is a condition of academic life which in itself is horrible; which, if Germany had won the war, we would rather have died than have accepted, and which, thank God, the war has crushed. Therefore, if even with the flower of a great intellectual life, as was the case in Germany, you have these abuses, these horrible insidious poisoning elements in academic life, and you can trace them practically to a close dependence of the Universities on the State, I say that, after all, the warning voice in our conscience should be listened to. From a knowledge of Canada, limited as compared with my knowledge of pre-war Germany, I am disposed to think that one difference between the two countries is that the permanent Civil Service counted for a good deal more in Germany than in Canada. There are some eminent officials in the Canadian Education Department, but go to the Cultus Ministerium in Berlin. This eminent Congress itself would find it hard to staff an office with the same intellectual power. And it was that power which controlled the German Universities. It is not what the State thinks, it is not what individual ministers, like our friend Mr. Fisher, may think; it is what eminent officials, less known to the general public, think that really dominates policy and matters in the long run.

But there is another point more fundamental than this, though I may be entirely wrong in my diagnosis. In England an institution that lives is an institution with a personality. If an institution is to have a personality it must have a varied experience, intellectual, moral, administrative, even pecuniary. In the new Universities we are creating personalities. Therefore, we have to go through this almost intolerable experience of wasting half our day on interminable Committees; if we are Vice-Chancellors, putting ourselves into the humiliating position of asking for less money than we need from gentlemen who will never give us half they can afford. We sacrifice what at first sight seems the thing we most care for. Our books are never written; our studies are never pursued; we are serving, not tables, but the crumbs which fall from rich men's tables. Worse than this, our colleagues, more eminent than ourselves—chemists, classical men, literary men, are dragged from their books, drawn out of their libraries, their leisure disturbed, their life interrupted, their thoughts broken, in order that they may attend some meeting of the Senate where, in the middle of an immense agenda, there may be some item which concerns them.

Professor A. Berriedale Keith of Edinburgh, Professor Herman Jacobi of Bonn, Professor Winternitz of Prague and Dr. L. D. Barnett of the School of Oriental Studies, London, are equally enthusiastic in their appreciation of the work of Dr. Mahendranath Sircar. Dr. Sircar's Degree of Doctor of Philosophy raised him from the domain of the Subordinate Services of the Government of Bengal to the Provincial Educational Service and the recognition of his erudite scholarship will, we trust, soon see his promotion to the Imperial Educational Service.

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UNIVERSITY OF MYSORE: THE NAVINAM RAMANUJACHARYA SANSKRIT PRIZE.

"A prize of the value of Rs. 100 founded by Dharmadhikari Dharmapravartha Navinam Ramanujacharya will be awarded by the University Council for the best essay in Sanskrit on "Literary Criticism in Sanskrit."

2. The prize is open to graduates of any Indian University provided they have taken the B. A. Degree within ten years immediately preceding the year in which they compete.

3. The essay should be forwarded to the Registrar, Mysore University, Mysore, so as to reach him on or before the 30th June, 1926.

4. Each candidate for the essay should state generally in an introductory note and specifically in footnotes, the extent to which he has relied upon different sources of information and the portion which he claims as his original work.

5. The essay should have a motto instead of the writer's name and shall be accompanied by a sealed cover containing the name of the candidate, the year in which he passed the highest University Examinations, name of University, his post office address and a declaration that the essay sent in by him is his own *bona fide* composition.

6. The essay must be the result of the personal investigations of the author and must contain clear evidence of independent and original research. Essays consisting only of criticisms, compilations or matter discoverable in or deducible from the writings of others will be ineligible for the prize, unless accompanied by the results of the author's independent research.

7. Each candidate must forward two copies of his essay together with a statement as to when and where the work was carried out. If any portion of the work was done in collaboration or under guidance, the nature and extent of such collaboration or guidance must be clearly stated."

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New Regulations : Oxford and Cambridge.

Conditions of Exemption from Responsions at Oxford and Previous at Cambridge by means of Examinations which can be taken in India.

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

Indian University Degrees.—Exemption from Responsions is given to any person who has obtained the degree of Bachelor of Arts or Bachelor of Science at an Indian University approved by the Hebdomadal Council,* provided that his course at his Indian University included the study of English, and one of the languages Latin, Greek, French, German, Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Pali, Classical Chinese.

Cambridge School Certificate Examination.—Exemption from Responsions is also given to the holders of the School Certificate of the Cambridge Syndicate for Local Examinations, provided that the holder has gained the certificate in or after 1917, and has either in the same or separate examinations passed with credit in two of the languages included in Group II, of which Latin or Greek must be one, and in two other subjects included in Groups I, II and III.†

N.B.—Exemption from Responsions is also one of the privileges of students entitled to the status of Senior or Junior Students.

UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

Indian University Examinations.—A candidate who has obtained a first Class in the Intermediate Examination in Arts or Science, or a First or Second Class in the Examination for the degree of Bachelor of Arts or Bachelor of Science in any Indian University approved for the purpose by the Council of the Senate, ‡ is granted exemption from the whole of the Previous Examination, provided that, in some examination leading up to the degree of Bachelor of Arts or Bachelor of Science in that University, he has passed in Arabic, Persian, Persian with Arabic, Sanskrit or Pali; in Mathematics or Science; and in English. §

Cambridge School Certificate Examination.—Exemption from the Previous Examination is also possible to students who have obtained the Certificate of the School Certificate Examinations, held by the Cambridge Syndicate for Local Examinations, on the following conditions :—

- (1) Exemption from the whole of the Previous Examination is granted to those who pass with credit in five of the subjects of the Examination, one of the five being Latin or Greek, or in four of the subjects of the Examination, including one at least from each of the Groups I, II and III, † one of the four being Latin or Greek. Candidates from India, not of European descent, may substitute Arabic, or Persian, or Sanskrit, or Sinhalese, or Tamil, for Latin or Greek, but students who avail themselves of this concession are not allowed to offer themselves as candidates for the Oriental Languages Tripos.
- (2) Exemption from the whole Previous Examination, with the exception of the papers in Latin, is granted to candidates who satisfy the above conditions, but who have not included Latin or Greek as one of the subjects.
- (3) Exemption can be obtained—
 - (a) from Part I, in respect of a Pass with credit in Latin and either Greek, French, German or Spanish, at one and the same examination; or by candidates from India, not of European descent, in respect of a Pass with credit in (i) English Language and English Literature, and in (ii) Latin, or Arabic, or Persian, or Sanskrit, or Sinhalese, or Tamil;
 - (b) from Part II, in respect of a Pass with credit in one of the subjects 12 to 16, *i.e.*, Mathematics, Chemistry, Physics, and Experimental Science;

* No list of Universities approved by the Hebdomadal Council is published.

† Group I, English Subjects; Group II, Languages (Latin, Greek, French, German, Spanish, Italian, Arabic, Chinese, Persian, or Sanskrit (in Ceylon, or Pali, or Sinhalese, or Tamil); Group III, Mathematics, Natural Science.

‡ The Universities approved by the Council of the Senate are Calcutta, Madras, Punjab, Allahabad, Dacca and Bombay.

§ It should be noted that only *complete* exemption from the Previous can be obtained under this Regulation.

(c) from Part III, in respect of a Pass with credit in either Religious Knowledge in History, in one and the same examination.

N.B.—Exemption from the Previous is also one of the privileges of students entitled to the *status of affiliation*.

UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

AFFILIATED STUDENTS.

Regulations (as amended to 31st March, 1925).

1. Graduates of Universities, which have on the recommendation of the Council of the Senate been approved for the purpose by Grace of the Senate, shall be entitled to admission to the privileges of affiliation, provided that they submit certificates showing that they have attended classes in such a University for a period of not less than three years, and that they produce either (a) evidence of graduation with First Class Honours, or a record which, in the opinion of the Council of the Senate, is equivalent to First-Class Honours*.

or (b) evidence of graduation with Second-Class Honours (or a record which, in the opinion of the Council of the Senate, is equivalent to Second-Class Honours †), provided that they have passed, in one or more of the Examinations by which they have qualified for their degree, in English, two other languages, one of which is either Latin or Greek (or, if a student is a native of Asia or Africa and not of European descent, Arabic, Persian with Arabic, Chinese, Sanskrit or Pali), and Mathematics. A pass in the corresponding Part of the Previous Examination in any of these subjects will be accepted in lieu of the subject in the Examinations by which students have qualified for their degree, provided that the necessary part of the Previous Examination has been passed before the student matriculates.

2. A student admitted to the privileges of Affiliation shall be entitled to any or all of the following privileges:

- (a) to be exempted from the Previous Examination;
- (b) to reckon the first term kept by residence as the second, third, or fourth term of his residence, for the purposes of all provisions respecting the standing of candidates for Tripos Examinations or for Degree Examinations in Medicine, Surgery, or Music, and respecting the standing of candidates for Degrees, other than the Ordinary B.A. Degree or Degrees conferred under the Regulations for Research Students;

(c) on producing evidence that he has passed such examinations as may be approved by a Special Board connected with a Tripos, to be allowed to proceed to a part or Section of that Tripos under the same conditions as though he had passed another Part or Section of a Tripos; and, if he shall obtain honours therein, to be admitted Bachelor designate in Arts on the completion of residence for the requisite number of terms, provided that—

(i) if the examination or examinations as to which evidence is produced are in a subject or subjects other than that which the Tripos is concerned, the consent of the General Board of Studies shall be obtained in each case;

(ii) if a student is allowed under this regulation to proceed to a Part or Section of a Tripos in respect of which the regulations make different provisions according to the Part or Section of a Tripos which a student has already passed, the Special Board shall determine which of such provisions shall apply;

* In the case of approved Universities in the United States of America, the Council of the Senate will in general accept, as such a record, evidence that a student can be regarded as having graduated in the first sixth of his class (that is, all the students of his year), and also that he showed exceptional ability in some subject.

† In the case of approved Universities in the United States of America, the Council of the Senate will in general accept, as such a record, evidence that a student can be regarded as having graduated in the first half of his class (that is, all the students of his year).

(iii) application for admission to this privilege is made to the Registry before the end of the student's first term of residence;

(iv) if this examination is taken before the last of the terms which the candidate is required to keep in order to qualify for the degree of Bachelor of Arts, the candidate shall produce a certificate of "diligent study" for the residue of such terms.

3. (a) If a student admitted to the privileges of affiliation wishes to reckon for any purpose the first term kept by residence as the second, third, or fourth term of his residence, in accordance with the foregoing Regulation 2 (b) application should be made to the Registry for the registration of such allowance.

(b) If a student admitted to the privileges of affiliation has, in accordance with the foregoing Regulation 2 (b), reckoned for any purpose the first term kept by residence as the second, third, or fourth term of his residence, as the case may be, he shall be required so to reckon his first term for all purposes.

4. In the case of any student claiming to be admitted to the privileges of Affiliation, a certificate of having fulfilled the prescribed conditions, signed by the Registrar or other competent authority of the student's University, shall be presented for registration to the Registry in the student's first term of residence, and a fee of £2 shall be paid at the same time to the Registry for the University Chest.

5. Any certificate of having fulfilled the prescribed conditions may be accepted for registration at a time later than that above specified, provided that in every such case an additional fee of £1 shall be paid to the Registry for the University Chest.

6. Students claiming to be admitted to the privileges of Affiliation shall be required (a) to have fulfilled all the prescribed conditions before matriculation, (b) to matriculate and to pay the usual fee of £5, and (c) to pay the capitation tax in respect of each term allowed under Regulation 2 (b)."

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RECORDS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

Our readers will be interested to read the following rules regulating public access to the records of the Government of India:

Note.—These rules are applicable only to cases where documents are required for bond fide historical research.

1. The Records Office is open daily (excepting Sunday, the Christmas and Easter holidays, the October Pujabs and certain other festivals and holidays), the hours of admission being 10-30 A.M.—4-30 P.M., on Saturdays, 10-30 A.M.—2 P.M.

2. Persons wishing to examine the records of the Government of India should apply in writing to the Keeper of the Records (3, Government Place West, Calcutta), stating their office, profession, titles or other qualifications, and the object with which they wish to examine them.

3. All applications should be disposed of by the Keeper of the Records in accordance with the rules drawn up from time to time by the Departments to which the records belong. In the case of records belonging to the Army, Finance, Foreign and Political and Legislative Departments the Keeper is required to make a reference to those Departments.

4. Government reserves to itself the right to refuse or to modify any application.

5. Inspection is allowed only in the Record Office itself.

6. Permission must be obtained to take copies and extracts and to make use of information gained from the records. (Typed copies can be supplied by the Record Department at the rate of 1 anna for 50 words.)

7. Any person who uses the records for purposes of historical research and publishes works based on those records is required to deposit one copy of his work as soon as published, in the Record Department.

8. Persons not wishing or being unable themselves to examine the records, should apply to the Keeper of the Records who will, if possible, arrange for the search to be undertaken, at the cost of the applicant, either by the Assistants of the Imperial Record Department or by some other reliable person.

9. A separate slip shall be clearly written and signed by every person for each paper or volume he requires before any record can be produced. The slip is returned to him when he again hands over the record.

10. No person may have more than five 'original consultations' or two volumes out at a time.

11. Big folio volumes are to be placed on book-rests and handled as little as possible.

12. No person may lean on any of the documents, or put one on top of another or place upon them the paper on which he is writing.

13. No sort of mark, pen, pencil or otherwise, may be made on any record. Tracing is not permitted."

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MAHAMAYA GOLD MEDAL.

We have been requested to publish the following :

" Mr. Naliniranjan Choudhury, one of the members of the Hindusthan Association of America, an organisation composed of Hindu students of America and the Presidents and Professors of American Universities for the welfare of Hindu students, has donated a Gold Medal to be known as " Mahamaya Gold Medal " to be awarded in honour of the mother of Mr. Choudhury to the author of the *best original essay* on "*Hindu-Arabic Numerals*." The Association has requested the Calcutta Mathematical Society to conduct the work of collecting essays and selecting the best one from among them by a committee appointed for the purpose by the President of the Calcutta Mathematical Society.

The Calcutta Mathematical Society, at its meeting held on the 8th May, 1925, decided to comply with the request of the Hindusthan Association. With the concurrence of the Society, Dr. Ganesh Prasad, its President, has constituted the following committee of five members for awarding the medal :—

(1) The President of the Calcutta Mathematical Society (*Ex-officio*, *Chairman*.)

(2) & (3) Two members of the Calcutta Mathematical Society to be elected by that Society.

(4) One member of the Indian Mathematical Society to be elected by that Society.

(5) One member of the Benares Mathematical Society to be elected by that Society.

Competitors for the medal must be graduates of, or teachers in, any Indian University ; but students in America are not permitted to compete. The object of the essay shall be to make a critical study of the theories advanced by various prominent mathematicians, one group maintaining the Arabic origin of the numerals and the other group upholding their Hindu origin. The essay should reach the Secretary of the Calcutta Mathematical Society, 92, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta, on or before the 31st October, 1925, in three type-written copies."

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M.L. EXAMINATION.

The next M. L. Examination will be held on Monday, the 2nd November, 1925, and following days.

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B.A. EXAMINATION.

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 2,612 of which 1,470 were successful, 108 were absent, 2 were expelled and 1,031 failed and one died. Of the successful candidates 1,247 were placed on the Pass List and 223 on the Honours List. Of the candidates in the Honours List 44 were placed in the First Class and 179 placed in the Second. Of the candidates in the Pass List, 157 passed with Distinction.

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B. COM. EXAMINATION.

The number of candidates registered for the B. Com. Examination was 108, of whom 32 passed, 71 failed, and 5 were absent. Of the successful candidates, 1 was placed in Class I.

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PRELIMINARY SCIENTIFIC M.B. EXAMINATION.

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 213, of whom 149 passed, 57 failed, and 7 were absent.

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FIRST M.B. EXAMINATION.

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 352, of whom 148 passed, 184 failed, 1 was expelled and 19 were absent.

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FINAL M.B. EXAMINATION.

The number of candidates registered for Parts I and II of the Examination was 20, of whom 1 passed and 19 failed. Of those who failed, none passed in Part I whilst 8 passed in Part II.

The number of candidates registered for Part I (New) of the Examination was 214, of whom 93 passed, 114 failed, none were expelled and 7 were absent.

The number of candidates registered for Part I (Old) of the Examination was 4, of whom none passed and 4 failed.

The number of candidates registered for Part II (New) of the Examination was 189, of whom 151 passed, 35 failed, and 3 were absent.

The number of candidates registered for Part II (Old) of the Examination was 1, who passed.

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I. E. EXAMINATION.

I. E.—SECTION A.

36 candidates were registered for the whole Examination and 4 were registered for examination in Mathematics only, having already qualified in the other groups.

Of the 36 registered, 1 was absent, 16 passed in all three groups. 10 were partially successful (10 failing to qualify in Mathematics, 0 in Chemistry, 0 in Physics) and can only be allowed to pass the I. E. Examination after qualifying in Mathematics. 9 failed completely.

Of the 4 who appeared in Mathematics only, 3 qualified, thus completing Section A, while 1 failed to qualify.

I. E.—SECTION B.

47 candidates were definitely registered for this examination and 2 more were provisionally registered subject to completing Section A. Of these, both qualified in Section A; the number validly registered was, therefore, 49; of these, 24 passed, 25 failed.

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B. E. EXAMINATION.

NON-PROFESSIONAL SECTION.

28 candidates were registered for the whole examination; 28 were present; 15 passed in both groups and 13 qualified in one group, science.

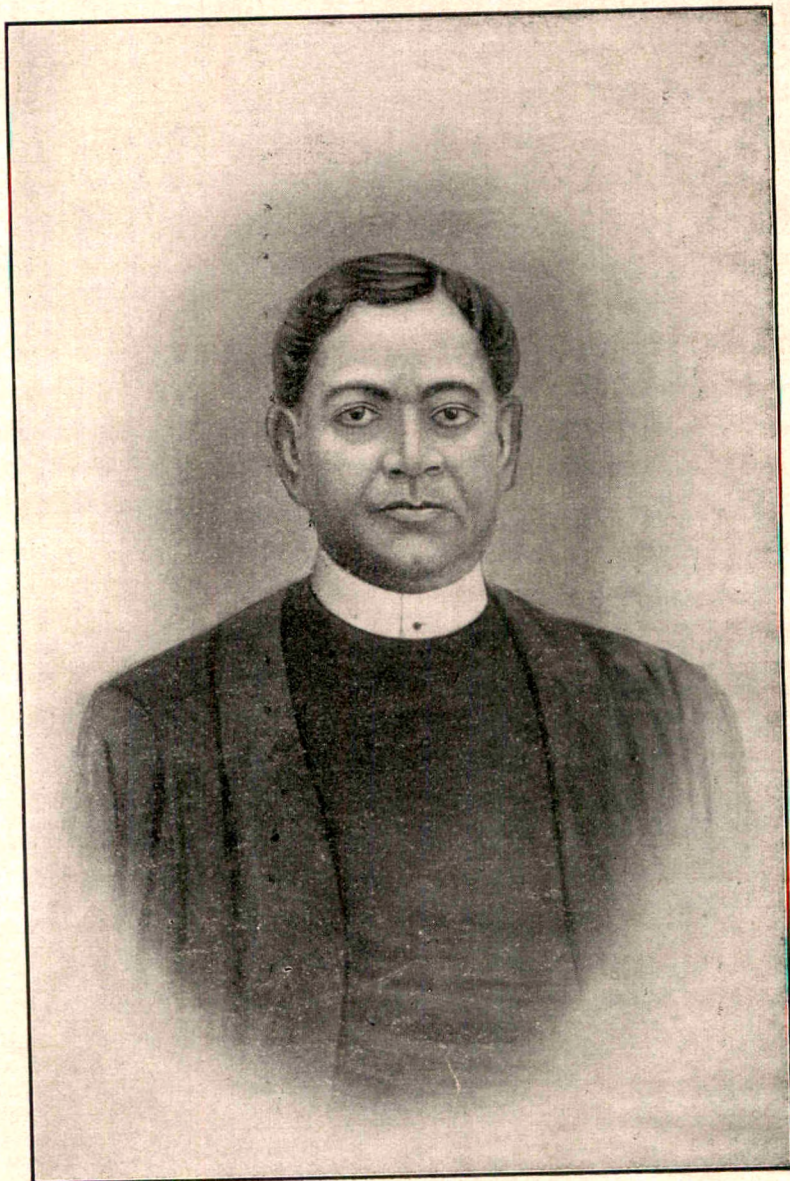
These will have to qualify in Mathematics before passing the Examination.

4 candidates who had qualified previously in Science appeared in Mathematics only; one qualified, thus completing the Examination.

PROFESSIONAL SECTION.

19 candidates who had previously qualified in Non-Professional section, were registered. 2 candidates were provisionally registered subject to completing the Non-Professional Section. These both failed to qualify. The number validly registered was, therefore, 19. Of these, 18 passed, all in the Second Division and one failed.

The Calcutta Review



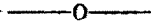
MAHENDRANATH RAY

Born : October, 1862. Died : August, 1925

By courtesy of the Calcutta Law Journal]

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

SEPTEMBER, 1925



ART, ECONOMICS AND POLITICS ¹

There are many definitions of art, but one which appeals to me most is that which was given by a famous French Sculptor, Rodin, who should be known by every Indian for his whole-hearted appreciation of the great art of India. He said that an artist, in the widest acceptance of the term, meant one who takes pleasure in his work. This may not be a complete definition, but it conveys a profound psychological truth. Art may sometimes express grief too deep for words, but unless there is in a man's soul the overmastering joy of creation, his power of expression will fail, his art will be without life and reality. The creative impulse is a true index of national vitality, for there cannot be a healthy and vigorous national life without the will to create. You can trace the rise and fall of nations easily by following the growth and decay of their art. When the will to create is strong, no laws and regulations can hold it in check. Great religious teachers like the Buddha and Muhammad tried unsuccessfully to curb the impulse as conflicting with the higher spiritual life, but many of the noblest monuments of Asia and of Europe testify that art continued to render the most effective aid to their propaganda. When life is divorced from art, life

¹ An Address to the Oxford Majlis, May 31, 1925.

itself begins to fail. Inversely, when art is divorced from life, art itself begins to degenerate, the will to create loses intensity. The artist is no longer one who takes pleasure in his work. He cares chiefly for what his work may bring him—money, social position, comfort and relief from work.

I should like to apply this artistic diagnosis to some of the social, economic, and political disorders of the present day, both in India and in Europe. We have in this country a depressingly inartistic doctrine known as “ca’ canny,” one of the chief causes of our present economic difficulties, which means that a man must not do as much as he ought to do, and perhaps would wish to do, because it is assumed that by shirking his work he will provide work for some other shirker. He is taught not to take pleasure in his work—he must never be an artist, for if he were an artist his will to create would be too strong. His natural instinct would revolt against such a soul-depressing formula, even if his logical sense did not convince him of its economic absurdity.

It is significant that the type of work most affected by this “ca’ canny” disease is what is now called the building trade. Building in Europe, as in India, used to be an art, the most comprehensive of all the arts, including as it did painting and sculpture, which we now distinguish as “fine” art, and nearly all the great industrial arts. Now, if you want to know what art and industry in India are suffering from most, you must study very carefully the history of European Art in the last three centuries and realize how the builder from being an artist became a mere profiteer or discontented tradesman. You will discover that in the great days of European art, when not only every cathedral and palace but every cottage and every piece of its furniture was a thing of beauty, there were no schools of art, no museums or art galleries,—they were not wanted, for every house contained as its ordinary furniture some of the things which we now collect as rarities and store in national collections as patterns for the art student.

You will find also that the building craftsman of those days, who took such pleasure in his work that it was always what we now distinguish as "art" work, enjoyed fewer political rights than he has to-day, less pay and often far less comfort. But though from a modern political standpoint you might call him a slave, he enjoyed more happiness than the ballot box, or other political devices can ever bring, because, so far as his work was concerned he was intellectually free. He was a member of a great co-operative organization, bound together by one of the highest and most fruitful of human impulses—the will to create beauty. Under these conditions, which were universal in the art of all countries until about three centuries ago, art was the natural expression of life and the faculty of creating good art could be expected of every craftsman, whether he were a mason or bricklayer, painter or glazier, blacksmith or carpenter. The architect of a cottage, mansion, palace, town-hall or cathedral was just a superior mason, bricklayer or carpenter, assisted, as regards the larger works, by the organization of the great craft-guilds. A picture painter was often initiated into the secrets of his craft by painting or plastering the walls of houses or household furniture. The result of this intellectual freedom was that the art of every country grew spontaneously out of its own special soil and climate, like its own flora or fauna in an infinite variety of form, character and expression evolving naturally out of the different geographical, climatic, and economic conditions, the needs of various classes of society, different modes of life, different schools of philosophy and religion.

And out of these varying utilities and ideals there grew up a great tradition of art, handed on from one generation to another, which was the expression of the national character and formed in every country the national art school. It was not a fixed or scientific formula such as is taught in European Art Schools of the present day,

but by continually adjusting itself to changing thought and changing conditions it was always sufficient for the national needs, psychologically or artistically, as well as economically or scientifically.

The beginning of the decadence in European Art dates paradoxically enough, from what historians call the Renaissance. By confusing the aims of the scientist and the artist it has been assumed that the art of ancient Greece and of Italy is the only one based upon correct or scientific principles, and that, consequently, we moderns must try to derive from it an international artistic formula which will serve for the art of all countries. The effect of this deadly scholastic formula was to make art only a matter of taste. And the rules of taste were no longer to be the traditional culture of the people which their forefathers had bequeathed to them—it was to be the monopoly of the bookmen who had studied the classics of Greece and Rome. It became a fashion for the aristocracy to attempt to revive the glories of Greece and Rome by building palaces on the model of the Parthenon or of a Roman bath. An architect then had to be not a superior craftsman but an archæologist who could draw on paper the five orders of classical architecture and adapt them as well as he could to the requirements of modern building. Gradually these paper architects usurped the place of the master builder. The sculptor and the painter became specialists who supplied statues and pictures in correct classical taste, and a distinction—altogether a false one—was made between “fine art” and “decorative art.”

Then came the industrial revolution and the introduction of machinery into the working of building materials. The national will to create was diverted into the invention of fine mechanical appliances, and into scientific pursuits. The use of iron and steel is making building more and more a mechanical process in which the individual workman is an unskilled labourer from whom a minimum of intelligence is

required. But having been deprived of the will to create and put into intellectual servitude, the workman loses the highest incentive to honest workmanship; his political philosophy is centred in two ideas, the reduction of the hours of work and increase of wages. The pleasure he formerly found in his work, he seeks outside—in cinemas and music-halls. The modern architect endeavours, with a minimum of co-operation on the part of the builder, to camouflage the fact, but with his best endeavours he can hardly give any modern building the magic touch of the mediæval craftsman whose heart and soul were in their work. It is not that Europe does not now produce architects of genius, but that the psychological conditions which create a great building art are no longer with us. However beautifully he may dream and attempt to realize his dream on paper, the architect must inevitably fail to create great art unless he can inspire the builder with his own ideals, for great art exists only when the love of the workmen and the soul of the people is in it.

Art is futility when it is only a vogue, or a profession or a business. The divine spirit only descends upon it when it is a religion urging humanity towards its higher destiny.

The almost total extinction of the great artistic tradition which created all the old college buildings of Oxford and all the treasures which are guarded as national heirlooms in our galleries and museums is a loss which every artist deplores. Every one who studies the sociological problems of the present day must realize how much this loss of artistic vitality has affected the psychology of the industrial population of Europe.

The people who are deprived of the faculty of creating beauty, though having no opportunity exercising it, have a distorted outlook upon life and become stunted in their psychological development. Economically also a country suffers a huge loss when there is no intellectual co-operation

between the workers and those who design or create work. The loss of intellectual freedom diminishes the will to work, and is generally far more fatal to national vitality than the loss of political freedom.

If, while you are in Europe, you should find time to become acquainted with modern European art and architecture, you will observe that the trend of all artistic reform is to throw off the deadening influence of the false classicism which has infected all our schools, and to try, as far as modern conditions will allow, to bring back the psychological environment in which art becomes a natural expression of life. The people who are without that environment are spiritually stagnating, or sinking down into the abyss.

Some years ago the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, who did so much as Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University to support the reviving artistic consciousness of English educated Bengalis, in recommending to the Senate the creation of a chair of Fine Arts said :—“ I have placed in the forefront the Chair of Indian Fine Arts, lest we should forget the past greatness of India in the history of the arts of the civilized nations of the world. Time will convince those who are unbelievers at the present moment that no nation can be great without a soul and that no University can be truly national unless it blends its activities with the best traditions and the noblest aspirations of the people.”

But I would wish you to understand clearly that appreciation of Indian sculpture and painting, ancient or modern, however widespread that might become through University teaching and the sympathetic interest of artists in Europe, does not touch the chief, if not the only, cause of the decline of Indian art, which has been increasing rapidly since European administrative methods were introduced into India. The all-important fact, which for the last forty years I have been incessantly trying to drum into the heads of Indian and Europeans alike, is that India even now is

artistically far richer than any country in Europe, but that unless you release the strangle-hold which European departmentalism first put upon it and Indian departmentalism now fatuously continues, art in India is bound sooner or later to drift into hopeless decadence, and you lose for ever the priceless gift your forefathers gave you—an art joined to life as the soul is to body.

Departmentalism has introduced into India the same devastating formula which has stifled the natural expression of art in Europe. It has taken the Indian builder into its service, but merely for departmental convenience has robbed him of his artistic faculty, the power to create, by binding him helplessly down to departmental plans and patterns. Whether these departmental plans are good or bad is quite beside the point.

If Sir Christopher Wren or Michael Angelo designed them, the system would be equally bad—socially, economically, and psychologically the effects of the system are equally bad in India and in Europe, only in India the wonderful organization of the traditional craftsmen has not yet completely broken down, and there is yet time for a wise and efficient administration to repair some of the evils which administrative methods have done. Given a free hand, a competent artistic administrator could in twenty years promote a renaissance which would make Indian Art blossom again like a rose garden. There is a much more solid foundation for a great artistic revival in India than there is anywhere in Europe. It is not a question of extravagant expenditure, as the philistine foolishly believes. It is a question of sound economics, efficient education and practical statesmanship.

I have been preaching in the wilderness for forty years on this subject, and having much sympathy for Indian aspirations I was sanguine enough to believe that the first use Indians would make of their political opportunities

would be to achieve this great reform—the gradual decentralization of Public Works Administration and the release of the building craftsman from the dead weight which has been stifling his artistic faculties ever since the Public Works Department was established.

There is no administrative reform more pressing than this; none which would do more to promote a healthy artistic life in India, none of greater economical and educational importance. The building industry, as regards the numbers employed in it, is next to hand-weaving the greatest of Indian industries.

Intellectually and artistically it is by far the most important one. It includes within its scope all the old traditions of painting and sculpture which we call "fine art," and nearly all the industrial arts. It is a great science as well as art; it gives full scope for the engineer as well as for the artist. It is practical mathematics as well as aesthetics. It is living history, recording the greatness and fulness of India's past. So great and comprehensive a subject one would think must captivate the imagination of every politician who lives for the welfare of India.

But in this matter it seems that Indian politicians are as lacking in imagination as the typical European sun-dried bureaucrat. The most influential of your politicians, Mr. Gandhi, wishes all India to be captivated by a devastating catchword—"Non-co-operation." I say 'devastating' advisedly, because if the idea were carried to its logical conclusion its effect upon Indian life could not be otherwise.

I am not a professed politician and therefore express no opinion on it as a political manoeuvre. It seems to me that what the world suffers from most in the present day is a surfeit of politics. If politicians of all schools and all countries would cry a truce and retire into private life to meditate, we might begin to get down to the bed-rock of sound politics—economics and real living art.

As an artist I can only say that non-co-operation is the negation of all art: it is a purely destructive formula of the same class as "ca' canny." It has not even the merit of being original and Indian, for it is only the old Irish agrarian cry of "boycott," with a longer and less wieldy name. Co-operation is the essence of real living art. There must be close co-operation, intellectual and practical, between artists and the public to create it. Building in India is a real living art only where there is such co-operation. I will give you an illustration.

In Rajputana and other parts of India, where the old traditions are alive, it is the custom of the employer who is building a house to reward the craftsmen liberally with sweetmeats and refreshments of various kinds when they have finished to his satisfaction any difficult or elaborate piece of work. And when a finely carved doorway or window frame is finished the *mistri* will take a holiday and exhibit it in front of the house, sitting by the side of it to receive congratulations and presents from the spectators. Mr. J. L. Kipling, the father of the poet, records that as much as Rs. 100 would be given to the artist of a fine piece of work in a single day, not by the employer alone, but by his admiring fellow-townsmen or villagers who shared in the craftsman's artistic pleasure.

The departmental system is so deadly to Indian art just because it ignores this vitalizing civic spirit and deprives both the artist and the public of such stimulating co-operation. The gospel of non-co-operation, being essentially a foreign importation and without any real constructive implications, cannot help Indian art. Certainly it may stimulate the will to power—which may be a virtue or a vice—but unless the will to power is joined to the will to create, your politics are sterile, useless and demoralizing. You cannot feed India either intellectually or physically on propaganda alone. It is indisputable that every fruitful development in India in modern times, whether you consider science, art, literature, economics

or politics, has been the result of close intellectual co-operation between Indians and Europeans.

Co-operation is one of the beneficent laws of nature by which humanity lives and progresses. It is the law of the Devas. You cannot help India by sinning against that holy law. India wants more and yet more Co-operation, not less. Non-co-operation in politics alone is an illogical creed and therefore un-Indian, for true Indian thought is always strictly logical.

I am quite aware that Mr. Gandhi's propaganda has also a constructive aim, the revival of hand-loom weaving and through it of village industries. Here Mr. Gandhi stands on the same platform as myself. I recognize in him a very powerful co-operator. Long before Mr. Gandhi started his political campaign I commenced an active propaganda, partly through the Indian and Anglo-Indian press and partly through official channels for assisting the hand-loom industry as a matter of vital economic and artistic importance for India. But I do not think that Mr. Gandhi, though he has adopted my programme, has improved upon my methods.

Mr. Gandhi imposes upon himself and his followers a form of penance or discipline by which they are to produce a certain quantum of cotton or woollen yarn a day, in addition to the other kind of yarn they may happen to spin. My methods were to teach directly to the village weaver those simple mechanical improvements in spinning and weaving by which the English hand weavers in the 18th century more than doubled their output. I discovered that in certain districts in Bengal these improvements, probably introduced at the beginning of the 19th century by the well-known Christian missionary, Joshua Marshman of Serampore, who was himself a hand weaver and one of the famous trio who founded the first English University in India, had had precisely the same effect in India—they had enabled about

10,000 village weavers to double their output and thus compete successfully with European cotton mills. It does not reflect credit either on departmentalism or on Indian public spirit that although there have been numerous commissions and committees on technical education in India no organized effort was made to continue Marshman's great work in Bengal and spread it to other parts of India until I called attention to the subject just a century after he had begun it, *viz.*, in 1901.

Since then a good deal has been done in that direction, but not nearly so much as might and ought to be done.

I cannot see that Mr. Gandhi is giving much direct help to the village weaver, however beneficial psychologically his discipline of spinning yarn may be to those who practise it. I myself many years ago suggested another form of discipline which I think would be far more valuable to India and one which has the merit of being recognized as a pious work by all Indian religions. I proposed that Indian politicians should be required after every political meeting to plant a tree for every speech made. Spinning yarn is a non-co-operative and inartistic idea : it benefits no one except the spinner. Planting trees is a co-operative and artistic idea. It implies co-operation on the part of the people to whom the political speeches are addressed, for it would be their duty to keep the trees alive even after the speeches were forgotten. The trees would be growing while the people are sleeping and the benefit they would confer on everyone, including weavers, would augment year by year. Putting aside all political considerations, they would be far more fruitful than any quantity of yarn spinning.

I can claim that my record proves that I have no wish to minimize the importance of Indian handloom weaving, but it seems to me that Mr. Gandhi in his attempted solution of India's economic difficulties is far too vague and unpractical. The whole subject has been grasped much more firmly

and comprehensively by a Bengali author, Professor Radha Kamal Mookerjee, in his great book "The Foundations of Indian Economics" which ought to be a text-book for every Indian politician and statesman. By concentrating exclusively on hand-loom weaving Mr. Gandhi probably wishes to stress the vital interests of the Indian villager in preference to those of the townsman. Here again he and I meet on the same platform. But if you take a comprehensive view of Indian economics for constructive rather than political purposes, as Professor Mukerjée does, you will find that the building industry stands alone as the one in which administrative action, or the force of a strong public opinion could be made immediately effective and productive of the best results both for Indian art and industry. Mr. Gandhi is a theoretical rather than a practical politician. To regenerate India he introduces a noxious political weed which is working untold mischief in the soil of Europe, leaving untended the precious fruit trees his forefathers planted which sorely need nourishment and a wise gardener's skill and care. I understand that Mr. Gandhi has lately convinced himself that the people of India are not yet prepared for non-co-operation. That I should regard as a very satisfactory symptom of strength and good health, for a people fully prepared for non-co-operation is inevitably doomed to extinction.

There is indeed something which India and every country needs far more than political liberty—intellectual and spiritual enfranchisement. India will gain nothing by having imposed upon her, either by her own people or by foreigners the worn-out political shibboleths of Europe. When the mind of India is free, everything else will be within her reach. It will profit her nothing if she gains the whole world and lose her own soul. And where does the Soul of a people find expression except in the fulness and freedom of their art? While you clamour for political freedom are you content to leave your art in spiritual bondage, if so, the new India will exist only

as a geographical expression and the old India will live only in her past achievements.

Mr. Gandhi's attitude reminds me of Nero fiddling while Rome was burning, but instead of discoursing sweet music he twirls his spindle and exclaims, "See what a craftsman I am!" The real craftsmen—the Indian city builders whose cause I am pleading—whose great historic art is ignored both by Indian and European politicians, have good reason to say that Non-co-operation is not practical politics.

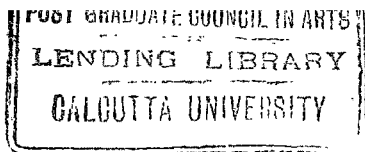
More than twenty years ago I addressed through the Indian Press an open letter to educated Indians on the subject of art. I should like to conclude by repeating some of what I wrote then :

"If you have followed my argument you will understand that a living and healthy condition of art is a great spiritual force. If you have any regard for India's spiritual welfare you cannot be indifferent to the interests of her art. I fear that few educated Indians really understand what Indian art is and has been. To see it one must go to other places than the great commercial centres of India, infected as they are with the gross materialism of modern Europe. To understand Indian art it is necessary to know something of its past achievements. But I want mostly to interest you in the Indian art of the present day, which to India's shame be it said, is slowly dying through the neglect and indifference of the Indian people. You may say that the government might do a great deal more to keep alive the art of the country. I myself have continually pointed out that the well-intentioned efforts made by Government to encourage Indian art generally do more harm than good. The export trade in so-called Indian art productions, which the Government try to develop, is certainly dragging Indian art down to the same level as the modern commercial art of Europe. I have no faith in art exhibitions, art museums, or schools of art for preserving or stimulating the spirituality of Indian art. That is the

concern of the people of India and theirs alone. You do not expect Government to understand and aid you in your religious movements. Why should you expect them to understand and keep alive your art? Even supposing that Government did all that might possibly be done it would not be a thousandth part of what you could do for yourselves. The living art of India is crying to you in a voice of which you and you alone can understand the meaning. If you, who are India's children, will not listen to her voice how can you expect that English people should do so? What I want most to impress upon you is that in the living art of India you have a priceless possession because it still retains the spirituality which modern European art has almost entirely lost. It will be a lasting shame to the present generation of Indians if the spiritual inheritance which your forefathers bequeathed to you is lost for ever through your indifference."¹

E. B. HAVELL

¹ We respectfully differ from the views of the author on the aims and ideals of Mahatma Gandhi—*Editor, Calcutta Review.*



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THE RHYTHM OF THE WORLD

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THE RHYTHM OF THE WORLD

"Where the rhythm of the world rises and falls, thither my heart has reached."—*Kabir*.

An abstract personification that partakes of the best qualities of human nature cannot be anything but ideal, and such is, or should be, the calibre of friendship, which is really love with passion left out. What is the crowning grace of one quality is the degradation of another. Passion is part of the fulfilment of love; it is the means of friendship's death. Real love laughs at Platonic doctrine, but the beauty of friendship lies in its regular and stable equilibrium. Just as an oyster-shell is not in itself an object for admiration, but the pearl hidden within is its justification for existence, so friendship is the jewel in the soul-case of man.

Rhythm, in the dictionary, is defined as "a metrical movement determined by various relations of long and short, or accented and unaccented syllables; systematic grouping of notes according to duration, structure resulting from this." The temptation is to make a play on words and to apply the phrase "by various relations of long and short" to a definition of friendship. Yet *true* friendship should endure for a lifetime, otherwise it belies its own name, *ergo*, true friendship is rare. Paradoxically, stability is the most elusive quality in the make-up of man. It is like the weights of a juggler. It tests the powers of endurance till the muscles stand out and the sinews all but crack, and often it is too heavy to uphold for long.

It is in the nature of man to put a false value on hearsay, and hearsay is often the knife that cuts the rope of friendship, unless the rope be made of a strength to withstand

the steely edge, or the knife be blunted and but frays the twisted cord. The world is founded on love. Without love, indeed, there would be no world. Therefore, from a practical and creative point of view friendship takes second place in the scheme of things. But,

“The thread of our life would be dark, Heaven knows!
If it were not with friendship and love intertwined”¹

Love is apt to be transient, it fluctuates with time, it is a speculation on the Stock Exchange of life. Passion, of course, endures for an hour and is gone. It is impermanent and fleeting as a butterfly's life and wears itself out with its own intensity. But friendship is the “rhythm of the world,” the “metrical movement” that continues for ever, that balances the scale of human impulse, and has so large a share in the historic destiny of nations. The “accented syllables” of friendship are embodied in the epoch-making incidents that mark its path. The “unaccented syllables” are surely those little acts and deeds of kindness performed by one friend for another without ostentation or outward show. The structure of friendship is founded on the quality of firmness.

“A friend who is not firm as a great rock
Is of no profit and idly bears the name”²

sings an old Chinese poet. The Chinese, indeed, perhaps more than any other people, lay stress on friendship in their literature. “Oh, Wei-chih, Wei-chih,” wails the great Po-Chü-i, “it is three years since I saw your face and almost two years since I had a letter from you. Is man's life so long that he can afford such partings?”³

¹ Thomas Moore.

² Seventeen Old Chinese Poems (Waley).

³ Po Chü-i (Waley).

And again

“ We are growing old together, you and I ;
Let us ask ourselves, what is age like ?

...

Deeper and deeper, one's love of old friends ;
Fewer and fewer one's dealings with young men,
One thing only, the pleasure of idle talk
Is great as ever, when you and I meet.”¹

Austin Dobson echoed the sentiment

“ Old books, old wine, old nankin blue ;—
All things, in short, to which belong
The charm, the grace that Time makes strong—
All these I prize, but (*entre nous*)
Old friends are best.”²

So much has been written of friendship. The ground has been covered again and again, yet

“ Is there anything whereof it may be said
See, this is new ? ”

The platitude “ there is nothing new under the sun ” becomes a puzzling one, having regard to each new invention of each succeeding age. But about friendship, at least, there is nothing new. It dates back to the beginning of time. Hear, for instance, the advice of Ptah-hotep, about 3550 B. C.

“ If thou wouldst seek out the nature of a friend, ask it not of any companion of his ; but pass a time with him alone, that thou injure not his affairs...”³

Distance is no bar to friendship.

¹ *Ibid.*

² Collected Poems (A. Dobson).

³ Instruction of Ptah-hotep (Wisdom of the East Series).

"If we find men with whom our hearts are in accord we become intimate friends though thousands of miles may separate us, while next-door neighbours remain total strangers if their hearts do not agree"

said Kaibara Ekken, the Japanese philosopher, with a direct and beautiful simplicity of thought characteristic of a follower of Confucius. To some, indeed, friendship is almost a title to immortality. Of these was Abul Ala, the Syrian.

"For that man who is loved as you, my friend,
Cold earth is not the end."

And in a life of this poet, Mr. Henry Baerlein tells us that such was the devotion in some cases of man to man that... "there is a single word for love and friendship." The word "love" is, indeed, a comprehensive one, so comprehensive that to define its limitations is well-nigh impossible. Certainly, in a sense, friendship is love, practical love, shall we say, as apart from the romantic idealism that has its nucleus in mutual sex attraction, or the fine sacrificial feeling whose basic principle is love of parent for child. The flower of friendship grows in the Garden of Understanding. It is tended by the Gardener of Fate and watered by the Rains of Selflessness. But its bloom has deteriorated of late years. Life has become too rapid, too sensational to leave time or place for the steady cultivation of deep feeling. "Give us change—variety!" we cry, and like the wine-bibber, the more we have, the more we want. Life is condensed into tabloid form like a "movie-melodrama," crammed with excitement, its cup brimming over with a superficial froth of fleeting crazes, its path marked with a succession of fleeting acquaintanceships born of the union of the bridge-table with the latest dance. Pylades and Orestes go their separate ways; Achilles and Patroclos are lost in a maze of pleasure-seeking. Yet, take heart, oh ye serious-minded! This is the aftermath of war, the harvesting of seed sown in a ground of blood

and agony, reaction from a misery so great there is no adequate description that shall fit it, and the time will come when as "in the untilled field" of the hearts of Thomas Burke's "Quong Lee"

"Many simple buds are bursting.
There is a little bush of kindness towards all men,
There is a slender tree of forgiveness for all wrongs,
There is a humble growth of repentance for past sins.
And around the field is a thick hedge of thankfulness."

Practical demonstration is the surest test of friendship
"*Amicus certus in re in certa cernitur.*" One good turn
is worth a million protestations.

"He is a friend who hales his fellow in,
And clangs the door upon the wolf outside."

GWENDOLINE GOODWIN

WHAT IS RHYTHM ¹

Professor Sonnenschein has devoted his retirement to the digesting and formulation of his views on the relation of rhythm to verse. The result is an extremely valuable contribution towards the better understanding of this much misunderstood subject. It is a learned piece of work, as we should expect from a scholar of his standing; but classical learning has not always ensured success in dealing with rhythm and metre. Dr. J. B. Mayor, for instance, confused both the issue and his readers, if not himself also, and has unfortunately been followed by most of the hack writers who have compiled appendices on metre in school editions of Shakespeare and Milton or in grammar books. Professor Sonnenschein, however, without sacrificing his independence of view, has had the wisdom and catholicity to read widely in the more enlightened modern literature on the subject, and to pay attention to the methods and results of experimental phonetics, and to realise the value of the work of Aristoxenus on Greek rhythmic. All this has confirmed him in believing what he first realised for himself, namely "that the key to the mystery of verse was to be found in its kinship to music."

Many metricians in the past have vitiated their own expositions and made agreement with others impossible by failing to define fundamental terms and by confusing different meanings of the same term. The important words "rhythm" and "metre," for example, may be used in three different ways; so may the words "accent" or "beat." Dr. Sonnenschein first formulates a definition of rhythm, giving due recognition to the essential element of time, and then goes on to see how it is manifested in music, and in Greek, Latin, and English verse.

In dealing with Greek verse he makes full use of the more enlightened views that a study of Aristoxenus has made possible. It is to Greek verse that his definition of rhythm perhaps fits most closely, for he does not regard an ictus or beat as a necessary element in rhythm, and in the structure of Greek verse he considers that "a certain sequence of long and short syllables was fundamentally the sole and sufficient condition of its rhythm." "The fact that no Greek prosodist ever makes any explicit mention of a stress of the voice (as distinct from a gesture of the body) in the delivery of

¹ WHAT IS RHYTHM? By Dr. E. A. Sonnenschein, Emeritus Professor of Classics in the University of Birmingham (Blackwell, 10s. 6d net).

Greek verse" is, as he recognises, only an argument *ex silentio*, not to be unduly pressed, and one wonders whether it was possible for the Greeks to avoid stressing the long syllable at the beginning of each foot in a dactylic hexameter or a sapphic; and it seems difficult to exclude the function of stress as a grouping agent in the not uncommon cases of longs being replaced by shorts in the "rises." In other words, would a mere proportional arrangement of quantities by virtue of its own inherent nature, be immediately apprehended as having rhythmical form without being marked off to perception in some other way? All measurements, as the author admits, "must be from point to point"; but are the points made sufficiently perceptible or recognisable if there is no stress? Can quantity be the dividing thing when it is also the thing divided? As Dr. Sonnenschein quotes from Aristoxenus, "Time does not divide itself; something else must be present (*i.e.*, something that appeals to sense) to divide it." It is, however, a proof of the author's acuteness and width of view that his definition of rhythm contains "nothing to exclude ictus from particular manifestations of rhythm." It merely asserts that "rhythm consists in proportioned durations, howsoever the grouping of syllables may have been effected."

This brings us to the point which perhaps carries the least conviction in the author's study of English verse. He finds, what some metricians have unnecessarily doubted, that distinctions of quantity, quite apart from stress, do exist in English; and believes, with some reason, that quantity is a structural element in English verse," *i.e.*, that "distinctions of quantity play a vitally important part in the grouping of syllables," although the syllables "cannot be said to group themselves in feet by reason of their inherent qualities." He has observed that, although the "falls" or unstressed parts of the feet are not necessarily short, the "rises" of English verse are normally long. But a difficulty arises with the foot with a "disyllabic rise" (*i.e.*, two syllables for a normal long), *e.g.*, "inno," the stress being on the first (*i.e.*, in the middle of the foot), which he seems to find occurring in iambic verse :

As *inno* | cent ín | stincts and | as *inno* | cent fód

Dr. Sonnenschein says that here the end of the foot is not marked out for the ear by the stress (which is undoubtedly present), but that the syllables are spaced out according to their quantities. This may be so in places where there are no stresses or none of sufficient strength to guide the ear;

Such pléasure tóok the sérpent to behóld
 A héro pérish or a spárrów fáll
 This nymph, to the destrúctiôn of mankínd
 Like wrécks of a dissólving dréam.

But, however the case may have been with the Greeks, is not the English ear so attuned to stresses rather than quantities that it fixes almost inevitably on the stressed syllables for its instinctive measurements or estimates of metrical time? that, in other words, the *ictus*, if there is one, must come at the end (or, if the rhythm is falling, at the beginning) of the foot?

It may be that Dr. Sonnenschein has underestimated the elasticity of English quantities; for, whatever may be possible in the future, our ears have not yet been trained to recognise in them anything like the degree of fixity that our accents may have, or that quantities had in Greek prosodic convention. As Sweet said, "We lengthen or shorten syllables without scruple in order to make the feet of the requisite length." We need not go to the length of saying that "*as in*-" is as long as "*-nocent in*," though no great stretching is necessary, for a change of speed would give the required adjustment. It is the mental impression that is important. This the author himself declares; and it seems to be involved in the empirical rules for the constitution of feet drawn up by Professor Saintsbury.

What is true about the particular sequence of syllables that Dr. Sonnenschein has under consideration is that two shorts together do give a better support for a stress on one of them than a short standing by itself would give; and, as the reviewer has himself pointed out, poets may sometimes have made instinctive use of this fact at the end of a line (with a feminine ending) or before a middle pause (feminine caesura), *i.e.*, in cases where the second short is not required for the filling in of a foot. In Old English, instead of the arsis ("lift" or *Hebung*) being formed by a long syllable, it may apparently be formed by a pair of shorts—a "resolved arsis." (I have a suspicion of the term "resolved stress" which is sometimes found. Can a stress be "resolved"?) But in Old English it is not a mark of the limit of a foot, as it has become in Modern English; and it was only when it had a certain support from a closely associated neighbour that a short syllable could carry the heavy weight of the Teutonic verse-accent, of which there had to be two relatively outstanding in each half-line.

This really resolves itself into the question, "Is the 'Foot' a percept or a mere concept? Can our ears tell us where a foot begins and ends, or are feet merely divisions like inches?" In the latter case we could,

doubtless, after a little practice make an estimate of the spacing of the feet in a line just as we can of the inches in a piece of string, but this is not quite the same thing as immediate perception.

One of the virtues of Dr. Sonnenschein's book is that he recognises that there are complexities in the subject, that different principles have been at work. Among the latter is "isosyllabism." He has seen that feet occur which are feet not by virtue of their quantitative value, for this is in defect, or of any accentual qualification, for this too is lacking, but merely because they have two syllables. And he has recognised that "such feet, consisting of two unaccented short syllables, have sometimes been judged not to be entirely satisfactory even by the poets who wrote them." Tennyson, for example, corrected

To the old mill across the wolds
to

To yon old mill across the wolds

But we must also recognise that the rhythmic instinct causes these syllables to be spaced out and a mental stress to be given in the right place, and that there is a tendency to make this physical. That this is almost irresistible in children and unsophisticated persons is illustrated by the story of how the young Ruskin insisted on reciting the lines,

Shall any following spring revive
The ashes of the urn?

with a stress on the "of." In this line, however, and in
The thunder of the trumpets of the night

it is not too much to say that the rhythm emerges from the word-sequences themselves and is not imposed on them by the reader. In some cases, of course, it is provided subjectively when a mental rhythm has been set up by the preceding sequence, but the ease with which this is done depends on the absence of competing syllables. In

Protracted among endless solitude

the comparatively heavy syllable "*-mong*" deters the mental stress from settling on "*a*," and so causes some uncertainty and perplexity. Similarly with

To arms, and cry for vengeance upon thee.

In cases like these can we avoid admitting the possibility of a temporary suspension, if not a breakdown, of the primary rhythm?

When there is thus in a certain sequence of syllables an absence of positive qualifications for a place in the rhythmic continuum, there remains the further question as to whether it is positively disqualified and is liable actually to *disturb* the rhythm; and again the still further (and non-metrical) question as to whether this disturbance has some other justification—artistic or rhetorical. Even if we do not follow the author in every detail we shall probably agree that quantity does exist and has some function—not only melodic, but also structural—in English verse, and perhaps that the latter is in the main to support the metrical ictus, however this may be constituted.

His detailed study of syllabic quantities is based on phonetic facts, not upon theories drawn from the conventions of classical prosody. He sees that stress may have some influence, so that “all stressed monosyllables are relatively long,” “*bit*” being as long as “*beat*.” Such a detailed study is illuminating, so long as we remember that metrical effect depends on syllables in combinations and sequence rather than in isolation.

We cannot now discuss the pages on Early Latin Dramatic Verse. Dr. Sonnenschein is one of the greatest authorities on this subject, and his aim is to show that here too quantity was more important than has usually been admitted.

Professor Saintsbury, one of our wisest metricians, was accused of having recourse to “mere strings of metaphors, the refuge of the defeated analyst.” Dr. Sonnenschein has set himself resolutely to face the fundamental problems; and he has given us an acutely discriminating and valuable piece of analysis set forth in clear and positive language. For this we can hardly be too grateful.

This book does not pretend to be a complete treatise on versification or to deal with the larger manifestations of rhythm, and some will perhaps prefer to emphasise different aspects of the subject, or disagree with some details; but, for freedom from prejudice, dogmatism and actual mistakes, as well as for the positive virtues already mentioned, it is not likely to be surpassed, and all future theorists will have to reckon with it.

ON THE FORMATION OF INDIAN NATIONALITY

It is a common impression in the outside world that India is inhabited by peoples of fundamentally different racial stocks, and is a congeries of peoples speaking different languages and traditions; hence it is only a geographical expression and has no basis for the foundation of a nationality. Yet the Indian movement for liberation is termed by the Indians themselves as the National Movement, and everybody hailing from the geographical boundary of present-day India calls himself an Indian!

So, the question turns up, is India a nation?—If not, is there any basis to form an Indian nationality? The theme of this paper is to discuss the problem of the Indian nationality; but before going into the subject-matter of the theme, we shall first take up the question, what is meant by a 'nation'?

There have been various definitions given to this term, both from the side of the political scientist and that of the social scientist. Yet an universal definite explanation is not yet arrived at. The idea of nationality is so elusive that it cannot be expressed in a formula. In general there is a juristic definition that *the population of a state is a nation, i.e.,* the population of a given geographical area having a government of its own is a nation. Here the word "nation" is taken as synonymous with a state and the people of the state. This is the definition common in France, English-speaking countries and also in Germany. The French lexicographer Mozin expresses the idea of nationality in a short definition that a nation is "the totality of all persons who are born in the same land or are naturalized there and live under the same government." But this juristical definition is neither illuminating nor scientific. Against it another attempt at a scientific definition both from the Marxists

and other savants have been tried. As early as 1848-49 Carl Marx who formerly defined the word 'nation' in its old meaning that it is equal to the state and the people of the state, expressed that "the nation is formed on a certain natural basis (territory, nature of land, climate, racial connection) adapted to a group of men of same tradition, language and same common characters." Of course Marx and Engels never left any clear scientific definition of the term. Then came the political scientist I. C. Bluntschli who said that a nation is the body in which the community of intellect, feeling and race have become hereditary and which apart from the state union, feels itself united in the community of cultural relations in the matter of language, custom and culture, and differentiates from others as such.

Thus from a pure juristic standpoint the idea of nation began to be looked from a cultural standpoint. Then arose a host of prominent Marxist writers who improving upon Marx tried to arrive at a scientific formula, *viz.*, Otto Bauer, who sees the basis of a nation in a certain "natural union," a community of blood and descent within a certain geographical area, out of which under common conditions of life and fate, a sort of community of fate and character have developed. According to his explanation, *a nation is a community of character grown out of community of fate.* Bauer's characteristic of a nation agrees with the conception of Marx-Engel; but Kautsky criticises it by saying that the *community of language is the binding factor of a nation*, as by changing one's language one changes his nationality and not through change of character! On the other hand, Heinrich Cunow in criticising the other Marxists sums up the definition thus: *a nation is based on a community of character and language.*

Then comes the historian Ramsay Muir who says that the word "nationality" is difficult to define and that a nation is not the same thing as a race or a state. He says the essence of a nationality is a sentiment, "in the last

resort we can only say that a nation is a nation because its members passionately and unanimously believe it to be so. But they can only believe it to be so if there exist among them real and strong affinities."

This definition is not comprehensive though it only vaguely echoes the German definition which points out what these real and strong affinities are.

Lastly comes the psychologist M'Dougall who says, "a nation is a people or population enjoying some degree of political independence and possessed of a national mind and character and therefore capable of national deliberation and volition." To him "nationhood is a psychological conception." Regarding the definition of "national mind" he says, it is "a certain degree of mental homogeneity of the group. The homogeneity essential to a nation may be one of two kinds; native or acquired." As regards national character, he says, among the conditions essential to its formation are "homogeneity" which is a prime condition and the "racial qualities" which influence national character. Here it is clear M'Dougall pinned his definition on psychological basis, but beyond which there are sociological factors. The sociological factors are the primary bases of nationhood and the psychological conditions are the result of the former combination. From his psychological definition we learn that a certain degree of mental homogeneity, native or acquired, is necessary to the formation of nationality. His homogeneity is the "community of character" of Bauer. Thus we see that the definitions of the English savants are covered by the definitions advanced by Bauer Cunow.

Without going into detailed discussion it is to be mentioned here that it is held as certain that a nation is not based on racialism. Racial homogeneity does not exist anywhere in the world and a people and a nation are not defined by the homogeneity of skull and nasal indices or other somatic characteristics. Geographical unity is not essential to

nationhood. Unity of language is a great binding force. It means a common literature, a common vehicle to interpret thought and transmit the ideas, traditions, folk-lore, etc. It is one of the most important factors to build up a nation, yet a common language has not prevented its members to form separate nationalities. Unity of religion is also a factor, more so in old days, yet not a necessary factor in modern time. A common historical fate and development are potent factors but they must be coupled with other affinities if possible. A community of economic interest within the jurisdiction of other affinities is an important factor. A certain degree of mental homogeneity, native or acquired, is necessary.

Thus it is seen that the definition of nationality can't be pinned down to a particular factor or to an universal definition. Leaving aside the legal definition of the term as applied by the political scientists and jurists, we see that various factors go to build up a nation, it is not scientific when one tries to arrive at a simple formula for the definition. The scientific definition of the same cannot do away with any of the factors mentioned above. Rather it seems that the factors necessary for the building of nationality are to be found covered by the combined definitions of Bauer and Cunow that a nation is based on the *community of language and community of character* grown out of the community of fate. But where the former two factors do not unite, is there no possibility to form a nation? We shall later see about it.

Thus so far for theoretical discussion on the definition; now let us apply it in India. It is said that India contains different racial elements within herself. This fact cannot be denied, but not in the sense as put by Herbert Risley for different biotypes are more or less common everywhere. The provinces or rather the linguistic areas are not shut up in water-tight compartments regarding the biotypes. By making a biometric analysis of Risley's data it is to be seen that the dolichoid-mesorrhins (longskulled-middle form

of nosed type) are the common element everywhere. The dolichoid-leptorrhin element (long-skulled-long nosed type) which is in majority among the Sikh-Jats is to be traced down to Behar Kahars and Bengal Kaibartas !

Thus one cannot say that every language group inhabiting certain province contains a population with particular physical type and that type is strange elsewhere. Different physical types do exist in India as anywhere else in the world, yet elsewhere they do not form barriers for the formation of nationality. Therefore the reiterated argument of the imperialist critics that on account of difference of physical type India cannot form a nation is to be dismissed as unscientific. But India is on the other hand an ethnic unit. That is a bond for a common nationality.

Then comes the question of language. Primarily, India is divided into two language groups : Aryan and the Dravidian one. Of course in the course of time these two language groups have been broken up into several languages and various dialects. The imperial philologists have exaggerated the difference in this region also, and have created over 300 languages in India ! This is enough to frighten any layman. But apart from this manipulation by denoting every patois as an independent language ; we see that there are only several languages with grammar and literature of their own, and there are innumerable dialects. But these dialects cannot be arrayed as evidences against the possibility of the formation of an Indian nationality. Truly late Prof V. Luschan said that "the conception of language is as insecure as the definition of 'race,' and possibly it is still more difficult to define the relation between language and dialect ; for example who will earnestly decide whether Ladinish (spoken in South Switzerland) is a language in itself or an Italian dialect ? Anyway, amongst some of the 14 Italian dialects known to Dante there are more differences than amongst the German spoken in East Prussia and in Switzerland

and then who can count the number of innumerable spoken dialects, as the late well-known orientalist E. Sachau said that by talking with a man from Bagdad he could tell from which quarter of the town he came from! Thus without exaggeration it can be said that there are as many dialects as men." And in this way the number of dialects can be increased *ad infinitum*. But every dialect cannot be cited as a language, neither as an evidence of heterogeneity nor as the basis of "race" as Grierson has done in some cases in India. Here we must remember that some of the important nations of the world to-day are strong nations in spite of dialectic differences.

Thirdly, comes the question of different historical development. Truly, each language group inhabiting a certain area of India have got histories of their own. But the cultural history of India had never been separate, no part in any length of time has gone separate from the rest, rather the sumtotal of all has made the Indian history. Then in the course of her history India have had centralized all-India *imperium*. During these periods attempts have been made to put the whole land under one political head and to bring the whole country under one historical evolution. To-day the whole country again has got a common historical fate and development.

Fourthly, comes the question of religion. It is a great bond of union in the East especially in western Asia where religion and not the race and language, plays the formative basis of nationality. In India there are different religions with irreconcilable social-polities and world views. And this difference has made the task of the formation of Indian nationality more difficult. Yet in modern civilized countries religion plays no role in civic life. A modern man in dealing with his fellow-beings rises above his religious limitations.

Thus in our analysis of the Indian condition we see that leaving aside the exaggerated differences, the important factors

that come for consideration as the fundamental bases for nationality are : community of character and language. Here the question comes what is meant by a character of a people ? It is that trait which is evolved out of a common historical fate. Otto Bauer says that the basis of nationality is community of blood and descent within a geographical area out of which through a common condition of life and fate, a sort of community of fate and culture has developed. But a community of blood and descent though desirable, yet is not necessary for a common basis. Moreover one must be careful regarding the question of a "common race." A physical anthropologist finds difference of racial types amongst the past and present races of mankind, or in any given group of men ! A social psychologist may say that in order to evolve a common character a racial identity (*i.e.*, community of blood and descent) is not necessary; rather common *milieu*, training, thought, evolution are the requisites. Thus a basis of a nation is the community of character growing out of a community of fate.

Applying this law to India, even if we consider the question of blood and descent, it will be foolish on the part of that man who maintains that the Indians are very far from each other in the matter of blood and descent. Again, the difference of religion does not imply the difference of origin. The Mohammedans of the Panjab are not distinct from their Hindu neighbours, the same in Bengal; the Christians of South India are not different from their Hindu neighbours. A community of blood and descent does exist in India; and this community of affinities have a common fate, that is, a common cultural, social and historical evolution in the past and in the present.

But language difference does play a big rôle in modern India. The differences of physical characteristics and dialects as they exist to-day in India, existed in the time of the imperial Mauryas and Guptas. Yet the common

Indo-Aryan culture and social-polities coupled with a Prakrit language made the people feel as kindred to each other. Above this, the hammer of centralized imperial rule of the Mauryas and the Guptas melted down all dialectical differences and provincial peculiarities, and India expressed herself as one. Thus in the past on account of community of character and language there was an Indian nation in the scientific as well as in the juristic sense. Again, in modern India such an evolution was being started under the quasi-national rule of the Timurids, but the evolution was cut short as soon as it gave emphasis to the difference of religion! Present-day India is again, on the threshold of a new evolution. But the natural course of the Indian history is being hampered by adverse conditions engendered by foreign domination. Therefore the problem to-day is more difficult. To-day India has a community of fate, she is entering the course of a common historic-cultural evolution. The common historical fate will develop a common character. Thus, India as a whole, inspite of her multifarious diversities, through the wheel of a common fate, is going to be welded together as one. The national character is the precipitate of a certain historic-cultural development; and this character which differentiates a man of one nationality from another will be evolved in a national India. The nation appears in the national character, in the nationality of the individual. But the nationality of individual is nothing else than a part of his whole being shaped through the history of the society. Of course in this matter in present-day India divergencies do occur, *viz.*, the history of the Mohammedan society stamps its member and differentiates him from a Hindu who is determined likewise. For this reason, the future Indian society must rise above denominational limitations, and stamp all its members with common national characteristics.

Thus the common historical fate hammers all people into a common character and at the same time builds the

sentiment of national homogeneity—national feeling. This national feeling in the beginning is nothing else than a pure recognition of a certain homogeneity of certain group in contradistinction to others. It is known as the “instinctive national feeling,” with the increase of nations and their internal solidarity, the consciousness of kindredship and similarities develop which in the case of an individual nation develops into national consciousness or stamped national feeling. Regarding India we see that it is under a wheel of a community of fate which is going to create a community of character, and we are assured of a basis of nationality so far; and with the establishment of a nationality the stamped national feeling will take its rise. But what about the other base—the community of language? It has been said before that India to-day contains several languages; and these language groups are forming the bases of different nationalities in the body-politics of India. By taking the individual language groups and by applying the above formula of Cunow that a nation is a community of character and language, we find that some of the language groups have already built themselves as nations! Today Bengalee, Mahratta, Guzerati, Tamil-speaking groups, etc., culturally are strong nations by themselves. And their sense of nationality when displayed in contradistinction to others is denounced by the laymen as “provincialism”! Indeed in the body-politics of India this sort of “nationalism” is provincialism; but it is unavoidable, as since the break-up of the old Indian unity, different provinces or language groups have developed in their own way; the political, social and economic *milieu* have evolved a particular character in each of these groups. They have developed what M'Dougall says the “native mental homogeneity” to a certain extent. Thus a community of character and language of the provinces, for example, Bengal and Maharastra, has given them a basis to form nations by themselves.

Thus today the independent languages of several provinces of India are hastening them in the development of local nationalities and differentiation from the rest.

That community of language is an important bond in the formation of nationality cannot be gainsaid, and in India of today it is a potent factor. Another important factor in Western Asia in this matter is religion. In India it plays its usual West-Asiatic rôle and works havoc in the national question. In present-day India these two important factors are competing with each other. The question for India today is: whether the Indian nation will be evolved out of a community of fate giving rise to a community of character—an Indian national character coupled with community of language to be created; or if the all-Indian unity is not possible, will the Indian nationalities be formed based on the above factors or attempt will be made to base them either on language or on religion?

Today though India is under the wheel of a common fate, a common political, historical and cultural development is going on which is developing in embryonic form the type which is "politically an Indian;" yet an Indian nation is far from being in the growth. The apparent differences of language and religion are hindering the growth of solidarity. Muir is not right when he said that "sentiment" is the thing. In our discussion above we have seen that a sentiment of kind and consciousness is the result and not the cause of solidarity. The sentiment to become a nation does exist in India, but the other factors are as yet wanting.

Taking the hindering factors one by one, we see that religion in spite of its potent charm can never become the binding factor in the Indian nation-building, or in the provincial nation-building. Its influence has to be eliminated from the civic life of India. Yet a subtle attempt is being made to build nationalities in India on the basis of this factor. Today the Mohammedans are trying to build up an *Indian-*

Mohammedan Nationality on this basis! The religious unity of the Mohammedans of different parts of India is being used as the magnet to draw the heterogeneous multitude together. Then an uniformity of language is being attempted to be introduced; of this more later on.

Though language is one of the strongest factors in the nation-building, yet the unity of language always does not make one nation. The community of language in the case of Aryan and Dravidian groups of languages do not exist in India. In this matter it falls short of Cunow's formula; and a homogeneous Indian nation, then, is not possible? The nation is a complex of various factors. If the language factor fails here, other factors and affinities exist to bind the members of two language groups as one nation in juristic sense; but the mental homogeneity lacking here, sentiment of kindredship will be wanting and a homogeneous nation in cultural sense will not develop.

Thus though linguistically India is divided into two groups, the community of character developing out of community of fate will bind the future Indians together, though the case of the formation of a homogeneous nationality will remain doubtful. The fates of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy and the Turkish empire serve us as examples.

As said beforehand the community of character and language is developing provincial nationalities, and in some cases it has developed different nationalities in the body-politics of India. But within some of these groups attempt is being made again, to develop nationality on the basis of religion and artificially introduced language. Thus the Mohammedans are trying to solidify the heterogeneous Islamic populations under the influence of religion and artificial (not mother-tongue) language. Attempt is being made on all parts of the country to make Urdu as the common language of these heterogeneous elements. The largest number of Mohammedans dwell in the Panjab and in Bengal. The

Mohammedans of the Panjab speak Panjabi dialect at home, but the educated ones read and write Urdu. In the same way attempt is being made, though not yet in a decisive form, to universalize Urdu amongst the Mohammedans of Bengal, as also in the Western Presidency. In a way, Urdu is becoming the *lingua franca* of the Mohammedans of India. In this wise, they are trying to bring about the "acquired mental homogeneity" necessary for the Mohammedan nationhood. Thus in future, given the conditions being favourable, through the community of character arising out of community of fate, and the mental homogeneity thus acquired artificially through the community of language, the *Indian-Mohammedan Nationality* will be formed which will be a nation within the Indian nationhood which will be a calamity.

In the same way pious wish is being expressed by the Hindus to form a Hindu nationality. For this reason it is being preached to make Hindi as the *lingua franca* of the Hindus all over India. Thus while all are shouting hoarse over the sacredness of *Indian Nationality*, attempts are being made to build up two different nations! But the curious thing in this matter is that while the Hindus talk, the Mohammedans act! The Hindus talk of establishing Hindu solidarity but the disintegrating, disruptive and anarchist tendencies inherent in Hindu social-polity being insurmountable, it is they who cannot unite, and on language basis are building up different provincial nationalities such as the "Bengalee," "Mahratta" and not the Mohammedans! If the Mohammedans succeed in future in building up the all-Indian-Mohammedan nationality based on religion and imported language, the provincial unities based on community of character and language existing hitherto will break up, *viz.*, Bengal will be divided into two nationalities, and the Panjab which is already on the road to develop three nationalities, namely, the Mohammedans with Urdu language and Persian script, the Sikhs with their Gurumukhi script, the Hindus under the

influence of Arya Samaj taking to Hindi language and Sanskrit script, will receive confirmation of these divisions! The same will be in the case of Guzerat and elsewhere. Thus the cultural fight that is going on between the Hindus and the Mohammedans and the various factors that are contending against one another are serving as hindrances to the growth of Indian nationhood.

Today the Indian leaders and patriots are raising their cry up to heaven on the sacred duty of forming an Indian nationhood, but it seems conscious attempt is not being made for it. When the patriots speak of an "Indian nation" they speak in the sense of political science, which defines that under a National Government India can become a nation. But that is an ephemeral basis for the Indian nationality. For that reason, the surer basis has to be created, and the leaders of thought and society must work towards it. And that surer basis is the *community of character and language growing out of community of fate*. The last we have got, the community of character is the result of the common evolution, but the community of language for all India is the desideratum. On that account popular Hindusthanee the language of the largest number of Indians, has to be made *lingua franca*. But the sting of religion has to be taken out of it. That is, the artificial Mohammedan Urdu and Hindu Hindi are not to be made the bones of contention, but the patois Hindusthanee should be made universal. And this would take the wind out of the sail of the attempted denominational basis of nationality through language! Thus given a common language and character under the wheel of a common evolution the Indian nationhood is assured.

But this is a dream of the future and a big hypothesis. Today the centripetal forces are at work, and as said before, different nationalities are being formed in the body-politic of India. This has been discerned by a few politicians, and on that account they are talking of a federation of Indian states,

i.e., the federation of different Indian nations (in India real provincial boundary is conterminous with linguistic area). As the matter stands today, the provincial national feeling is more potent than the sentimental "Indian" feeling. The critics on India say that India is devoid of national feeling as it is a heterogeneous country, and any talk of freedom is an artificiality created by the agitators. We need not be ashamed at this stupid criticism. It is not a fault that India is not a homogeneous one, and heterogeneous peoples can as well demand freedom and liberty to exist separately. If India cannot be a centralized and homogeneous nation like that of England and France, she can be a *Bundestatt*, *i.e.*, a federation of states. If the iron hammer that shaped the heterogeneous elements of England into one compact nation under the Plantagenets, and that of France under the Bourbons lacked in the immediate past in India giving rise to modern heterogeneity, that could not be helped; and in the present on the lack of that unifying hammer India perhaps is developing into different nationalities which though deplorable yet the psychological moments of separate development cannot be prevented under the present conditions. The vastness of the geographical area and its diversities are prompting the centripetal tendencies; and under the present circumstances India is on the road to break up into different provincial nationalities based on local language and character. But this centripetal tendency can be combated by the centrifugal tendency of introducing one language for all India which will create the "acquired mental homogeneity" which is necessary for the development of all-India nationhood, but it is a vision at present. Also the future will decide the fate of the cultural fight waged around denominational differences. The history of the world so far has shown that the bond of mother tongue is more potent than that of religion. And it can be safely said that in a land of complex problems, like that of India, the bond of religion alone when put against

the various provincial affinities cannot be made the basis of a denominational nationality. Therefore, in the last analysis the question stands, whether to form an all-India nationhood on the basis of common character and language which of course will be the task of a favourable historic-cultural evolution, or to take the matter as it is and to form a federation of provincial nations. But it must be admitted that the latter will be disastrous ; though the formation of provincial nationalities in many cases cannot be prevented, yet the growth of an all-Indian nationality is advantageous and some of the bases of its formation being present, conscious attempts must be made to foster it and to realize the desideratum.

BHUPENDRANATH DATTA

DAWN IN THE DESERT

Awhile the solemn brooding stillness rests
Above unprobed immensities of space ;
The silence of vast reaches, dead for years ;
Lends mystery to a thousand hidden things ;
The Desert dreams unfathomable dreams.
New dawn comes stealing o'er that quiet land,
And gently clothes the treeless arid waste
In tints illusive as the hearts of shells.
The pale tones deepen and illumine rocks
Of immemorial age ; the colour grows and
Spreads on flat and hill, as if some
Titan artist dipt a brush in living hues
And trailed it on a Cyclopean canvas.
The shadows lift from out the sombre gorge,
Revealing where a mighty sea had passed
In one of Nature's cataclysmic moods.
Now Dawn, grown bolder, kisses ancient cliffs
That rise abruptly from the Desert's floor ;
The colour bursts on the mountain-tops whereon
Weird pinnacles of wind-worn rock appear
Grotesque and leering in the rising light.
Down among the straggling mesquite, songless creatures
Stir and waken gradually. The Desert rouses
From its unknown dreams and greets the morning sun.

LILY S. ANDERSON

EUGENICS AND MR. CHESTERTON

“It is possible that while we are governed by ‘high-grade morons’ there will be no practical recognition of the dangers which threaten us. But those who understand the situation must leave no stone unturned in warning their fellow countrymen ; for the future of civilisation is at stake.”
—*Dean Inge, “ Outspoken Essays,” 2, p. 275.*

Mr. Chesterton, irrational, religious, well-meaning Mr. Chesterton is a charming teller of tales. In his book on Eugenics,¹ he tells the familiar story of the magic machine which would grind anything the owner wanted when he spoke a certain word, and cease when he said another. One day it was asked to grind some salt for an officers’ mess on board ship, but unfortunately the man forgot the word that stopped it: the machine went on grinding, and the ship sank laden with salt; but yet at the bottom of the sea it kept on and on and on. And here we have the simplest explanation of the salinity of the seas of the world.

Similarly, the Chestertons of the world keep grinding, but grinding voluntarily, hundreds of thousands of pages of extravagant verbiage, Victorian narrow-mindedness and bad sense. And, similarly, the ship of Civilisation is likely to be sunk, sunk with this overflow of aimless rhetoric. We wish we knew the magic word which would stop this excessive and disastrous production; but we do not. We can, however, take the good Dean’s advice and persuade those who may be lost to sail in a safer ship; in a ship where the salt is provided in practical and understandable salt-cellars, and not from a mad, though mystic, grinding machine.

This is the reason for this article. It is not a defence of Science or of Eugenics; but is merely an attempt to point

¹ *Eugenics and other Evils: Cassell & Co., 1922.*

out the fallacy of such 'strange ebullitions' as Mr. Chesterton's. Mr. Chesterton indirectly admits that he has no right to write authoritatively on any scientific subject, for he says, that he has never had a thorough training, or trained himself, in Science, and approaches the question only from a 'moral' and 'social' standpoint. We may, therefore, treat his "scientific writings" with the same respect as we would treat a work on Relativity by a mathematician unable to appreciate more dimensions than two. It is easy to deride a Science and build up a long-winded argument against it, an argument which is convincing only to the arguer and his blind followers; but it is more difficult to study it. I am reminded of the story of the great Bishop of Oxford, who went down on the last day of the British Association Meeting at Oxford in 1860 to 'smash Darwin'—a hero of Biology, whom Mr. Chesterton naturally considers impossible and 'dull.' After an hour and a half of fatuous eloquence the Bishop concluded by politely inquiring whether it was through his grandfather or grandmother that Darwin claimed his descent from an ape. Huxley was there to defend his friend and on hearing this, whispered to his neighbour, "The Lord hath delivered him into mine hands." The exact words of his masterly reply are not known, but in a part of his speech he is reputed to have said: "I asserted—and I repeat—that a man has no reason to be ashamed of having an ape for his grandfather. If there were an ancestor whom I should feel shame in recalling, it would rather be a *man*—a man of restless and versatile intellect—who, not content with (? an equivocal) success in his own sphere of activity, plunges into scientific questions with which he has no real acquaintance, only to obscure them by an aimless rhetoric, and distract the attention of his hearers from the real point at issue by eloquent digressions and skilled appeals to religious prejudice." The latter part of these words are strikingly applicable to Mr. Chesterton and those who, in spirit if not in style, resemble him.

One is surprised at the profundity of Mr. Chesterton's ignorance of Science. It is even greater than his ignorance of divorce. That an intellectual, as much lauded as he has been, should tell us confidently that entomology can only be studied by an entomologist or an insect, and that it is necessary to cease to be a man in order to study a microbe, is surprising, and I confess, not understandable to me. This astonishing originality, however, may yet prove a boon to playgoers and provide someone with the idea for a play even more imaginative than any of Karel Capek's. I should delight to see—on the stage—the entomological staff of the Natural History Museum in London represented by spectacled "praying-mantids," the staff of Kew Gardens by frock-coated examples of the national vegetation, and a bacteriological laboratory staffed by a number of supposedly intelligent and animated microbes!

We all know De Morgan's humorous work, *A Budget of Paradoxes*, a title which could be applied to every one of Chesterton's books. He is, we are told, The Master of Paradox, but a master who introduces his paradoxes everywhere, with something of the exuberance with which certain Italian masters of Art introduced a cherub into their paintings wherever they could find a little room for him. He has complained that his paradoxes may not be understood, and personally, I admit, I am often quite incapable of following the bewildering array of paradox—and paralogism—with which he seeks to confuse his readers. I know I am very ignorant, for several dear old ladies of the type that may be found in any boarding house, have told me so. They of course understand Chesterton: it is fashionable to do so these days, and to a certain type of Roman Catholic, it is imperative.

I may mention a single example of a Chestertonian paradox. He supposes a man to say to him that the Church of Rome had been guilty of great cruelties and "what would he think of me if I answered," he queries, "the Church is

expressly bound to meekness and charity; and therefore cannot be cruel." Mr. Chesterton knows his history and I need not therefore point out to him such minor events as the Spanish Inquisition or the doings of "bloody" Mary, but I may reply to his question by asking one. Suppose a man said to me that Smith was guilty of murder. What would Mr. Chesterton think of me if I replied: "Smith is expressly bound by every law, human and otherwise, to treat his neighbour's person with respect; and therefore cannot be a murderer." In his vigorous language he would tell me, as he has told Eugenists, that I am an 'yawning idiot.' And, he would be right.

Like most "moralists" Mr. Chesterton is continually telling us, though very delicately, what weak miserable creatures we, the highest representatives of animate creation, are. He says, for instance, that "a young man may keep himself from vice by continually thinking of disease or the Virgin Mary," and adds that there is no doubt as to which course is the more wholesome. (It scarcely concerns us that he himself is unwholesome in pointing out what is wholesome. He derides the continual thought of disease, and rightly too, but it is strange that in another sense he himself should tell us that we are diseased.) I agree that of the two suggested courses, it is more wholesome to keep away from vice by continually thinking of the Virgin Mary, but it seems to me that there is a third alternative which is the most wholesome of all. In the best code of morals, among intelligent beings, a man should keep himself free from vice merely by being thoroughly acquainted with its far-reaching consequences, and by possessing a serious sense of responsibility. Chestertonians may prate that this is an immoral outlook, as vice should be avoided for the sake of morality alone, or because it is prohibited by religion; but they ignore the fact that if certain actions of mankind had no evil consequences attached to them, they could no longer be vice. In his fatuous orthodoxy, Mr.

Chesterton perpetually ignores any code of morals which is capable of being founded on sound sense and scientific fact. One wonders what a living Virgin would say to being regarded as an abstract straw to keep a weak human from sinking in the seas of immorality and disease. A lady who knew Professor Huxley's rigid code of morals and upright life, was once told that the great Agnostic held no thoughts of future reward or punishment. "Then I think," she said, "Professor Huxley is the best man I have ever known." I think so too.

Mr. Chesterton's morals and mine differ in one or two important particulars. For instance, in one of his numerous examples, to prove a single point, he supposes a doctor to say "Jones has that twitch in the nerves, and he may burn down the house," and adds that it is not the medical detail we fear but the moral upshot. He thinks we should say, "Let him twitch, as long as he doesn't burn down the house." This is not only decidedly selfish and therefore irreligious, but also unpractical. Personally I should be as much concerned about the possible burning of my house at Jones' hands as Mr. Chesterton, but where we differ is that I should point out, as kindly as possible, to Jones that he needs medical attendance or else his twitch may develop into a nervous breakdown. I flatter myself that this would be truly religious and incidentally practical, for by helping Jones to strengthen his nerves, I would remove any possibility of them causing him to accidentally destroy my property. But even if Jones were one of those vile, unreasonable creatures who resent any outside interference with such intimate things as nerves, I should still do my best to convince him of his danger, though I ran the risk of his deliberately attempting to set fire to my house in his first fit of temper.

In these days of enquiry, religion is often inefficacious when receiving no support from scientific fact. In the early Victorian era, it may have been possible to keep a man from

becoming over-stout by religious outbursts on laziness and gluttony. But I have justifiable reasons for doubting this. I am one of those irreligious creatures who believe that the body should be kept within certain proportions for health's sake alone; and my heresy is backed by religion for the 'body is the temple of the soul,' and all temples should be worthy in outward appearances of the spirit within. We of this immoral century, are rightly proud of our health and appearance of virility—a change from the port-drinking, beef-eating age—which has been effected, not by religion, but by prosaic little primers on physiology and hygiene (Mr. Chesterton is not tolerant of hygienists) and "horrible looking" diagrams of our digestive tract and muscular and nervous systems.

Reading this over I find that I have said practically nothing about Eugenics; but neither has Mr. Chesterton in 184 pages of a book presumably on Eugenics, but really on nothing in particular. He cites so many examples, gives us so many startling paradoxes, talks so much about politics, religion, war and innumerable other things; indulges in so many personalities, such as indirectly calling Eugenists "progressive swine," or directly pointing out to us the defects in Dr. Karl Pearson's genealogical tree, and naïvely telling us that he is half a German and Dr. Steinmetz a whole one, in the vain hopes that this fact alone should induce us to distrust their scientific work, that we are quite bewildered and only just able to grasp that he is trying to give us an argument against Eugenics.

It is strange that at the commencement of all this useless verbiage, he tells us that Eugenists are Euphemists, or people who are soothed by long words and startled by short ones. He is so pleased with himself at this apparently important discovery, that in childish glee he proceeds to give us some ridiculous examples to prove his point. He cannot see that in scientific writing, to be thoroughly precise and clear the use of "long words" is sometimes necessary. He would

have us believe that all Eugenists are addicted to *sesquipedalia verba*, adding quite irrelevantly that they live in Mayfair, smoke excellent cigars produced from excellent cigar-cases, and wear gold spectacles or perhaps an eyeglass! I can assure Mr. Chesterton that any Eugenist, if he thought him a fool and had reason to tell him so, would not say: "My dear Sir, I have reasons to believe from logical deductions and experimental fact, that your association areas have suffered grave injury, and your general behaviour convinces me that you are in the condition usually consequent on paresis of the cerebellum." Oh, no, he would convey his belief as briefly as possible, and if he were really angry, he may so far forget dignity as to emphasize it with an adjective.

We feel about Mr. Chesterton much as scientists feel about Professor Mivart; that he would have been truly great, if he restricted his literary energies to certain channels and controlled his tendency to let his "orthodoxy" conquer his common sense. Mr. Chesterton might have been a giant in distributing the seeds of knowledge; it is sad that he should prefer instead to broadcast the germs of ignorance. He is entirely intolerant of Science and by a curious method of reasoning, has come to the conclusion that Science—the greatest philanthropic agent of the world—is likely to wreck humanity some day. He calls himself a Roman Catholic, but is really an English Brahmin, resenting, like the old-time Brahmins of India, any proposed interference by people of a denomination not his own, but praising the religious interference of those of his own faith. It is possible that if he called in his doctor to cure him of indigestion, and the unfortunate *medico* instead of administering a drug, suggested that he should take more exercise, he would rush at him like an angry bull; but it is highly probable that if his confessor told him to run a dozen times round his back garden, morning and evening, in penance for some slight dietetic excess, that he would meekly submit to the ordeal.

One of the most striking incidents of this type of Liberty, that I have ever witnessed was on the shores of a beautiful lake in Orissa. Among the people of the district there is an individual and communal liberty which makes it imperative for any man stricken with a grievous disease to leave his village and retire to the shores of the lake, much as a dying wild dog is hounded from the rest of the pack. One day while assisting two well-known zoologists, one of whom was a doctor, to collect certain animals, I saw a leper lying on the burning sands with the fierce sun beating on his unprotected body, with only the unenlightened presence of his wife for company. Only those who have been in India can fully realise the terrible plight of such unfortunates—a plight which in view of the success of modern treatment of leprosy is entirely due to their own ignorance. We offered to take him back to the village—I don't think even Mr. Chesterton would have said "Let him die as long as I don't get leprosy"—but the man would not let us touch him and raised with the help of his wife as loud a cry as he could at this desecration. Quite helpless, we were compelled to stand by and watch him rise to his feet in search of shade. He tottered a few steps and dropped down—dead. If I understand Mr. Chesterton correctly, this is the kind of individual liberty he would have us fight for—a liberty which is even less free than a rigid isolation for life in a leper asylum. Will the people accept it?

Materially Mr. Chesterton lives in the present. Anything which may protect us or a future humanity from bodily evils, or which is likely to better it, makes him bristle and bark, and even try to bite, as the familiar human pet would do if stroked with the business end of an ordinary pin. This is why he is against Eugenics and abuses Eugenists.

This is why he is against preventive medicine, such as vaccination, comparing the abstract with the concrete in these words: "vaccination, in its hundred years of experiment, has been disputed almost as much as baptism in its approximate

two thousand. But it seems quite natural to our politicians to enforce vaccination; and it would seem madness to enforce baptism." With this impressive analogy, he thinks he has proved his point, but I leave it to my readers to judge if he has. Vaccination has undoubtedly been disputed, but most often by people whose right to dispute is itself disputable. Anti-vaccination campaigns are often distinctly advantageous to their promoters, and one wonders if the well-known West End draper found his campaign a useful asset in the quick disposal of the latest in *lingerie*. Novel advertisements are the rage these days.

This is why he resents the invaluable efforts of doctors to improve the nation's health, saying a healthy man does not think about health. If Mr. Chesterton does not think about his health, he has my sympathies. He proceeds with an alarming and disconcerting logic: "Health is simply Nature, and no naturalist ought to have the impudence to understand it. Health, one may say, is God; and no agnostic has any right to claim His acquaintance." If health is Nature, the diphtheria bacilli being a part of Nature are then health; if health is God, then a healthy dray horse knows what God is. Scientists, in spite of Mr. Chesterton, are trying to understand what Nature is, and one by one she is yielding up her secrets, and, as on his own argument, Nature is God, I rejoice to find we know more about God than Mr. Chesterton, or even the Pope.

This is why he derides the most honourable suggestion that has ever come from any man—the suggestion that we owe a duty to the Great Unborn. He thinks that the wife has a greater claim on her husband than their unborn child. If this is so, Love, the highest of human emotions and in its other extreme, the emotion which makes poets avoid the bath, keep long hair and dine of a stale biscuit, is selfish—hideously and unutterably selfish. Any one united in true love would be honourable enough to

realise the immense responsibility they owe to the possible result of their emotions, and would welcome rather than deride a noble science which seeks to help them in this realisation. It is futile to tell me that two loving consumptives, or two sufferers from any hereditary complaint, who strongly desire a child should place no restrictions on their desire. It is futile to tell me or any sane man this in such words as Mr. Chesterton's : "The sickness or soundness of a consumptive may be a clear and calculable matter. The happiness or unhappiness of a consumptive is quite another matter, and is not calculable at all. What is the good of telling people that if they marry for love, they may be punished by being the parents of Keats or the parents of Stevenson? Keats died young; but he had more pleasure in a minute than a Eugenist gets in a month." The Eugenist does not tell the people they shall be the parents of a Keats or Stevenson, but what he does say is that they should get expert advice after submitting particulars of as much as they remember of their genealogical tree. The expert consulted may not always be able to reply that they must not procreate a child for it will surely be diseased, nor may he be able to tell them that they may do so in safety. But if he says, and he has a mass of experimental fact to justify his conclusions, that it is highly possible that the child would be diseased, then the duty is clear. But if it is highly possible that it would be safe to have a child, I am not fool enough to think that the slight probability against it should keep them childless for life. It is truly said that one can never be absolutely sure of anything, but we can be fairly sure, and if we err it is better to err on the side of reason than against it. If men must gamble with the lives of others, in reason's sake, let them gamble on the side of strong possibility, and not throw these unfortunates into the seas of blind chance.

Eugenists are not gamblers in souls, but advisers on the more understandable though highly complex question of the

physical future of man. They do not theorise in the abstract on happiness or unhappiness. The historical Job may have been perfectly happy though sorely afflicted, but the fact remains that in this age people are, on their own confession, never entirely happy if diseased. In his successful life one wonders how much Mr. Chesterton has seen of the actual effects of hereditary disease. If he has seen very little, I would advise him to visit the great London hospitals, to see the anguish of a helpless babe covered with syphilitic sores or racked with a terrible cough, or the more subtle anguish of the vacant look indicative of insanity—the results of the worldly lust of dastardly parents in the name of Love. I think I may reply in the name of the people—I exclude these wanton wretches from the people—that we hope Mr. Chesterton's book will not have the effect of providing them with a plausible excuse for their crimes. As it is admittedly impossible to decide the relative happiness of one person to another I confess I cannot guess at the invaluable data on which he bases his conclusion that Keats was approximately 43,200 times happier than an Eugenist. We await enlightenment.

Mr. Chesterton is easily alarmed. Where science is concerned, he gropes in the dark and like a frightened child cries out at goblins that are not there. Some day I hope that he will be given light and be restored to equanimity. His greatest fear is that Science will forcibly employ extreme measures through the medium of state legislature. He fears that Eugenists will attempt to forcibly breed men like horses; he fears that they will lock up all men who have a queer look in their eyes; he fears that two people with long noses will not be permitted to marry as this character may be unusually dominant in their first, second or third filial generation; he fears that if a man's great-grandfather twice removed had died of consumption that he will not be permitted to marry a woman who is strongly liable to colds in the chest. In some unintelligible way he thinks that Eugenists want to find

out what they want, and works himself into a frenzy because they desire the establishment of research, saying that research is not discovery. He ignores the fact that there was never a piece of research which did not lead to discovery beneficial in one way or another. Even the apparently horrible scientific discoveries used in the Great War have been beneficial in more ways than one. The most easily understandable instance of this statement is that they helped to end a war in four years which may otherwise have lasted a hundred. He thinks that Eugenists are vivisectionists, cruel wielders of the insidious scalpel, for experiment's sake, on unfortunate human beings, a statement which is news to me. He is probably even against experiments on thoroughly anaesthetized animals for the benefit of humanity. In a paper in this journal on "The Ethics of Zoology," a well-known zoologist has discussed the ethical relations of biologists to animals, and like him I will not waste my time on the crank who loves *her* dog and hates mankind.

And Mr. Chesterton is afraid about nothing. If Eugenics is what he thinks it is, if I were acquainted with half as much experimental fact against it as there is for it, I would be as much an anti-eugenist as Mr. Chesterton is himself, and so would hundreds of thoughtful people who now see in Eugenics the possible salvation of a future humanity. I am not a professional Eugenist, but only one in the sense that I appreciate the value of the science. I am one of the "weakest" of those "helpless persons" whom Mr. Chesterton calls Endeavourers, in a striking chapter on the specific distinctions between the various kinds of eugenists. Were I replying to him in detail, I could assign most anti-eugenists with equal certainty to each of the half dozen or so sub-headings in one or the other of which we are so politely placed. Mr. Chesterton and I are antithetical, but he is as much an endeavourer as I am. This being so, I recommend to his notice his own words: "...the best thing the honest Endeavourer

could do would be to make an honest attempt to know what he is doing. And not do anything else until he has found out."

Arguing against Science, he finds solace and supposed proof in the fact that Germany, the country which "had long been the model State of all those more rational moralists who saw in science the ordered salvation of society" should have been the main cause of the European conflict. What a striking argument! What had German biologists to do with German militarism? What has any biologist ever had to do with militarism, except to assuage the sufferings of those at war? If anything, German biologists were in the main against the war—a statement which has much proof in the fact that the best and most scientific book against war that was ever written was not written by a harmless essayist who, having exhausted his flow of eloquence about Spring, or the important question of "Coming and Going," sees in the subject of war the chance to add to his banking account; but by Dr. G. F. Nicolai, a professor of Physiology at Berlin University. And if a scientific country goes to war, is that at the bidding of Science, or is it through a political and material lust? The Italian seizure of Corfu was morally not much better than the German invasion of Belgium, but only a mental cripple would suggest any connection between this and the fact that Italy is the centre of Roman Catholicism.

Science has ever been magnanimous; it alone has never been guilty of persecution; it alone has never caused annihilation of people who did not correspond with her views. In seeking the aid of state legislature, it does not propose to do so now. It has tried to gain the co-operation of the people and to show them its humane value and its necessity to true progress. It has succeeded only partly, for the vision of the people is still obscured by the myths of the past, by religious prejudice and a kind of aversion to true knowledge. State legislature in its

connection with Science would be entirely unnecessary if the majority of the world were not suffering from mental myopia. The blind man traversing a dangerous cliff may assert that he is quite safe, and if he will not accept help from one who can see, it is only humane to forcibly guide him to safety, even if in doing so we place a restriction on his liberty. Science is not petty, which is what those who have a superlative appreciation of liberty are. It will not say, "Let him break his neck unknowingly, but let him do what he likes." It will not say, "Let a man with an infectious disease take up his abode on an island full of people where it was previously unknown and let him infect its inhabitants, but let him live where he likes." If it did I would be a student of ancient oriental brass-ware or—of Orthodoxy.

Coming to the end of this article, I cannot help reflecting that it is possibly not an ideal of urbane controversy, but then neither is Mr. Chesterton's masterpiece. Scientifically viewed, it is in parts perhaps a little ridiculous, but then so is Mr. Chesterton's book. His work does not admit of cold scientific criticism and in criticising it I have borne in mind the French proverb that there is nothing which kills like ridicule, to which the late Dr. Annandale has added, "ridicule kills only when its object is really ridiculous." I have only tried to point out for the sake of humanity, the fallacy of placing faith in the expositions of such writers as Mr. Chesterton, who, so to speak, have grasped the scientific bull at the wrong end.

Macaulay was a great writer; I do not deny but rather affirm that Mr. Chesterton is also a great writer, but like Macaulay, he too often sacrifices accuracy to style. What is worse is that his orthodoxy—an indiscreet author has dared to spell it "authorodoxy"—should make him so prejudiced against Science as to make him lose sight of the balance he so much commends, and commit himself to the astounding comments he has made against it. When writing on Dickens or Laughter, Chesterton is supreme; when writing even on

his own conversion to the Papal fold he is tolerable; but the most polite opinion I can express about his outbursts against Science is the opinion of Dean Inge, that they are "strange ebullitions." If I wrote on Laughter, I would probably be laughed at; if thirty years hence I write a semi-autobiography, I may be expecting too much if I expect even toleration; but if I wrote a seemingly authoritative work on Argentinian politics, my mentality would rightly be looked upon with suspicion. And apparently I know as much about Argentinian politics as Mr. Chesterton knows about Science, particularly Eugenics.

CEDRIC DOVER

HISTORICAL RECORDS AT GOA

VIII

FRESH TROUBLES

On the 28th September, 1703, or exactly nine months after the friendly letter addressed to the Viceroy, the Portuguese had again to complain of Maratha depredations in the sea. By this time the great Maratha Admiral Kanhoji Angria had risen to power and he was most probably responsible for these fresh troubles. But it will be more convenient to devote a separate section to the Angrias. The Portuguese Government wrote to Hindu Rao, demanding compensation for the excesses committed at the port of Mellondim and the Isles of Candery (Maratha Khanderi, better known as Kenery). "Your Honour's letter and that of Custtaji Pantta" (Krishnaji Pant) so the letter ran, "have been delivered to me and from them I understand that you desire to continue the good relations between the Maharaza and this State. Yet you do not comply much with the high purpose of the same (desire for friendship) and give satisfaction for the excesses committed in the port of Mellondim and in the Isles of Candery, as that must be well known to Your Honour. I do not demand such satisfaction, but expect that all that has been robbed from our subjects should be restored to them without delay." (Reis Visinhos, Tomo IV, fol. 74.)

The next letter that Caetano de Mello de Castro wrote to Hindu Rao Ghorpade also refers to the troubles created by the Marathas whom he angrily calls the "thieves of Sindi Durga, Undry and Candry." "Received a letter of Your Honour that Ballagi Ram and Apagi Nillcanta delivered to me. I feel much obliged and beg to signify

(my obligation). I esteem very much Your Honour's recollection of the favour and good treatment that Custagi Panta received from my predecessors when he was in the neighbourhood of this State and the same friendship will Your Honour experience though I justly complain of the robberies and insolence repeatedly committed by the thieves of Sindi Durga, Undry and Candry. The Majestic State of the North has not punished them, expecting satisfaction from Sambagi Raze, from whom I got a letter a few days ago to which I responded telling him (everything) about these (robberies) so that he might order the restitution of the spoils to the vassals of this State and prohibit the repetition of the said robberies, so that the peace and friendship between this State and the said Sambagi Raze may in this manner be preserved. As for the offer Your Honour made me, I have already inflicted sufficient punishment on Qhema Saunto (Khem Savanta) As regards (?) other similar thefts, although he earnestly solicited my pardon promising amendment (of his conduct) I am not prepared to forgive him, and as he is an enemy of little power I do not require any help for his reduction. It is for this reason that I do not avail myself of the offer that Your Honour made. I shall not forget the good will underlying the said offer and all that I may do Ballagi Rama and Apagi Nilcanta..... they will inform Your Honour so that you may concede what may be useful.....Goa, 2nd November, 1704. Caetano de Mello de Castro. (Reis Visinhos, Tomo IV, fol. 105.)

This letter shows that the hostile activities of the Maratha fleet did not materially affect the good relations between the two neighbouring powers. The Portuguese Government had written to Krishnaji Pant urging Hindu Rao to punish the rebel Khem Savanta (3rd October, 1703, Reis Visinhos, Tomo IV, fol. 102), and it was probably in

response to this letter that Hindu Rao had offered to assist the Portuguese in a punitive expedition against the Savanta and put a stop to his piratical exploits. The Viceroy in person led an expedition against Bicholim, one of the strongholds of Khem Savanta, and the castle was captured and destroyed. But it is difficult to understand how Sambhaji Raze comes to be mentioned in this letter. In 1704, Shivaji II was still on the throne and he was not replaced by Sambhaji II, his step brother till 1712. The reins of the Maratha Government were held by the ambitious dowager queen Tarabai, the reigning prince's mother, and it does not seem probable that she should permit her step-son a formidable political rival, considering the tendencies of those times, to have any share in the administration or to carry on open correspondence with the Portuguese. Is it by a mere copyist's mistake that Sambhaji's name has been substituted for that of Shivaji? The published Marathi records throw no light upon this question, but if a revolution had really taken place at this date it is impossible that the contemporary Marathi records and the Maratha chronicles should be absolutely silent about it. The question demands further enquiry.

It is well known that Shivaji not only employed a number of Muhammadan sailors in his navy but conferred some important naval commands on Muhammadan officers like Dariya Sarang and Daulat Khan. From the unpublished Portuguese records it appears that Muhammadans continued to hold high offices in the fleet of Shivaji II as well. Two letters were addressed to one Dauda Can (Daud Khan), (Reis Visinhos, Tomo IV, fols. 105, 107) in the first of which his designation is given as "Sarnobata da Armada" while another Muslim officer Sahida Mera (Syed Meera), by name, is styled as "Subedar." In the second letter Daud Khan is addressed as "Subedar da Armada do Sivagy." Probably the Subedar held the chief command of the fleet and the "Sarnobat" was his

second in command. So far as my knowledge goes, the term "Sarnobat" is not applied to a naval officer in any Marathi document. The first letter which was written on the 2nd of November, 1705, runs as follows :

Letter of the Secretary of State to Daud Khan, Sarnobat of the Fleet and Syed Meera, Subedar.

"The letter of Your Honour that Custtagi brought has been presented to the Most Excellent Senhor Viceroy and when the Portuguese and the mariners of the yawl arrive at this city, the said Most Excellent gentleman will be made acquainted (with the facts) not however without some comments from the robbed (persons) though Your Honour exculpates the people of Ratranguery, who urges other causes for which they will not deliver (the ship) at the request of the Portuguese and the mariners of the yawl as they left it wrecked on a coast. But this excess and other thefts that are committed on this coast the Most Excellent gentleman intends to punish and this can no longer be delayed. Your Honour has assisted our Men of War in the port of Canara in pursuance of the good relation and friendship that you have with this State and the Most Excellent gentleman gratefully acknowledges this kindness. He has ordered all our battleships to treat your Men of War in a similar fashion, helping them in all that they may need, for the Portuguese know how to show their gratitude to those who sincerely serve them as well as to punish those who being friends act as pirates whenever they can. Goa, 2nd November, 1705."

It may as well be noted here that as close neighbours the Portuguese had diplomatic relations with the Kolhapur princes till the firm establishment of the British supremacy in India reduced Shivaji's descendants to the position of feudatory princes and deprived them of their diplomatic freedom. Even in the first decade of the 19th century, as late as 1812 Shivaji Raze of Kolhapur solicited Portuguese aid against the well known Appa Desai of Nepani, but the Portuguese prudently refused to interfere in a matter involving hostility with the

Peshwa, then a subordinate ally of the English. They pointed out that compliance with the Chhatrapati's request would mean breach of existing treaty obligations with the court of Poona, which the Goa Government were unwilling to risk (Letter, dated 2nd June, 1812, Reis Visinhos, Vol. 14, fols. 102-103). It must not however be supposed that from the time of Shivaji II downwards the Kolhapur princes have always been friends with the Portuguese of Goa. Sambhaji II had frequent differences with his European neighbours, but both the States had declined in power and prestige and the results of such differences were seldom so serious as to attract outside notice.

IX

SOVEREIGNTY OF THE SEA, AS EXERCISED BY THE PORTUGUESE AND THE MARATHAS

We have found so many references to Maratha depredations in the sea that it may not be irrelevant to discuss their nature and extent here. In the letter addressed to Hindu Rao we have seen that the Portuguese Viceroy regarded the Maratha seamen of Sindhudurg, Henry and Kenery as pirates. The terms "pirata" and "levantado," pirate and rebel, have been frequently used by the Portuguese while writing of the Angrias. The English also regarded them as corsair chiefs. Yet from a close and dispassionate examination of the facts it appears that they were guilty of only two offences. They captured and appropriated merchantmen that sailed without their passport and they also took possession of all vessels wrecked on their coast and the cargo found in them. This practice was strongly resented by the mercantile nations of the West and they made repeated attempts severally and jointly to reduce the Angrias, but the Marathas were simply imitating the Portuguese and exercising, as they thought, in a legitimate way their right of sovereignty in the sea.

After their establishment on the Western coast of India the Portuguese became easily the greatest sea power in the Indian Ocean. This ascendancy they exercised in a high-handed manner and jealously guarded. They compelled even friendly states to seek their Cartaz or passport before sending their ships on a voyage in the Indian Ocean or the Arabian Sea. We have already seen that in the treaty concluded with the King of Bakla it had been clearly laid down that only four ships belonging to that prince will be given Cartazes for visiting Molucca, Ormuz and Goa. The friendly nations of Europe were not treated better as we learn from the accounts left by many adventurous travellers who were lured by the vague rumours of the fabulous wealth of the gorgeous east in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries of the Christian era. Writes William Hawkins¹—"The next day, going about my affaires to the great mans brother, I met with some tenne or twelv of our men, of the better sort of them, very much frightened, telling me the heaviest newes, as I thought that ever came unto me, of the taking of the Barkes by a Portugal Frigat or two and all goods and men taken, only they escaped. * * * It was my chance the next day, to meete with a Captaine of one of the Portugal Frigats, who came about businesse sent by the Captaine Major. The businesse, as I understood, was that the Governour should send me as prisoner unto him, for that we were Hollanders. I understanding what he was, tooke occasion to speake with him of the abuses offered the King of England, and his subjects: his answer was, that these seas belonged unto the King of Portugall, and none ought to come here without his license. I told him, that the King of Englands license was as good as the King of Spaines, and he that saith the contrary, is a traytor, and a villaine, and so tel your great Captaine, that in abusing the King of England, he is a base villaine, and a traytor to his King, and that I will maintaine it with my sword, if he dare come on shore." But

¹ Purchas, His Pilgrimes, Vol. III, pp. 4-5.

neither the strong protests that the good Captain made nor the 'kind' treatment he subsequently accorded to a Portuguese officer availed him much as he tells us—"before he (the Portuguese officer) departed the Towne, my men and goods were sent for Goa."

The incident mentioned by Hawkins occurred in 1608. Three years later the Portuguese Admiral, a more polite man than Hawkins' acquaintance, would not allow Sir Henry Middleton to enter the port of Surat. "The six and twentieth, betweene nine and ten of clocke wee weighed, having a gale of wind which brought us into the roade of Surat, we ridde by the three Indian ships in seven fathom. A mile from us ridde seven sayle of Portugall frigats or men of Warre: there were thirteene more of them which were within the river of Surat; The Portugalls long before our coming thither, had intelligence that we were in the Red Sea, and bound for this place; so that these Frigates were purposely sent to keepe us from Trade at Surat, or else-where, upon the Coast. The Captaine Major¹ of them is called Don Francisco de Sote Maior, is intituled Captaine Major of the North, he reapeth great benefit to himselfe by giving cartasses or Pasports to all ships and Frigats, which trade upon that coast. Any ship or Frigat which hath not the same passe are confiscate or lost."²

How rigorously this rule was enforced can be guessed from what Middleton says next. "The nine and twentieth, there came a small Portugall Frigat from the Admirall of the Armada (as they terme them) wherein was one Portugall and his Boy who brought me answeere of my Letter sent the day before from the Captaine Major, wherein hee used some complements certifying me that he was glad to heare I belonged to a king a friend, and that he and his would be readie to doe mee service in anything he might, provided I brought a Letter

¹ Portuguese "Captain-mor."

² Purchas, *His Pilgrimes*, Vol. II, p. 172.

or Order from the King of Spaine, or the Vice-Roy, for my trading in these parts, which if I could shew him, he would willingly obey: if otherwise, he must guard the port he had in charge, where the King his Master had his factorie."¹ Even the Mughal officers had not the courage to support Sir Henry Middleton against the unreasonable interference of the Portuguese.

Cesar Fredrike also found the Portuguese claiming the sovereignty of the sea and exercising it in the abovementioned manner as early as 1563. He wrote: "Diu is situate in a little Iland in the kingdome of Cambaia, which is the greatest strength that the Portugals have in all the Indies, yet a small citie, but of great trade, because there they trade very many great ships for the straights of Mecca and Ormus with marchandise, and these ships belong to the Moores and Christians, but the Moores cannot trade neither saile into these seas without the licence of the Vice-roy of the King of Portugall, otherwise they are taken and made good prises."² Ralph Fitch seems to echo the Italian traveller when he writes twenty years later—It (Diu) is but little, but well stored with Merchandise, for here they lade many great ships with divers commodities for the straight of Mecca, for Ormus, and other places, and these bee ships of the Moores and of Christians. But the Moores cannot passe, except they have a Pasport from the Portuguals."³

It is needless to quote more witnesses, sufficient evidence has been produced as to the Portuguese naval policy and how it was enforced against Asiatic and European nations in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. We will now turn to published and unpublished Portuguese records on the subject and find out how far the Marathas trod in the footsteps of their Portuguese neighbours and to what extent their conduct

¹ *Ibid*, p. 173.

² Perchas, *His Pilgrimes*, Vol. X, p. 89.

³ *Ibid*, p. 169.

could be held as piratical. It is needless to point out that they should be judged by the standard of the seventeenth and not of the twentieth or nineteenth century.

We have seen previously how Shivaji had tried in vain to secure what may be termed the freedom of the sea, for although the Portuguese made some minor concessions in favour of coasting vessels and river crafts they were determined not to permit any big ship or sea-going vessel to sail without their Cartaz. If the concession was not made in favour of the Marathas neither was it made in favour of their Muhammadan enemies the Siddis of Janjira. In a letter addressed to Sidy Iacat Can, on the 3rd of April, 1700 (Reis Visinhos, Tomo, IV, fol. 28) we find reference to the capture and detention of a vessel belonging either to the Siddi or to one of his subjects. The Portuguese Government protested that it was captured on legitimate grounds, *viz.*, failure to carry their Cartaz, but the ship was restored to its owner in consideration of the friendship then subsisting between the Portuguese and the Mughal. The letter concluded with a significant sentence that reminded the Siddi that the Portuguese were "the sovereigns of the seas and not pirates." Another letter on a similar subject was again addressed to "Sidy Acùt Can, General da Armada delRey Mogor, on the 16th December, 1715, which runs as follows: Received a letter of Your Lordship in which you request (the restoration of a) boat captured by one of the frigates of this State in Calicut and I am much surprised at the special reasons for which Your Lordship is not offended in this matter with as much sincerity as it deserves:

First of all there is no prince in Asia who does not know that the Most High and Mighty King of Portugal is sovereign of the Seas of India and the same is acknowledged by His Majesty the King of the Mughals and the Magnificent Monarch of Persia inasmuch as their vessels take Cartazes and observe all that they are ordained to do thereby." (Reis Visinhos, Tomo VII, fols. 26 and 27.)

Let us now see on what terms these Cartazes were granted and to what obligations the grantee was subjected. A number of typical Cartazes has been published by Judice Biker, in the fourth volume of his collection.¹ These will serve our purpose quite well, but the large masses of unpublished Cartazes still available in the Archives of Goa may yield information of no little value or interest.

On the 9th August of 1613, a Cartaz was issued in favour of ElRey Idalxā or Adil Shah, the Muhammadan Sultan of Bijapur. It runs as follows: I Dom Jeronimo d'Azevedo cause it to be known to all who may see it that in consideration of the ancient amity that ElRey Idalxā has with this State and as by the terms of the treaty he has concluded (with us) license and safeguard are granted to him to enable six of his ships to visit Mecca, Ormuz and other places, I have great pleasure in giving the present license and safeguard at the prayer of his ambassador to his ship Mamody (Muhammadi) by name, that carries four thousand khandis (of goods), of which the Nacodā is Melique Ambar aged thirty years and has for her defence twelve swivels of iron, twenty muskets and many moorish weapons that go in it, so that she may start from the port of Dabul where she is during the present monsoon for Juda and return to (Dabul) without taking or bringing any prohibited goods, to wit Greeks, Turcs, Abyssinians, cinamon of Ceylon lead, tin, brass, timber,³ planks, saltpetre, sulphur, bamboo⁴ and other things prohibited by the Government. Neither will she (be permitted to) carry Portuguese nor bring horses without any license and she will be (allowed to) bring slaves, male and female of her nationality only. (But) if there is any suspicion or information that some of these (slaves) are Christians or children of Christians,

¹ Biker, Vol. IV, pp. 181-188.

² Nacoda—Captain of a Merchantman.

³ Madeira, and the original for wood in the above is Mato.

⁴ The original has bambus machos, the last word means any piece of timber, iron, etc., that is to be fitted into another.

there will be an open enquiry about them in the Provincial Council, even if such children are not baptised and before the said ship leaves the port of Dabul, she will be inspected and searched by the Feitor of His Majesty who is there and she will take his certificate on the back of this Cartaz. On these conditions, her voyage both outward and homeward will be without any impediment from the Captain-mors of the Armadas of this State or any other Captain or persons, and all who are hereby enjoined will fulfil and observe these terms without any question. This shall be sealed with the signet of the royal arms of the crown of Portugal. Belchoir da Silva drew it at Goa on the 9th of August 1613 and I Secretary, Affonso Rodrigues Guevara caused it to be written. Viso Rey (Dom Jeromymo de Azevedo). It must not be supposed that a friendly prince could get such Cartazes for the mere asking. Another Cartaz was issued only three days previously in favour of the Sultan of Bijapur who wanted to send from the same port of Dabul one of his ships Abdul Hadi to Tennassarim (Tenaserim). The request of the Bijapur ambassador was complied with, but it was clearly stated in the Cartaz that "this was a new request not hitherto made or conceded," and "license was given for this occasion only" in order to please the Sultan and in consideration of the amity that existed between the two States.

The terms of the Cartaz granted to the King of Canara a year later were certainly more stringent. It is as follows :

I Vasco Fernandes Cezar de Menezes, (member) of His Majesty's Council of State, Viceroy and Captain General of India, etc., make it known to all who may see it that as the King of Canara has sent for a Cartaz to enable one of his boats to navigate, I do him the favour for this occasion only of granting license and safeguard. As his said ship Parmesuary (Parmeshwari) by

name, studded with nails, having a capacity of six hundred khandis of Goa and having for her Nacodā Hansamma Bapa, Currane¹ Pundallica, Pilot Mahama Dagi, Condestavel² Salu, Sarangue Ismal, Tandel³ Abdul, and other persons for her navigation, carrying for her defence twenty-five pieces of artillery, thirty muskets, thirty swords, fifty lances, five anchors, the necessary (quantity of) powder and ball besides other munitions of war, to enable her during the monsoon of the month of March or April of the present year 1714 to make her voyage from the port of Mangalor to the ports of Congo and Ormuz. She will not carry slaves or Christian slaves or Christian children and if we have suspicion or information that such (persons) are on board, an open enquiry will be made in the Provincial Council even if such children are not baptised. Nor will she take or bring Abyssinians Greeks or Arabs belonging to the territories owing allegiance to the Imam of Muscat. Neither shall she take a cargo of iron, steel, sulphur, timber, bamboos-machos for trade nor goods belonging to Arabs even if they are not prohibited, nor shall she take any Portuguese nor shall she go to any port that acknowledges the authority of the Imam of Muscat or that of the Angria or of any other prince or rebel with whom this State may be in war. Though it is (generally) prohibited this ship will bring horses as a special favour conceded to the said King that his ship may bring them from the ports of Congo and Ormuz. On her arrival at that port she will unload the goods she carries in that Factory and Custom house and pay there the usual duties for which she will take from our Factor a receipt on the back of the Cartaz with a declaration as to the horses she took in those ports so that there may not be any

¹ The same as Bengali kerāni or ships clerk.

² Constable, probably a petty supervising officer.

³ Marathi tandel and Indo-English tindal, a boatswain.

doubt that they were embarked there and not in other ports or in ports belonging to the Imam of Muscat. If she does anything contrary (to this) or goes to the prohibited ports and takes or brings forbidden goods, this Cartaz will not be valid and the ship shall be seized and forfeited to the *Fazenda real*. I thus notify the Generals and Captain-mors of the Armadas of this State, other Captains, officers and persons concerned to fulfil and observe these conditions in this manner and allow the ship to make her outward and return voyage without any impediment. After the lapse of a year this Cartaz will not be in force. It will be sealed with the seal of the royal arms of the Crown of Portugal and it is declared that this is the seventh Cartaz issued this summer for which no fee will be paid in accordance with one of the articles of a treaty concluded with the King of Canara. Gregorio Mascarenhas drew it at Goa on the first of March 1714 and I Secretary Joao Rodrigues Machado caused it to be written. Vasco Fernandes Cezar de Menezes. By the decree of the Most Excellent Senhor Viceroy and Captain-General of India dated the 27th February of 1714.

The royal personages, seeking Cartazes generally according to treaty rights, and occasionally as a matter of courtesy were doubtless leniently and courteously treated, but from the two Cartazes quoted above it is clear that even these ships could be confiscated and appropriated by the Portuguese Government if they were detected in any offence mentioned in the Cartaz. Let us now examine a Cartaz granted to a private merchant and for this purpose we give below the text of one granted to one Govindadas Nana a Gujrat merchant and published by Biker.

The Governors of India,¹ etc., make it known to all who

¹ The Government of Portuguese India was at this time vested in a commission consisting of following members, Dom Antonio Taveirada Neiva Brum da Silveira, Arch Bishop; Joao Baptista Vaz Pereira, Chancellor of the State; Dom Joao José de Mello, Controller General of the Exchequer. This commission was in charge of the Government from 1765 to 1768 and for the next seven years Dom Joao Jose de Mello acted as sole Governor.

may see this Cartaz that as Govindadas Nana a Gujrati by nation, merchant and an inhabitant of Thana in the territories of the North, owner of a Gurab or Pal called *Savay*, of the capacity of one hundred and fifty khandis of Surat has solicited Cartaz for the same vessel we do him the honour and favour, for this occasion only, of granting license and safeguard to the said Gurab or Pal called *Savay* of the capacity of one hundred and fifty khandis of Surat having for her ballast six anchors big and small one Sarangue Abdul Raiman by name, one Tandel called Ballu, one Gujrati Carane and two Muhammadan pilots, and for her defence nine pieces of artillery, eleven sepoys with their Caitocas¹ and Catanas² and the necessary (quantity of) powder and ball, to enable her to sail in the following summer to some ports of the friends of this State. She will not go to a port belonging to princes and rebels with whom this State may be in war and she shall not either take or bring on her board Turks, Abyssinians and Greeks nor carry a cargo of iron, steel, sulphur, copper, timber, bamboos-machos, nor will she take any Portuguese nor bring horses without our permission. She is permitted to carry slaves male or female of her own nation only and if there is any suspicion or doubt that any of the slaves (on board) is a Christian, or son of a Christian, an open enquiry about it will be made in the Provincial Council, even if the children have not been baptised. If anything is done to the contrary, this Cartaz will not be valid and if she goes to prohibited ports or bring prohibited goods or being of the tonnage (mentioned) the vessel carries more than hundred and fifty khandis of Surat it will be confiscated to the Fazenda real. He paid for the duties of entry and parting thirty xerafins³ at the rate of twenty xerafins per hundred khandis of cargo not of

¹ A kind of musket used by the Marathas and manufactured in India.

² A kind of long and big sword.

³ An ancient coin current in Portuguese India. The Portuguese Zerafin was originally a gold and afterwards a silver coin. It was worth 300 reis (pies) or annas 9 only the word is probably derived from Persian Ashrafi, see Dalgado. Glossario Luso Asiatico Biker, Vol. IV, pp. 185 and 186.

commodities. Notice is given to this effect to the Generals and Captain-mors and other Captains and persons concerned that they should observe and fulfil these terms and let the same vessel make its outward and return voyage. At the expiry of a year this Cartaz will not be in force. This is the first (Cartaz) issued for the next summer. It will be sealed with the seal of the royal arms of the Crown of Portugal. Mathias Phellipe Rebeiro drew it at Goa on the 15th of July 1766. The Secretary Henrique José de Mandanha Benevides Cirne caused it to be written.—Arch Bishop Primate—Joao Baptista Vaz Pereira—D. Joao José de Mello.

By virtue of the decree of the most Excellent Governors of India, dated the 11th July, 1766.

As Govinda Das Nana was a resident of Thana he was a Maratha subject. We come across in Biker's collection a similar Cartaz issued in favour of one Bapugy Gopal of Rajapur under the Government of Puna. His boat was a very small one as it paid only 4 xerafins and its capacity was therefore twenty khandis only. This boat therefore could not afford to employ a number of Sepoys and carry for its defence a number of artillery and a quantity of munition as did the *Savay* of Govinda Das Nana. But from a blank form of Cartaz published in the pages of Biker¹ it appears that merchantmen were generally well armed and well prepared for an encounter with hostile powers or pirates in an age when the peace of the high seas was by no means secure.

It is clear from these Cartazes as well as from contemporary letters and travellers' accounts already quoted that the Portuguese insisted that even friendly potentates and their subjects should take their Cartaz before they permitted any of their ships to sail even when the port of their destination and the port from which they originally started were outside Portuguese territories. While the friendly powers were

¹ Biker, Tomo IV, pp. 185 and 186.

entitled to a certain number of Cartazes according to the terms of the treaties they had concluded with the Portuguese, their subjects like Govinda Das Nana and Bapugy Gopal had to pay a fee of 20 xerafins per hundred Khandis of their cargo for the Cartaz and if they omitted to provide themselves with such license and safeguard before venturing out on the high sea their ship, and its cargo could be captured and confiscated by the Portuguese fleet even though their mission might not have been anything but peaceful trade. No doubt on the representation of the Government of their respective country the ship and the goods so confiscated might be as a matter of favour restored to their owners, but the Portuguese, as we have seen in a letter addressed to Siddi Yacut Khan, did not regard such confiscation as an act of piracy, it was to them nothing but a legitimate expression of the sovereignty they claimed to exercise in the Indian Ocean. It is needless to say that the terms laid down in the Cartazes quoted above were considered vexatious by other nations and it is only their weakness that compelled them to seek their Cartaz and thereby acknowledge their sovereign claims.

The Marathi word *Armar* is certainly derived from Portuguese *Armada* and it is quite likely that the Marathas imitated the Portuguese in their naval practice. The *Angrias* as the hereditary heads of the Maratha fleet also claimed sovereignty of the sea and they could also retort like the Portuguese that they were sovereigns of the sea and not pirates. They knew in what particular manner the Portuguese, the first European nation to establish their supremacy in the Indian Ocean, exercised their sovereignty and they also demanded that other powers should seek their Cartaz after paying a stipulated fee while sailing in the sea over which they claimed to have established their jurisdiction. After the reduction of the *Angria's* power the same right was claimed and exercised by the Peshwa's Subedar of the *Armar* or Admiral of the fleet. Although Marathi records do not throw much light on the

subject, the correspondence that passed between Gangadhar Pant Subedar of Gheria or Vijayadurg, the Maratha naval headquarter and the Portuguese Government in February, 1791, leaves no doubt as to the real nature of the Maratha claim and its origin.

The Governor of Goa in a letter, dated 17th February, 1791, complained to the Subedar of Gheria that Maratha Captains had captured without cause some Merchantmen belonging to Portuguese territories. The same complaint was repeated in a letter of the Secretary of State to Bahiropant Mehendale (Biker, Vol. IX, pp. 185-186) in the following way :

“The vessels of the Sarkar took in the port of Angediva, a loaded Merchantman belonging to a merchant of that place and at Chapora they robbed the canoes of the fishermen without leaving even their small sails, besides other incidents to which I do not refer, for it seems that some of them and other hostilities which I do not mention here, might have been committed by the Bhonsla, Melondim and the Angria of Colaba who use the banner of the Most Felicitous (Peshwa).”

In reply to the above complaint Gangadhar Pant wrote to the Governor of Goa on the 21st February, 1791 (Biker, Vol. IX, p. 187) as follows : “The said vessel was in the sea and it got no Cartaz nor had it a passport nor the banner of Your Excellency. It was, therefore, justly captured nor does it seem to belong to the dominions of Your Excellency and I am much surprised that under these circumstances Your Excellency wrote about the release of this ship.” It is significant that the Maratha officer lays emphasis on the absence of Cartaz and passport in this case. We learn from the published documents of the Peshwas' Daftar that it was one of the duties of the Admiral of the fleet to grant passport to Merchantmen sailing within his jurisdiction. Moreover, we should not forget that the merchantships in those days were not unarmed and when they omitted to procure the passport of a power claiming sovereignty over a particular part of the

sea, their act could be construed as a deliberate defiance. Merchantships belonging to European Trading Companies often put up a stiff fight before surrendering to the Marathas and considering the practices of the time that permitted even vessels of the East India Company to rob ships belonging to other nations the Marathas should not be condemned as pirates. They had the example of the Portuguese before them and they thought that they were quite within their rights when they took possession of a merchantman that did not carry their Cartaz and further aggravated its offence by opening fire when challenged.

This conclusion is further confirmed by an unpublished letter addressed to Raghujji Angria of Colaba, on the 2nd of May, 1782. The document (Reis Visinhos, Tomo 11) is sadly mutilated and some words in it has been so thoroughly obliterated that it is impossible to decipher them and reconstruct all the sentences. Fortunately however the most interesting portion has been preserved. A negotiation was going on between the Goa Government and the Chief of Colaba for the conclusion of a treaty of alliance and Raghunath Angria had suggested some modifications in the terms proposed. What his suggestion was can be inferred from the reply he got which runs as follows :

“While (you suggest) for the preservation of unity and amity, that with the exception of His Majesty's ships belonging to Goa, Diu and Daman, all vessels of the merchants shall take the Cartaz of the Magnificent Ally (Angria) and the ships of your merchants shall take mine. I am unable to accept this article and it is impracticable, for the Crown of Portugal has the sovereignty and the dominion of the Sea of Asia by first occupation and conquest, by possession and immemorial custom, and we cannot compel the subjects of the Majestic State to take the Cartazes of any other potentate.”

But in the closing years of the 18th century the sovereignty of the sea had passed into other hands however

tenaciously the Portuguese might cling to a point of prestige and although they deemed it humiliating on their part to seek Cartazes from an Indian prince they were not unwilling to waive the rights of sovereignty they had hitherto so rigorously enforced. The Governor and Captain-General¹ therefore wrote :

I desire to preserve amity with the Magnificent friend on terms that will not be much onerous to either party. I shall not do anything to your merchants even if they do not possess my Cartaz. In the same manner the fleet and the ships of the Magnificent Ally should not interfere with the merchants of the Majestic State even if they do not possess the Cartaz of the Magnificent ally.

So by common consent the omission to take a Cartaz from the dominant sea power was regarded as an offence punishable with confiscation and forfeiture of the offending ship. The Angrias were denounced as pirates and rebels by the Portuguese and other European nations on no graver ground than the enforcement of this sovereign right in the high seas. The practice to quote the Portuguese Governor and Captain-General had the sanction of "immemorial custom."

In this connection it will not be irrelevant to take notice of another common naval practice of the Marathas. They claimed the possession of ships wrecked on their coast with whatever cargo they might carry. The English obtained an exemption in favour of their own ships and those of the Bombay merchants by peaceful negotiations, but against others this right was very rigorously exercised by the Maratha Admiral of the Fleet. In the 11th volume of *Livros dos Reis Visinhos* we find a protracted correspondence between the Portuguese Governor and the Maratha Admiral about the restoration of a wrecked Manchua which the Marathas had appropriated to their own use.

¹ Dom Frederico Guilherme de Souza, Governor and Captain General from 1779 to 1786.

On the 10th of June, 1780, Dom Frederico Guilherme de Souza wrote to 'Dulopo' (Anand Rao Dhulap). "I solicited a sanad for the wrecked Manchua of the State which was conducted to that port.¹ I am sending it (the sanad) enclosed (herewith) for Your Honour so that Your Honour may promptly restore (?) the said Manchua" (Reis Visinhos, Tomo 11, fol. 4).

This Sanad had not however the desired effect for it appears from a letter addressed to Ananda Rao on the 4th February, 1782 (R. V. Tomo. 11, fol. 135) that the Manchua had not yet been restored. In the meantime one Fokru Serang was driven by some adverse circumstances to take shelter in Goa with five Gallivats of Gheria. This offered the Portuguese an excellent opportunity for retaliating if they had been so disposed, but the Serang was very kindly treated and supplied with everything he needed. This news was communicated to Ananda Rao in the abovementioned letter and we learn from a letter addressed to Madhav Rao Narayan (fols. 138-139) that the Serang was permitted to depart peacefully with the squadron under his charge on the 8th of February 1782. This made a good impression on Ananda Rao and the wrecked Manchua was probably restored; for in a mutilated letter addressed to Narana Sinay, the Portuguese envoy at the Poona Court, on the 3rd June, 1782, occurs the following: "Ia vos ordeney que pella rest.....chua naufragada que fez." It is not difficult to guess that we find here a reference to the restoration of the wrecked Manchua.

We should not forget that the Marathas did not hesitate to restore ships belonging to a friendly nation, if captured under a misconception or under doubtful circumstances. The Portuguese Government of their own initiative sometimes wrote to the Maratha officers for extending their protection to Portuguese subjects and their ships in Maratha waters. One such letter was addressed to the Sarsubedar of Bassein on the

¹ The document is damaged and I am therefore unable to say which port exactly is meant.

31st March, 1783, requesting him to give his protection to a Pal belonging to a vassal of the King of Portugal. (Reis Visinhos, Tomo 12, fol. 39). From letters addressed to Ananda Rao Dhulap and Naraen Sinay on the 7th of June, 1781, we learn that five Maratha Gallivats belonging to the fleet of Gheria had robbed certain Parangues belonging to merchants of Portuguese India and the total loss sustained by them on this occasion amounted to Rs. 11,780,000. (Reis Visinhos, Tomo 11). On the 16th August, 1781, or only two months later Narayen Sinay was informed that a Shibar captured on the above occasion had been restored to its owner with a money compensation for the lost cargo. From this letter it is apparent that the matter had been amicably settled.

The Portuguese documents present to our view only one side of the shield. We hear complaints of one party alone, we do not know what justification the other party could offer. Still we occasionally come across cases of restoration of captured ships and payment of compensation for lost cargo. It will be, therefore, rash to condemn famous Maratha naval leaders like Kanhoji Angria and his sons without carefully examining the naval customs and usages of the time. The European merchant nations had no reason to admire their prowess, for their trade suffered heavily and the sea had been rendered insecure for their ships by the Angria's fleet. But whenever they condescended to open negotiations with him they consciously or unconsciously recognised his authority. Like other Maratha feudal chiefs Kanhoji Angria also derived his authority from the supreme head of the Maratha empire. The Portuguese styled him as a pirate and rebel in their letters to the Siddi and other Mughal officers, but whenever they wrote to him or to his sons courtesy demanded that he should be addressed as Grandioso Amigo or Grandioso Canogi Angria. After treaties and alliances had been concluded between the Portuguese of Goa and the Angrias of Colaba, the former willingly or unwillingly conceded a status of equality to the latter

and it was illogical thereafter to regard their new ally as a mere pirate, particularly when his naval practices were in complete conformity with the usages established by the Portuguese themselves. Now that we have some idea of the principle underlying the apparently piratical activities of the Angrias and the true character of their power, let us see what light the Portuguese records throw on the history of the rise, decline and fall of this powerful family.

X

THE ANGRIAS

“The Angrias,” wrote the Marquis of Alorna in his excellent report, “are the scourge of this coast from the point of Diu to Calicut. They came into prominence a little before the administration of Senhor Viceroy Caetano de Mello de Castro.” The original surname of the family was Sankapal as the Kaifiyat Yadi account informs us, but nothing is known about Kanhoji’s ancestors except that his father had served in Shivaji’s Fleet. Downing says that Kanhoji’s father was, according to one account, “an Arabian *Cofferey*, one that renounced *the Mehometan faith*.” “Other accounts say, that he was born a *Kenerey*, by a Portuguese *Cofferey* and a *Kenerey* woman, on the Island of Bombay.” It is hardly necessary to enter into an examination of the reliability of these stories. Suffice it to say that Kanhoji like his father took to the sea and rose from one command to another until his daring and ability secured for him the chief command of the Maratha fleet during the reign of Rajaram. Those stirring times offered excellent opportunities to ambitious men for proving their metal and rapidly rising to prominence.

In the first letter addressed to him by the Portuguese Government, which we find in the *Livros dos Reis Visinhos*, Kanhoji is called Canoji Ango Rao (Reis Visinhos, Tomo, IV. fol. 72). Mr. Sardesai is of opinion that the new surname of

the family was derived from their old village Angarvadi. In this letter, however, for reasons unknown to us, Kanhoji's designations are entirely omitted. In the next letter he is styled "Subedar da Armada do Sivaji." The Marathas, as we have already seen, were on friendly terms with the Portuguese during the early years of Shivaji II's reign and the letter addressed to Kanhoji Angria, on the 8th November, 1703, by the Viceroy Caetano de Mello de Castro also testifies to their amity. "The letters of Your Honour have been delivered to me and I am glad to recognise the good wish with which you desire to favour (me) in everything. I did not approve of the Balandra (?) for reasons I have already mentioned and on the same grounds I did not permit its sale to the merchants of this city, but wishing that Your Honour should get this profit, I have given you license for its purchase by the merchants of Chaul (?). As that port is closed to foreign nations, I expect that Your Honour will view with pleasure for the great favour I have done you and I have also instructed to give all help and assistance to the people who came in the Balandra." The letter also mentions some presents that the Viceroy proposed to send and an arrangement for the sale of some commodities which the Viceroy has asked the Veedore da Fazenda to make.

But the good relations between the Angria and the Portuguese could not be expected to last long particularly as the former wanted to establish his authority over the Arabian sea. In 1713 we are informed by Sr. G. Saldanha (*Resumo da Historia de Goa*, Bastorá, 1898, p. 179) that Kanhoji seized a port in the neighbourhood of Chaul and the Portuguese Government, unwilling to have such a formidable rival in such close proximity of one of their important naval stations, did their best to oust him from this new post, but all their attempts proved futile.

The Portuguese accused the Siddi of Janjira of criminal indifference to the depredations of the Angria. In a letter

addressed to one Dom Diogo Menedes (in the army of the Moghul Emperor) on the 15th of May, 1715, the Viceroy complains of "the treaty that the Siddi had concluded with the Angria, the pirate who oppresses the subjects of the Mughal king by his repeated robberies and totally ruins the port of Surat. If the Siddi had made some movements by land last year, when I besieged the Angria by sea at Colaba, it is certain that this rebel would have been annihilated." (Ismael Gracias, *Uma Dona Portuguesa no Corte do Grão Mogor*, p. 139) or the 16th of December, 1715, the Viceroy wrote to the chief of Janjira—"It does not seem proper that Your Highness, who is a vassal of the Mughal Emperor and the Admiral of his fleet, should permit the Angria to be an instrument of his (Mughal Emperor's) subjects' ruin. You saw him with your own eyes enter Colaba with the vessels of Surate he had sieged, without trying to rescue them and fitting your vast fleet for that purpose. And if Your Highness had not cherished so much friendship for this pirate, you would have co-operated with your ships and men for his destruction and ruin when I sent Captain-mor Antonio Cardim against Colaba two years ago. This conduct scandalises all in Asia and particularly me, for in consideration of the amity of the Mughal Emperor, I send a fleet to Surat every year not only for guarding it against any enemy" (Reis Visinhos, Tomo VII, fols. 26 and 27). A month later the Viceroy wrote to Asad Ali Khan, offering him naval assistance for the destruction of the Angria. (See Gracias, *Uma Dona Portuguesa no Corte do Grão Mogor*, p. 156).

But the Portuguese did not rely on the Muhammadan enemies of Angria alone. Though originally a partisan of the Kolhapur claims, Kanhoji had lately been induced by Balaji Vishwanath, the celebrated founder of the Peshwa family, to offer his allegiance to Shahu and swear fealty to him. This naturally incensed his former patron, the Chhatrapati of Kolhapur, and he willingly concluded an alliance on the 23rd March, 1716,

with the Portuguese, to punish this defection as the principal clauses quoted below will show.

1. That Sambhagy Raze will wage by land and sea (all possible) war against the Angria to take from him all the fortresses he holds as a rebel chief in the coast of the North, particularly the fortress of Griem (Gheria or Vijayadurg) which belongs to the said Sambhaji, and for effecting this object the (Portuguese) State will assist him with Men-of-War.

4. That the ships of this State and its subjects shall be able to navigate freely without being seized by the ships of Melondim, and so that there may not be any deception, they shall navigate with passports : those of the North with the passports of the General of that region or of the Captains of the strongholds or fortresses of that coast ; those of Goa with the passports of the Government ; and those of the South with the passports of the Captains and Factors. The same practice will be pursued with regard to ships from ports belonging to Sambagy Raze, that may come to trade with the ports of this State, carrying Cartazes as is the practice. And neither our nor Sambagy's ships will pay anchorage (a duty imposed on ships for anchoring in a harbour).

6. That if Sambagy Raze wages war against the rebel Angria and needs powder and ball and wants to purchase the same of this State, the Government will send him all (powder and ball) that it (can spare).

9. That this State shall give Cartaz to a ship of Sambagi Raze, with license to bring horses from Bassora or Congo. It will take a certificate of the Factor that this State has in that port ; for if it appears that horses have been embarked at Congo or Bassora and the ship has not brought such a certificate it may be seized as forfeited, for it will then be assumed that horses have been embarked at a port belonging to the Imam of Muscat with whom this State is at war."

This treaty was signed and ratified by one Hari Pant on

behalf of his master with the exception of one clause only, which was left for the decision of the Chhatrapati.¹

It does not appear that this new alliance had the desired effect, for Sambhaji of Kolhapur was hardly competent to deal with a "maritime power which had defied the efforts alike of the Portuguese, Dutch and Mahrattas." The Angria's fleet rode the sea boldly seizing Merchantmen of all nationalities and the Goa Government had to look for new allies more powerful and more resolute than the Siddi of Janjira or the powerless potentate who then occupied the throne of Kolhapur.

¹ *Condições com que Sambaji Raze ratifica a paz e amizade que tinha com o Estado, violada por alguns dos seus Capiteas dos fortalezas dos portos de mar, principalmente pelo Capitão e Governador da fortaleza de Melondim.—Biber, Tomo, VI, pp. 2-4.*

THE KINGDOM OF MAN AS CONFUCIUS SAW IT (551-479 B.C.)

If the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man is the gospel of Christ, then certainly Christ would be only too glad to recognize and to embrace his brother Confucius, and Confucius, Christ, no matter how far apart in time and in space they might be. It is through the misfortune and shortsightedness, if not the blindness, of men that the East refuses to receive Christ, and the West Confucius.

Being over five centuries older than Christ, Confucius advises us, "What you do not wish others to do to you, do not do so to them." This is supplemented by the command of Jesus, "And as ye would that men should do to ye, do ye also to them likewise" will serve as a statement of truth which will land us safely and in state on the other bank of mortal life, and will serve also as a great beaconlight which can light up and guide us through this phase of the journey. After all, there is much in the teachings of both Jesus and Confucius that is alike, and that which is different makes up that rich essence which if we miss it in one we shall find in the other.

Looked upon externally, we find the positive difference between Jesus and Confucius in this: that the former stands for the Kingdom of God, and the latter for the Kingdom of Man. Yet if we examine their inner meanings we find that there is perfect agreement between "The Kingdom of God is within you," and "The ordinance of God is what we call the law of our being."

Nevertheless, it should be stated here that the preachings of the Apostles of Christ as Jonathan Edwards taught them are quite different from the following extract from Confucius:

"Love of knowledge is the characteristic of man that leads him to Wisdom. Strenuous attention to conduct is the

characteristic of man that leads him to moral character. Sensitiveness to shame is the characteristic of man that leads him to courage and to heroism.....When a man understands the nature and the use of these three human characteristics, he will then know how to cultivate himself. When a man knows how to cultivate himself, he will know how to educate and to govern men. When he knows how to govern men, he will know how to govern nations and the whole world 'under heaven.'¹

Through reading this extract, we may see that Confucius conceives of human nature as good so far as expressed in some of its characteristics. Do we not feel that Confucius agrees more closely to the modernist's view of life? If, by nature, as Edwards definitely expressed it, we human beings are hopelessly bad, absolutely under the mercy of God in whose hand and whim our destination is fore-ordained, then what is the use and purpose of life? This is where certain of the Church fathers seem to have failed in grasping the true gospel of Jesus, "The Kingdom of God is within you," and this is where the West—the Christian world—needs must look to Confucius for a counterbalance.

However, we might ask another question: if man is by nature good, why should, and must, he struggle to become good? On this question, Confucius seems to agree more closely with our present-day evolutionary theory of human wisdom and aspiration than some of the teachers of Christianity:

Confucius said, "I was not born wise, but simply because I have loved wisdom, and with deliberate effort, patience and persistence, I have found it."²

So we see that the problem for a human being, as seen by Confucius, is to seek the beautiful and truthful, and that ideals cannot be attained by abandoning the world and its

¹ Taken and translated from "The Doctrine of the Man."

² "Ling-Yu," The Sayings of Confucius.

riches for God as was the conception of Christ, nor by identifying one's self with Nirvana, as was conceived by Buddha. The problem for man can only be solved by his eternal adjustment to environment and to his fellow men this was the teaching of Confucius.

"Toa (a doctrine)," says Confucius, "is not something away from the actuality of human life. When a man takes up something away from the actuality of human life as the toa, that is [not Toa....Therefore, every system of Toa must be based upon the man's own consciousness. It must be verified by the experience of men, examined by comparing it with the teachings of acknowledged great and wise men of the past. There must be no divergence. Applying it to the operations and processes of nature in the physical universe, there must be no contradiction. Confronted with the spiritual powers of the universe, a man must be able to maintain it without any doubt. He must be prepared to wait a hundred generations after him for the coming of a man of divine perfect nature to confirm it without any misgiving."¹

In the preceding quotation, we see that Confucius anticipated Pragmatism as formulated by William James twenty-five centuries later. "If theological ideas," said James, "prove to have a value for *concrete life*, they will be true for pragmatism, in the sense of being good for so much. For how more they are true will depend entirely on their relations to the other truths that also have to be acknowledged." Again, "True ideas are those that we can assimilate, validate, corroborate and verify."²

Pragmatism, as posited by James, is but a method. We may look further into the method of Confucius and its steps.

"The principle of education is to discover and develop what is best in man, to have him become ever new, and to have him seek and reach the utmost good. The ancients

¹ *The Conduct of Life*, Translated by Ku Hung Ming, John Murray, London.

² *Pragmatism*, William James.

who wanted to develop what was best in man started with their country. In order to have an orderly country they must have first harmonious and happy families. To have a happy family, they must first cultivate educated individuals. To have educated individuals, they must first set their hearts right. A right heart depends upon a sincere mind, a sincere mind depends upon wisdom. To get wisdom is to study things. Only through studying things man can get wisdom. Through wisdom, a sincere mind, through a sincere mind, a right heart, through a right heart, an educated individual. Educated individuals make up a happy family, happy families make up an orderly nation. Orderly nations make up a peaceful world. From a prince down to a peasant, all must start with self-cultivation.”¹

If we wish to ask still what Confucius means by a sincere mind and a right heart, we may get a direct answer from him: “A sincere mind is that mind which is always true to one’s self as the love of beauty or the hate of foul smell.”

“Common people in their private life may contemplate doing evil. But once they see a scholar, a good man, they immediately feel their deficiency, they will conceal what is bad in them and display what is good to him.”²

A sincere mind, then, is that mind which can distinguish what is good and what is beautiful and toward which a man’s life leads him. “A right heart may be conceived as a perfect balanced mind; for when one is excited or depressed, his heart cannot be well balanced. When one is in anxiety or in danger his heart cannot be well balanced. If one has a heart that is not well balanced he may eat but may never know the taste, he may have eyes but see not, ears but hear not.”³

A well educated individual, then, is one who can conduct himself with a perfect, well balanced heart, and with a seeing

¹ *High Education*, 1st and 6th Chapters, Confucius, *Tsung-tze*.

² *Id.*

³ *The High Education*, *Id.*

mind to the beautiful and the good. What a practicable doctrine! What a democratic philosophy! Confucius, many believe, is more democratic than Christ, because Confucius never made any distinction between the poor and the rich as was said by his younger brother: "For the rich to enter into the Kingdom of heaven is harder than for a camel to go through the eye of a needle." He is more practical than Buddha, because he did not assume that "If you cast down your butcher's knife, you can immediately become a Buddha, also." Confucius taught us only to depend upon our good senses and to learn to be good. He did not tell us to love our enemies, nor did he tell us to resist no evil; for he saw clearly that nobody in the world could do so and that no one really needs to do so while we all live in this kingdom of man.

CHI HWANG CHU

THE SPRING

The spring of year has now returned,
 The spring of heart has flown !
 The breeze from south now sings in joy
 —A joy to heart unknown.
 The Night smiles joy to Moon at full
 And Moon that smile returns,
 The smile of joy in lonesome heart
 My absent lover burns.
 The smiling flowers, sweet love-inspired,
 In magic fragrance sing,
 Brown earth, blue sky in chorus join
 In praise of joyous spring:
 Whelmed over, under, by love-joy,
 The sight is barred within.
 Ah! there my love in beauty shines,
 Unloved by unlove-sin.
 Ah! I am love's and love is mine,
 Made one in speechless bliss,
 My love's embrace is life, is death
 —Of joy eterne the kiss.
 I looked in magic glass of heart,
 To mark my changeful face.
 Believe me, there I found, for sooth,
 Unseen, untold embrace.

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJI



SIR RAMKRISHNA GOPAL BHANDARKAR

Born : 6th July, 1837. Died : 24th August, 1925

TIBETAN DEVIL-DANCING

The eternal rhythm which permeates Nature, was to the early man, a manifestation of the supernatural, and animated him with the desire to be part of the perpetual motion of life, and to enter into communion and harmony with this mysterious force.

To those phases of nature which he did not understand, were attributed the presence of "spirits," invisible beings who pervaded the sea, and sky, and earth who inhabited trees, and rivers, in mountain and plain; and who had to be propitiated with gifts; flattered with imitation; and secretly feared.

That pre-Aryan Animism which preceded all formulated faiths in India, whether mono-theistic or poly-theistic, became so deeply rooted in the superstitious mind of primitive man, that it has not only survived from pre-Buddhistic times, but pervades the religions of India in Buddhism, Hinduism and Islamism.

Animism and its various phases, such as demonaltry, fetishism, black-magic, and the belief in djinns, Bhuts, devils and malign forces, have to this day, a powerful hang-over in Tibet and the Northern Himalayas, where the barbaric rites of sorcery, divination, devil-worship, and Devil-dancing still wield a strong influence over the people's lives.

In the gradual evolution of the processes of the mind, the Tibetan, and Hill-men, decided to pit his own strength against the forces of evil which to him abounded in Nature; and the more dominant natures asserted themselves as Witch-doctors, Exorcisors and Magicians; thus establishing a cult for supremacy in combat. evil spirits. These priests, tial order, set themselves nerism. sorcery. div.

exert a strong power over the minds of the more superstitious and credulous natives. From out all the clap-trap and abracadabra of this early beginning, came the more refining influence of Buddhism, but although modified among the more intelligent Tibetans, the old belief in Devils has never been stamped out.

Buddhism, which was introduced into Tibet in the seventh century by Padma Sambhava, the founder of Lamaism, owed its beginning to the man who himself was called "the Wizard Priest."

Since then the Buddhist faith has evolved into an intricate labyrinth of metaphysical distinctions, complexities and ramifications which are beyond the comprehension of the layman. The Dance-forms, which were originally a part of the religious rites of Tibetan Buddhism, were more easily understood, as they represented a concrete expression of something less involved in subtleties and abstractions; and hence have always been the most popular part of the ceremonies of the Lamas and devotees.

Content to leave abstruse philosophies to the Priests, the average Tibetan delights in the wild emotions of the Devil-dance, and finds a response to it in his own mind and heart.

In Tibet the two national dances, "Lama-Dancing" and "Devil-Dancing" became more and more popular. These dance-forms, originally of strictly religious significance, became more or less degenerate, and were called "Ceremonial Dancing." It is a strange fact that in India, Buddhism has become so inextricably interwoven in a mesh of superstition, black-magic and devil-dancing, as to be unrecognizable as the gentle Gautama's original teachings. As usual, man, not content

of an aesthetic religion,
desire for the mysterious
half-comprehended

chicanery and childish fetishes into the once beautiful and exalted concept of Buddhism.

This is partly due to the fact that the most ancient known animistic religion of Tibet was called "Bhon," a sect of devil worshippers, who had formulated a sort of barbaric faith which became very strong in Tibet; so much so, that its influence still persists in and invades Buddhism.

The sorcery, devil-worship and witch-craft of Tibet has overflowed into the Himalayas of Northern India and flourishes in the hill districts to-day. In every serious undertaking, Oracles are consulted, as once in Greece and Rome, centuries ago. Innumerable spirits dwell in the high peaks, the forests, and streams to menace the health and happiness of the people. Every family has its household devil, as well as household God, and both must be propitiated and feared, as powerful, malign or beneficent beings.

In many Devil-Dances at the monasteries in Tibet and India, images of Buddha, remote and contemplative, are placed in the centre of a circle of wild dancers, who wear the hideous and grotesque masques of wild animals and demons. These fantastic dancers prance and caper to the shrill tune-less tunes of the pipes: punctuated by raucous blasts on brazen horns, and accented by the persistent beat of drums and the strident clash of cymbals.

The momentum of the dancers gradually increases, until, intoxicated with the crescendo of the noisy rhythm, the performers whirl madly around, leaping and yelling, until exhausted—themselves a very fair presentment of the Devils they seek to flatter with ceremonial dancing. And all the while, Buddha looks on, aloof and unmoved, withdrawn from the savage manifestations of the creatures who profess to worship and follow him.

The ceremonial dances are two parts in construction: the first, a Devil-Dance, of the nature just described, and augmented according to the number of musicians and performers, is

followed by a sort of drama which constitutes the second part of the performance.

The plays, generally interspersed by music, are generally founded on episodes in Tibetan History, or scenes from the life of Buddha. The monastery dances are associated with the rites which have been used by successions of Lamas and are of ancient origin.

The two chief Tibetan calendar festivals take place in February and April. The First, the Tibetan New Year, February the 16th, is a Festival that lasts for twenty days and is called the "Monlam."

While the main festivities take place at Lhasa, where is situated the Mother Monastery, duplicates of this Festival occur at all the monasteries in and around Tibet. I have seen a very good performance of Devil-Dancing at the Monasteries of the "Yellow" and the "Red" Sects near Darjeeling and at Ghoom.

On the occasions of these Festivals thousands of Lamas flock to all the monasteries, and join in the various ceremonies and sports which fill the holidays. There is a feast of lights, similar to the Hindu "Diwali"; a day of gifts somewhat on the principle of our Christmas; prayer-days, sport days, and always Lama and Devil-Dancing.

At the Sanga Shetrupling Monastery, an old Tibetan building in the native Bhutia Quarter near Darjeeling, are held annual festivals to welcome in the New Year, where the largest Devil-Dances are held. The Dance, as it is given to-day, symbolizes the Lama's triumph spiritually and otherwise, over their enemies. The Dance, as we see it, is grotesque and awkward, but extremely picturesque and interesting. The costumes of the dancers are cumbersome and bulky, further handicapped by the enormous head-dresses, or masques of devils and real and imaginary animals, which are symbolical of their folk-lore.

The New Year dance centres before an image or effigy

of the "God of Death." Some of the characters of the dance represent the Ogre King; some with heads of tigers, lions, monkeys, stags, roes, bulls and earth demons. The masked dancers form in a procession, headed by the Black hat dancers and the noisy musicians, who with fire-works and pop-guns, augmented with yells, go about the business of ushering in the New Year.

The climax of the Devil-Dancers is the epitome of discord and cacaphony, of wild unrestrained noise, mingled with the weird music emanating from the brass and percussion instruments dear to the heart of the Tibetans. Then, amidst the pandemonium, that marks the finish of the wild ceremony, the effigy of the God of Death is burned and the New Year comes in.

The second important Festival is the "Tsoncho," or the "Offering of the Assembly." One of the chief features of this Festival at Lhasa is the game of dice held between the Dalai Lama and a man chosen to represent the devil. This entertainment takes place at Chanchupling, about thirty miles from the capital of Tibet, and on this occasion also, the devil-dancing forms a part of the customary ceremonies.

After viewing some of the barbaric performances of these unique dancers, we decide that they are rightly named "Devil-Dancers." Even as the clever priests practise all the sorcerer's wiles to keep their hold over the superstitious people using all the clap-trap of black-magic, witchery, simulated wisdom, effects at mystery and incantation, so do the Devil-dancers, by their fantastic and wild costumes and dances, cast their spell over the people who respond to the intoxication of the music and beat of drum. Astrology, divination, devil-dancing, charms, amulets, prayers and fetishes combine to play an important part in the lives of the Tibetan.

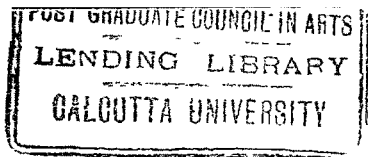
A Devil-Dance, given on the natural stage of some rugged mountain side, where the proscenium arch is a far-flung view of the Eternal Snows, rising into infinite heights into the

sky, is a never-to-be-forgotten scene. The audience, decked out in gay colours, picturesque garments, jewels of coral, turquoise, Tibetan jade, rosaline and beaten gold and silver, are themselves a vivid picture against the vivid green of the luxuriant foliage of the hills.

Time seems to have stopped for us when we see a Devil-Dance; for it is an echo from a far distant Past, when Man, in the first primitive throes of evolution, expressed himself simply, crudely, frankly, and with the unformed unrestraint characteristic of those who have not known the shaping wheel of the potter. The music is none the less effective, and especially in the wild Himalayan Hills where the untouched grandeur of the high places seems a fitting stage for the plays and dances of these primitive children of hers. The scenery, the music and the people all fit in a perfect harmony, Brogmanthian, strong, vivid, emotional, arresting and fascinating.

A Devil-Dance would seem out of place in a modern drawing-room; on a stage, or amid any artificial setting. But in Nature's Theatre, in the great North country of bold sweeps, and mighty peaks, of lavish colour and contour, of infinite space and nobility of forest, and torrent and peak, these old Dancers belong—for they are a part of the ancient world which existed long before our civilization was dreamed of. They are the human notes in some great mysterious inexplicable symphony of the Creator, in which there is no real discord. The key to the understanding must be in our own hearts, if we can lay aside the veneer of centuries of civilized inhibitions, and be one with the Cosmic harmony.

LILY STRICKLAND ANDERSON



1925]

LATE DESHBANDHU

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THE LATE DESHBANDHU

Toll, toll the mournful bell and wail,
Wail, till the skies resound your piercing cries,
Bring forth the flowered bier, grief shall prevail,
For dead the Tribune of the People lies.
Fearless and strong, with his o'ermastering might,
He battered 'gainst the brazen gates that closed
The way to India's freedom, till by right
Of a just cause, though triple bars opposed,
They burst ajar, waiting the final blow
To cast them back, that they may stand full wide,
That nought might bar the peoples' way, when lo!
As rush the masses like the surging tide,
And Triumph shouts, pitted with wounds and gory,
The Leader falls, lost in a blaze of glory.

H. W. B. MORENO

MAHATMA GANDHI

Martyr and Saint of India, now to thee
The masses turn, in all their silent pain,
To rid them of their woes, *swaraj* to gain,
On them thy love thou pourest, full and free.
Apostle of the home-spun garment, clad
In loin cloth, armed with spindle in thy hand,
Thou showest Freedom's path to all the land,—
While idlers scoff, the people's heart is glad.
Thine is the clarion call to every heart,
To the deep-scarred and bleeding sons of toil,
To sun-burned serfs that wrestle with the soil,
To sweating slaves that labour in the mart,
O great Mahatma, lift thine eyes and see,
Her shackles India snaps—she shall be free.

H. W. B. MORENO

THE ARTHASASTRA OF KAUTILYA AND THE NITISASTRA OF SUKRA

(*A Political Study.*)

I.

Treatises on statecraft, political theories and similar topics were known in ancient Hindu India by the names of *Arthasastra* or *Danda-niti*. Artha-sastra literally means the Sastra which helps in the acquisition of *Artha*; while the term *Danda-niti* means the *niti* or the principles of *Danda* or punishment (governance). Kautilya's Artha-sastra is the most famous of the Artha-sastras known to us. The name of the book itself is Artha-sastra, though the term Dandaniti is used by Kautilya;—once when he classifies the sciences,¹ and again when he determines the place of Varta and Dandaniti among sciences and also defines what is Varta and what is Dandaniti.² In the Santiparva of the Mahabharat politics is known as Raja-dharma, *i.e.*, duties of Kings. This subject is also known as Raja-niti,³ *i.e.*, rules of governance for the king. Though the Mahabharat treats the subject under the caption Raja-dharma, yet the technical term Dandaniti appears in it and the significance of the term is explained in these words. "And because men are led by chastisement, or in other words, chastisement leads or governs everything, therefore will this science be known in the three worlds as Dandaniti."⁴ In the Mahabharat Brahma is credited with having originally composed this science but subsequent abridgments are made by Siva, Indra, etc.

¹ Bk. I, Chap. 2.

² Bk. I, Ch. 4.

³ A book by Ohandeswara known as *Rajaniti-Ratnakara* has just been edited by Jayaswal and has appeared in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*.

⁴ *Mahabharat* (tr. by P. C. Roy), Santi, Sec. 59.

Sukracharjya's treatise is known as Niti-sastra. By this time treatises on statecraft and similar topics came to be known, not as Arthasastra or Dandaniti, but as Nitisastras. Kamandaka and Sukra who came later than Kautilya wrote their treatises under the title "Niti." There was one Usanas who is credited with having written a treatise on "Dandaniti" and who is said to have held that Dandaniti or Politics is "the" science¹—a saying which reminds us of Aristotle. Now it is held by some that Sukra's treatise is nothing but Usanas' Dandaniti in a revised edition—probably on the ground that Sukra's *niti-sastra* is an all-comprehensive vidya²—"useful to all and in all cases and is the means for the preservation of human society."³

The categories of thought and the topics dealt with in the Kautilyan Arthasastra and the Sukraniti are more or less the same. We have seen that the term Dandaniti occurs in the Arthasastra of Kautilya. Likewise in the Nitisastra of Sukra both the terms Arthasastra⁴ and Dandaniti⁵ occur. Roughly it seems that the terms Arthasastra, Dandaniti and Nitisastra are more or less convertible terms. In the scheme of classification of sciences which Kautilya accepts there is no place for Arthasastra as such,—there are Anvikshaki, Trayi, Varta and Dandaniti and nothing more.⁶ Now a question may be asked as to why should Kautilya choose to designate his treatise as Arthasastra and not as Dandaniti? Kautilya means by Dandaniti rules (niti) of punishment, *i.e.*, government (Danda). And Arthasastra is defined as follows,⁷—the

¹ Kautilya, *Artha.*, Bk. I, Ch. 2.

² Lines 8-24 of *Sukraniti*, Ch. I (*Sacred Books of the Hindus*, Vol. 13) will make it clear. It is difficult to understand what Winternitz means by saying that "the most important branch of the Arthasastra is politics which as a separate science is also called *Nitisastra*." Readership Lecture at the Calcutta University, 17th Sept., 1923. *Calcutta Review*, April, 1924.

³ *Ibid.*, lines 8-9.

⁴ Sukra, Ch. I, lines 303-4.

⁵ Sukra, Ch. IV, Sec. 3, lines 110-111.

⁶ *Artha.*, Bk. I, Ch. 2.

⁷ Bk. XV., Ch.

science which treats of the acquisition and growth of artha, *i.e.*, territory, is termed Arthasastra. In order to answer the query which we have set to ourselves it will be better if we first of all care to know what Kautilya meant by Varta. By Varta—which Kautilya accepted as one of the four sciences—he meant agriculture, cattle-breeding and trade.¹ The reason why Kautilya preferred to designate his treatise as Arthasastra is probably this. The scope of Dandaniti seemed too narrow for the purpose of our author; the scope of Varta by itself was to a great extent irrelevant to the subject-matter kept in view. But the purpose of our author would be amply served if some parts of Varta are treated alongside of Dandaniti. It would be clearer if we now express ourselves in modern terminology. To Kautilya Varta meant Economics and Dandaniti rules of Government and the art of Politics. Now Kautilya's point of view of Arthasastra is identical to that of *Prince* of Machiavelli in as much as both the king of Kautilya and the Prince of Machiavelli are actuated by a policy of acquisition and expansion. Now this policy of annexation and land-grabbing implies both political and economic principles, since for a successful policy of expansion two things are indispensable, *viz.*, a well-filled treasury and an efficient army obtained solely through Varta.² Because of this, Kautilya's Arthasastra treats Dandaniti in full and Varta in parts; or in modern terminology his treatise deals with *art of politics plus "political" economy*. Hence it is not to be wondered at that the entire second book of the Arthasastra in all its 36 sections deals with economic topics of a political character.³

We have said above that the categories of thought and topics dealt with in the Arthasastra and the Sukrañiti are *more or less the same*. They are not identical, since the

¹ Bk. I, Ch. 4.

² Bk. I, Ch. 4.

³ The first and second chapters of Bk. 4 are also economic, the second chapter of Bk. 5 is also of that character.

Sukraniti though less voluminous than the Arthasastra is more comprehensive in its outlook and scope. Just as a hypothetical question was put to Kautilya as to why he preferred designating his treatise as Arthasastra, so Sukracharya might be interrogated about the propriety of his designating his treatise as *niti-sastra* and not as *Dandaniti* or even *Arthasastra*. Both the terms are to be found in his book. The term *Dandaniti* occurs where Sukra urges the king to study the traditional four branches of learning¹—the very same scheme of classification of *vidyas* which we meet with in the Arthasastra. The term Arthasastra also occurs in Sukraniti where Sukra enumerates the primary *vidyas* and primary *Kalas*.² But Sukra prefers to designate his treatise as *niti-sastra*, because he wants to make his sastra more comprehensive than Arthasastra and therefore than *Dandaniti*—in fact it is social philosophy and sociology in its most comprehensive sense. It is called *nitisastra* because it guides and governs—because it sets the standard for human action—be it in social, economic or political sphere. And because it fixes a norm and thereby regulates human action, it is more or less couched in imperative mood. But that does not mean that it is merely an art because “the propositions which are true of the action of man in his political capacity are also rules for action”³—and therefore a social *vidya*—such as *nitisastra* is—is both a science and art at the same time.⁴ In order to prove the superiority of *nitisastra* to other sciences Sukra says that “other sastras treat of certain specialised

¹ Ch. I, lines 303-4.

² Ch. IV, Sec. 3, lines 110-11—the whole section is devoted to a description of the 32 primary *vidyas* and the 64 primary *kalas*. It is interesting to find in this enumeration that some *kalas* are closely related to their corresponding *vidyas*. Compare the following from Mackenzie's *Manual of Ethics*, p. 11—“The dependence of an art upon its corresponding practical science is of a very much closer character.”

³ *Greek Political Theory* (Plato and Pred), by Barker, p. 10.

⁴ Aristotle often expresses himself in the imperative mood and he also emphasises the value of the science of politics as a director of practice, *Ibid*, p. 11.

departments of human activity (and hence can be useful only in limited cases) whereas nitisastra is useful to all and in all cases and is the means for the preservation of human society,"¹ and again, "nitisastra conduces to the desires and interests of all and hence is respected and followed by all. It is also indispensable to the prince since he is the lord of all men and things."² This last quotation proves that nitisastra is not merely a political vidya but a social vidya as well. Thus it deals with the *art of politics, political economy and economics* and *social ethics*—under the last term being included general rules of morality³ and various household duties.⁴

Dandaniti is logically prior to Varta or other vidyas because the cultivation of all other vidyas is made possible only when there is a *danda-dhara*; none the less, the scope of Dandaniti is narrower than that of Arthasastra; while the scope of the latter is again narrower than that of Niti-sastra.⁵

II.

The first book of Kautilya opens with a classification and definition of sciences and the place of Dandaniti therein. Then he goes on to speak about royal discipline which to all Hināu writers on politics is very important.⁶ Sukra also insists on discipline for the king. The importance of this moral discipline for the king—who is looked upon both by

¹ Sukra, Ch. I, lines 8-9.

² *Ibid.*, lines 23-24.

³ Chap III deals with this.

⁴ Part of Sec. 4, Ch. IV.

⁵ Cf. "The field covered by the *Spirit of Laws* (Montesquieu) is so extensive as to make it a work rather of social science than of politics proper." Dunning—*Political Theories from Luther to Montesquieu*, p. 394. Aristotelian conception of politics is similar. "Hence Social Philosophy was for Plato almost the same thing as politics and hardly distinguishable from ethics and the theory of education." *Outlines of Soc. Phil.*, by Mackenzie, p. 22.

⁶ See Shamasastri, *Evolution of Indian Polity*, Preface, xiv.

Kautilya and Sukra as the mainspring of the entire political mechanism—cannot be overestimated; specially so when the king is the maker of the age.¹ Sukra begins his book by emphasizing on the synthetic, comprehensive and the utilitarian aspect² of the niti-sastra and then passes on to the most important category of his Sastra, *viz.*, kingship. Sukra does not give the classification of the various vidyas and kalas in the beginning of his book but reserves it for a later section where he briefly describes the special characteristics of each. In dealing with moral discipline for the king one thing is to be particularly noticed in both Kautilya and Sukra. After emphasizing the supreme importance of the restraint of the organs of sense to the king, both Kautilya and Sukra give actual instances of kings coming to grief through their failure to provide discipline for themselves.³ This is something of a historical method, but to be frank, the method here is historical rather in appearance than in reality. Thus the Kautilyan and Sukraic appeals to Ramayana, Mahabharat and Puranas are made rather for the purpose of sustaining, than for the purpose of discovering rules of discipline for the king.⁴

Any one who goes through the two treatises may not unreasonably complain as to why so much importance has been given to the category of kingship, even though both the writers accept the theory of *Saptanga*, *i.e.*, the theory of the State as an organism of seven limbs. The Saptanga or organismic theory is defective in that the most important organ

¹ This idea is to be found also in *Santiparva* in explanation of the 4 epochs—*Satya*, *Treta*, *Dvapara* and *Kali*.

² Ch I, lines 4-9.

³ Kautilya, Bk. I, Ch. 6, Sukra, Ch. I, lines 135-6, 137-8, 225-6, 287-90.

⁴ Compare the following from the *Introduction* by Tozer to Rousseau's *Social Contract*, p. 40—"—and Rousseau's meagre and inaccurate historical knowledge is used, not to furnish materials for inference, but to illustrate preconceived ideas or foregone conclusions." On this point, *viz.*, historical method, also see Dunning's observations on Machiavelli's method in his *Political Theories*.

in this seven-limbed organism—the people—is conspicuous by its absence.¹ Had there been this organ then there would have been two “rival” directing organs. As it is, the category of kingship absorbs the major portion of the canvas.

Both Sukra and Kautilya accept the theory of Saptnaga.² Had our authors been dominated by a mechanical, as opposed to an organic conception of the State, probably the category of people would have loomed large. But in an organic conception of the State there is but one directing organ and that is the brain; and if the category “people” is ignored by our authors in the theory of Saptanga, the way is clear for the king to be in sole charge of the directing organ. Probably this is the reason why Sukra compares the king of the Saptanga to the human head.³ There is another reason why the category of kingship is so important. To Sukra *nitisastra* is the most important of all the sciences and arts because without *Niti* the stability of no man’s affair can be maintained,⁴ to Kautilya the course of the progress of the world depends on the science of *Dandaniti*.⁵ Moreover both Sukra and Kautilya in their treatises presuppose a social structure known as *Varnasram*. The duties relevant to *varnas* and *asramas* are thought to be eternal and it is the duty of the king to see that the various *varnas* keep within their respective duties.⁶ Logically therefore kingship comes first of all; because it is only through fear of punishment meted out by the king, each man gets into the habit of following his *swadharmā* or duty. Without the *danda* and the *dandadhara* there is no mine and thine, everything is chaos

¹ Even if the concept *rastra* or *janapada* be taken to mean “people,” still they have not got that emphasis which they deserve.

² The theory as presented by them enumerates the constituent elements of the State.

³ Ch. 1, lines 123-4, also Kautilya says, “the king and his kingdom are the primary elements of the state” Bk. VIII, Ch. 2.

⁴ Ch. 1, lines 20-22.

⁵ Bk. I, Ch. 4.

⁶ *Artha*, Bk. I, Ch. 3, *Niti* Ch. 1, lines 45-47.

and confusion. Therefore kingly duties are regarded as the foremost¹ and hence kingship is the most important category.

This stress on the concept of kingship may be explained in another way. Both the *nitisastra* and the *arthasastra*—the latter in particular—are written from the standpoint of the governor and not governed. The philosophy of both is a study of the art of government, rather than a theory of state. Their field is *Politik* and not *Staatlehre* as Dunning would say. They do not enquire about the origin of the state—they do not bother their heads as to what should be the proper relation between the sovereign and the subjects—they do not discuss about the nature of rights. Both 'are interested in the establishment and operations of the machinery of government—in the forces through which governmental power is generated and applied.' Of course Sukra's scope is much wider than that of Kautilya, and he every now and then treats us to general rules of morality² and social customs and institutions³ which are non-political in their nature. But none the less it is Sukra who emphatically declares along with the author of the *Santiparva* that the king is the maker of the age. The central theme of the *Arthasastra* in particular and of *Nitisastra* to some extent is the successful creation of big empires by kings. In fact Sukra goes so far as to declare that 'conversion of princes into tributary chiefs is one of his eight functions'⁴ and feels no scruple in saying that kings who cannot make other princes pay tribute are oxen, *i.e.*, fools.⁵ In both the authors the central thought is the

¹ Compare "kingly duties first flowed from the original gods." "The eternal duties (of man) had all suffered destruction. It was by the exercise of Khattriya duties that they were revived." *Santiparva*, Sec. LXIV, also—"The Brahmachari, the householder, the recluse in the forests and the religious mendicant—all these walk in their respective ways through fear of chastisement." *Santiparva*, Sec. XV.

² After finishing the third chapter Sukra says, "the *nitisastra* that is common to the king and the common people has been narrated in brief."

³ Ch. IV, Sec. 4.

⁴ Ch. I, lines 245-8.

⁵ *Ibid.*, lines 249-50.

'methods of those who wield the power of the state, rather than the fundamental relationships in which the essence of the state consists.' Closely related to the point which we are just now discussing, *viz.*, that the treatises and the Arthashastra in particular, were written from the standpoint of the governing class—is the point, and important too, that Kautilya's Arthashastra was in the nature of a practical manual of statecraft and administration for the king.¹ Sukra's *niti-sastra* is the outcome of a series of lectures by the learned professor to his disciples, the *Asuras*, on the essence of *Niti*—political, social and economic, no doubt; but it is patent to any and every reader of Sukra that almost the entire book is devoted to political *niti* and that again from the standpoint of the king. In fact the first and second chapters are entirely political—being devoted to an enumeration of and discussion about the duties and functions of the king and other state officials. The third chapter deals with general rules of morality no doubt, but those rules are meant both for the king and the common folk² and hence they acquire a political interest. All the other chapters and sections—with the exception of the third section in chapter four and portions of the next section—are entirely political and written as a sort of manual for the king.³

The point that the Arthashastra was written as a manual of the art of government⁴ receives added justification from

¹ Compare—"There is always this practical bent in Greek Political thought. The treatises in which it issues are meant, like Machiavelli's *Prince*, as manuals for the statesman. Particularly is this the case with Plato. True to the mind of his master Socrates, he ever made it the aim of his knowledge, that it should issue in action, and he even attempted to translate his philosophy into action himself, and to induce Dionysius to realise the hopes of the *Republic*. Nor shall we do justice to Aristotle unless we remember that the *Politics* also is meant to guide the legislator and statesman, and to help them either to make, or to improve, or at any rate to preserve the states with which they have to deal."—Barker—*Greek Political Theory*, p. 10.

² Ch. III, lines 652-53.

³ So also Bossuet the French bishop-courtier was commanded by Louis XIV to undertake the education of the Dauphin and the result was a political treatise for the use of his pupil.

⁴ Compare the following from Machiavelli's *Prince* (translated by Marriot) in the

the fact that its author was the celebrated Chanakya¹—the famous Brahmin minister of Chandragupta Maurjya. Just as the *Prince* of Machiavelli was written when Italy was divided into a number of petty states and Machiavelli, pained at heart, beseeched Lorenzo to place himself at the head of a united Italy by following the rules set forth in the *Prince*, so the Arthasastra of Chanakya was composed as a practical manual for his royal disciple, Chandragupta,²—till then a petty monarch. The rules are relevant for the government of a small kingdom surrounded by friendly and hostile kingdoms and the pen-picture drawn by the author certainly points to the conclusion that Chandragupta has not as yet acquired that paramount power which he was subsequently destined to enjoy.³

(To be continued.)

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beginning of the 15th chapter—"It remains now to see what ought to be rules of conduct for a prince towards subject and friends." Machiavelli's *Prince* was written with the object of indicating the methods by which Lorenzo Di Piero De Medici (to whom the book was dedicated) can make himself the master of entire Italy.

¹ Kantilya is the gotra name, this name occurs at the end of every chapter—see the footnote in Jayaswal's *Hindu Polity*, p. 4, Part I. See also Shamasastri's *Introduction to the Arthasastra* (Eng. tran.)—Winternitz is of opinion that the Arthasastra is the work of a Pundit—not of a statesman. *Calcutta Review*, p. 16, April 1924.

² "The name of Chandragupta or of any other person, however celebrated he might be, has no logical connection with a literary work meant to be of universal application. It is a painful truth that Indian writers cared more for logic than for history. Shama Sastri's article in the *Calcutta Review*, April, 1925.

³ Vincent Smith (*Early History of India*, 3rd Edition, p. 137) says—"we may accept it (the Arthasastra) as an authoritative account of political and social conditions in the Gangetic plain in the age of Alexander the Great, 325 B.C."

THE ORGANISATION OF LABOUR

Economic progress depends on the smooth and uninterrupted course of production. The outstanding problem of economic progress would not be solved if labour fails to organise itself and utilise the power and means of this organisation to better the mental, material and social conditions of all sections of labour both skilled and unskilled, both male and female, both adults as well as juveniles. The characteristic defects of Indian labour have been pointed out by the previous writers in an elaborate manner.¹ Nothing but a rapid summary is required on my part to illustrate them here. The industrial labourer is an agriculturist with his home in the village. His irregular and unsteady work limits his productive capacity.² The distaste for discipline in factories and the long confinement during the hot days³ in the factories is leading to the shortage of supply of industrial labour in some provinces and the distaste for industrial work is heightened to a great extent by absence from home, children and acquaintances. The labourers generally take French leave without notifying the employer to visit their families and this intermittent character of work besides reducing his efficiency makes the employer's position difficult forcing him always to maintain larger number of labourers than is absolutely essential.⁴ The love of easy-

¹ See the Report of the Indian Industrial Commission, pp. 5, 10-12, 15-16, 19-20, 24, 26, 27, 29.

Also the Report of the Indian Fiscal Commission, para 33, and Ch. viii.

² See R. M. Joshi "Economics of the Ratnagiri District," Indian Economic Journal, Bombay, Vol. VI, March-June, 1923, pp. 21-31. Also Mr. Sedgewick's Report on the Census Conditions in Bombay, discussed in the Labour Gazette for March, 1922. The same is the case with the Jute mills of Bengal, where 90 per cent. are imported labourers.

³ Report of the Indian Factory Labour Commission of 1908 (see Dr. Nair's Minute of Dissent).

⁴ See "Absenteeism in Bombay Mills," March, 1923, Bombay Labour Gazette, March, 1923.

going independence also lessens the capacity to sustained work and many people opine that the Indian labourer's inefficiency is due to this cause. A good many authorities¹ can be cited to prove that this is often exaggerated and taking the wages into consideration the housing in which they live and education they had and the lack of special training for industrial work, there is some justice in the remark that it is unwise to institute a comparison with Western labourers whose economic environment has been altogether a different one.

The weak point in the labour situation of India is not chiefly its "unskilled, inefficient, unambitious and unenterprising" nature but the lack of sufficient organisation with the result that attempts have not been made to improve the nature, intelligence and habits of the labouring class. The labour movement in India is in its early infancy. Indian labour has become organised into Trade Unions quite recently.² Then the causes responsible for the enlivening of the labour interests in our country are quite different from those that actuated the sponsors of the labour movement in the western countries. The spread of intelligence due to the democratic system of education, the presence of aggressive labour journals educating the people as to their needs, the existence of the press facilities paving the way to the free interchange of ideas and the development of the means of communication are the real incentives

¹ Refer to Prof. A. R. Burnett Hirst's "Labour and Housing in Bombay." See Dr. R. K. Das, "Hindustani Workers on the Pacific Coast."

² There are 113 Trade Unions with a membership of about 1,000,000. According to the reports of the Government Labour Office there were about 559 disputes during the 18 months from January, 1921 to June, 1922. Of these 184 took place in Bengal and 247 in Bombay. There has been a recent set-back to the trade union movement due to the fall in prices and the rigour of 1919-1920 days is no longer felt. Perhaps this is one reason why the State is delaying all legislation concerning the legalising of the Trade Unions. The hostile attitude of the employers even to grant the right of peaceful picketing which is allowed to the English Trade Unions complicates the situation. Even Agricultural labour has become organised during the last five years and the Kisan sabhas of the U. P. and other provinces have sought to improve conditions of tenure and labour. The International Labour Conference held at Genoa in 1921 aims at the conferring of the same benefits on agricultural labourers, as in the case of the industrial workers.

for the spread of the labour movement in the Western countries. In India however no new class consciousness could develop till it was hurt by the economic strain which was created during the war. The recent political agitation¹ and the revolutionary example of Bolshevik Russia and the persistent agitation and engineering of a few intellectual leaders² who were anxious for creating a national life amongst the different sections of the population were the real causes for the starting of the labour movement in India. Above all a distinct wage-earning class has not developed early in this country.³ Even now the factory labourer is mainly agricultural in character migrating to the villages in the harvest time.

The comparative inefficiency of our labour organisations is chiefly due to the fact that a hearing from some thousands of labourers distributed over a wide area requires a multiplication of officials and a great outlay of time, energy and money. The margin of earning even in the case of the industrial labourers is very little and arrears in subscriptions would be natural. The illiteracy of the workers stands in the way of successful formation of trade unions in this country, or the efficient organisation and working of the existing trade unions.

The Work before our Trade Unions.

A trade union is not solely meant for organising strikes but it is the lever by means of which the mutual insurance of the members against unemployment and against sickness is affected. It is thus a mutual improvement society. Collective bargaining with the employers for obtaining living wages is not its only aim ; nor is the strike the only method of forcing

¹ See Sir Valentine Chirol, "India, Old and New," p. 273. "There is abundant evidence to show that strikes would not have been so frequent, so precipitate and so tumultuous had not political agitation at least contributed to foment them as part of a scheme for promoting general upheaval."

² See B. P. Wadia, "Labour in Madras."

³ See Sidney and Beatrice Webb, "History of Trade Unions," p. 6.

their will on the employers. The more mild method of compulsory arbitration seems to be preferable to the strikes.¹

Under intelligent leaders the different unions ought to concentrate the energy in such constructive work as improving their skill, industrial technique, materialistic and cultural ideals and general knowledge so that a better economic position, more political privileges and an improved social status may be achieved. They have to organise and discipline labour so as to make it amenable to the orders of the labour leaders. They have to achieve unity of purpose which characterises the decisions and actions of the Western Trade Unions and also cultivate their reasonable and compromising attitude and willingness to abide by the decision of the conciliators or the arbitrators that may be appointed to secure industrial peace. They have to assimilate and organise the varied peoples who work in the factories into a united and closely-knit whole. Effective co-operation is needed to produce common efforts and working at one place under one common master and possessing common needs it would not be difficult to induce this spirit among the different and divergent population that work in a factory.

The militant aspect of the British Trade Unions is not the only thing that has to be copied. After all the Western countries are realising the futility of striking for each and every object. Attempts are being made to perfect the mechanism of conciliation or arbitration so that strikes might not be resorted to on each occasion of difference between the employers and the employees.

The terrible economic consequences resulting out of strikes have to be realised in the first instance. A strike though primarily intended to cause hurt to the employer, always results in

¹ Strikes are supposed to be driven away from the shores of Australia by means of the compulsory arbitration of the disputes between the capitalists and the labourers. See V. S. Clark "The Labour Movement in Australia." But we hear of strikes happening in that country.

doing some economic injury to the labourer as well. It is a piece of active resistance, sometimes tending to destroy natural resources and capital but always surely resulting in diminished production. To add to this there is often a lack of intelligent guidance of the strikers by selfless leaders. The apathy with which the "the third party" generally views these strikes convinces one that the Indian public have not understood that the modern economic atmosphere exerts a uniform pressure upon all the interests and members of the society.

The fraternal aspect of the Western Trade Unions has to be copied. No Trade Union in our country builds up its funds for unemployment, sickness or accident benefits. The organisation of co-operative purchase can be set up easily. Except the Seamen's unions, and the Railway Worker's Associations, the Union of the Postal and Telegraph Workers, the other 70 or 80 unions in our country have not the faintest possible idea of the real work that has to be performed in bettering the conditions of labour. This has been due to the lack of education on their part. The lack of knowledge is harming them in more ways than one. Firstly, it lowers their wages as ignorant labour can be reckoned as unskilled labour. Secondly, no common collective action can be undertaken by these ignorant men to better their financial, social, moral, and physical condition. Just as agricultural education would increase the efficiency of the peasants general and technical education can act as a lever in raising the material and mental condition of the wage-earners. Thirdly, the lack of intelligence is the sole reason why trade unions are sometimes dissolved as soon as the specific issue of controversy is settled.

Except in Bombay and few other cities the Trade union organisation does not possess an active and continuous life. As the factory labourers migrate from the village and return back to the villages at stated intervals there is no definite wage-earning class making the town its home and the factory its permanent occupation. The very ignorance of the

wage-earners is responsible for the wanton destruction of property and other acts of vandalism that are sometimes perpetrated by them during the strike period. These things can be checked only when the Trade Unions can advance in the matter of their organisation and power. Their real activities ought to be turned towards the direction of increasing the civic consciousness, economic conditions, social status, and educational interests. It is not on a mere increase of wages and an improvement in the material conditions of the labourers or shortening of the hours of labour that they have to concentrate their best efforts but they should try to uplift labour by securing increased mobility of labour, evolving an ordered and constructive policy of industrial reforms, securing larger social opportunities and more highly developed and sensitive character so as to make the labourers a powerful social factor in our society. The organisations of our labour have always been weaker and an increased solidarity and strength on their part is required to achieve a part of the programme outlined above and recover some of the ground lost during the several years of capitalistic sway in the past.

Even in the Western countries there is no settled or systematised Trade Union philosophy. Their aims and objects vary with the degree of education of the members and their self-consciousness or courageous conviction. Mr. J. T. Brownlie says, "Trade Union theory is not like the laws of the Medes and Persians, unalterable. It varies with the intellectual development of the members. At the present moment we are concerned in safe-guarding our member's interests in accordance with present-day conditions of society. We hope sooner or later to mould public opinion and use the institutions of the country to bring about greater organic changes in the basis of human society, so that the relation between employers and workers shall be better than they are to-day."¹

¹ Quoted in Labour and Capital in Engineering Trades, Labour Research Department publication.

The economic usefulness of our Trade Unions can be increased to a great extent if they are not considered solely as organisations for carrying on warfare with the capitalists and instituting class hatred or as organisations of labour developing ill-concealed hatred and antagonism towards capital or other forms of labour. A wider task has to be performed and this complex, difficult, and important work of securing cultural, material and social improvement of the countless number of industrial and agricultural workers must be secured at any cost. For this purpose the All-India Trade Union organisation ought to have the following different technical sections attached to it: (a) the unemployment section to be looked after by bureaux of labour, (b) agricultural section looking after the interests of agricultural labourers, (c) hours of work, (d) health section, (e) emigration section to guide the intelligent and restless labourers to better their fortune by going out of the country, (f) women and maternity section to secure the opening of creches for children in factories and prevent the overworking of pregnant women, (g) home work section, (h) wages section to see that prompt settlement of accounts is made, (i) education section aiming to give gratuitous education, (j) co-operative section to secure the life's necessities at a cheap rate. It has to secure recognition from the hands of the State and it should not follow the path of the British Trade Unions of the radical type and get saturated with the anti-capitalistic ideas of Karl Marx and his ideas of class war. This would result in fomenting discontent and nothing but unhappiness would result out of such a step. It should not restrict output or become hostile to innovation or the introduction of labour-saving machinery¹ or spread the doctrine that a good workman has to pursue the policy of 'ca'canny, *i.e.*, working slow deliberately in order to "make work." It ought not to aim at the destruction of real wealth nor seek political activity with the view of overthrowing the existing forms of

¹ L. T. Edie says, "Labour's part is to unquestionably accept the technology worked out by management."—"Principles of New Economics," p. 99.

society. Our wage-earning class is a heterogeneous mass of people belonging to different races, religions, and castes speaking different languages, and it is impossible to make them all accept one definite political aim. Even educated people are unable to suppress communal sympathies and this is an effective bar to unity among the educated classes. It would be much more so among the uneducated people. The British Trade Unions have been guilty of all these faults¹ with the necessary result that the efficiency of the British labourer is only a third of that of the American labourer.²

Indian Capitalists fail in their Duty towards Labour.

As Walker says, "what an employer will get out of his workmen will depend very much on what he first gets into him. Not only are bone and muscle to be built up and kept up by food, but every stroke of the arm involves an expenditure of nervous energy which is to be supplied only through the alimentary canal. What a man can do in 24 hours will depend very much on what he can have to eat in the 24 hours or perhaps it would be more correct to say what he has had to eat the 24 hours previous. If his diet be liberal his work may be mighty. If he be underfed he must underwork."³ Capitalists in India do not remember either this or the higher duty they owe to the labourer besides the above-mentioned one of paying a fair wage. As Van Marken says, "the duty of the employer is to aid his subordinates by every means at his command—his heart, his intellect, his money—to attain the highest stage which alone makes life worth living. My own conviction is that in doing so the employer will make

¹ See Lord Leverhulme, "The Six Hour Day," Prof. Taussig, "Some Aspects of the Tariff Question," F. W. Taylor, "Shop Management." All these writers point out that the British workers have injured the national industries, the capitalists, the middlemen and themselves by acting like greedy speculators and by creating artificial scarcity of goods.

² J. E. Barker, "Economic Statesmanship," p. 7 and pp. 187-189.

³ F. Walker, *The Wages Question*, p. 53.

no sacrifice. But if he needs must make them, be it from the material or moral point of view, let him make them up to the limits of his capacity. It is his sacred duty." ¹ As Prof. A. C. Pigou says, "such investment of money in the health and strength and mental powers of the poor people will often yield a much larger return to the nation even in terms of material output than the investment of an equal sum in building or repairing inanimate machines." ² Indian capitalists, specially the cotton and jute mill-owners, ought to emulate the noble and wise examples of Mr. Cadbury and Lord Leverhulme whose unexampled generosity for their workmen is almost a bye-word in English industrial circles. Taking the cotton and jute mill-owners one finds that they have been enjoying during recent years profits amounting to 50 or 75% or even 375 % in one case. ³ The following table shows the profits declared by some of the joint-stock companies engaged in coal, flour, and tea.

Indian Coal Companies. (Dividend per cent. for year.)

	1913	1921	1922	1923
Adjani Coal Co ...	16	50	50	50
Bunsdeopur ...	...	37	30	37
Bengal ...	50	65	65	57
Bengal Nagpur ...	30	80	65	85
Bilberia ...	...	21	18	46
Burrakar ...	...	20	40	47
Kalapahari ...	...	20	32	40
Katras Jherriah ...	95	160	145	60
Karanpura ...	...	60	60	150
Khas Jherriah ...	85	85	60	65
Raneegunje ...	20	65	75	35
Seehpore ...	50	71	50	57
Standard ...	20	70	90	85

¹ Quoted by Meakin, "Model Factories and Villages, p. 27.

² See A. C. Pigou, "Essays in Applied Economics," p. 14.

³ See G. Cadbury, "Experiments in Industrial Organisation," for the right tone set in the factory and the welfare work undertaken by them for bettering the welfare of the labourers.

		<i>Flour.</i>				
Hoogly	...	8	80	65	40	
United	...	...	75	65	40

		<i>Tea.</i>				
	1914	1920	1921	1922	1923	
Borpara	20	10	30	45	20	
Carron	75	25	35	75	40	
Doolahat	15	10	20	70	30	
Gillapukri	<i>Nil</i>	25	35	55	80	
Hatanpura	40	30	65	175	30	
Harmutty	...	10	20	70	30	
Hasimara	10	...	20	75	75	
Huldibari	20	...	20	50	130	
Kingsley Golaghat	25	...	35	80	100	
Nagaisuree	60	25	30	75	40	
New Dooars	20	10	45	55	—	
New Criatolah	40	...	35	80	100	
Okayti	20	28	60	65	45	
Patrakola	24	...	30	160	30	
Runlee Rungliot	20	..	15	40	45	

While such high profits have been reaped in several cases very little has been done by them to improve the lot of the labourers. After the war the Lever Bros., Allen & Co., and the Burma Corporation increased their sterling capital and have invested in soap, cotton and mining industry. They too tend to exploit the cheap Indian labour and obtain fat profits. Capitalistic farming is carried on in this country in the tea gardens, coffee and indigo plantations but the relations between capital and labour have never been friendly. Some of them illustrate how labour can be exploited callously and injured where the employer is also the landlord.

3 See "Capital," 25th January, 1923.

It is not the capitalists, mill-owners, and planters alone that fail to improve the general conditions of labour but the landlords do not consider the agricultural labourers as their partners in agricultural industry. Landlordism can be justified only on the ground of its active partnership. Otherwise its utility as an economic institution has to be questioned. The landlords and the farmers are partners in the field of agricultural production. On the landlord falls the duty of providing the requisite capital and the task of applying his broader outlook in solving agrarian problems is another duty that he has to perform. Landlords are only trustees possessing proprietary rights over the most important source of national wealth and they must exhibit ability and public spirit in the administration of this sacred trust. Any kind of property is but one kind of trust and the wise use of it is essential for a continuous and perpetual holding of it.

Modern economic society is based on rights and the corresponding duties devolving on the holders of the rights are very often neglected. Tawney really says the same thing when he writes, "Modern society is to be based on function instead of on right as is the present one."² Acquisition of wealth is the object of all members of society and the obligatory functions resulting out of holding of property and economic

¹ The total dividend paid on all the coal companies aggregated to £2,507,889. On a total of £8.52 crores this dividend works out at 15% roughly while on the total block account aggregating £9.43 crores it works out at about 13%. The total paid on tea companies amounted to £1.07 crores on a capital of £7.46 crores and this amounts to 13. On the total block amounting to £5.28 crores the same amount to over 20%. Quoted from K. T. Shah "Wealth and Taxable Capacity."

² "We shall, in short, treat mineral owners and absentee landlords as Plato would have treated the poets, shown in their ability to make something out of nothing and to bewitch mankind with goods they a little resemble and crown them with flowers and usher them politely out of the State. The owners of mines and minerals in the new role as protectors of the poor lament the selfishness of the minors as though nothing but pure philanthropy had hitherto caused profits and royalties to be reluctantly accepted by themselves.

See R. H. Tawney, *The Acquisitive Society*. See also A. Penfy, "Towards a Christian Sociology. He shows how "function" was admired in the Middle Ages.

enterprise are very often neglected. Capitalists who organise industries and acquire wealth ought to remember that they owe other duties to the wage-earners beyond the one of paying wages. Similarly quasi-rents, monopoly profits, urban ground rents and royalties are to be attacked for the holders of these do not work for the benefit of the society.

The misfortune of our society is that too much capital lies in the hands of ignorance and pride. Capital in the hands of intelligence sustained by a real genuine consideration for the welfare of all men is to be loved and encouraged but when used to pamper indolence and sustain false notions of pride, building up of caste, creating extremes in society it can only be tackled properly by intelligent, well-organised and enlightened labour. It is the duty of this organised labour to guide capital and until then the employer cannot respect the employee. Both should seek to mutually advantage each other.

The Right Duty of the Capitalists.

Our capitalists ought to realise that "man does not live by bread alone." Mere wages sufficient to provide the daily bread are not adequate enough to enable the labourers to pursue the other human interests such as "admiration, hope, love" which sustain life. The labourers must not engross themselves only with their business activities to earn their daily bread and other economic goods but the non-economic activities have to be heeded. From the poet Wordsworth down to the most recent humanists the cry has been that the "iron of industrialism" which is corrupting the very vitals of the businessmen should be checked. Leisure as well as financial scope to the labourers to have free expression in their own particular fields is necessary. It has already been pointed out that the foolish paternalistic attitude of the capitalists has to be given up and until this is accomplished the labourers would not think of labour as a dignified profession.

The Example of the Western Countries.

Even in the western countries this ideal relationship between capital and labour does not exist. Even the educated western labourer does not understand the sanction, source and function of capital. The present industrial malaise is attributed to the supposed conflict between the interests of labour and capital. It must in justice be admitted that the present capitalistic system of production has produced a harvest of increased wealth and wages, and increased the comforts of life.¹ Capital is "the seed of industry." The supposed antagonism between capital and labour is a myth.² Both are interested in business for the resultant fund is necessary for both. Both can flourish like the proverbial Siamese Twins. Mutual prosperity means the uninterrupted progress of production. The destruction of capitalism can never result in securing the millennium of prosperity to the working classes. General unemployment and ultimate impoverishment of the country would result. As Hartley Withers says "capitalism is based on reason, and has accomplished several wonders and would achieve still greater feats in the future."³ A reorientation of the economic life seems to be necessary. It has to be recognised that modern industry is a partnership of three factors. Andrew Carnegie says, "a partnership of three is required in the industrial world. The first of these not in importance but in time is capital. From it comes the first breath of life into matter, previously inert. The second partner is business ability. Its duty is to provide all instruments of production. The third partner is skilled labour. The wheels of industry cannot run unless skilled labour starts them. Each

¹ See J. M. Keynes, "Economic Consequences of the Peace." While reviewing the Nineteenth Century he says, "The railways of the world which that age has built as a monument to posterity were not less than the pyramids of Egypt, the work of labour which was not free to consume in immediate enjoyment the full equivalent of its efforts."

² Mr. Andrew Carnegie says, "the masses and the people in any country are prosperous and comfortable just in proportion as there are millionaires." See his "Empire of Business."...

³ See Hartley Withers, "Defence of Capitalism."

of the three is all-important and everyone is equally essential to the other two. Labour, capital and ability are a three-legged stool. This is the great triple alliance which moves the industrial world."¹ The individual freedom of the capitalist is essential for industrial progress. The wage-earner should reach the heart of his industry as it used to be the case before the capitalistic era of production. L. T. Edie strikes the key-note when he says, "The outstanding problem of production is not the invention of new machines but the invention of new ways and means for drawing out the creative interest of the workers. Without such a creative interest production is predestined to remain at absurdly low rates."² This can be done by the Trade Union investing the common fund in the industry. If the labourers are recognised as investors in the industry in which he is engaged there would be solidarity of interests between the wage-earners and the capitalists."³ Suspicion can then be destroyed and individual effort of the labourer would be inspired. Labourers exert themselves only if they believe that they get a fair share of their due reward. This is the psychological motive that governs all the labourers' industry. Hence the real problem is to maximise this motive operating in the minds of the workers. Only a change in the Trade Union Law permitting them to invest their funds has to be made and this would better secure the unity of interests in modern industry than anything else.⁴ Neither Socialism, nor guilds, nor profit-sharing, nor agreement for sliding scale of wages, nor the Industrial councils are the real remedies that can achieve permanent industrial peace and *at the same time* assure the uninterrupted march of industrial progress.

¹ See "The Problems of To-day," p. 60.

² See L. T. Edie, "Principles of New Economics."

³ J. E. Barker says, "the workers by this process would become shareholders all, managers all, capitalists all and would be interested in the working of the concern. This method as he says is to be adopted in those countries where the labourers deliberately restrict the output as for example in England. He recommends profit-sharing in those countries where there is a high output as for example in the case of the U.S.A. See "Economic Statesmanship," pp. 610-612, Ch. on Labour Unrest and its Cure,

⁴ See J. Kidd, "The Unity in Industry," ch. IX.

As Kidd says, "something more than these are wanted. That is to be found in the wholesome seed of investment nourishing independence and personal worth while harnessing them both to national service and the destruction of the socialist folly."¹ Every other scheme propounded for the reconstruction of the economic organism of our society, be it socialism of the mild type known as 'Nationalisation,' or Anarchist Communism, or the revolutionary ideals of Syndicalism, Guild socialism, or Bolshevism of the Russian type, has forgotten the cardinal fact that our human society is a growing organism and it is difficult to construct society according to our own conception. Economists have pointed out the defects of all these chimerical projects. Nationalisation might be a leap in the dark and the quality and quantity of the output might be seriously affected. State socialism succeeds in implanting officialism, bureaucracy, red-tape and might be a fatal impediment to the real progress of the nation. Anarchist Communism would make matters worse by enthroning might for right and the individual freedom obtained under this stage would only tend to check initiative in thought and deed as well. Syndicalism with its proposal of simultaneous general strike is only dreaming of an impossible thing. Guild socialism would only result in dull mediocrity and act as a serious drag on production. All these schemes have confounded society with the economic structure of it. Each society has to develop that type of economic structure that suits the abilities and condition of the capitalists, as well as labourers.

Economic progress to be lasting must be built up on the solid structure of the existing society and in order to achieve solid results and solve the riddle of our poverty problem we cannot do so by entrusting new powers to labour for the wielding of which it does not possess the requisite type of educational and organising ability. Just as the mechanical world has progressed slowly so should the world of labour progress.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

From slavery the wage-earner has gained his independence. From this position he should take his proper place as the capitalist partner of his employer.¹ The consciousness of the labourer has to be kindled and that he is playing a prominent part in the management of the industry has to be instilled in him. As Sidney Webb says, "the new ideas which are taking root in the Trade Union world centre round the aspiration of the organisation of the labourer to take part—some would urge predominant part, a few might say the sole part—in the control and direction of the industries in which they gain their livelihood."² A few experiments have been conducted in this line already in the U. S. A. where the labourers have been brought into responsible association with management and the results are pronounced as satisfactory. Robert Wolf's experiment in the paper industry related by Helen Marot illustrates the possibilities of success if such an experiment were to be made.³ As George Gunton long ago pointed out "a society where an industrial monarchy or oligarchy is coupled with political democracy is not a stable thing."⁴ An industrial democracy coupled with political democracy is essential to stabilise the western society. Economic freedom and political slavery are as thoroughly incompatible as economic slavery with political freedom. This is the *status quo* that western labourer aspires to achieve.

Although this has been the ideal which the western labourer is striving to reach still there is a good deal of poverty⁵ amidst abundance. The riddle which Henry George

¹ This step has been practically achieved in the United States Steel Corporation with success. It has been made profitable both to the workers and to the Company.

² Sidney Webb, "History of Trade Unionism," p. 649.

³ Quoted by J. A. Fitch, "The Causes of Industrial Unrest," p. 386.

⁴ George Gunton, "Wealth and Progress."

⁵ In England for example "the manual wage-earners comprising two-thirds of the population obtain for their maintenance less than half the community's annual net product while nine-tenths of the accumulated wealth belongs to one-tenth of the population. See Dr. A. L. Bowley, "Division of the Product of Industry," pp. 19, *et seq.*

pointed out long ago remains unsolved. "The association of poverty with progress is the great enigma of our times. It is the central fact from which spring industrial, social, and political difficulties that perplex the world and with which statesmanship and philanthropy and education grapple in vain. It is the riddle which the Sphinx of Fate puts to our civilisation and which not to answer is to be destroyed."

While the western labourers by perfecting their organisation have largely promoted the personal freedom of the wage-earning classes and have also raised the standard of their life they have done little to secure greater economic efficiency. At any rate their organisations are largely responsible for mitigating the industrial evils of the system. Great credit is also due to their capitalist for improving the conditions of their workers. If we take Japan into consideration we find several of the textile companies besides paying wages, pay a part of the cost of board and lodging. The proportion varies in case of different companies ranging from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{2}{3}$. This change is due to humanitarian considerations and to keep the necessary labour attached to the mills. The former insanitary arrangements in the old-time Japanese mills have been altered. There is a general improvement as regards labour conditions in all factories.¹ In the United States of America several of the gigantic corporations like the National Cash Register Co., The Goodyear Tyre and Rubber Co., the Eastman Kodak Co., the Protector and Gamble Co., have undertaken welfare work on a very large scale. These surround their factories with well-kept lawns, arranged for scientific shading and illumination, keep the interior well-painted and neat, provide doctors and dentists, hospital facilities, playgrounds, gardens, rest-rooms, libraries, stores and night-schools. These tend to reduce the monotony of factory work. Humanitarian capitalists

¹ See the Report on Commercial, Financial and Industrial conditions in Japan. Department of Overseas Trade publication (The U. K.) But Japan has not as yet ratified the conventions of the I. L. Conference.

like Henry Ford are paying high wages as £1 per diem to each of their workers. They have recently organised the Workers Council in America modelled on their own constitution to bring about better relationship between the employees and the employers and it is too early to prophesy as regards their working in the future. In France the paternal relation between the employers and the employed prevents strikes from rising to a grave situation. In Germany the Industrial Parliament consisting of 300 representatives was recently instituted to solve industrial disputes. All these countries now realise that neither capital nor labour can be sacrificed by creating a new order of society. Their economic ideal is to secure the association of labour and capital on the basis of perfect confidence and good-will and actuated by a genuine desire on the part of each other to undertake the responsibilities for the well-being of the other and each of them has to share with the other in the risks and profits of the business. Such an intimate association of labour and capital has not been secured anywhere in the world as yet but the U. S. A. though the last one to enter the field of industrial production has outbeaten all the rivals in this respect.

If industrial peace of a lasting character has to be attained it can only be done by a realisation of the above programme. Indian labour has to learn that increased efficiency resulting in increased output can secure enhanced wages. Our capitalists have to learn that technical training is not the only condition of efficiency on the part of the labourers but the interest that the workmen take in the fruit of the industry is no less an influence impelling labour towards real exertion of skill. A few of the mill-owners are doing excellent work in the matter of education, better housing, and general welfare work. The Madras Perambore Mills, the Tata Company of Jamshedpore and the Tata and Currimbhoy Mills of Bombay are doing useful service in these lines. But something more on a larger and much more magnified scale is necessary to

alleviate the labourer's condition. Welfare work would better the position of the worker to a certain extent but the wages ought to rise to a sufficiently high degree so as to procure the economic necessities and other reasonable wants of comfort. In addition to this more holidays have to be granted. Shorter hours of work fixed. The attitude of suspicion which the capitalists entertain towards the labourers and force them to withhold monthly wages till the end of the succeeding month as in some cases ought to give place to one of sympathy and humanitarian interests in the welfare of the workers. Organisation has come to stay as a permanent future and the Indian capitalists would do well to recognise this fact. As Justice Taft says, "Organisation of labour has become a recognised institution in all the civilised countries of the world. It has come to stay; it is full of usefulness and is necessary for the labourers. It shows serious defects at times and in some unions. There are evils that as the unions grow in wise and intelligent leadership we may as well hope are being well minimised. Whether we will or not the group system is here to-day and every man interested in public affairs must recognise that it has to be dealt with as a condition to be favoured in such a way as to minimise its abuses and to increase its utility."¹

Legislation and Labour.

Even in western countries the State in order to secure the protection of the labourers has been forced to interfere in the delicate matter of relationship between labour and capital. Child and female labour have been subjected to legislation. Workers have been protected from accidents and even insured against unemployment. Hours of work have been restricted. The right to form associations on the part of the labourer has been recognised. The minimum wage has been fixed and in some

¹ Quoted from Bloomfield's "Problems of Labour," pp. 212-214.

countries has been put into practice. Some of the western countries so arrange the tax policy that the poor feel less the pressure of taxation. Such are the different ways in which the western States have thought it wise to protect the real interests of the workers.¹ Thus State action is everywhere recognised as a palliative measure against the evils resulting out of the factory life of the workers. The cardinal principle of all factory legislation is to protect the workers and at the same time see that production is in no case impeded by vexatious laws hampering the legitimate freedom of the capitalists.

Other writers have shown sufficiently clearly the growth of factory legislation in India.² Whether it has been affected at the instance of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce or the Bombay Mill-hands Association it is immaterial for understanding the present situation and attitude of the State towards labour and capital. The Indian State has for the present conferred only small gains on the labourers but it has established the principle of interference in the interests of labour³ and its attempt to carry out the decisions of the Washington Conference is noteworthy. "The climatic conditions, the imperfect development of industrial organisations and other circumstances which make Indian industrial conditions "different from those of the West have been remembered and legislation has been undertaken to suit the altered conditions of India.⁴ For this purpose a separate committee ought to discuss such weighty resolutions as the reduction of working hours. This resolution has

¹ A good idea of Dominion Labour Legislation can be had by consulting Rgt. Hon'ble G. N. Barnes "Industrial Conflict."

² See J. C. Kydd, A History of Factory Legislation in India," also R. K. Dass, Factory Legislation in India."

³ Recently the Government of India has passed the new Factories and Mines Amendment Acts and the Workmens' Compensation Act. At present it is thinking of enacting legislation for recognising the Trade Unions and for enforcing the settlement of Trade disputes.

⁴ See the Government of India's Despatch to the Secretary of State, No. 16, Industries, Delhi, Nov. 25, 1920.

to be subjected to severe examination before being enforced. The physical, cultural and economic reasons for the shortening of the hours of labour are stated carefully by Sidney Webb in his *Industrial Democracy*.¹ It is easy to establish the case for shortening the hours of labour in this country. The evils of doing excessive work during long hours in a hot climate would have a disastrous effect on the physical and nervous system and predispose them to diseases. Maximum production of goods is not the sole criterion. The health of the workers is no less important. The work-day ought not to be long enough to exhaust all physical strength, leave no time for recreation or mental refreshment. Except in the continuous industries where the shift system can be safely employed an eight-hour day is possible. Shortening the hours of labour might not necessarily mean a reduction of output but on the other hand there might be increased production without damaging economic welfare on the other side. The present maximum of 11 hrs. a day has to be reduced further.

Suggestions.

Now that the Indian Government is about to legalise the formation of trade unions in our country and declaring their aims and objects as permissible ones, the relations between labour and capital ought to be discussed afresh taking stock of the present situation and legitimate aspirations of labourers. Another topic is the one of representation in the Legislative Assembly so as to promote legislation in such a way as to secure their real interests. The constitution of labour as a special electorate has been suggested and nothing would be more detrimental than this. A widening of the franchise by means of which labour becomes the basis of franchise instead of money as at present would give scope for their entry. Now that strikes are becoming frequent and the "Third party" is

¹ Sidney Webb, "*Industrial Democracy*," p. 324.

being inconvenienced to a great degree the State has deemed it wise to interfere and establish some means of securing peaceful settlement of disputes. Looking at the strength of capital and the ignorance and inarticulateness of labour it is folly to trust that the principle of voluntarism would secure industrial peace. The Courts of conciliation and enquiry recommended by the Bombay Industries Disputes Committee are a decided improvement on the present situation. The other proposal of Works Committees modelled on the basis of Whitley Committees seems to be of a far advanced character for which the labourers might not be fit. The setting up of the machinery of labour-exchanges would be an admirable step towards the perfection of the scientific organisation of labour. It is well known that a labour exchange can serve both industry as well as labour. It can advise labourers of trade conditions, devise schemes of apprenticeship and training, foster better conditions in factories and work-places, direct labour into the right channels of work and bring into effective contact with industry on the one hand and with labour on the other. The undertaking of rural organisation would free labourers to a large extent and these can be suitably accommodated in occupations congenial to their temperament only by the intelligent work of the Labour Exchanges. The granting of a minimum wage recommended elsewhere has to be authoritatively investigated by a competent body. The difficulties are no doubt many but the present low wage granted to the labourer is insufficient and in the days of depression this low wage becomes still further reduced. The problem of educating the children of the factory labourers is another important matter that has not been satisfactorily solved.

Classes based on the model of the British Worker's Educational classes, the circulation of book-boxes and provision of public lectures and the establishment of scholarships in the colleges are necessary and the funds of the Trade Union would have to be devoted for this lawful purpose. Precautions

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against accidents have been taken but the illiterate workmen fail to take advantage of the provisions of the Workmens' Compensation Act. Our Trade Unions are merely ephemeral combinations against capitalists. They must become durable associations recognised by law and the Trade Unions must try to raise the standard of life of the workers. The Trade Union officials must possess a vision of the social and political problems confronting the present stage of the Indian society. These officials ought to form the Civil Service of the Trade Union world and agitate effectively for political reforms. They must also possess absolute integrity, abnormal industry, tactical skill and literary ability so as to marshall and discipline the unorganised thousands unprovided with much accumulated funds. These have to preach against the pernicious doctrine that wages should slide up and down according to market prices which are subject to commercial speculations of the controllers of the market. Instead of this doctrine which the Bombay Mill-owners are trying to enforce on the mill operatives during the present days of depression (1925, July), the one of maintaining a standard of life in good as well as bad times has to be accepted. It is the duty of the employer to accumulate a reserve as a standby during days of depression instead of frittering it away as inflated dividends in times of prosperity. The standard rate of wages must be the first charge on the industry. The factory labourers are badly in need of a renaissance—something that will enable them to look upon the present life with cheerfulness dissipating their pessimism, languor and somnolence. The task of creating self-consciousness out of the depths of melancholy helplessness and effeminate submissiveness is the work that has to be done and even ten crores of the Trade Union funds would be nothing too much for this uphill work that they have to perform.

It must be admitted that the task of industrial renaissance has already been taken up in right earnest by the Provincial

Governments. The Madras Government has passed the State Aid to Industries Act and it has undertaken pioneering experiments in glue-making and soap-making.¹ The Bombay Government has taken a bold attitude in its relations to the labourers and the capitalists employed in the different industries. Its labour bureau is collecting facts and figures relating to wages, hours of labour, cost of living of the wage-earner. It tends to set up Industries Courts to settle industrial disputes as soon as they crop up. It has recognised the impossibility of setting up a standard of wages in any locality as recommended by the Bombay Industrial Disputes Committee.² But the realisation of the standardised wage would enable the labourer to buy the necessaries of life, maintain his life according to the social and moral ideals and habits of his class, procure the decency of home life and enable him to lead a healthy life amid hygienic and sanitary conditions. The standardised wage ought to be an elastic one expanding with the development of the labourer's life. While it should procure all this to the labourer it ought to be acceptable to the capitalist otherwise the growth of industries would be seriously handicapped. Now that labour in Bombay has become self-assertive and aspires to have improved conditions of work including wages, shorter hours of work, comfortable housing, improved sanitation, increased education, provision against old age, accidents and sickness the problem has become an acute one and the state in order to "hold the scales of justice even, amongst the different classes is forced to support the backward classes." State legislation and state interference to secure the labourer's rights has proceeded further in Bombay than in any other province of India. But even in Bombay we do not meet with Free Education, old age

¹ The Bombay Government is interesting itself in industrial experimentation in the field of pottery and tea-pots; the Bihar Government in technical training; the C. P. Government in generating electrical power; the Punjab Government seeks to improve the marketing organisation of its cottage industries.

² See the Report of the Bombay Industries Disputes Committee, April 1922. Bombay Labour Gazette.

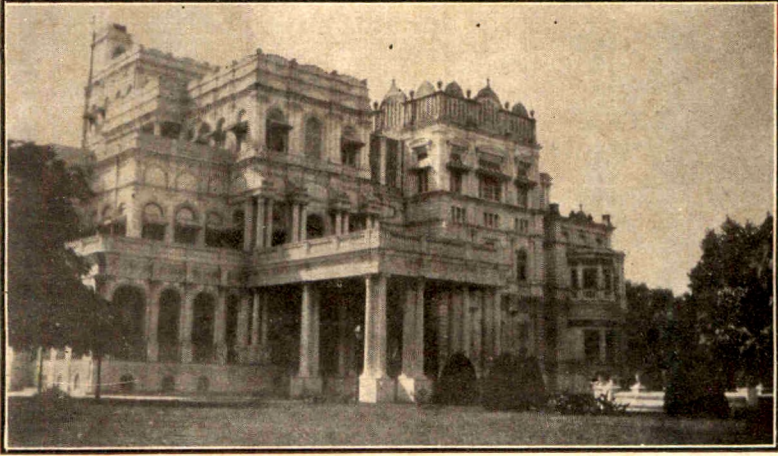
pensions, public subsidies towards insurance as contribution from the State which Western Governments do to maintain higher standards of comfort. The Western countries have considered the health, education, recreation, and provision amongst emergencies as their duty and even "transport, credit, art, music, and literature are far on the way to becoming communal supplies." While the Indian State has to do this duty towards labour on impartial lines¹ the Trade Unions themselves have to perform their duty in a sound manner. Our trade Unions have to educate the community as regards the desirability of a high standard of well-being as the main criterion. This must be the basis of their economic thought. It is by organisation and publicity² alone that the Trade Unions can hope to solve the problems of the Indian labourers.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

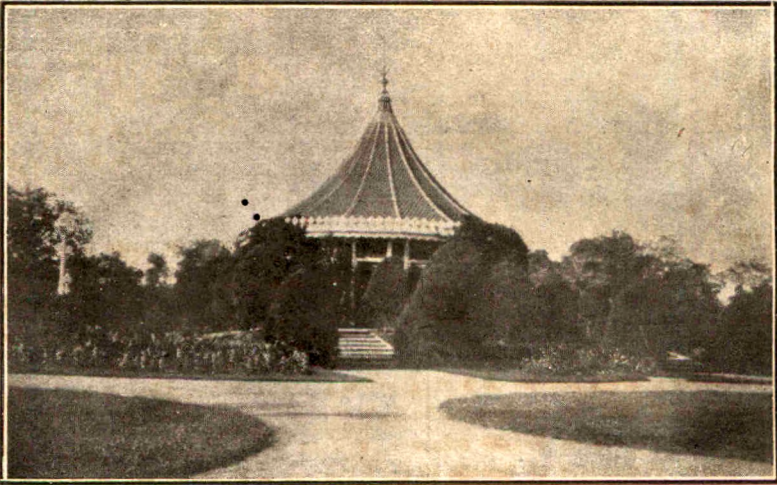
¹ It must be admitted that the Indian employers have peculiar privileges still left to them and the exercise of the privileges would be seriously questioned by the wage earners. For instance the employer has the right to fire the employees for trivial offences. The wages are paid in Bombay only in the second week of the succeeding month. Wages are deducted for absence of work and they are completely withheld in some cases if the employee leaves without any notice. Some of these powers are arbitrary and the State must come to the rescue of the labourer. The employment of children of 15 years as full-time workers without a medical certificate is still allowed. The employment of women as workers at the time of child-birth is still unregulated. The necessity of opening creches for children when a large number of women are working in factories has to be legislated upon.—See Miss J. H. Kelman, "Labour in India."

² The employers speak of benefit schemes, welfare work, and real wages granted to labourers. The exact measure of benefit to the labourers is however seriously disputed. If public opinion were to support the labourers, the public must be in possession of more details.

BARODA



The Rajkumar Palace

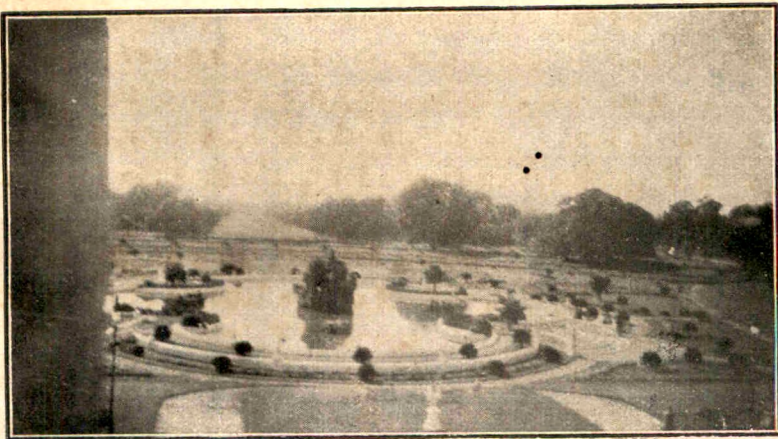


The Phulbagh





The Palace of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar



A View in the Gardens

ADMINISTRATIVE MACHINERY OF THE SCYTHIAN PERIOD

The expression "Scythian Period" has been used in this short note in a broad sense to denote the epoch of all the Post-Mauryan dynasties that ruled in India during the centuries immediately preceding and succeeding the Christian era. During the greater part of this period the most powerful potentate in India was the Scythian "King of Kings" who had his metropolis in the North-West, but whose commands were not unoften obeyed on the banks of the Ganges and the Godavari. The political history of the age has been partially elucidated by scholars like Fleet, Thomas, Rapson, Sylvain Lévi, Smith and others. But administrative history is a field yet to be explored. Unfortunately, we have, for this period, no work comparable to the *Indica* of Megasthenes or even the *Narrative of Travels* by Fa Hien, and the difficulty of the historian is not diminished by the fragmentary character of the only records that are available, namely, the inscriptions on stone and metal. The would-be explorer has, therefore, to grope in the dark, perceiving only faint streaks of light here and there. He must content himself with piecing together a few scraps of information, leaving the task of writing a comprehensive narrative to some lucky discoverer of the future.

The little that we know about the administration of the Scythian Epoch leaves no room for doubt that the institutions of the age were not haphazard improvisations of military upstarts, having no relations with the past, but a highly developed and organised system—the fruit of the labours of generations of political thinkers and statesmen ("Vaktri-Prayoktri").

The influence of *Arthachintakas* on Indo-Scythian Polity is evident. The ablest among the princes of the time assiduously studied the *Arthavidyā*¹; and the care taken to

¹ The Junagadh Inscription of Rudradāman (*Ind. Ant.*, 1878, p. 261).

train the occupant of the throne, the employment of officers endowed with *Amātyaguna*, the classification of *Sachivas*, abstention from oppressive imposition of *Pranaya*, *Vishti*, etc. and the solicitude for the welfare of the Pauras and Jānapadas clearly show that the teaching of the *Arthaśāstra* writers was not lost upon the Scythian conquerors of India. There was no great cleavage with the past, and the references to *Mahāmātras*,¹ *Rajjukas*,² and *Samcharamtaka*³ spies, indicate that the official machinery of the Maurya period had not ceased to function at least in Southern India.

But we must not suppose that the entire administrative structure of the period was a replica of the Maurya constitution. The foreign conquerors of North-Western India brought with them several institutions which had been prevalent for ages in the countries through which they passed. Thus the Persian system of government by Satraps was introduced in several provinces of Northern, Western, and Southern India, and officials with the Greek titles of Meridarch and *Strategos* ruled contemporaneously with functionaries having the Indian designations of *Amātya* and *Mahāsenāpati*.

The tide of Scythian invasion could not sweep away the tribal republics which continued to flourish as in the days of Buddha and Alexander. Inscriptions and coins testify to the existence of many such communities,⁴ and like the *Lichchhavis* and *Sākya*s of old, the most powerful among them were found very often ranged against their aggressive royal neighbours who were now mostly Scythian. Unfortunately, the contemporary records do not throw much light on their internal organisation, and it serves no useful purpose to ascribe to them institutions which really belong to their predecessors or successors.

¹ Lüders' Ins., No. 937, 1144. Note the employment of a Śramana as Mahāmātra by a Śātavāhana ruler. ² Ins. Nos, 416, 1195. ³ Ins. No. 1200.

⁴ e.g., the Malavas (Malayas), Yaudheyas, Arjunāyanas, Udumbaras, Kulūtas, Kunindas (see Camb. Hist. 528, 529), and Uttamabhadras.

Though the Scythians could not annihilate the republican clans, they did destroy many monarchies of Northern and Western India, and introduce a more exalted type of kingship. The exaltation of monarchy is apparent from two facts, namely, the assumption of high sounding semi-divine honorifics by reigning monarchs, and the apotheosis of deceased rulers. The deification of rulers, and the use of big titles are not unknown to ancient Indian literature, but it is worthy of note that a supreme ruler like Asoka, whose dominions embraced the greater part of India and Afghanistan, was content with the titles of "Rājā" and "Devānampiya." The great rulers of the Scythian age, on the other hand, were no longer satisfied with these modest epithets, but assumed more dignified titles like Chakravarti, Adhirāja, Rājātirāja and Devaputra (the son and not merely the beloved of the gods).

In Southern India we come across titles of a semi-religious character like Bhikshurāja, Kshemarāja, (Lüders' Ins. No. 1345), and Dharma-Mahārājādhirāja (Lüders' Ins. Nos. 1196, 1200), assumed by pious defenders of Indian faiths, probably to distinguish themselves from the unbelieving foreigners and barbarian outcasts of the North-West.¹

The assumption of big titles by kings and emperors was paralleled by the use of equally exalted epithets in reference to their chief consorts. Asoka's queens appear to have been styled merely Devī. The mother of Tivara, for instance, is called "Dutīyā Devī" and the implication is that the elder queen was Prathamā Devī. But in the Scythian epoch we come across the titles of Agra-Mahishī and Mahādevī which distinguished the chief queen from her rivals. Among such

¹ It is a characteristic of Indian history that Imperial titles of one period became feudatory titles in the next. Thus the title Rājā used by Asoka became a feudatory title in the Scythian and Gupta periods, when designations like Rājādhirāja and Mahārājādhirāja came into general use. But even Mahārājādhirāja became a feudatory designation, in the Age of the Pratihāras, when the loftier style of Paramabhāttāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara was assumed by sovereign rulers.

chief consorts may be mentioned Nadasi-Akasa, Nāganikā, and Balaśrī.

The apotheosis of deceased rulers is strikingly illustrated by the growing practice of erecting *Devakulas* or "Royal galleries of Portrait statues." The most famous of these structures was the Devakula of the *Pitāmaha* of Huvishka referred to in a Mathura inscription (J.R.A.S., 1924, p. 402). The existence of numerous Devakulas as well as ordinary temples probably earned for Mathura its secondary name of "The city of the gods."

The exaltation of royalty had the sanction of certain *Rājadharmā* writers who represented the king as a "Mahatī devatā" in human shape. But it was probably due, in the first instance, to the Scythians who acted as carriers of Persian, Chinese and Roman ideas of kingship. The title Rājātīrāja, as Rapson points out, is "distinctively Persian." "It has a long history from the Kshāyathiyānām Kshāyathiya of the inscriptions of Darius down to the Shāhān Shāh of the present day."¹ The epithet "Devaputra" is apparently of Chinese origin.² If Lüders is to be believed, one at least of the Indo-Scythian sovereigns (Kanishka of the Āra Inscription) assumed the Roman title of "Kaisar," and the dedication of temples in honour of emperors on the banks of the Tiber may have had something to do with the growing practice of erecting Devakulas on the banks of the Jumna.

A remarkable feature of the Scythian Age was the wide prevalence of the system of Dvāirājya in Northern and Western India, and Yauvarājya in Mid India and the Far South. Under both these forms of government the sovereign's brother, son, grandson, or nephew had an

¹ The expressions Kshatrasya Kshatra (Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad I. 4, 14), Adhirāja, Chakravartī, etc., are, no doubt, known to our ancient literature. But there is no proof of the use of the last two as formal styles of sovereigns till the Post-Mauryan Period, while the first is never so used.

² J. R. A. S., 1912, 682.

important share in the administration as co-ruler or subordinate colleague. In a *Dvairājya* the rulers appear to have been of equal status, but in a *Yauvarājya* the ruling prince was apparently a vice-gerent. As instances of *Dvairājya* may be mentioned the cases of Lysias and Antialkidas, Agathokleia and Strato I, Strato I and Strato II, Spalirises and Azes, Hagāna and Hagāmasha, Gondopharnes and Gudana, Gondopharnes and Abdagases, Chashtana and Rudradāman, Kanishka II and Huvishka, etc., etc. Among ruling *Yuvarājas* may be mentioned Kharaosta and the Pallava Yuva-Mahārājas Sivaskandavarman, Vijayaskandavarman, and Vishnugopa of Pālakkada.

The king, or viceroy resided in cities called *Adhishthāna*. The number of such *Adhishthānas* and various other kinds of cities (*Nagara*, *Nagarī*), was fairly numerous. But regarding their administration our information is very meagre. We hear only of a city official called *Nagarākshadarśa*¹ whose functions are nowhere distinctly stated.

Regarding general administration, and the government of provinces, districts and villages we have more detailed information. The designations of some of the highest officers of state did not differ from those in vogue during the Maurya period. *Mahāmātras*, and *Rajjukas* play an important part in the days of the *Sātavāhanas* and *Scythians* as in the time of *Asoka*. But side by side with these functionaries we hear of others who do not figure in inscriptions of the Maurya Epoch, although some of them appear in the *Arthasāstra*.

The officers most intimately associated with the sovereign were the privy councillors,—the *Matisachivas* of the *Junagadh* epigraph and the *Rahasyādhikrita* of the *Pallava* grants. Among other prominent court officials must be mentioned the *Rāja Vaidya*² and the *Rajalipikara*.³

¹ Lüders' Ins., No. 1351 (*Udayagiri Cave Inscription*).

² Ins. 1190-93.

³ Ins. 271. *Kant.* II, 10.

Not less important than the privy councillors were the high military officials—the Mahāsenāpati,¹ the Dandanāyaka and the Mahādandanāyaka² who probably correspond to the Senāpati and Nāyaka³ of Kautilya's Arthaśāstra. These important functionaries had probably under them subordinates like Senāgopas (Lüders, 1266), Gaulmikas⁴ (captains), Ārakshādhikritas⁵ (guards), Asvavārakas⁶ (troopers), Bhātanushyas,⁷ etc.

We have already referred to one class of civil officers (Amātyas or Sachivas), *viz.*, the Mati Sachivas. There was another class of Amātyas who served as executive officers (Karma Sachivas). From them were chosen governors (Lüders' Ins. 965), Treasurers (1141), Superintendents (1186) and Secretaries (1125) as in the days of Megasthenes.

Among treasury officials mention is made of the Gamjavaras,⁸ and the Bhāṇḍāgārika⁹ who was one of the principal ministers of state (Rājāmātya). But we have no epigraphic reference to the Sannidhātri or the Samāhartri till the days of the Somavamsi kings of Katak. The main heads of revenue received into the Bhāṇḍāgāra or Kośa were, as enumerated in the Junagadh Inscription, Bali, Sulka and Bhāga. These sufficed to fill the exchequer of a benevolent prince like Rudradāman with kanaka, rajata, vajra, vaidurya ratna, etc. Rulers less scrupulous than the Mahākshatrapa doubtless oppressed the people with arbitrary imposts (kara-vishti-praṇayakriyābhiḥ). Besides the Bhāṇḍāgāra whose existence is implied by Lüders' Ins. No. 1141, we have reference to the store-house, Kosthāgāra, (in Ins. No. 937), which is described in

¹ 1124, 1146.

² 1328, *cf.* Majumdar's List of Kharoshthi Ins. No. 36.

³ Kaut., Bk. X, Ch. I, 2, 5.

⁴ Lüders, Ins. 1200; Ep. Ind., XIV, 155; *cf.* Manu., VII, 190.

⁵ Lüders, 1200.

⁶ Lüders, 351, 728.

⁷ Lüders, 1200.

⁸ Lüders, 82. Note the employment of a Brahmana treasurer by a Scythian ruler.

⁹ Lüders, 1141.

Book II, Chapter 15 of Kautilya's Arthaśāstra. The inscriptions afford us glimpses of the way in which the revenue was spent. The attempts to provide for pānīya are specially noteworthy. The Junagadh Inscription tells us how "by the expenditure of a vast amount of money from his own treasury" a great Scythian ruler and his amātya restored the Sudarśana lake. References to the construction or repair of Pushkarinis, udapānas, hradas or taḍāgas are fairly common. Lüders' Ins. No. 1137 makes mention of makers of hydraulic engines (Audayantrika), while another epigraph¹ refers to a royal official called pānīyagharika or superintendent of water houses. Inscription No. 1186 after recording the gift of a taḍāga, a nāga and a vihāra refers to the Amātya Skandasvāti who was the Karmāntika (superintendent of the work), an official designation known to the Arthaśāstra (Bk. I, Ch. 12).

In the Department of Foreign Affairs we have the Dūta, but we do not as yet hear of dignitaries like the Sāmdhivigrahika and Kumārāmātya who figure so prominently in inscriptions of the Gupta and Post-gupta periods.

Inscriptions refer to officials like the Mahāsāmīyas who preserved records, and others whose exact functions and status are nowhere indicated. Amongst these may be mentioned the Abhyamtaropasthāyaka, māḍabika, tūthika and neyika.

The big empires of North-western India were split up into vast satrapies ruled by Mahākshatrapas and Kshatrapas. These satrapies as well as the kingdoms outside the limits of the Scythian Empire, were divided into districts called *Rāshtra*, *Āhāra*, *Janapada*, *Deśa* or *Vishaya*. We do not as yet hear of the organisation into *Bhuktis* so widely prevalent in Post-Scythian times. *Rāshtra*, *Āhāra* (or *Hāra*) and *Janapada* seem to have been synonymous terms, as is proved by the case of Satahani-ratṭha (*rāshṭra*) or Satavahani-hāra

¹ Lüders, 1279.

which is styled a *janapada* in the Myakadoni Inscription. The chief officer in a Rāshtra or Āhāra was the Rāshtrika (rathika) or Amātya. The Amātya Suviśākha, for instance, governed Surāshtra under the Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman. The Amātyas Vishnupālita, Śyāmaka and Śiva-skanda-datta successively governed the āhāra or district of Govardhana (Nasik) in the time of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and Pulumāvi, while the neighbouring āhāra of Māmāla (Poona District) was under an Amātya whose name ended in—gupta. In the Far South the chief officer of the Āhāra seems to have been called 'Vyāprita' (Lüders, 1327, 1328). The Janapadas, particularly those on vulnerable frontiers, were sometimes placed under the charge of military governors (strategos, Mahāsenāpati, etc.). The *Janapada* of Satavahani-hāra was, for instance, under the Mahāsenāpati Skandānāga (of the Myakadoni Inscription), and portions of the Indian borderland were governed by a line of Strategoi (Aspavarman, Sasas) under Azes and Gondopharnes.

Deśa, too, is often used as a synonym of Rāshtra or Janapada. It was under a Deśādhikrīta, an officer mentioned in the Hirahadagalli grant of Śivaskandavarman. The next smaller unit was apparently the Vishaya governed by the Vishayapati.¹ But sometimes even 'Vishaya' was used as a synonym of Deśa or Rāshtra, and there were cases in the Post-gupta period of the use of the term to designate a larger area than a rāshtra.²

The smallest administrative units were the villages called Grāma or Grāmāhāra, (Ins. No. 1195) and the little towns called nigama. The affairs of a grāma were controlled by officers styled Gāmeyika Āyutta (1327) who were apparently headed by the Grāmanī (1333), Grāmika (48,69^a), Grāma-bhojaka (1200) or (Grāma) Mahattaraka. Lüders' (Mathura) Inscription No. 48 gives the names of two such grāmikas,

¹ 929^a (Lüders).

² Fleet, CII, 32n.

Jayadeva and Jayanāga. In Southern India we have the curious title "muḷuḍa" applied to the head of a village (Ins. 1194). The chief men of the Nigamas were the Gahapatis the counterparts of the Grāmavridhdhas of villages. In Lüders' Inscription No. 1153 we have evidence of the corporate activity of a dhamma-nigama headed by the Gahapati. The Grāma and Nigama organisation was the most durable part of the Ancient Indian system of government, and centuries of Scythian rule could not wipe it out of existence. The village and the Nigama were also the nurseries of those ideas of associate life which found vent in the organisation of Goshṭhis (Lüders' Ins. 273, 1332, 1335, 1338), Nikāyas (1133), Parishads (125, 925), Saṅghas (5, 1137), etc., about which the Inscriptions of the period speak so much. Not the least interesting of these institutions was the "Goshṭhi" which afforded a field for co-operation between kings and villagers. Lüders' Ins. Nos. 1332 to 1338 speak of a "Goshṭhi" which was headed by the Rājan, and which counted among its officials the son of a village headman.

A less pleasing feature of ancient Indian polity in the Scythian as in other times was the employment of spies, particularly of the "*Samcharamtakas*," whose functions are described with gruesome details in the Arthasāstra. The evidence of foreign witnesses in Maurya and Gupta times seems, however, to suggest that political morality did not actually sink so low as a study of the Arthasāstra would lead us to think. Vātsyāyana probably voices the real feelings of his countrymen when he says :

न शास्त्रमस्तीत्ये तावत् प्रयोगे कारणं भवेत् ।
 शास्त्रार्थान् व्यापिनो विद्यात् प्रयोगांस्त्वेकदेशिकान् ॥
 रसवीर्ये विपाका हि श्वमांसस्यापि वैद्यके ।
 कीर्तिता इति तत् किं स्याद् भक्षनीयं विचक्षणैः ॥

THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY AND ITS CRITICS

The Teaching University of Calcutta, it seems, has fallen on evil days and evil tongues. Professor Jadu Nath Sarkar of Patna fame, the redoubtable champion of "efficiency, retrenchment and reform" in the University Education of Bengal, followed no doubt by several members of the *Kartabhaja and Maharaja Sects* (to use Prof. Sarkar's own choice expressions), is again on the war-path. The acceptance of the Majority Report of the Post-Graduate Re-organisation Committee by the Calcutta University Senate has disturbed the nightly slumber and the appetite for daily meal of our valiant *Reformer*. The Professor speaks with a feeling of intense mortification that "realities are not as yet asserting themselves in the counsels of the present Senate" of the University, and he is dying to inaugurate in the affairs of the Calcutta University "the reign of law in the place of personal caprice and the enforcement of general principles instead of regard for particular individuals." We should in all humility ask Prof. Sarkar, who waxes eloquent on "British peace, British administrative example and English education," one significant question. Whose fault is it that "realities are not asserting themselves in the counsels of the present Senate"? One of Prof. Sarkar's followers has suggested in a signed article written for the *A. B. Patrika* that the Senate is a packed body. But packed by whom? Under the Act of Incorporation, 1857, as amended by the Acts of 1876, 1904, 1911 and 1921, the Chancellor of the University is the "Governor of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal for the time being". Under Sec. 5 of the same Act the Vice-Chancellor is appointed by the Local Government of Bengal. Of the 100 Ordinary Fellows of the University 80 are nominated by the Chancellor and only 10 are elected by Registered Graduates. [*Vide* Sec. 6. (1) of the Indian Universities Act, 1904.] Under Sec. 7 of the Act of

Incorporation "the Local Government of Bengal may cancel the appointment of any person already appointed or hereinafter to be appointed a Fellow of the University and, as soon as such order is notified in the Gazette, the person so appointed shall cease to be a Fellow". So, if the Senate has been a packed and subservient body at all, then it has been made so by His Excellency the Chancellor and the Local Government of Bengal. Nor can it be said that His Excellency the Chancellor does not ordinarily exercise his discrimination in the matter of nomination of Fellows, for during the recent years we have witnessed the most edifying spectacle of two Fellows being not re-nominated and their vacant seats being occupied by persons whose presence in the Senate has not certainly lent any weight or dignity to the academic discussions of that body. We really fail to understand how Prof. Sarkar, himself such an admirer of "British administration," can be inclined to find fault with the present Senate of the University and be "disgusted with the perversity of the majority of its members".

Again, Prof. Sarkar solemnly warns "our government and our people" against making any grants to this un-reformed and un-repentant University, which has "issued a defiant challenge to the public and the legislature, refusing to make any reform and demanding more money than ever before." His arguments are two-fold: one, giving any financial assistance to the University will be only helping that institution and the student community of Bengal to enter "into a fool's paradise"; and secondly, with the advent of democracy and rise of the Indian masses to political consciousness, "the demand for free primary schools and rural dispensaries will become irresistible", and all this will naturally require large sums of public money. The illustrious author of *Indian Economics* has no doubt developed a great love for "the Bengali tax-payer and the Indian masses", but how can he in all seriousness and with consistency ask the Government of Bengal to refuse any financial assistance to an institution whose affairs are solely

managed by a Senate which consists mainly of Government nominees? The Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University is not a paid but an honorary official and he is a "fit and proper person" nominated by the Local Government of Bengal. Should it be proper for the Government now to reject the policy and measures thoroughly discussed and supported by such a Vice-Chancellor and such a Senate? For the Government to disapprove of the mature deliberations of the Senate in this respect would imply, to say the least, an unmerited slur on the fitness and academic judgment of the Vice-Chancellor and the Senators.

Prof. Sarkar has complained "against the waste of public money by the needless creation of new departments and new branches (optional groups) of subjects of instruction", and he has quoted figures to show that some at least of the departments of Post-Graduate studies do not attract a large number of students. This is, in the opinion of our *veteran educationist of Bihar*, an intolerable state of things and the "Bengali tax-payer" should not find money to run this show. A great deal of controversy and too much of ill-informed discussion have no doubt recently centred round this question. The new line of criticism which has found favour with Prof. Sarkar requires that the University need not undertake instruction in all the subjects now taught, especially in subjects which do not attract a large number of students. We must confess that such criticism is quite unintelligible to us. The importance of subjects undertaken for Post-Graduate study and research in this University has never been considered to be absolutely dependent upon the number of students that those studies may attract. Such a narrow and superficial view of the scope of activities of higher teaching cannot certainly commend itself to men of judgment and wide academic experience. And this idea which has been advocated by Prof. Sarkar, if allowed to prevail, would sweep away most of the subjects which are peculiarly suited for study and research in an

Indian University and would thus destroy the character of that institution as an oriental seat of learning. Prof. Sarkar says that the brief press report has misrepresented the speech of Mahamahopadhyay Haraprasad Sastri in the Senate in regard to the retention of Pali Studies in the University of Calcutta. But we know that Prof. Sarkar himself has given a most garbled version of the motion and the speech of M. M. Haraprasad Sastri, who moved an amendment expressly for the total abolition of Pali groups in the Post-Graduate Department. This is not an empty assertion but an open challenge which we are prepared to stand by to the very letter. We cannot in this connection overlook another criticism, that the University is providing instruction in too many subjects or subdivisions of subjects. We can only be astonished at the colossal ignorance of true University education and culture which criticisms such as these unmistakably betray. If we compare the scope of activities of some of the modern Universities in England with the sphere of work undertaken by this University, we shall find that the Calcutta University, even with its much-criticised and so-called numerous subjects of study, lags far behind the teaching activities of even the newly constituted Universities of Bristol, Birmingham, Leeds, Liverpool and Manchester (*vide* the University Year Book of the British Empire, 1924). The Calcutta University Commission, which Prof. Sarkar quotes so often, however, recognised the extremely limited character of the branches of study already existing in this University and expressed the opinion that further development was desirable in some of those subjects where the facilities for study and research, according to the members of the Commission, were inadequate. The Commission further recommended that as many as 27 new departments of studies, at present not represented in the University of Calcutta or its colleges, should be established, and that teaching in those branches ought to be undertaken if funds permit (*Vide* University Commission Report, Vol. V. P. 286). Again, the University Commission further suggested the

creation of chairs for subjects like Indian Philosophy and Religion, Vedic Language, Literature and Culture, Pali Language, Literature and Culture, and Indian Anthropology. The list is plainly not exhaustive and further recommendations on similar lines were made by the Commission for other branches of study as well. All over India there exist vast masses of unexplored historical material in many languages. We need only refer to the contents of the Government archive-rooms, the admirably kept archives of His Exalted Highness the Nizam at Hyderabad, and the large Maratha collections at Poona. The history of India cannot be fully explored until these collections are made available. They are not made effectively available merely by throwing open the archive-rooms to scholars. What is necessary is that all the most valuable materials should be printed and translated into English. This work can only be carried out by the Universities, and the Calcutta University Commission suggested the production of a great series of *Monumenta Historica Indica* like the *Rolls Series* and the *Record Office* publications in England. India needs nothing more than a wide diffusion of that sanely critical spirit in dealing with men and institutions which historical investigation should create. This is one of the greatest functions of a University: that of *Stimulating and Promoting Research*. Every University must see that its teachers and graduates have access to the means of independent investigation, if for no other reason, for the maintenance of its own intellectual vitality. The truth is that we require more education and better education and we have no doubt that the demand for the highest type of education will increase as the requisite facilities become more and more available. Finally, in disposing of the present topic under discussion we should take into account the considered verdict of the Calcutta University Commission in support of the existing Post-Graduate system. The Commissioners refer in eloquent terms to "the remarkable expansion of Post-Graduate Teaching

and to new standards of method in University Teaching under the direct auspices of the University", and they think that the system is calculated to "inspire solid hopes for the future", (*Vide Report, Vol. I, p. 76.*)

Prof. Sarkar has referred to "public cry for retrenchment and reform" and he has quoted figures from the "daily papers", illustrating "the Calcutta University's wasteful methods in the Post-Graduate Department". We saw before the 1st of July *only one daily paper*, containing apparently an inspired article to discredit the University by quoting wrong and misleading figures. We do not know if Prof. Sarkar is suffering from the mental aberration of confusing the singular with the plural. But this much is clear that men, sincerely anxious to promote the welfare of the University, cannot be assisted by uninformed and prejudiced criticism abounding in sweeping generalisations of a condemnatory character. To quote only one instance. It is not true that a teacher here delivers only 5 lectures a week against 18 at Dacca. Both the assertions are equally incorrect. In History, for example, the number of average lecture hours per week is not less than 9 or 10 in this University, whereas the number of lecture hours at Dacca would be much less. We have been authorised by Dr. Rameschandra Majumdar, the head of the Department of History at Dacca, to challenge Prof. Sarkar's figures so far as Dacca is concerned. Besides, the fundamental basis of Prof. Sarkar's conception of the true function of a University Lecturer seems to us to be entirely wrong. He complains bitterly against a "huge army of young lecturers without enough teaching work for them". We fail to distinguish which is the greater crime—to be young or not to have enough teaching work. It seems that in the opinion of Prof. Sarkar both are equally grave offences. We have already shown that his second charge at least, that is, want of sufficient teaching work for University Lecturers, cannot be substantiated. Prof. Sarkar no doubt thinks that a University Lecturer essentially

exists for merely delivering *lectures* like a machine, irrespective of the difficulty and importance of the subjects of his lectures, or the value of the lectures themselves. It appears that he would base the numerical strength of the teaching staff for each department of Post-Graduate studies on the assumption that every University Lecturer must deliver at least 18 lectures per week (these are the figures that Prof. Sarkar has quoted on behalf of Dacca, though they are all wrong); he would then have an approximate idea of the number of lectures necessary for a particular department and then calculate on this mechanical basis the numerical strength of teachers that should be provided for the different branches of study. By the way, we learn from the Inspection Report of the Patna College during the session 1909-10, which finds a place in the Minutes of the Calcutta University for the year 1910, that even Prof. Sarkar had not to deliver more than 11 lectures per week although he always parades that he used to deliver 18 lectures per week besides doing research work. It should also be carefully borne in mind in this connection that the bulk of Prof. Sarkar's work was under-graduate teaching, which is, as everybody knows, substantially different from Post-Graduate instruction.

The entire case of Prof. Sarkar is thus based on a narrow and erroneous conception of the scope and function of higher teaching in a modern and progressive University, and it postulates a state of things which can, or rather, which should never exist in any University of the world. In short, the spirit in which Prof. Sarkar has approached the question of University re-organisation and reform betrays, to say the least, a lamentable lack of appreciation of the manifold activities in the progressive Universities of Europe and America. He miserably fails to realise that in University education *the most important thing is not the number of lectures that a teacher can deliver per week, but the capacity and fitness of a teacher to undertake the teaching in a particular branch of a highly specialised subject.* The

cause of higher education in a country is not certainly promoted by such baleful spirit of commerce as seeks to judge education by the maxims of the counter. In his anxiety to reduce the "costly superfluous teaching staff," and to prevent its "spectacular expansion and rank luxuriance," our veteran educationist entirely overlooks or ignores the subjects of study and their sub-divisions under a Board of Higher Studies in the Post-Graduate Department. Here the real difficulty of the Board does not arise from the number of hours of lecture work to be assigned to a particular teacher but the problem is something different. A lecturer who has done some amount of research work in a particular subject or subjects and who has been teaching such subject or subjects for several years, can very easily take upon himself additional hours of lecture work, because that does not involve on the part of such a lecturer any extra preparation at home. But if he is called upon to undertake the teaching of a subject with which he has little or no acquaintance, then he cannot certainly do the same amount of justice to his new undertaking, although he may undergo considerable additional labour at home. What we most emphatically maintain without any fear of contradiction is that the standard of 18 hours' lecture work per week, to which Prof. Sarkar lends his support, is a most erroneous and misleading standard. For the real worth of a University Lecturer does not consist in his muscular or vocal capacity for putting forth so many hours of lecture per week, but in his ability and fitness for producing some amount of original work in a particular branch of highly specialised studies and imparting instruction to Post-Graduate students in that subject. In higher teaching it is not so much the *quantity* of lectures delivered by an indifferent and ill-prepared teacher that counts as the *quality*, substance and value of the lectures of a competent and able lecturer who has been able to make himself a master of the subject or subjects which he intends to teach. For good or evil, in these days of specialisation, it is impossible

for one or two teachers, however learned and experienced, to traverse the whole field of their subject. The existing Post-Graduate organisation is therefore based on a system by which a student would be brought into contact with a number of teachers, each with his own point of view and his own special subject, and a teacher would not be expected to diffuse his energy but would confine his attention to making himself master of some portion of his work. Proposal for curtailment of the ranks of teachers without the abolition of some of the important existing teaching activities in the University can only proceed from the *dilettanti* without judgment and adequate academic experience.

The report of the Committee appointed by the Government of India in 1916 to consider the arrangements for Post-Graduate teaching in the University of Calcutta, expressly recognised "the necessity of providing a variety of treatment in the instruction offered to graduates, and of affording opportunities of specialisation on the part of the teachers". "Students engaged in the higher courses," they thought, "should draw inspiration and knowledge from a number of teachers and thus learn to study their subject from many points of view". If this proposition laid down by the Post-Graduate Committee in 1916 be accepted as a sound educational principle so far as higher teaching is concerned, then we have yet to learn how far the opinion of Prof. Sarkar is tenable from an academic point of view. Again, it is essential to have some clear ideas of what is meant by the term Post-Graduate instruction and what are its objects. This is particularly essential as there has been some misunderstanding in the matter. It must be admitted, we hope, by critics, candid and impartial, that the M.A. and M.Sc. courses should not take the form merely of a more thorough undergraduate course conducted on very similar lines and methods. In his enthusiasm for "retrenchment" Prof. Sarkar has not made the slightest reference to the question of tutorial instruction. At present in the University classes, even with the existing "costly superfluous teaching staff," it

has not been possible for us to render any adequate and satisfactory tutorial assistance to the students. But if the recommendations of Prof. Sarkar are to be given effect to, then the giving of any tutorial guidance to the students will become impossible. There can be no doubt that all students gain inestimably from an intimate association with a teacher of ripe experience and scholarly habits, a teacher who will not only assist him in solving difficulties but also inculcate in him the proper habits of study and thought. We can very well express our meaning in the words of the London University Commission's Report—"It is the personal influence of the man doing original work in his subject which inspires belief in it, awakens enthusiasm, gains disciples..... 'Any one,' says Helmholtz, 'who has once come into contact with one or more men of the first rank must have had his whole mental standard altered for the rest of his life.' Lectures have not lost their use, and books can never fully take the place of the living spoken word. Still less can they take the place of the most intimate teaching in laboratory and seminar, which ought not to be beyond the range of the ordinary course of a University education.....". Every possible effort, therefore, should be made to provide arrangements by which all students will receive, at least, some individual attention. This is also a mandatory requirement enjoined by Sec. 35 of Chapter XI of the Regulations. The supreme importance and value of a well-thought-out scheme of tutorial guidance in M.A. and M.Sc. teaching was recognised as early as 1913 by the Presidency College staff, headed by Principal James, in their memorandum on Post-Graduate organisation. This note has been printed *in extenso* as Appendix IV to the Post-Graduate Re-organisation Committee's Report. Economy and efficiency cannot be measured by a mathematical standard; but, subject to the obvious reservation, namely, that an educational institution maintained for the Advancement of Learning cannot be run on commercial lines, the Post-graduate system of this University

has been carried out with such economy as is consistent with efficiency. We have to realise that higher teaching and research need money, favourable surroundings and an intimate association among scholars, and these factors should not be neglected in any discussion of this nature.

Prof. Sarkar has spoken out bluntly that "the graduates of the Calcutta University are showing very poor results in the I. C. S., I. P. S., and Finance Examinations.....where they are not examined by their own post-graduate lecturers but by an independent board." In the first place the Calcutta University is not a workshop for manufacturing I. C. S., or I.P.S. people and no University worthy of its name should care to regulate its syllabuses or courses of study to prepare candidates for the Service Examinations. The distinguished member of the Indian Educational Service infected, no doubt, with the usual bureaucratic mentality, considers that success in the Indian Civil Service Examination is the highest ideal as also the measure of University education in India. But it is only recently that Sir Geoffrey Butler, who represents the University of Cambridge in the House of Commons, has described the British Universities after the use to which they have been put by Indian ex-Governors, as so many Keddhas where

"a stout old tusker in the shape of the Secretary of State, and gentle female elephants in the shape of certain ex-Governors and other officials, charged with prodding or alluring the young elephants to a corner where Sir Stanley Leaths, waving a torch and beating a tom-tom, has instructed the Civil Service Commission to lasso the bemused creatures."

In India, on the other hand, we think that Universities cannot prove their usefulness better than in the success of their students in the Service Examinations! Secondly, and this is now the more important part of the matter, Prof. Sarkar's insinuation is entirely baseless and mischievous. The I. C. S. Examination has been instituted in India since 1922. During the last 4 years there have been altogether 28 appointments from India as the result of open competitive

examinations, and of these 28 appointments Bengal has secured as many as 8. Is this "very poor result" for Bengal? This year also two Bengalee students have been successful in the I.P.S. Examination. We have no desire certainly to flatter ourselves on these results, but Prof. Sarkar's suppression of facts must not be allowed to pass unchallenged. It may not be irrelevant to point out here that even now the governing bodies of colleges and Universities all over Northern India prefer to recruit the graduates of this much-maligned University to their teaching staff in spite of a persistent campaign of calumny conducted by certain ponderous Professors with a perseverance worthy of a better cause. When the Professor, who is so much disgusted with the "sneaks, sluggards and sycophants of the Calcutta University and their methods", wants serious and competent students as his research assistants, he invariably turns to youngmen of this University subjected, according to him, to a method of "intellectual and moral poisoning", and cruelly ignores the claims of those generations of sound scholars whom the talented Historian of Aurangzeb has so laboriously and conscientiously trained for the last quarter of a century.

Prof. Sarkar, perhaps carried away by his zeal to advocate the "reform" of this University, has expressed his sentiments in language so choice that we cannot but include some specimens in this reply, though the assertions are indefinite and unsupported by any evidence :

"If the governing body of the University once makes up its mind to discourage *sneaks and sycophants*, it can get rid of *sham scholars* in a day."

"The reckless creation of new posts in a *spirit of megalomania*".

"Helping the University and the student community to enter into a *fool's paradise*".

"But the Calcutta Senate majority have not evidently succeeded in overwhelming the boards of examiners for all-India competitions like the I. C. S., I. P. S. and Finance service; there the examiners are not internal teachers and their notes have no charm".

"The bad system of teaching and the ridiculous methods and

standards of examination that now obtain at Calcutta have poisoned the very springhead of Bengali's intellectual and moral life".

This is academic Billingsgate of an unsurpassed quality and we do not propose to open out these veins of pure gold to further public scrutiny. The educated opinion of Bengal, or for the matter of that, all India will not, we are sure, need any further enlightenment in a case where the lights are so glaring and so flashy.

Finally, the Professor-educationist of Bihar, earning a very niggardly salary of over a thousand as a college teacher (a salary, every pice of which, by the way, comes out of the people's taxes), has made a fervent and eloquent appeal to the Bengal Legislature and the Bengalee nation to check the mad pursuits and "poisonous" methods of the Calcutta University which has, as the Professor tells us, "issued a defiant challenge to the public opinion of Bengal". Prof. Sarkar has also made a frantic effort to impress upon the "Bengali tax-payer" the huge extravagance of the Post-Graduate Department. In the opinion of Prof. Sarkar, so solicitous for retrenchment in University finance and so wonderfully neutral in the matter of administrative extravagances elsewhere, a demand for three lacs is, no doubt, a huge and unnecessary demand. But will it take the Bengalee people long to realise that the sum demanded by the University of Calcutta constitutes but a very small fraction of the entire revenue of Bengal which comes up to 11 crores annually? We leave it to cultured Bengal to judge if higher education in this province should be starved out of existence by the policy recommended by Prof. Jadu Nath Sarkar, who has of late developed into an expert in academic jugglery and political free-lancing.¹

TRIPURARI CHAKRAVARTI

¹ Since this went to the press, the *elected* representatives of the "Bengali tax-payer," in Council assembled, have without a single dissentient voice and in unmistakable terms, lent their support to the demand of the Senate for an annual recurring grant of three lacs. What does Professor Sarkar say now?—But we forget the Patna Censor was not represented at Town Hall.

THE APOLOGY OF "AJAX"

Babu Ramananda Chatterji is angry with me. I am not surprised. Nothing hurts so much as inconvenient and unpalatable truth; even a melancholy puritan brooding over the evils of the Calcutta University cannot be indifferent to it. "What is mere sport for immortal gods is sin for an ordinary mortal", says a Bengali proverb. Babu Ramananda protests with becoming severity that he is not a superman, but evidently he claims the privileges of immortal gods, for he will have one law for himself and another law for others. He will not accept responsibility for the editorial notes published in the editorial columns signed by T. D. and A. C., but he holds Dr. Henry Stephen responsible for an article contributed by me, though Dr. Stephen deliberately excluded it from the editorial pages simply because I had the audacity, or the indiscretion, to use the first person plural in the heading, and in the body of the article. Mr. A. C. (Ashoke Chatterjee) has also committed the same indiscretion, but what is sin for me is evidently mere sport for Mr. Chatterjee. The Editor of the *Modern Review* cannot afford to have the same law for himself and his opponents. If a contradiction is sent to his magazine, he exercises his right of reply, and then abruptly closes the controversy, but when convenience demands he can give two replies in the *Manashi* and publish a third in his own columns.

"It is a common trick of controversialists to put into the mouth of their antagonist things which he has not said and then controvert these quite easily." Where in my writing did Babu Ramananda find trace of such trick? I challenge him to point out a single passage in which I have fathered on him opinions even of his most trusted paladin. I never wrote of the inconsistencies of Babu Ramananda but of the *Modern Review*. I cannot claim the wide and long journalistic experience of the Editor

of *Dasi*, *Pradip*, *Prabasi*, *Modern Review* and *Welfare*, but even "tiros in journalism" know that every respectable and responsible journal has a well defined editorial policy, and though fairness demands that views in conflict with that policy should not be shut out, the editorial columns are reserved for the expression of the particular view or views advocated by the journal itself. My article was originally intended for the editorial columns of the *Calcutta Review*, but as the Board of Editors had no time to examine it, it was published as a contributed article. Lack of time did not permit any change in the heading or language of the article. Babu Ramananda boastfully declares: "As our contributors have not been dragooned into saying exactly what the editor desires there is naturally some diversity in their opinions" and further he pretends to believe that "even those who flatly contradict us may be wholly or at least partly right." Babu Ramananda seems to have undergone a complete transformation for there was a time when those contradictions to which he had no reply to give were unceremoniously sent back, if legal convenience permitted it. One such contradiction was sent back to Dr. Surendranath Sen through Mr. Charu Bandopadhyaya. A spirited criticism of the *Modern Review's* attitude towards the Calcutta University from the pen of such an impartial educationist as Dr. Naresh-chandra Sengupta was published after considerable mutilation. But convenience now demands that he should explain away the lack of editorial policy from which the *Modern Review* suffers.

Babu Ramananda's contempt for masked men is amusing indeed. He has long enjoyed the company and confidence of Viueve, Inside View, A. B. C., Apollonius Bengalensis and Kalapahar. He has helped these men with their masks and once he forced one upon an unfortunate victim. After a masked man had made an attack on M. K. G. son of J. C. G., the latter sent a signed contradiction for publication in the *Modern Review*. Mr. J. C. G. says that he gave his full name and address, but the pious and honest Editor of the

Review forced a transparent mask upon him without consulting his wish or convenience. Masks do not necessarily hide sinister motives. If the highwayman wears a mask, a harmless Pierrot or a Columbine also finds it useful. My readers must have perceived that I am nothing but an innocent Pierrot out for a little fun and amusement which the frailty of some grey-headed and grey-bearded persons sometimes affords.

To persist in errors is a privilege of old age, but to clear the atmosphere of suspicion and gloom is equally the duty of youth. Babu Ramananda triumphantly demands—"May we also enquire why a few years ago a certain Englishman was appointed a professor of an oriental language and used to draw Rs. 500 a month without doing any lecturing or other work?" The Englishman in question was Col. Ranking who had translated a well-known and important Persian work into English, and served as a Lecturer in Persian at Oxford before he was employed by the Calcutta University on a salary of Rs. 500. It is an absolute lie to say that he did no lecture work. His lecture hours were not shown in the time-table because he did not stay in India during the summer months. "It is true that these questions were asked more than once in previous issues of the *Modern Review* without eliciting any reply." The reason however is very simple. Babu Ramananda often refused to publish the contradictions sent to his journal, and there is no wonder that the defenders of the University did not care to waste their time in writing a contradiction which they feared would not be published. Moreover, they have their professional duties to perform. University scandal serve to fill up the gaps in his editorial pages which Babu Ramananda may otherwise find difficult to fill up, but Ajax finds it to his cost that a contradiction deprives him of his hard earned leisure.

As for the University Minutes, the analogies given by Babu Ramananda are not on all fours with the matter under discussion as he himself admits. Yet he gives them. The reason may be two-fold; either he knows that his case is

hopelessly bad, or he wants to deprive his readers of two columns of good reading matter. I still repeat that Minutes are available in the market and had he been seriously desirous of getting them he could have secured them after the Senate Meeting by sending a reporter. But it was only a handle against the University, and not its Minutes that he sought. Babu Ramananda knows that the *Statesman* by its superior journalistic enterprise secured a copy of the Report before it was released by the Senate. Had the University favoured a friendly journal, common sense points out that it would not wait for publication of the Report in the *Statesman*. But it is futile to expect common sense in an uncommon man. Babu Ramananda was once a school master, and like his famous prototype though vanquished he will argue still. He forgets that the onus of proving a charge falls on the party bringing it. Can he place before the public an iota of evidence that any editor got this report from any body connected with the University before it was made public property? He says that no paper acknowledged its indebtedness to the *Statesman*. They were simply following the example of the *Prabasi*. An article on the tame gorilla, John Dalton, was translated from the *Literary Digest* by a sub-editor of the *Prabasi*, and published in its columns without any acknowledgment. Such journalistic enterprise is not unknown to Calcutta. Babu Ramananda glibly talks of bringing to light official secrets forgetting that while the University is absolutely defenceless in such matters the State can adequately protect itself by suitable legislation.

Babu Ramananda gives an additional reason for an increase in the sale of University publications. I have no quarrel with him. The book-sellers have a well-organised Association and they are all of them shrewd men of business. If they find their transactions with the University unprofitable they would not wait for Babu Ramananda's advice. What probably hurts him most is that the University, which has so long been on the brink of bankruptcy, has not broken down as yet.

Babu Ramananda protests that he "never said that the *Calcutta Review* has not published any good article of academic value." I am quoting below what he did say and let my readers judge whether I have done him any injustice. "A University is undoubtedly justified in spending something for an organ which publishes original papers of academic value and serves in addition the purpose of a bulletin. But there cannot be any justification for a University to throw away money on a magazine which makes the publication of serial stories and other kinds of light literature and commonplace popular illustrations some of its main features." My knowledge of English is limited and may be defective, but I thought that there was in the above lines a clear implication which the venerable editor now denies. But he works in a wonderful place, away from his office and library where he can easily place his hand on the back numbers of the *Calcutta Review*, but where the back numbers of the *Prabasi* are not available. He triumphantly quotes from an announcement "that short stories, poems, portraits and cartoons besides articles of general interest, and fine Indian paintings will be a special attraction." As a matter of fact only two cartoons and only one serial story were published in this *Review*. I may tell my readers here why the University found it necessary to have an organ of its own. A few years ago Babu Ramananda and some of his friends organised a campaign of lies and falsehood against the University. The University found it difficult to place its own case before the public, and it was decided to publish University News and Notes. This decision, if I remember correctly, for I am also writing away from any Library, met the approval of the Senate and even got the blessings of Babu Ramananda. But it was pointed out that mere Notes and News will have no customer, and the *Calcutta Review* was acquired to ventilate the views of the University and its defenders. Since then there has been a remarkable change in the public opinion. The University has a Journal

for learned papers not likely to appeal to the general readers.

Old age is proverbially oblivious and Babu Ramananda's memory is conveniently short. The *Calcutta Review* (Nov. and December, 1923) complained about the desertion of three teachers—one of these was M. K. G. If Babu Ramananda turns over the pages of the corresponding number of the *Prabasi* he will find the comment I have referred to. M. K. G. was not mentioned there by name, but so far as I remember a general comment was made and, as a clear reference was made to the remarks of the *Calcutta Review*, I am entitled to make the inference I have made. It is really amusing that Babu Ramananda claims credit for making known the achievements of the abler teachers of the University. Every shrewd Editor has to advertise the achievements of his reviewers and contributors particularly when they are not paid.

Finally, Babu Ramananda beats his splendid record by alleging that I admitted that the "University is controlled by vested interests and cliques." All that I did was to express my agreement with a general principle that cliques should have no control over the University and I still adhere to it. Every democracy is ruled by a small executive with the support of the elected representatives of the people. If there is absolute unanimity in the Syndicate, the executive committee of the University, its critics attribute slave mentality to its members, if there is a difference of opinion, the majority is condemned as a clique! But an old man and a puritan is so fond of his own views, and so convinced of his own infallibility, that I cannot expect to convert him. A thief may repent on the cross but not a pedantic puritan.

Babu Ramananda "regrets very much that these trivialities have occupied so much of his space." But I feel convinced that his contempt for a masked man is only assumed when these "trivialities" are given the place of honour in the editorial columns. I have brought some serious charges

against Babu Ramananda and I believe that he has been guilty of wilfully defaming the fair name of the University and widely disseminating falsehoods. If I have done him any injustice I am prepared to render him full satisfaction. I shall tear off my mask, though it is one of harmless silk, as soon as he seeks legal redress. His solicitors will get my name and address if they apply to the Secretary, Calcutta Review. I again repeat he has made unfair attacks upon his *alma mater*, he has suppressed truths from what intentions he alone knows, and has done all that he could to prejudice the cause of higher education in Bengal.

"AJAX."

NOTES OF AN ACADEMIC "ORPHAN OF THE STORM"

Little did the Orphan dream that the "tempest over the teapot" which blew in May last will continue to rage for all times to come. My one consolation is

"Blow, blow, thou winter wind
Thou art not so unkind
As man's ingratitude."

The statutory Appointments Board has, on the suggestion of Mr. Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Education Department, been graciously pleased to extend the period of the flickering life of the Post-Graduate teachers for a further term of three months to end on the 31st of December, 1925. How magnanimous of the Statutory Commission! And Mr. Secretary to the Government of Bengal can merely say "noblesse oblige." The lecturers in the Post-Graduate department, who were characterised by two members of the I.E.S. on a previous occasion as forming themselves into a super-caste, will have the privilege of trembling in their shoes for a further period of three months listening to the "pax vobiscum" of the Senate in deep meditation and with religious attention. Their position is like that of the famous hero in Mother Hubbard's tale :

"To speed to-day, to be put back tomorrow :
To feed on hope, to pine with sorrow.
To fret thy soule with crosses and with cares ;
To eate thy heart through comfortlesse despair ;
To fawne, to crowche, to waite, to ride, to ronne
To spend, to give, to want, to be undonne."

The famous debate in the Senate which regaled the wistful longing of the professoriate—the cause of deep financial anxiety to a section of the public—and afforded such a mighty opportunity to all our orators, budding or accomplished, for singing soprano, left me benumbed and I ventured to express the hope that

"Our revels were ended—These our actors
were all spirits, and
 Were melted into air, into thin air
 And like the baseless fabric of this vision——"

but all my calculations were upset by a famous conference of some of our self-constituted, educational experts, and self-elected custodians of the public purse, on the heights of Darjeeling "even where merchants for official patronage most congregate." Oh, they were

"three merry boys, and three merry boys
 And three merry boys are we.
 As ever did sing a hempen string
 Under the gallows—hie"

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What was decided at the Conference of scholars and administrators whither went one of our "dusky" Senators, an aspirant for the throne, we do not know. But we know this that strenuous efforts were made to manufacture public opinion. First came "kindly light amid the encircling gloom." The cry was raised to the tingling stars that the Calcutta University had systematically ignored Mahomedan interests: the composition of the Senate, the governing body of the University, was such that the Moslems who form more than half the population of Bengal, had not representation more than a sixth; the amount spent over the propagation of Hindu religion and Hindu culture was wholly disproportionate to the amount spent on

Moslem culture and on Moslem interests. As if communal representation and communal interests were the life-blood of a University, and it was an institution intended for the promulgation or the propagation of religious faiths. A third criticism levelled against the Calcutta University was that it had a fee income of its own and Dacca had practically none. Therefore, woe betide to those who wanted to interfere with the self-imposed duties of our self-elected custodians of public funds. All these criticisms came rushing along in the hospitable columns of friendly journals seriously relying upon the principle of judicial distribution. Then followed signed letters by prominent Mahomedans—some of them constitutionalists of a progressive school surveying mankind from Tundla to Faridpur, sad historians of the pensive fate of the Post-Graduate department of the Calcutta University. And yet who says the fame of the department has not travelled far and wide!

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Then came the renowned Professor of Magadha

“Chaste as the icicle,
That’s curded by the frost from purest snow,
And hangs on Diana’s temple.”

His one great delight is matricide—crucifixion of his *alma mater*, in his hours of idleness. In spite of his international reputation and European appreciation, for his creations of fancy and fact, the learned Professor has to rely on the “guinea’s stamp” of the Calcutta University. The great man, who “had been eight years upon a project for extracting sunbeams out of cucumbers, which were to be put in phials hermetically sealed and let out to warm the air in raw and inclement summers,”

said nothing new, and most of his statements could only be understood by those who are engaged in the ‘soul-chanting task of extending the frontiers of the unknown.’ But after all,

"Errors like straws upon the surface flow
He who would search for pearls must dive below."

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The Professor talked glibly of a clique governing the University. In his religious zeal for attack, the Professor forgot that the composition of the Senate is determined not by the "rings" nor by the 'boss' any more, but by 'divine dispensation.' The veteran educationist forcibly pointed out the great distinction between the rule of law and the principles of equity. And the Professor is perfectly right. Did not John Selden say:

'Equity is a roguish thing: for law we have a measure, know what to trust to; equity is according to the conscience of him that is the Chancellor, and as that is larger or narrower, so is equity. 'Tis all one as if they should make the standard for the measure we call a foot a Chancellor's foot, what an uncertain measure would this be? One Chancellor has a long foot, another a short foot, a third an indifferent foot. 'Tis the same in the Chancellor's conscience'?"

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Apart from the choice language which the great scholar revels in, he was not slow to boom up the I.C.S. bogey. No student of the Calcutta University passed the Competitive Service Examinations in recent times. Therefore, the inevitable and the logical conclusion is that the Post-Graduate teachers are intellectually dishonest, morally bankrupt, spiritually deficient, and educationally inefficient. Therefore, the Post-Graduate department should be crippled, or starved out of existence.

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The statement which the famous historian of Aurangzeb makes is an instance of an assemblage of terminological inexactitudes. For the Professor knows very well (and his knowledge must be up-to-date) that out of 28 candidates

securing appointments in the I.C.S., 8 hail from Bengal. The percentage is fairly respectable. The reasons suggested by him are at best disingenuous. The art of dictating notes and setting questions therefrom, cannot be unknown to the learned Professor himself. The system is coeval with the existence of competitive examinations in the world and with human imperfections. The institution of coaches at Oxford and Cambridge, London and Edinburgh, over which solicitous parents, both in India and elsewhere, spend such large sums, is not exactly an indigenous institution discovered in the process of archæological excavations of such world-wide celebrity as the operations at Mahenjo Daro.

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The Professor deviated into truth only when he criticised the large number of passes in the upper classes at the Matriculation and the Intermediate Examinations. The ungrateful people of Pataliputra have not profited by the "wise saws and maxims" of the learned Professor. After all, a hero is never recognised by his *valet d'chambre*. And we are looking forward to the day when the great educationist at Patna, freed from the shackles of his high-office, will adorn the presidential chair of the coming Secondary Board of Education in Bengal, which has already cast its shadow before. In the meantime, may I remind the famous *littérateur*, "No man is the wiser for learning: wit and wisdom are born with a man." So also does gentlemanliness. Does it not?

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I have no desire whatever to comment on the observations of the learned Editor of the *Modern Review* to-day

"Whom well inspired oracle pronounced
Wisest of men!"

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But what shall I say of the great epigraphist and scholar, Mr. R. D. Banerjee ?

"A man so various, that he seemed to be
Not one, but all mankind's epitome ;
Stiff in opinions, always in the wrong
Was everything by starts, and nothing long.
But in the course of one revolving moon,
Was chymist, fiddler, statesman and buffoon."

My great wonder is that amidst his numerous preoccupations and engagements my friend finds a little time to flood the columns of our journals in this land with his sage observations.

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"It appears to me after prolonged consideration," says my friend, in one of his numerous contributions to the literature on the Post-Graduate department, "that the retention of this huge staff in its entirety is really unnecessary." Mr. Banerjee has, after mature deliberation and anxious consideration, come to the deliberate conclusion that the department of History,—Ancient, Mediaeval and Modern,—could be run by six efficient and whole-time men. My friend's calculations must be perfectly right although we are told, on reliable authority, that he pleaded his ignorance of arithmetical calculations in another connection in a different part of the country. One of his proposed lecturers will undertake to deliver lectures to the Post-Graduate students in (i) English History, (ii) Constitutional History of England, (iii) International Law, (iv) Comparative Politics, and (v) European History. I have yet to discover a man who possesses first-hand expert knowledge of so many branches of study. The task assigned in the scheme of work to Dr. Surendranath Sen has, of course, been thankfully declined. The type of men whom the University should appoint as its lecturers is, according to the gifted

educationist, Mr. Jayaswal of Patna. I am absolutely ignorant of history but I fancy not many Jayaswals are available in India. And yet my friend will pay the princely salary of Rs. 300 per month to such a lecturer. For, says he, the initial monthly expenditure on his six efficient whole-time men will be Rs. 1,800. I shall feel grateful if my friend will make a kind enquiry from Mr. Jayaswal whether he is anxious for a monthly salary of Rs. 300. And my friend must have men of his type!

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The second discovery made by my friend is that "the money spent by the University of Calcutta on the Post-Graduate teachings in the year 1924-25 alone is 50 per cent. more than the proposed grant to the Dacca University." Is this historically correct? Assuming it is so, my friend must have missed the true bases of comparison: what of the number of students studying for the M.A. degree, and the great diversity of subjects taught? And my friend must have neglected the seven hundred and odd students who read in the Under-Graduate classes of this University, "organised or disorganised" by the Post-Graduate department.

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As one of the tax-payers of Bengal Mr. Banerjee has a tender corner in his heart for the proper utilisation of public funds. Oh, if only example could have been better than precept! And what of the vote of the Bengal Legislative Council? But what does that matter! That vote does not respond to "His Master's Voice." But I forget my friend is a student of a particular type of history, the virtues of which have been described by Mr. Herne of France and quoted with a gusto by Mr. Banerjee's favourite journal:—"History has been the most immoral and perverting branch of literature. It exalts greed and wholesale murder when greedy and murderous lusts are satisfied in the

names of nations. Fraud is taken as evidence of clever diplomacy."

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Mr. Banerjee has propounded a scheme for the constitution of the Post-Graduate departments of the Calcutta University. His contention rests upon the basis of quicksand: his theories are novel: his statements a curious amalgam of half-truths and untruths. His article in the *Modern Review* rests upon two assumptions, (i) that the Post-Graduate department is a huge fraud on the intelligence of scholars, and (ii) the sham was carefully devised and artistically executed by the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee who, we learn from the learned author, "in outward show and camouflaging," "was a past master." Mr. Banerjee's great objection against the administration of the Post-Graduate departments lies in the fact that the teachers have been given some voice in the scheme of Post-Graduate teaching, study and research. The teachers, Mr. Banerjee regards as merely "paid members," who are not allowed to have any independent opinion. Mr. Banerjee's versatile genius is apparently not acquainted with the reformed constitutions of the reformed universities, particularly those of Northern India for which he has such deep veneration. Academic freedom in the completest form has been conceded to the teachers in those Universities. Mr. Banerjee, of course, has not heard of foreign Universities, such as the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge where the paid members of the teaching staff rule supreme, and are allowed to manage their own affairs, untrammelled by unenlightened criticism of conquering heroes even of Mahenjo Daro, and unfettered by "exterior influence". (I am merely quoting Mr. Banerjee's phrase. "Exterior" must be opposed to "interior").

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Mr. Banerjee is a great upholder of the rights and liberties of the colleges, and his great regret is that against the army of one hundred and thirty-five men, Sir Asutosh placed four nominees of the Senate, two nominees of the Faculty of Arts" and 13 heads of first grade colleges. Mr. Banerjee's analysis is wrong both quantitatively and qualitatively: he has omitted to consider about forty-eight part-time lecturers of whom twenty-five, even according to his calculation, belong to the affiliated colleges whose obvious duty lies primarily to the colleges concerned. The distinguished author has also failed to consider the importance and position of some of the heads of Colleges, who according to Mr. Banerjee, bear an unhappy number, *viz.*, thirteen. They include the Dean of the Faculty of Arts, the Dean of the Faculty of Science, seven members of the Senate including the distinguished Principal of the Presidency College whose views have a close affinity with the mature judgment of Mr. Banerjee. Great men apparently think alike!

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Mr. Banerjee is propelled not merely by the idea of more freedom for the colleges but is obsessed with the notion of what Principal Stapleton called "co-operation with the colleges." Both the distinguished scholars, however, conveniently forgot that co-operation means responsive co-operation and not surrender and complete absorption as is contended for by their employer, the Government of this land. Distinguished University Professors and University Lecturers are not allowed to co-operate in the work of the constituent colleges, and the University as an artificial person is not represented on the Governing Body of any of the colleges.

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The Post-graduate Council, contends Mr. Banerjee, is unnecessary, and he probably agrees with Abbé Sieyès that which is unnecessary is harmful and therefore ought to go.

It is also a great machinery of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's "Camouflage." I could not however follow the following sentence in Mr. Banerjee's article :—

"In addition to those functions, the Post-Graduate Council in Arts (why Arts alone?) passes the budget of that department with comments, if any after receiving it from the Executive Committee or to the Senate, through the Syndicate."

I at first thought the responsibility was of the proverbial printer's devil, but I rubbed my eyes when I read further on :—

"It has no real power because its decisions are subject to revision by two other *independent* bodies, *the Syndicate and the Senate* of the University.

Mr. Banerjee apparently overlooked the provision of Sec. 22, Chapter 11 of the Regulations :

"Proceedings of the Council shall be transmitted to the Senate through the Syndicate, with such observations, if any, as the Syndicate may deem necessary, and shall be subject to confirmation by the Senate."

The Syndicate, therefore, is not a revising body, and Mr. Banerjee has of course not a word to say about the constitution of the Senate (on which he is seeking a seat, I am told) which consists of 80% nominated members and 10% more elected by the nominated members from amongst themselves. The teachers are a body of "hirelings, a pestiferous brood" but the nominated members of the Senate are all independent men! But we forget Mr. Banerjee himself is a Government servant and according to his dictum none but Government servants or nominees of the Government are independent and honest.

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Mr. Banerjee's comment on the Executive Committee is characteristic of him; "it was designed by its creator," so we read, "to consider their personal interest only both as regards expenditure and actual Post-Graduate teaching." Mr. Banerjee's convenient historical memory forgets that its creator was not Sir Asutosh Mookerjee alone, but the Post-Graduate Committee of 1916, the Senate of the Calcutta University and the Government of India which claims the devoted allegiance of such a deeply erudite scholar as Mr. Rakhaldas Banerjee. But that is by the way.

"It is very well known," says Mr. Banerjee, "that paid members of the staff of the University are not allowed to have an independent opinion. The fate of Messrs. Tarkeswar (an obvious mistake for Taraknath—of course the meaning is the same) Chakravarti and Charuchandra Biswas are very clear illustrations of this point."

What relevancy these cases have on the present topic under discussion, *viz.*, the composition and the function of the Executive Committee of the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts, it is very difficult to say. Both these gentlemen belonged to the Law College staff which is under the administration of a Governing Body where "paid members of the staff do not consider their personal interest only, both as regards expenditure and even actual.....teaching." The Governing Body of the Law College is susceptible of "exterior" influence, to quote Mr. Banerjee's phrase, as the following constitution will show :—

"The University Law College shall be under the management of a Governing Body of Twelve members, constituted as follows :—

1. The Vice-Chancellor, *Ex-officio President*.
- 2-4. Three Judges of the High Court (to be nominated by the Chief Justice of Bengal in consultation with the Vice-Chancellor).
5. The Advocate-General of Bengal, *Ex-officio*.
- 6-7. One member of the Bar and one Vakil of the High Court. (Both to be nominated by the Faculty of Law.)
8. The Legal Remembrancer to the Government of Bengal.

9. The Director of Public Instruction, Bengal.
10. The Principal of the Law College.
- 11-12. Two Lecturers of the College to be elected by the Staff.

Members of the Governing Body shall be elected annually. Occasional vacancies shall be filled up by the Syndicate, upon the recommendation of the body entitled to elect.

The management of the College shall be vested in the Governing Body, but their proceedings shall be subject to confirmation by the Syndicate."

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Besides, "Mr. Tarkeswar" was not dismissed by the Governing Body of the Law College. His term of appointment having run out he was not reappointed. On the same principle Mr. Banerjee is hurling his catapults against the Post-Graduate department—the term of appointment of the Post-Graduate department having expired, the teachers are being obliged to feast their eyes on Mr. Banerjee's scholastic effusion and academic effervescence. The charge against "Mr. Tarkeswar" was that he had unwarrantedly maligned the head of the University. Whether that charge is a substantial charge or not may be personally known to Mr. Banerjee. For aspersion against a brother officer in Government employ, Mr. Banerjee is sometimes taken severely to task by the head of his department and carping criticism is suddenly translated into deep veneration!

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Mr. Banerjee has been very unhappy about his choice of the second illustration. Mr. Biswas, who by the way, we are told, is helping the dissemination of Mr. Banerjee's ripe views, will himself enter a demurrer that "he was hurled from his pedestal in a single day." He tendered his resignation from the teaching staff of the Law College because, as Mr. Banerjee puts it, "he is a rising Vakil (not Vakil but an Advocate.

Mr. Banerjee's informations are all up to date) of the Calcutta Bar and possesses independent means." Mr. Biswas lost his position further in the University because the registered graduates, "whom he had the proud privilege to represent" did not return him to the Senate and successive Vice-Chancellors would not nominate "an once elected member" to the Senate. The same principle on which even nominations to the Executive Council are cancelled!

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The Board of Higher Studies has naturally claimed the paramount attention of the distinguished scholar, and he has attempted to illustrate his point with special reference to the Board of Higher Studies in History—a subject in which he got a Second Class degree in 1910.

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First of all, Mr. Banerjee feels very nervous on account of the three elected members of the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts and his imagination runs riot over the misfortune of an imaginary "Indologist with pretensions to scholarship," who cannot make himself heard before a hired body of academic babies constituting themselves into the Board of Higher Studies in History. Mr. Banerjee conveniently forgets that the proceedings of the Board of Higher Studies are liable to revision by the Executive Committee as also by the Post-Graduate Council, the proceedings of which again are subject to dissection by the Syndicate and to confirmation or rejection by the Senate. So the checks and balances of the constitution exist with a vengeance and act not merely as a brake on the activities of the Post-Graduate teachers but cramp their initiative or the academic freedom of a corporation of scholars. I for one should rather prefer academic babies to academic impostors and political adven-

turers. Mr. Banerjee himself was an academic baby when he was appointed a Post-Graduate lecturer while yet on the threshold of his remarkable career, and he is undoubtedly familiar with babies of the fortunate services grinding the destinies of millions of beings "whom mortals call men." But we forget Mr. Banerjee was *l'enfant terrible*!

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"The regulations for Post-Graduate Teaching were framed in such a manner that they really put a discount on sound research work being done by any of its members and inevitably prevent efficient Post-Graduate Teaching from being imparted to the students of Calcutta.—"

so runs Mr. Banerjee's diatribe against the existing regulations. And his conclusion is that "dangerous functions have been assigned to Boards of Higher Studies." The first "dangerous function" is the "selection of text and recommended books" (Mr. Banerjee's phrase again!). The result is that "obsolete" or unmentionable books or "books favoured by the head of the department or party in power" are selected. Mr. Banerjee apparently does not like Dr. Gauranganath Banerjee for multifarious reasons. His work on Hellenism was differently appraised by different men. But should we accept the opinion of the Z.D.M.G. or the valuable reviews of the work in the *Modern Review*? Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's "Early History of the Deccan" also falls, in his judgment, in the category of long lost causes. Sovan Allah! I am not a student of history but I was under the impression that the Senior Bhandarkar, at any rate, was one of the most eminent of Orientalists and I read the following passage on that book in a work published in Madras :

"Bhandarkar's 'Early History of the Deccan' is an inexhaustible fountain of knowledge that continues to fertilize the vast field of Indian historical research. No decent book has been written on the subject, in recent times, which does not contain quotations from Bhandarkar's 'Early History of the Deccan.'"

Surely it is not a crime to prescribe such a book ; although the Bhandarkars may be the hereditary friends of Mr. Banerjee ! But apart from the illustrations given by the learned scholar, is not the selection of text-books one of the functions of even the ordinary Boards of Studies of which Mr. Banerjee appears to be enamoured ?

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The second "dangerous function" which the Board of Higher Studies exercises is the recommendation of examiners who are of two kinds either internal or external. Mr. Banerjee would not allow the Executive Committee to select external examiners. He would not allow the Board to recommend internal examiners. He would not trust either the head of the department or the party in power. He trusts only his own self.

"Know then thyself, presume not to scan,
The proper study of mankind is man."

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Mr. Banerjee is deliberately of opinion that Post-Graduate teachers "in the interest of their own skins will fix the standard as low as possible" and "people of this type....prefer to fix the standards of examinations in such a way that the students are able to answer the question from their lecture notes only." Mr. Banerjee and his great *gurus* are alone capable of this monumental lie. The art of dictating notes is not the monopoly of the Post-Graduate teachers; across the street, Mr. Banerjee will find "people who have made their mark in special subjects," dictating notes day after day. Mr. Banerjee may have the pretensions of an antiquarian but he was a student "in the monstrous hybrid of a lecture institute" only in the year of Grace, 1910, and he must be familiar with the systems which he attempts to condemn in unequivocal terms. Even the great Jadunath sometimes

deviates into the art of "note dictating." Mr. Banerjee quotes with approval, the mythical report of the famous Professor of Patna which he submitted to the University when he was appointed an external examiner. The illustration, if it proves anything, proves that our students are incompetent, that they have "no modernity of knowledge" and if the allegation is true the remedy lies in a two-fold direction: that 31 students taking up Islam for their M.A. degree should be strictly selected, and secondly, more individual attention should be paid to the students. These involve further expenditure and Mr. Banerjee naturally fixes the blame upon the poor lecturer, who in point of knowledge, or scholarship is in no way inferior to his critics. But Mr. Banerjee is guilty not merely of *suggestio falsi*, but he is guilty of *suppressio viri*, terms which must be very familiar to him. The very same year that the learned Professor of Patna was examining our students, he was unfortunately yoked with Dr. Rushbrook Williams of the Allahabad University, who certainly did not "act in the interest of his skin" and his report about the same batch of students for the same paper was very satisfactory. And Professor Sircar himself gave first class marks to 9 of 22 students who took up Islam that year. Comment is needless. The episode throws a flood of light on the tactics of those who criticise Sir Asutosh himself rather than the methods of Sir Asutosh.

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The third dangerous function is "the appointment of lecturers and the fixation of salaries which makes the applicant for the post:—

(a) compelled to support the system in vogue in spite of its defects; and

(b) to accede to decisions of the head of the department in all matters, whether right or wrong."

Mr. Banerjee again is not sure of facts, and in spite of the information placed at his disposal by Mr. Syamaprasad

Mookerjee, do not really understand the distinction between the regulation and a resolution of the Senate sanctioned by the Government of Bengal. Mr. Banerjee has not set out the whole of the regulations relating to the procedure appointing lecturers, and he has certainly not understood the full implications thereof. An appointment *may* be recommended by the Board of Higher Studies and by the Executive Committee, but it shall be made by the Appointments Board subject to confirmation by the Senate which can refer back a particular proposal to the Appointments Board. And each appointment must receive the seal and sanction, the *imprimatur* of the Government.

The sole initiative no longer rests either with the Board of Higher Studies or the Executive Committee, and yet Mr. Banerjee's protege in the Board of Higher Studies is afraid not merely of his colleagues but also the head of the department. So Mr. Banerjee will have neither the "autocracy of the teachers" (a phrase coined by himself), nor a democracy of teachers, nor a soviet form of government, nor even a bureaucratic form of government where due obedience (as opposed to deference in the case of an elected Chairman) is paid to the chief, nor will he have a mixed form of government in the shape of the Appointments Board "where exterior influence whether good or bad" is likely to have some play! The world must be delighted

"To hear in old words breathing balm
The secret of the world's balm,
The equipose of chastened will,
The Master's comfort, "Peace be still." "

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And yet all these "dangerous powers" are wielded by all the academic bodies in the world. Mr. Banerjee is on firm ground when he deals with the output of research work in the department of History

"In every clime the magnet of his soul
Touch'd by remembrance trembles to that pole."

Says Mr. Banerjee,

"I challenge the Senate majority to prove what substantial and original research work has been done by the lecturers of Ancient Indian History with the exception of certain papers by Professor D R. Bhandarkar."

The question of valuation of a piece of original work is always a matter of opinion and opinions of sages have differed as Mr. R. D. Banerjee knows to his cost.

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I have not the least doubt that Mr. Banerjee himself fulfills the description of injured innocence with which he regales his readers in these words :

"People who have already made their mark in life in special subjects like Paleography, Numismatics, History of Sanskrit Literature both in India and in Europe, are carefully ignored when external examiners are selected or text books recommended."

Mr. Banerjee is certainly a specialist in the domain of Paleography, Numismatics and History of Sanskrit Literature ; his fame must have travelled far and wide, he is an intelligent critic and yet his claims have been persistently ignored by the Board of Higher Studies and its reputed head.

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I have a vivid recollection as to what happened to Mr. Banerjee himself in 1914. He submitted an application for being admitted to the degree of Ph.D. and rested his qualifications on a study of a special period of Indian History from B.C. 400 to 1200 A.D. The subject-matter of the research (or "compilation and rechauffe"—I am quoting the felicitous language of Mr. Banerjee) was "The Eastern School of Mediaeval Sculpture" (The Bengal School), based on the discovery of

new facts. He also enclosed reprints of original contributions on the subject of Archæology and Iconography as well as on Epigraphy, Numismatics, Ancient History and Ancient Topography. Mr. Banerjee's versatility was even then an important factor in his scholastic life!

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The Board of Higher Studies had not yet been ushered into existence and Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was but the 'blazing comet of a season' who had been deprived of his Vice-Chancellorship by the hand of Fate: convention demanded of him resignation from the Syndicate and Sir Henry Sharp on the high hills was contemplating with equanimity, the erasure of Asutosh Mookerjee from the Senate of the Calcutta University. In "that deep midnight of the mind and in that internal strife of thought," the Syndicate appointed three examiners (each of whom, I see, has received Mr. Banerjee's blessing now)—Sir John Marshall, Dr. Spooner and Prof. Bhandarkar. And what was their report?

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"The thesis was a disappointing one; the applicant was little qualified to deal with the subject he had selected; the thesis was indicative of singular carelessness on the part of the author" and the triumvirate had no hesitation in saying that the ability and the originality which it exhibited fell short of what might "reasonably be expected in an applicant for the Ph.D. degree." The result was that the thesis was rejected in due course and Mr. Banerjee prefers to remain in the company of our Pitts and Gladstones rather than of Beaconsfields and Oxfords.

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This is the researcher who has searched for knowledge amongst the Post-Graduate teachers; this is the reviewer

who ventures to give the following testimonial to our teachers :

"The lecturer in Fine Arts and Iconography—Archæology Group B—does not possess an idea of the history of the ancient schools of sculptures and the lecturer in Numismatics fails to read an uncommon and rare ancient Indian coin."

Well, if this is familiarity, I must say, it is an unequivocal case of "insolent familiarity."

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But need we travel down the stream of time to examine the credentials of our omniscient critic? I have been asked to review one of Mr. Banerjee's latest productions, his "History of India," published in 1924, and let us examine a few pages of that work. The preface is characteristic of the man :

"I was led to compile this short text-book after a perusal of the text-books of Indian History prescribed by the majority of Indian Universities. The presentation and marshalling of facts in almost all of them leave much to be desired. Many of these text-books do not even pretend to be up to date in historical facts."

Noble words fearlessly spoken! Only, if performance were equal to the promises made!

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Let us look at page 11 of the book :

"In the historical period her influence became paramount in Asia and the whole of the continent, with the exception of three countries in its *South-western extremity*, e.g., Arabia, Persia and Asia Minor, acknowledged her intellectual leadership. So much so, that the region to the East of India, consisting of the third Peninsula in the South of Asia and the strip of land adjoining it on the mainland is still called, Further India, though Indians *have* ceased to rule in these countries *long, long ago.*"

These errors, grammatical and geographical, tell their own

tale. An adherent of vernacular as the medium of instruction and examination like myself will not set this passage to the much abused Matriculation candidates for correcting errors of English.

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Let us now bring our history to a close: the last two pages (pp. 404-405) of the wonderful work run as follows:—

“Another question which has created a very difficult situation for the Government of India is the position of Indian settlers in the Crown Colonies. Indians have been debarred from entering any of the *Australian States*, but they had settled in large numbers in *Canada* and *South Africa*. Their settlement had been opposed by the European Colonists from the very beginning.

All the facts are undoubtedly historically correct—never mind the use of the tenses!

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The epilogue is to the following effect:

“The last decade has seen the establishment of many new Universities in India. Most of the Provinces possess separate Universities. Fresh Universities have been started at Rangoon, Patna, Nagpur, Dacca, Lucknow, Delhi and *Agra* (great Jove!) In 1916, a special University for Hindus was started at Benares and another for Mussalmans at Aligarh (Good heavens!).....Most of these new Universities have been modelled on the recommendations submitted to the Government of India by a ROYAL (Sovan Allah!) Commission *for the reform of the Indian Universities*, which was presided over by Sir Michael Suddler. The principal aim of all Universities is to follow the model of the Calcutta University (minus the P. G. dept.?) by *becoming* (like ‘becoming’ Europeans in the proverbial story of an Indian third class passenger in a compartment reserved for Europeans) a teaching body with residential arrangements for students.”

This brilliant passage from the pen of the Reformer of the Post-Graduate Department of this University is beyond redemption. My friend’s proposals will gratefully be accepted by the

University of Agra and our twin sisters of Benares and Aligarh.

My great regret is that Sir Michael *Saddler* and his colleagues of the "*Royal Commission for the reform of the Universities*," had not opportunities of considering such constructive proposals emanating from such an educational expert, and an eminent historian who makes Banda, a Sikh Guru, and "the last guru of the Sikhs" along with Govinda Singh (p. 281, p. 285); and who saw the birth of Ranjit Singh in the "*Ahluwalia* Clan of the Sikhs" (p. 358).

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Did not the book of Job say—the truth uttered by dishonest men loses much of its intrinsic force? But Mr. Banerjee's defence will probably be

"I'll example you with thievery :

The sun's a thief and with his great attraction
 Robs the vast seat : the moon's an arrant thief,
 And her pale fire she snatches from the sun :
 The sea's a thief, whose liquid surge resolves
 The moon into salt tears : the earth's a thief
 That feeds and breaks by a compasture stolen
 From general excrement : each thing's a thief."

Amen !

Reviews

Asoka Text and Glossary, Parts I-II, by Alfred C. Woolner, M.A. (Oxon.). Panjab University Oriental Publications.

This book has a sad history behind it. It was the late Dr. Laddu who was at first entrusted with the task of bringing it out. Being a pupil first of the late Dr. Arthur Venis and afterwards of Prof. Hultzsch—both great authorities on Asokan inscriptions—he was the fittest person of his generation for the task. He had thus prepared an extensive scheme containing not only transliterations and translations, a glossarial and other indices but also epigraphical tables of all letters together with facsimiles of all the inscriptions and a detailed historical study of Asoka's reign. He found a sympathetic and earnest friend in Sir John Marshall, Director-General of Archæology, who, ever ready to help an Indian scholar, was willing to arrange for its publication. He thus began his work with alacrity and was going over his materials carefully and assiduously when all of a sudden he was cut off by his untimely death about the beginning of 1920 which has robbed us not only of a very promising scholar but also of the results of his labours which remained more in his mind than were actually reduced to writing. It was, however, a fortunate thing that Prof. A. C. Woolner was good enough to come forward and offer his services to the Director-General of Archæology to utilise whatever materials were available upon which Dr. Laddu had worked. But Prof. Woolner was wise enough to curtail the scope of his activity. His main interest was linguistic and his immediate object was to facilitate the study of the Asokan dialects by the University students. And we have thus now these two parts before us for our perusal and patient study. The Archæological Department originally intended to publish this work, but the object could not be realised owing to the financial stringency. Prof. Woolner, however, succeeded in inducing the Syndicate of the Lahore University to approve the work and print it as one of its Oriental Publications.

When such a painstaking and erudite scholar as Prof. Woolner is practically the author of this work, it is but natural that it should be on the whole excellent in all its features and leave little to be desired. Part I begins with an Introduction giving the student the main facts of the location, discovery, decipherment and interpretation of the inscriptions. It is followed by an Outline of Asokan Grammar which is really the most important and scholarly portion of the work. Such a thing had no doubt been successfully once brought out by the French savant M. É. Senart, but he did it more than 30 years ago when the texts of the Asokan inscriptions were not so settled as now. Besides, new inscriptions of Aśoka have since been discovered which were not known to M. Senart. And as Prof. Woolner is known to be an accurate and profound philologist, his Outline of Asokan Grammar cannot but be useful to all students of Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit. It is, however, a pity that he did not think it worth his while to deal with the subject of

phonetics at length for which also much material is supplied by the Asokan inscriptions. Then comes the text of the Inscriptions of Aśoka. And it must be confessed that here there was some room for improvement. It is true that the important readings from Prof. Hultzsch's *Corpus* which is ready but not yet for sale to the public have been given in the foot-notes. But the text is not as a whole set forth in a presentable form. There are two methods of presenting such a text. One is that followed by Bühler in the *Epigraphia Indica* and elsewhere, where the different recensions of an edict are given in separate vertical columns. This is a cumbrous mode of presentation. The better form is evidently that which is introduced in Cunningham's *Corpus*, where the texts of the different recensions run concurrently and horizontally line after line so that the student can notice at a glance where and what variant readings they present. It was this method which was followed in the publication of the Text by the Calcutta University; and from my personal experience I know the students find it easier to study the Asokan Text critically in this way.

Part II of the work sets forth Asokan Glossary together with an Index of Sanskrit Roots. It is impossible to overrate the importance of this glossary to the students of Asoka inscriptions. Every word is explained in every philological detail and the different interpretations proposed of the different terms by the different scholars have also been given lucidly. It is, however, a matter of regret that Prof. Woolner has not thought it fit to give his own interpretations wherever necessary and thus conduce to the advancement of the subject. Certainly a philologist and a Sanskrit scholar of his type must have more than one thoughtful interpretation to propose for the consideration of scholars. But for some unknown reasons, he seems to have kept himself studiously reticent on this matter. The idea of giving such a Glossary, so far as I know, originated with the late Dr. Venis, and I even remember to have seen a manuscript of it written with his own hand. Possibly it was this glossary which was being extended by his pupil, the late Dr. Laddu. But we possess it now in the best form in which it is possible to have it, being perfected, if not actually and wholly prepared, by such a scholar as Prof. Woolner who seems to have spared no labour to make it learned, accurate and exhaustive.

APOLLODOTUS

Races of Man, the University Press, Cambridge 1924 (VI & 184).

There was a real demand by hundreds of undergraduates of the Calcutta University studying for a degree with Anthropology as one of their subjects for a short and useful up-to-date text-book. And since Keane's *World's Peoples* is out of print and not edited up to date, Haddon's master-mind has given us just the thing needed by students. How much one misses maps here as in his edition of "Man, Past and Present," which with the excellent bibliography and index would have made it a perfect compendium.

The basis of classification is the most useful chapter in the book. One recognises with Indian gratefulness the appreciation of the Rigveda as having first essayed the classification of men by colour, 'varna.' It is also gratifying to find that environmental and climatic conditions are made to account for some of the physical characters.

The arrangement and description of main groups of Mankind are all that can be desired. Only it is too late in the day not to admit with Huntington that 'mental and moral character is no less important than any other factor in differentiating race from race.' Excerpts from Haddon's own conspectus from his edition of "Man, Past and Present" about 'Temperament' would have added very much to the usefulness of the book.

The regional surveys are extremely useful and up-to-date especially in the archæological data. But here again one misses the studies of culture-cycles after Graebner and the attempts at correlation of physical and cultural features after Taylor and Dixon who are mentioned later on. However controversial these might be, to the beginner this subject would have then become 'human' and not a catalogue of dry-as-dust data cursed with jaw-breaking scientific names.

The general summary does full justice to discussions about the question of cradle of mankind and the eternal squabble about the zone of influence of Environment *versus* Race. But it is again disappointing not to find any discussion of the trend of human evolution. Man stands at the apex of the animal-kingdom as a result of mental evolution. The physical modifications are more or less subordinate to the growth of the brain necessitating (or caused by) the free use of hand, erect stature, etc. It is high time to start enquiries as, for instance, Dixon has done as to what headform or other physical features would be considered an ascending series in the gradation of mental evolution? Is any gradation of mankind and classification possible that way? There are insuperable difficulties but one knows not whom to look to for the greatest things which would free Anthropology from its swaddling clothes except to Dr. Haddon.

It is regrettable to find one or two mistakes in such books meant essentially for students. In page 150 the author of *The Dravidian Element in Indian Culture* is made wrongly Gilbert Scott in place of Gilbert Slater.

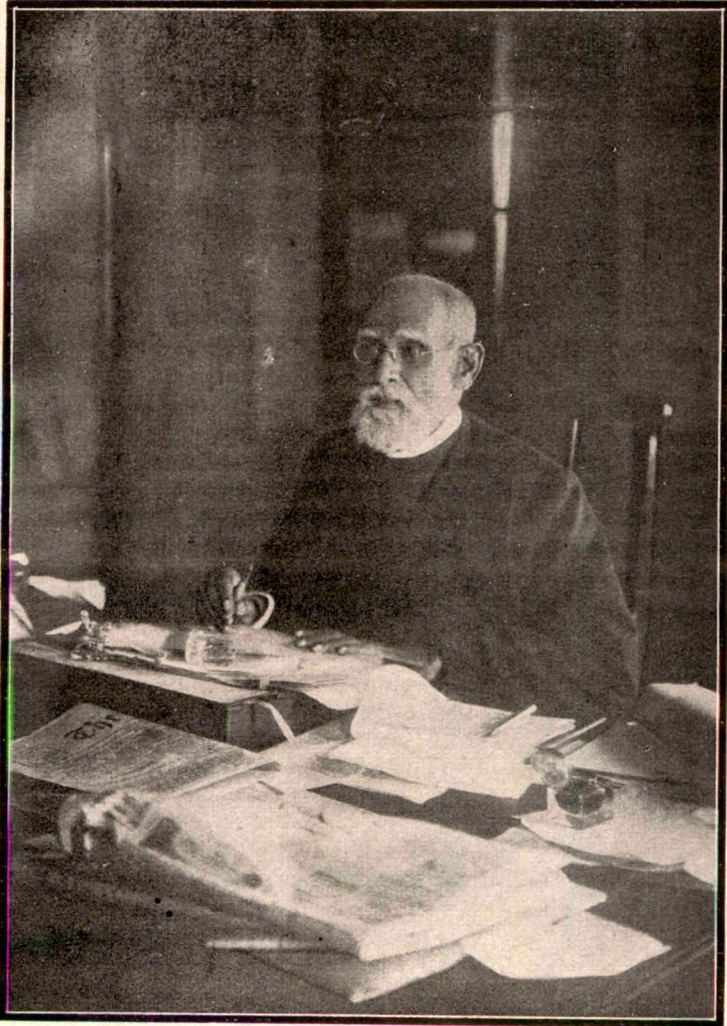
Maps, I repeat and, if possible, the plates of the extinct races of man, would I hope enrich the next edition of this book which has already become a *sine-qua-non* to our Indian students of Anthropology.

P. M.

Factory Labour in India—Factory Legislation in India, by Dr. Rajani Kanta Das, M.Sc., Ph.D., published by Walter De Gruyter & Co., 1923.

Both the books record in a very convenient form a mass of information on various subjects as the rise of factory labour, factory discipline, hours of work, health and safety, industrial efficiency, remuneration, standard of

The Calcutta Review



SIR SURENDRANATH BANERJEA

Born : 10th November, 1848. Died : 6th August, 1925

living, factory legislation, labour organisation and other allied problems. All this affords very interesting reading and there must be many at the present time who are seeking light on these vexed questions and the perusal of these books should certainly help them. Out of the number of interesting essays he has written those relating to industrial efficiency and labour organisation deserve particular mention. He raises many points of interest to both the employers and employees such as the fluidity of labour, utilisation of fines, treatment of industrial diseases and the use of machinery. Several things have happened since the publication of these books and the passing of the Factories and Mines Amendment Acts and the Workmen's Compensation Act (1923) and the ratifying of some measures recommended by the I. L. Conference have done much to protect the interests of the workers. But the philosophical principles underlying the State Interference to protect the labourers' interests have been carefully emphasised by the author. Much more could have been done in this particular field. The object, the scope, and the success of the International Labour Conference could have been briefly mentioned on pages 174 and 175 (F. Labour in India). It is true that something has been stated about this topic on page 143 (F. Legislation in India) but it is too meagre and we hope that this topic would receive adequate attention by the author when he revises these books. Besides giving us a valuable contribution on industry and labour he has done the signal service of refuting one or two of the tenets of bureaucratic economics which is rapidly becoming the fashion of the day. The nine fundamentals of burcaueratic economics are: (1) Protection is a will-o'-the-wisp. (2) The Government is doing everything it can possibly do to aid our industries and agriculture. (3) The land revenue is moderate. (4) Railways and world influences have caused the decline of our industries. (5) Landlordism has proved a failure in India. (6) Entrepreneurs are not to be had in India. (7) India can never become rapidly industrialised due to the inefficiency of its labourers. (8) There is overpopulation and overcrowding of agriculture. (9) There is no economic drain from the country whatsoever. We have to thank Dr. Das for refuting 4, 6 and 7 of the above tenets.

B. R.

The Wealth of India, by P. A. Wadia and G. N. Joshi. (Macmillan & Co. pp. 420, price, 21s.)

In the words of the joint authors their aim is to formulate "a definite economic policy for India based on a careful study of economic principles and facts." The principles and facts which they set themselves to study relate to the agriculture and industries of India. The upshot of the whole enquiry is the view that the low productivity of India to-day is due to the absence of a well-thought-out national economic policy co-ordinating productive mechanism with a view to bring about a many-sided development of economic life.

So far as the analysis of the existing situation is concerned it may at once be conceded that the authors have performed their task with great

precision and thoroughness. Their style and manner of exposition are always lucid and pleasant. The volume is a mine of information as regards the basic facts relating to the population problem in its qualitative and quantitative aspects, the methods, technique and defects of Indian agriculture and other cognate topics. There is also a well written chapter on the average income in British India. In estimating this income, the authors apply the methods of Census of Production and Occupation Census and after making allowance for certain payments which India has to make, on the basis of the prices ruling in 1913-14, they arrived at a per capita income of Rs. 44-5-6, a figure which is considerably lower than that arrived at in a recent treatise on Public Finance, even when allowance is made for the fact that the latter estimate is based on the inflated post-war prices.

The authors' treatment of the subject of subdivision of holdings is characterised by freshness and vigour. Without denying that the Hindu and Mahomedan laws of succession have accentuated the process of subdivision, they rightly point out that an exaggerated emphasis is laid on this aspect of the matter. The Indian laws of succession have been in operation for ages and yet it is only within recent years, comparatively speaking that the problem of the size of the holdings has become acute. They argue that causes deeper and more far reaching than mere laws of inheritance are responsible for the minute subdivision of holdings. The loss of equilibrium of occupation in the economic organisation consequent on the decay of the crafts and industrial arts has driven the people to the only occupation left to them and this increased demand for land is in no small measure responsible for bringing about a state of affairs which we all deplore.

But while credit is due to the authors for their keen and penetrating analysis of the existing economic phenomena, it is very much to be doubted whether they have succeeded in their main task of formulating a definite economic policy. There is a good deal of haziness and uncertainty about the programme which they formulate and the remedies they suggest. The problem of overpopulation is a case in point. In Chapter III the authors controvert the view that India is already overpopulated and that agriculture in India has already reached the point of maximum return. We are assured "that there is still a vast scope for increased production in agriculture." Curiously enough this boggy of overpopulation seizes them on numerous occasions in subsequent chapters. Thus in discussing the problem of fragmentation of holdings they speak of "surplus population in agriculture" (p. 247); on page 257 we are reminded about "the extraordinary pressure of population on soil." Again, in the chapter on Cottage Industries our attention is invited to the necessity of "the correction of an overgrown agricultural population" (p. 407). As regards the remedy, they suggest on page 47 that "the surplus population could be easily absorbed if the 63 p. c. of the cultivable area is to be brought under cultivation." But this proposed remedy is given up for another and more effective one on page 257, where "the only effective remedy" is described as the utilisation of raw materials. Another item in their programme is the introduction of what they describe as "healthier industrialism" aiming at self-sufficiency. This self-sufficiency

is to be aimed at not from a fear of war, but it should be the "outcome of popularity of love and self-respect," while this ideal is loftily conceived and nobly expressed the puzzled reader is altogether left in the dark regarding the means by which this healthier type of the industrialism is to be prevented from degenerating into the diseased type, into a feverish rage for the production of standardised machine-made goods and into a mad rivalry for the capturing of foreign markets. The authors entertain very high hopes regarding this "healthier industrialism" of theirs. They believe that watched and guided it may even result in the revival of the things of this spirit. But here again the authors prefer to have the details of their programme vague and misty and rest satisfied with a mere expression of pious hopes.

Finally, a word must be said about the price of the volume which has been fixed at 21 shillings. Evidently the authors and the publishers of the "Wealth of India" momentarily forgot the dictum quoted with approval in the book that "poverty, grinding poverty, is a tremendous fact of our economic and therefore national position."

J. P. N.

Ourselfes

THE LATE MR. MAHENDRANATH RAY.

IT IS with a heavy heart that we record the untimely death of Mr. Mahendranath Ray, the distinguished Senator and the eminent lawyer. Born in 1862; Mr. Ray joined the High Court Bar in 1886 after having passed triumphantly through the portals of the University, standing first in order of merit in almost all the University examinations, right up to the M.A. Examination. He was the first elected member of the Senate, and, ever since the year 1891, he continued to be a representative of the registered graduates of the Calcutta University till his death. He was elected a member of the Syndicate in 1910 and served as a Syndic till 1917 when his distinguished son was returned to that important Body by the Faculty of Arts. Mr. Ray was for some time the President of the Board of Accounts; he was the President of the Board of Studies in Mathematics; he was elected Dean of the Faculty of Law in 1924 on the sad and untimely death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. He was the first non-official Chairman of the Howrah Municipality; for a very large number of years he served as Vice-Chairman of the District Board of Howrah; he represented Howrah in the Bengal Legislative Council in "pre-reform" days and he was elected President of the Vakil's Association in recent years. Mr. Ray's refined culture, his forensic talent, his sweet-persuasive eloquence, his acuteness, whether in the domain of politics, law or education, are quite well-known. His services to his *alma mater* were devoted, loyal and true, and a grateful Syndicate recorded its deep sense of sorrow at his death in the following words:

"(1) The Syndicate desires to place on record its sense of deep sorrow and irreparable loss at the death of Mr. Mahendranath Ray, C.I.E., M.A., B.L., a distinguished scholar and a man of wide culture, who had been a prominent figure in the University of Calcutta as one of the first elected Fellows from 1891 onwards. As an examiner, as a member of the various Boards of Studies and Faculties, as President of the Board of Accounts, as a member of the Syndicate, and as Dean of the Faculty of Law, he placed his services ungrudgingly at the disposal of the University, in spite of extensive claims on his time, as a