

Servant of India

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CONTENTS.

	Page.
TOPICS OF THE WEEK	469
ARTICLES :—	
Labour Government's Indian Policy	471
The Wilson Report	472
The Presidency Area Security Bill	474
The Sastri College, Durban	475
GLEANINGS :—	
Sastri the Man. Tribute by Miss Gordon	476
Mahatma's Diamond Jubilee. Mr. Sastri's Speech	477
MISCELLANEOUS :—	
Scout how and Scout Principles. Mr. Sastri's Speech	478
Short Notices	480
Books Received	480

Topics of the Week.

A Great Foreign Minister.

THE death of Dr. Stresemann will be an irreparable loss to Germany who at this critical time stood in great need of ripe statesmanship of a pacifist of his sincerity. Since 1923 when he became Chancellor he had been engaged in the stupendous task of re-organisation and reconstruction in Germany in the midst of the welter and chaos left by the Great War. His name will be for ever associated with the Locarno Treaty which prepared the way for the ultimate evacuation of the Rhineland by creating a feeling of security ; and he achieved this against the united opposition of his countrymen. It was he who induced his countrymen to submit to the Dawes Scheme at the risk of great unpopularity. His great service to Germany lay in his convincing her that in future her laurels must be won in the sphere of peace and not in that of militarism and that she can regain her lost position only by dint of hard work in the fields and the factories. He secured the entry of Germany into the League of Nations and it was his advocacy which reconciled Germany to playing a notable part in international politics by scrupulously meeting her obligations and calling upon Europe to follow her example. It is undeniable that under the guidance of Dr. Stresemann Germany has played the part of peacemaker admirably. Again Dr. Stresemann must be largely credited with the successful termina-

tion of the discussions at the Paris Conference which ended with the acceptance of the Young Plan for settling reparations and inter-allied debts ; without the tact and discreetness displayed by him the project would certainly have foundered. He is credited with being the author of the project for creating the United States of Europe, along with M. Briand, and, if he had lived some time longer he would have succeeded in bringing distracted Europe much nearer to that goal. By these repeated victories in diplomacy he had made himself indispensable to Germany as a Foreign Minister and Germany will ever be indebted to him for having saved her from catastrophes and revolutions and guided her along the true path, however galling it might have been to the exponents of the old order of jingo imperialism. Peace and goodwill have been the watchwords of his policy and he had succeeded in inducing his countrymen, nurtured in the traditions of military glory, to adopt them as guides to practical conduct. He was deeply versed in economics and had made his fame in early life as an organizer and director of industries and it is to him that we owe the emphasis on the dictum that the economic interests of all the States were closely interwoven and that a crippled Germany would bar the way to peace and security. All the British statesmen have paid their tributes to him recognizing his great service in the cause of European peace.

* * *

The Anglo-Egyptian Treaty.

THE situation in Egypt has distinctly improved as a result of the acceptance of the draft treaty by the Wafd, the party with a majority in the last Egyptian Parliament. A few days ago, at the meeting of the Wafd party Nahas Pasha decided that the party should not declare themselves till the new elections had been over and a Parliament brought into being. This was however a wrong decision as a colourless election fought on no particular issue would have been beneficial neither to the Wafd party nor to the interests of the High Commissioner. As a result of the conversations between Sir Percy Lorraine and Nahas Pasha the Wafd has decided to give up its attitude of suspense and have pronounced themselves to be favourable to the draft treaty. The result would be that the party would get a clear mandate for accepting the treaty, as the elections would now be fought on that issue and will most likely succeed in securing for the party a working majority

in the next Parliament. The British proposals have already been accepted by the Liberal party and the Ittehad party so that the treaty proposals will have a plain sailing in the new legislature. As Mahmud Pasha is opposed to universal suffrage and as he has been the principal agent in suppressing the Egyptian Parliament his resignation has been regarded as absolutely necessary to prepare the way for the new régime and a neutral Cabinet will take the place of the present Cabinet. In the opinion of the Conservative journals the carrying out of the terms of the treaty ought to be entrusted to Mahmaud Pasha instead of to the Wafd party, since it was he who was responsible for arranging the terms of the treaty. The High Commissioner however has recognized that the only party that can be entrusted with the reorganization of Egypt in accordance with the terms of the treaty is the party that can wield a majority in the new Parliament. Now that the Labour Cabinet in England have done their best in creating better auspices for a truly responsible government in Egypt we hope the nationalists of Egypt will not show themselves to be intrasigent and irreconcilable. If they use their power with moderation and restraint, a bright prospect is before them in assisting their country to make a headway in economic regeneration. Egypt has suffered along with the rest of Europe from the aftermath of the War and she should concentrate on reconstruction instead of dissipating her energies in political squabbles which do her hardly any good,

* * *

Communalism of the Justice Party.

THE Justice Party of South India has encountered much criticism in the past for the communalistic basis which it has adopted for its constitution. Its doors are open to all non-Hindus and to all Hindus except Brahmans. Brahmans alone in the whole creation are excluded *eo nomino* from its portals, however eager they may be for the overthrow of the tyranny, sacerdotal and other, exercised by the Brahmans as a class over the non-Brahmans. In his recent tour through Southern India Mr. Vallabhai Patel pointed out the utter absurdity of keeping out of the party Brahman reformers, several of whom could be mentioned straightaway as more deadly enemies of the privileges of Brahmanhood than any champions among the non-Brahmans. Latterly, a feeling is discernible amongst some of the non-Brahmans that a change should be introduced whereby the ban on the Brahmans may be removed, thus making it possible for the party to be organized on the basis of principle instead of birth. This feeling found expression in a resolution moved by Sir P. Patro at a Conference of the South Indian Liberal Federation, but the opposite feeling proved too strong for the resolution to be carried. The opposition was led, we read, by the Swarajist M.L.A., Mr. Shanmukham Chetty. Unless of course the whole anti-Brahman spirit which characterises the activities of the Justice Party is given up, no Brahmans are at all likely to join it, but it is most foolish of the Party to shut out, for no other reason than that they were born of Brahman parents, men would give most valuable aid to those engaged in fighting popular prejudices. No righteous cause was ever won in this narrow exclusive spirit. There is no race in the world more cruelly oppressed and down-trodden than the negroes, but the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, founded by Dr. DuBois, has shown anxiety above everything else for enlisting the support of the white reformers of the U.S.A. The *Crisis*, the organ of the Association, describes its policy thus in a recent number:—

But there is one basic Association policy that must be accredited to the little founding group. We were determined that our personnel should be chosen on the broadest possible lines . . . We were determined not to become a little sect but leave our doors open to all coloured people who would stand by their race and to all white people who would take their stand with them . . . This is the spirit—liberal, democratic and representative, not sectarian, racial or dogmatic—that accounts for its almost uniform success and its brilliant achievements.

It is time that the non-Brahmans of South India and the Deccan also adopted this "broad-gauge policy" of Dr. DuBois, a radical on racial questions, if ever there was one.

* * *

A Portent.

HOW the country will react to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's election to the presidential chair of the Congress cannot be fully estimated just yet. But one instantaneous effect it has had: not his actual election, but the mere prospect of it has driven Mr. George Joseph, at one time as he himself says "a convinced non-co-operator," into the arms of the Justice Party. Some will be apt to dismiss this as an event of no significance except perhaps as showing the erratic nature of Mr. Joseph. Considering however the great qualities of head and heart for which he is known—keen logic, thorough intellectual honesty, devoted and self-sacrificing service to the cause which appeals to him—his defection from the Congress is a portent of the importance of which it would be the height of folly to minimise. He has himself described how the transformation took place in him. He believed at first that "partly by bluff and diplomacy, partly by genuine sacrifice but mainly by the historical circumstance that British power in India was founded on sand, Gandhi would prevail. But the movement failed and the subsequent collapse of passive resistance in the Ruhr has satisfied me that the technique of non-violent direct action is of no use and has no future." In the event of Pandit Jawaharlal's election (for Mr. Joseph decided to join the Justice Party when it became clear that the Pandit would be elected), he says, "Communism will be upon us. It is not non-violent action which we shall have to face. We shall be in for Leninism, crude and unmellowed. Revolution will indeed be up; there will be strikes destroying the struggling industries of the country and widespread outbreaks of violence." With the tenets of the Justice Party he does not agree, but he feels that it is the party which represents most conspicuously "the stable elements of an ordered and clean social existence" as opposed to Bolshevism, and he joins it for this reason. It is indeed a portent.

* * *

The Bill to Lower Bombay Municipal Franchise.

IT is regrettable that an extension of municipal franchise which is far from establishing universal suffrage should have been rejected by the Bombay Council. Rao Bahadur Bole could well say that the Bombay Corporation was as aristocratic as ever. The object of his Bill was to reduce the franchise from rupees ten to rupees five as monthly rental. The objection that the lowering of the franchise leads to greater corruption has been answered times out of number and need not be repeated; in any case the proper remedy is to be looked for in other quarters than withstanding the progress of democracy. The working classes feel that unless they had an adequate representation in the Corporation their interests would not be looked after. The argument advanced by the

Municipal Commissioner in expressing the opinion of the Corporation on the Bill that the machinery for carrying on the election would become difficult hardly deserves any weight; administrative difficulties are an irrelevant consideration when questions have to be decided on principle. To us it appears that in the whole debate on the Bill very little importance seems to have been attached to the moral effect of a vote on the recipients of the franchise in spite of some pernicious effects in the initial stages. As for the illiteracy of the general population being made a ground for denying the franchise Mr. Asavale's retort that it was the fault of the Corporation if illiteracy persisted after decades of educational effort was very telling. In fact it is the primary duty of the Corporation to reduce illiteracy to a negligible quantity. The fact that the second reading of the Bill was passed even by a narrow majority shows that opinion in favour of an extension of the franchise is gaining ground; and if Mr. Bole persists in his efforts his patience would be rewarded very soon. The apprehension that the lowering of the franchise would result in the election of members who are undesirable appears to us to have very little foundation in experience. It is surprising to find that Mr. Chandrachud and Rao Bahadur Kale remained neutral instead of casting their vote in favour of the Bill. It is still more surprising that the Minister of Local Self-Government, Mr. Desai, too remained neutral. He has apparently no opinion on this subject. Has he on any?

Religiosity and Secularism.

A VALUED friend takes strong exception to certain remarks that have appeared in the contributions of Dr. D. D. Karve to this journal deprecating the invasion of religion into every-day affairs. We do not print our correspondent's letter because it is so easy to misunderstand, as we are afraid he has to a certain extent misunderstood, Dr. Karve's advocacy of secularism. Particularly apposite to the defence such as Dr. Karve would make are the observations of a Methodist journal, the *Indian Witness*, which, writing of the Moslem M.L.A.'s who left the Assembly in protest when Mr. Sarda's Marriage Bill was under discussion, criticises as follows the grounds of their opposition, viz. that the Bill is an interference with religious liberty and that Moslem theologians are opposed to it.

What a travesty on religion is the thing these men would protect! It is not surprising that young men of both the Hindu and Moslem communities, acquiring their conceptions of religion from men of this ilk, should turn to secularism and wish to banish religion from the minds of men. If religion were what these anti-reformers represent it as being, and if God stood for the sacrifice of little girls upon the altar of lust as these spokesmen for Moslem theologians would make the public believe, decent people of enlightened views would have to say "Down with religion and down with God!" until the character of both is changed. It is no loss but a considerable gain when young men and women turn away from religion as thus presented and adopt an altruistic secularism. We emphasize this point because current religious literature contains a considerable quantity of contrary teaching. Even at the Jerusalem Conference there was a disposition to regard secularism as worse than any perversion of religion, and to talk of an alliance of all religious forces against secularism. We believe, on the contrary, that pure and undefiled religion has much more in common with some forms and forces of secularism than it has with such perversions of religion as are represented by those who would throw a robe of sanctity about child marriage.

Articles.

LABOUR GOVERNMENT'S INDIAN POLICY.

IT may well be that the Labour Government are contemplating the application of radical pacificatory measures to India, but if so, the reports in newspapers give no sure indication of them. These reports are so vaguely worded and are susceptible of such diverse interpretations that they may mean anything or nothing. We are told, for instance, that on the reassembling of Parliament the Government will make a pronouncement in favour of Dominion Status. It is possible to make of such a pronouncement a really big affair compelling the Congress, guided as it will be by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, to reconsider its pledge of last year, though the pledge was unfortunately of too cast-iron a type, for organising a nation-wide passive resistance campaign on January 1st next. It may, on the other hand, be nothing better than a reaffirmation of Dominion Status as a goal to be reached by gradual stages—without either a limit of time or machinery for automatic development. In the absence of these a declaration by the Government will serve little useful purpose beyond removing, possibly, the doubts cast upon the Montagu declaration of 1917 by Sir Malcolm Hailey by drawing nice distinctions between Responsible Government and Dominion Status. But the fixing of a time limit for the withdrawal of all outside control or the providing of machinery for the evolution of full self-government without recourse to fresh investigations by Commissions is not so impracticable as it is often made out by British politicians. To take but one example, the United States has pledged itself to step out of Haiti in 1936 unless the Haitians themselves desire it to stay there longer for the fruition in their fullness of the reforms which it has taken in hand. This is however not very likely and the United States is engaged at present in laying plans for the utilization in the best possible way of the six short years that still remain to it for placing the administration on a stable and democratic basis. In view of the vigorous policy of conciliation adopted by the Labour Government towards Egypt and Iraq, we cannot believe that its purpose in making an announcement on India can merely be to dispel the pedantic doubts raised by Sir Malcolm Hailey in regard to the ultimate political destiny of this country.

It is also rumoured that, subsequent to the announcement of policy, a round table conference will be held as desired by public men in India. The Premier, it is said, will issue personal invitations to some thirty representative Indians belonging to all political parties, along with Indian Princes, for the purpose of hammering out, if possible, an agreed scheme of swaraj. This report, again, is capable either of a most satisfactory or of a hopelessly disappointing interpretation. If what is intended by it is no more than asking individually certain leaders of public opinion in India who have held themselves

aloof from the Simon explorations to give evidence before the Joint Select Committee of Parliament to be appointed in due course on the India Bill, because a general summons will not persuade them to appear, the Government's advances would be much too slight to make any difference to the attitude of coolness and hostility which prevails in India. The Labour Ministry, we hope, is not labouring under the facile illusion that all that Indian leaders require is some sop given to them to satisfy their *amour propre*. On the other hand the Ministry can so arrange things in the later stages of the discussions of Indian reforms that it can elicit the wholehearted co-operation of politicians who have now deemed fit to boycott the Simon Commission. The decision of the Baldwin Government to leave the Joint Select Committee free to recommend modifications, not merely in the details but even in the fundamental principles of the Bill which the Government will draft on the basis of the Simon Report (or perhaps on the Simon and the Nair Reports) gives a good opening to the MacDonald Government to invite the requisite Indian co-operation without offending the susceptibilities of Sir John Simon and his co-adjutors or without scrapping their report. Constructive proposals have been made in this behalf by Mrs. Besant and others can be made, but it must be distinctly understood that unless the Labour Government make up their mind to concede the National Demand that has been or will be formulated or its equivalent in some other form, there is not much use in initiating any such conversations as the Government are probably contemplating. It is a very complicated situation which the Labour Government have to meet, but we would prefer to believe, until the belief is belied by the event, that they possess the strength of mind and loyalty to principles which are demanded by the situation. Given these, a way out

can be found.

Like that of the Labour Government, the statesmanship of the Indian people too is on trial at this critical juncture. If it is found that the Government is actuated by a genuine desire to meet popular wishes, it would be our part to help them find the right solution. It is so easy in such circumstances for a people to be the slaves of a formula and, adopting an intransigent attitude, to wreck the prospects of all reform. If we do so we shall be committing a mistake which it will not be easy to repair in future. Egypt provides to us a good example of how true patriots must know when to make peace as well as when to fight. The Egyptians put a far more effective ban on the Milner Mission than we could do on the Simon Commission; but when circumstances appeared more propitious Saad Zagloul Pasha did not shrink from going to London for carrying on negotiations with the British Government, and at this very moment the leader of the Wafd party, Nahas Pasha, seeing that the spirit of the new Government differed entirely from the old, has deigned to approve of the proposed terms of the Anglo-Egyptian treaty, though, comparing this treaty with that which Sir Austen Chamberlain offered to Sarwat Pasha, it concedes only a little more. In these matters it is the spirit that counts for far more than the actual provisions, and we do not think that even the most hard-headed amongst us would be disposed to quarrel with the Wafd for accepting Mr. Henderson's offer in general terms. It may be that the leader of the Swaraj party or of the Congress will be placed in a similar situation by the Labour Government adopting a bold and really progressive policy in regard to India. If happily the Government show the necessary boldness our radical parties in India too, it is to be hoped, will not be found lacking in that quality.

THE WILSON REPORT.

THE Report of Sir Samuel Wilson on East Africa, of which only a summary prepared by the Associated Press is available at the time of writing, justifies the worst apprehensions provoked by its forecasts in the mind of the Indians. The Wilson Mission was despatched because it was discovered that the Hilton Young Commission's recommendations were not to the liking of the European settlers and therefore to the liking of the late Government. Sir Samuel Wilson was therefore charged to suggest such changes in those recommendations as would be "acceptable" to the Europeans (as Mr. Amery meant it) or to the various communities in general, as he had to put it. Throughout his explorations Sir Samuel was very close to the Europeans and very remote from others, as perhaps were his instructions, and before he left the shores of East Africa, the white settlers, whose requirements he was sent out to study, knew what his proposals were going to be, when Indians and the natives were absolutely in the dark. As a matter of fact an outline of these proposals was published in the European journals of East Africa, and, what is most important to remember, they were

published as being "an agreed scheme"—agreed, that is, between the whites and Sir Samuel. Even a Conservative Government has to keep up appearances, and therefore Sir Samuel did make a pretence of hearing what other communities had to tell him, but it was apparent from the outset to everybody who had eyes to see that he considered the whites to be his sole concern.

Mr. Amery had given a distinct undertaking that the whole East African problem as it affected Indians, including the common roll aspect of it, would be gone over by Sir Samuel Wilson with Indian representatives, and on the basis of this undertaking the Government of India sent Mr. Sastri to East Africa to confer with Sir Samuel. It was the plain duty of the latter in these circumstances to make an earnest attempt to bring the Indian and the European communities together with a view to reaching an understanding on the question of the electorates, but he made no such attempt and only repeated to Mr. Sastri on landing what he had told Indian representatives before, that, the European community being still opposed to the common electorates, he would

not reopen the question. The opposition of the whites would be a perfectly valid ground if he could only propose an agreed scheme. But in respect of increasing the European element in the Kenya Legislative Council, e. g., there was an equally remote prospect of arriving at an agreed solution, neither Indians, nor Arabs, nor natives being in favour of increasing the European proportion but all being anxious to scale it down. [Notwithstanding this, Sir Samuel Wilson has proposed changes in the composition of the Council favourable to the Europeans. Sir Samuel has throughout taken an openly partisan attitude and has treated the Government of India very cavalierly, against which we hope it has protested in terms as strong as diplomatic dispatches allow. The only thing to do now for the Labour Government is, in the matter of common electorates, not to make their introduction, assuming that the Government thinks with the Hilton Young Commission that sound policy requires their introduction, contingent on Indians obtaining the consent of Europeans. In ordinary circumstances perhaps there would be something to be said in favour of the proposal in the Young Report for "a settlement by consent," but considering how its recommendation that "fresh attempts" should be made to see whether agreement can be reached" in regard to this question is likely to be treated in practice, the Labour Government must now do what to the Hilton Young Commission appeared inexpedient and unnecessary; it must give a "verdict" which approves itself to its own judgment and leave it to the various communities to digest it as best they may. Let us see if the Europeans spring to arms again.

Just as on the question of the common vs. communal roll the continued opposition of the European settlers to the establishment of the common roll system is to Sir Samuel Wilson a sufficient reason for rejecting the system, their continued demand for increased elected European representation is to him sufficient reason for recommending increase in its proportion. Indians objected to the increase, but their objection on this score was of as little avail as their objection to the communal roll. They do not count, nor do the natives count, for anything. It is the Europeans who count for everything. In their representation Indians took very strong exception not merely to any possible increase in the proportion of European representatives beyond that recommended by the Hilton Young Commission, but, further, to the recommendation of the Commission itself for the relinquishment of the official majority. That is to say, they are not in favour of replacing the Native Trusteeship policy by the Dual policy (or the policy of associating immigrant communities in trusteeship) enunciated by Mr. Amery and objected to by Mr. Thomas on behalf of the Labour Party. But Sir Samuel Wilson does not consider these objections; Europeans want stronger representation than was allowed by the Young report, and he must give it—such is his simple logic.

	Present Constitution.	As proposed by majority of Young Commission.	As proposed by Sir E. Hilton Young.	As proposed by Sir Samuel Wilson.
British officials	19	15	10	12
Elected Arab	1	1	1	1
Nominated Arab	1	1	1	1
Indians	5	5	6	5
Nominated to represent general interests (Indian)	0	0	1	0
Nominated to represent general interests (European)	0	0	2	0
Nominated to represent general, including native, interests (race not determined)	0	0	0	7
Nominated to represent native interests (European)	1	5	5	0
Elected Europeans	11	11	13	13
	38	38	39	38

This comparative table will show at a glance how, under the successive schemes proposed for the constitution of the Kenya Legislative Council, the Indian position progressively deteriorates. The majority of the Hilton Young Commission would leave the present total strength of the Council or the strength of the elective Indian or European element undisturbed; but they would take off 4 seats from the official ranks and allot them to Europeans to be nominated to represent native interests, giving up in the process the official majority which exists at present. They thought that the purpose of retaining an official majority would be equally well served by such a distribution of seats among the different elements of the population that the official members with the support of any one of the three groups—European, Indian or native—could always command a majority. Sir Samuel Wilson has openly given up this principle; under his scheme Indians will number 5 and officials 12. These together (17) will not outnumber all the rest, whose strength is no less than 21. No one of course will be deceived by the fact that under his scheme the members appointed to represent, not merely native interests but general interests including native, will not belong to any particular community. This absence of an outward mark of raciality only helps to cloak the real raciality that resides within the scheme. Under the Mant-Schuster-Oldham scheme we have at any rate the advantage of knowing precisely what the position of any particular community will be. Under Sir Samuel Wilson's scheme, too, all or almost all the members appointed to represent general interests will be Europeans, though there is no such distinct provision made. Europeans will thus number (taking merely the non-official part of them) 20 as against the 16 provided in the Mant-Schuster-Oldham scheme. Besides, the natives in whose interest the variations in the existing proportion are said to be proposed will have, under the Wilson scheme, no special representatives at all. The native interests will be merged in the general interests. The mere fact that Sir Samuel Wilson could propose this shows that he does not understand the underlying principles of the Hilton Young Commission's Report. Sir E. Hilton Young, the Chairman, was very much more favourable to the

the back of it have begun to show that they realize how the Indian problem is a part of their general responsibility and how they must discharge it if they would earn a name for fairness and honourable dealing in the eyes of the world. The Sastri College will thus be the first important visible vindication of the high principles of the Cape Town Agreement.

But this vindication, no more than just though it be, was facilitated by the practical good sense and patriotism of our own people. They have contributed gladly and liberally towards the cost of the College, and thereby proved that they are sensible of the duty which they owe to their adopted country no less than to themselves, and that they are earnest about discharging that duty well. Of course, they have to do much more that way. They will have to institute prizes and scholarships, and endow chairs for new branches of learning. Then will be the dawn of a new day to the Indian in South Africa. That will be the real fruition of Mr. Sastri's labours.

We cannot on this occasion omit to recall how deeply the Indian community in South Africa is indebted for this happy consummation to the steadfast friendliness and benevolence of Mr. Hugh Bryan, Superintendent of Education in Natal, and his European colleagues. Through fair weather and through foul, they stood by the Indian cause unwaveringly, placing education like medicine, like philanthropy, like religion far above the reach of race or colour prejudice, and refusing to hand it over to be manipulated by the mere politician. In the dark days of the Indian community three years ago, when the entire white population was hostile, Mr. Bryan and a few of his European Inspectors of Education remained brave and firm in their loyalty to their ideal and in their fellow-feeling for the Indian, thus furnishing a contrast to the bitter antipathy and blind prejudice of the rest of the official hierarchy. Their idealism has now at last triumphed; and together with our assurances of lasting gratitude to them, we may well couple our warm congratulations on the happy atmosphere which, largely as a result of their own high-minded struggle, has now come to surround their further labours for the uplift of the Indian.

May the Sastri College grow and prosper, irradiating a new culture and a new refinement in South Africa! May it prove, like him whose honoured name it bears, a meeting point of the best of the two types of culture and tradition! With more of enlightenment, a finer sensibility will surely grow among our countrymen there for all that is good and beautiful in life; and that may be trusted to bring about a heightening of their aspiration and accomplishment on all sides, so that the brand of inferiority will surely and speedily come to be but a myth of the past.

Gleanings.

SASTRI THE MAN.

TRIBUTE BY MISS GORDON.

Following is the full text of the speech made by Miss Gordon on the occasion of the celebration of the 61st birthday of the Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P.C., in Singarachariar Hall, Triplicane, on 22nd September:—

GENTLEMEN,—When Mr. Subramania Aiyar asked me to say a few words to-day about my experience with Mr. Sastri in South Africa, my first feeling was one of absolute unworthiness for the task. Some one of eloquence and exalted position, I thought, should do it; but on second thoughts, I felt that even though I am a very humble admirer of Mr. Sastri, yet I have the honoured privilege of having been called his friend by no less a person than himself and of having moved with him very closely for nearly eight months, and I would like publicly to pay my humble tribute to his greatness.

Possibly from the point of view of time, Mr. Sastri is better known to all of you here than he is to me, for I only met him for the first time when I landed in Cape Town in November 1927; but in what I might call "intensive" knowledge, I claim to be second to none. For nearly eight months we stayed in the same hotel and had our meals at the same table, walked together and talked together in sincere affection, and so to-night, I do not intend to say anything about his political or diplomatic or even oratorical successes in South Africa. These have been carried by cable and wireless all round the world. I would prefer to dwell on the *human* Sastri, the friend, the well-wisher, the helper, the man, the simplest of men because the greatest.

Let me tell you one very human thing which made all the difference to one very ordinary working woman. When I got my orders to proceed to South Africa by cable—I was at home on leave at the time—they were of course very bald and vague. "Proceed to South Africa, I.O. (India Office) will arrange your passage, report to our Agent at Pretoria." I had not the slightest idea nor had the I.O. what I was going to do, and "our Agent" sounded most formidable. No one seemed to know who he was and the many South Africans on board, nice people in themselves, could not say anything bad enough about the Asiatics. I can assure you, gentlemen, that I was feeling far from happy, but one day, about five days before we landed, I had a wireless handed to me by my cabin boy and this is what it said: "Welcome to South Africa. Meet you Cape Town. Sastri." Do you know that wireless made all the difference to me? For I could think of no officers with the exception of one, but he is a friend of mine—so the circumstances are different—who would have troubled themselves to send an ordinary wire, leave alone an expensive wireless, to someone coming to work on their staffs and I have served under many officers. I made a point of showing that wireless to every South African, British and Dutch, on

the ship and all of them said, "What a decent thing to do!" Such a human thing for such a great man! It is his gift of sympathy, gentlemen, which is as great as his gift of oratory or statemanship.

Mr. Sastri never thought himself too big to mix with the commonest people. He would accept an invitation to dinner from the poorest Indian with as much courtesy and kindness as he would from the Governor-General and what is more he would enjoy himself as much at the one as at the other. He was the perfect gentleman at both functions.

South Africa is, as you know, anti-Indian, very, but I have known at one function, a garden party given by the Archbishop of Cape Town, people waiting in long queues on the off-chance of shaking hands with him. People have said to me—not one but hundreds—"Please, Miss Gordon, introduce us to your chief." "He has stolen away the hearts of our people," said General Hertzog, the South African Prime Minister, and it is the truest thing he ever said (Laughter). People would stand for hours to hear him speak, and fully an hour before the meeting was billed to commence, the notice "House Full" would be put out. And he has done something which might have been revolutionary in the eyes of the South African—preached in the Cathedral of Johannesburg. The Church of England, as you know, is very conservative. None may enter their pulpits who have not been ordained into their church, not even priests of another sect of Protestantism; and here was Sastri, a non-Christian standing in that sacred place. The Cathedral was packed to overflowing; people were seated on the altar steps; outside the church, where loud speakers were attached, Jews, Roman Catholics and other religious sects thronged. It reminded one of a London crowd at the Lord Mayor's pageant. 55 minutes after the even song, Sastri spoke. "Christianity as a non-Christian sees it" was the subject. There were few people in that huge gathering, I make bold to say, who did not leave that place ashamed of the picture of Christ they presented to the world and who did not determine in future to try to do better. The Bishop of that Cathedral said to me a few days after: "As I watched him on that pulpit, pleading for the brotherhood which Christ had advocated, his face shining with the radiance of altruism, I felt that Christ himself was speaking. I felt that I should kneel and worship." (Loud applause.)

Gentlemen, Mr. Kipling has written a poem in which he describes a man. It is generally acknowledged to be the best thing he wrote. With your permission I will read it to you.

"IF"

If you can keep your head when all about you
Are losing theirs and blaming it on you;
If you can trust yourselves when all men doubt you,
But make allowance for their doubting too;
If you can wait and not be tired by waiting,
Or being lied about, don't deal in lies,
Or being hated, don't give way to hating,
And yet don't look to good, nor talk too wise;
If you can dream—and not make dreams your master;
If you can think—and not make thoughts your
aim;

If you can meet with triumph and disaster
And treat those two impostors just the same;

If you can bear to hear the truth you've spoken
Twisted by knaves to make a trap for fools,
Or watch the things you gave life to, broken,
And stoop and build them up with worn-out
tools;

If you can make one heap of all your winnings
And risk it in one turn of pitch and toss,
And lose and start again at your beginnings,
And never breathe a word about your loss;

If you can force your heart and nerve and sinew
To serve your turn long after they are gone,
And so hold on when there is nothing in you
Except the will which says to them, "Hold on!"

If you can talk with crowds and keep your virtue,
Or walk with kings—nor lose the common touch;
If neither foes nor loving friends can hurt you;
If all men count with you, but none too much;

If you can fill the unforgiving minute
With sixty seconds' worth of distance run;
Yours is the Earth and everything that is in it,
And—which is more—You will be a Man, my
son!

There, Gentlemen, you have a true portrait of the Rt.
Hon. Srinivasa Sastriar. I thank you.

MAHATMA'S DIAMOND JUBILEE.

MR. SASTRI'S SPEECH.

At a public meeting held in Madras on Wednesday last week to celebrate the Diamond Jubilee of Mahatma Gandhi, Mr. Srinivasa Sastri occupied the chair and made the following speech as reported in the Hindu:—

FRIENDS, Madras may well be congratulated on the way in which she celebrates the sixty-first birthday of her greatest friend and the greatest son of India. (Cheers.) I wish that I had the strength to reach every one in this meeting by my voice, for there is something that I would say upon an occasion like this when one feels one's innermost nature touched to fine issues. I take it from the way in which I have been installed in this seat of exceptional honour and the way in which speakers have been chosen to figure on the programme this night that it is recognised that Mahatma Gandhi is a man belonging to all India. In fact, he belongs to all the world. (Cheers.) Wherever high character, noble ideas of conduct, the utmost piety and resignation are appreciated his name is well known and sincerely revered. (Cheers.) Whether people be missionaries of other religions, whether they be people employed in secular occupations, whether they be philosophers anxious to discover the truth as it knows no distinctions between country and country, race and race, or colour and colour, in fact people of all ways of thought recognise in the man whom we honour to-day one of those rare souls who are born from time to time—all too rarely, it may be—to redeem mankind from their sins and failings. You will to-day realise that a man is more than his opinions, that he is far greater than even the doctrines which he preaches and that long after one is laid in the grave, his character, his great example, the ideals to which he was wedded, live after him and serve as an unflin-

guide to erring mankind in their application of these to the varying circumstances of life.

My presence here to-day is accounted for in two ways. One is an exclusively personal and therefore a small factor and the other more common in its range embracing really all the population of India. The personal reason, however paramount with me, may be dismissed in a sentence or two. Do not blame me for taking up your time in that way, but I believe that when a man comes forward upon this occasion to speak to his brethren, he cannot withhold the personal aspect altogether. To me Mahatma Gandhi has been not merely an incomparable friend, for he is of all friends the most loyal and a most brave champion. To me he has been, besides, an ally in an extremely difficult task, one, whom I held up before myself in my South African work as an unflinching guide in all matters, large and small. Of all my occasions for personal satisfaction none, believe me, ladies and gentlemen, is so great as this fact, that for a time at least, divided as we are otherwise, it was vouchsafed to me under providence to work in a way which he could heartily approve. As I said before, I wish that you all to-day bear in mind not merely his opinions and doctrines, which his personality enforces upon our attention, but also the great principles of human conduct which he so signally exemplifies in himself.

It would take too long a time and overtax my strength were I to dwell upon even some of the great qualities that adorn his character and make it an enduring possession of our race. Suffice it to say that even in lands which he has not visited and magnetised by his own presence, even amongst people who have merely read his writings and heard of his signal achievements, wherever the name of India is pronounced, it is listened to with respect above all else because India includes such a soul as Gandhiji and can claim it as her own. (Loud cheers.) You know we have many traducers, many enemies of our progress and many genuine critics who are unable to see the good through the evil. These are particularly active as they usually are whenever India is on the eve of a large step in her onward march: but I know this—that all these traducers are checked in their anti-Indian career because it is not possible for one who has heard of the name of Mahatma Gandhi to believe that a country which has produced him could be mean or irredeemably lost, and everyone asks himself in such a situation: "How can you persuade us that a country which can produce such a man is not worthy of anything of which other nations of the world consider themselves worthy?" Now, it is such a man whom you have met in thousands to-day to honour. All over India, I believe, similar meetings are held to cherish his name and to enable people to help each other to realise his real greatness and to help each other in emulating his great example. (Cheers.)

Miscellaneous.

SCOUT LAW AND PRINCIPLES.

THE RT. HON. V. S. SASTRI'S SPEECH.

Under the presidency of the Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P.C., the pleasant function of the investiture ceremony of the Rover Leaders under Training came off yesterday evening (September 27th) at 6 p. m., at the Scout Headquarters, Tippu Sultan's Palace, Bangalore City. Rising amidst loud and prolonged applause, the Rt. Hon'ble Sastri made the following speech which was listened to with rapt attention:—

ROVERS, Scouts and Gentlemen.—The time has come when I have to spin my yarn! (Laughter.) You have very short notice. For the Report speaks of inadequate preparation. Certainly, I have seen no sign of inadequate preparation in the performance to-day. What I have seen has given me pleasure and satisfaction. I have had no experience of the Scout organisation in my own person. I wonder why it has struck nobody that I might be invited to become a Commissioner or Master or something of the kind? (Laughter.) Perhaps, they have seen how infirm is the way I stand upon my feet; perhaps they have seen that there are marks of old age upon me; and they want that their officers should be always ready, should be always alert, and should be always prompt.

SCOUT VOW AND OATH

I am slow of speech and, I am afraid, in recent times I have also become somewhat slow of mind. You will, I daresay, have observed certain lapses and shortcomings in my deportment this evening, but I am sure with your indulgence you will have overlooked them all as natural to one who is unfamiliar with Scout ceremonials. I was much struck by the symbolism which was practised to-day, and by the somewhat vivid oath that the Rovers had to take in their investiture. I am reminded of other occasions when men have to take oaths. I have taken oaths times without number. We all take oaths when we take our degrees at the University Convocation. But I am afraid some of us do not know that we actually take any oath at all. (Hear hear.) The ceremonial is so scant and so unimpressive, it is done in such a slipshod style that when we are asked whether we promise we scarcely say yes—perhaps thinking that it would be wise not to commit ourselves. (Laughter.) For who knows what life may bring and what opportunities there may be for us wisely to forget our promises? (Laughter.) There is another form of oath through which I have gone through, which is, I think, more akin to the vow that you have taken to-day. In the Society of the Servants of India a member before being admitted is administered seven different oaths. I am afraid they are somewhat more exacting than the vow that you have taken to-day. I will not undertake to say that we have found them at all easy of fulfilment. My young friend! Life is full of chances, full of trials, full of occasions when we are confronted with unfamiliar and sometimes very trying circumstances. The temptation is to forget your oaths or at least to interpret them lightly if there is a lax way of interpreting one's oath. Take for instance one of our seven oaths. I have sworn that I should never indulge in a personal quarrel. Now, I wonder how many in Mysore to-day can take that oath and fulfil it in the spirit as well as in the letter. Why? If, being in a quarrel, you withdraw from it and do not return blow for blow and foul word for foul word,

what will be said of you? Won't they say you are not a man but a woman? He that is in a quarrel and does not show himself a man is not fit for company. I remember reading an old book. I don't think you are familiar with it now-a-days with your new syllabuses and your new text books. We used to read the Hitopadesa. When I was a little fellow in the III form I come across a sloka in which something like this is prescribed for every man:

"When in your trouble somebody has helped you, you must return his kindness gratefully;

When in your distress somebody has laughed at you, you must abide your time and hit him hard."

Curiously enough, I remember that time really well enough now. Even then, little chap as I was, it occurred to me that there was some printing error in the sloka which ran as follows:

"Upakrid Apakrid Bi"

I thought, to be honest with you, that the words ought to be:

"Upakrid Upakridsbi", for, I really think that even when a man has wounded you so deeply in your hour of grief, the proper treatment of such a person is to do him good; for it is not in Christianity only but in all the great religions that one is bidden to return not evil for evil but good for evil. If you do not wish to indulge in a personal quarrel, you must practice this art of returning good for evil betimes. For there are people all about you who, even if you are a quiet sort of chap, would drag you into a quarrel to test your mettle and to see what stuff you are made of. When you are dragged into a quarrel, to be able to desist from it, and to return good for evil, is true nobility. That is noble revenge, as they say. That, I think, gentlemen who have become Rovers to-day, is in the special sense of the word true scout law.

HELP OTHER PERSONS.

You have sworn to-day to help other persons. It is the easiest thing in the world to help those who are nice to you, to love those who love you. For that is as simple as drawing one's breath. But the difficulty comes when a man has injured you, when a man does not seem worthy of your love, to be able to love such a person, to be able to do good in such a case is really and truly to fulfil the scout law, even as it is to fulfil the vow of the Servants of India. You have no right to strike your breast and say: 'I know how to avenge the insult.' That right, if you had it at any time, you have to-day forfeited in a most solemn manner. (Hear, hear.) You must forgive; you must forbear; you must pardon; you must be patient with your weaker brethren. And you must know how, when you have been hit, it is not the right thing to hit back waiting for the opportunity; but the right thing is to send up a prayer to Heaven that an opportunity may occur when, to the other party standing in need of your help, you give it readily and cheerfully; so earning his thanks it may be, but really so fulfilling the vow that you have taken and showing the world that this scout movement which enrols youths in great numbers all over the world is meant really to hasten the day when human brotherhood shall be understood and not merely spoken about, when it shall be practised and not merely preached to others. It seems to me that that is the essence of the scout movement. It is a high noble calling and I am by no means sure that your age at the present moment is yet of that growth that will allow you to take in the full meaning. But there are commissioners and masters in control over you, and I do hope that both in their teaching and in their personal example you will get from them that stimulus and encouragement

to keep on this narrow road of scout law; for, believe me, there is no good fortune in this world greater for a young man than to find a really good master and then be able always to study and follow his example.

NO DIFFERENCE OF COLOUR OR RACE.

Another of your scout principles lying at the very bottom, it seems to me, of the movement, but also in peril from the unhappy circumstances of the world in various parts of it, is that there ought to be no difference whatever of colour or creed or religion in your propaganda. The true scout recognises no race, no nationality, any more than the true Bhagavata of old recognised within the unlimited range of piety any distinction of Brahman or Paria. But alas! the world around presses hard on the scout movement as it does upon other things. There is something in this world which is impatient of perfection, which cannot stand the practice of the high ideal and which must disturb the even and smooth progress of great humanitarian movements like that of the scout movement. I have been in lands recently where one people deny to another the right to form a scout troop, to call themselves scouts, for wearing the badge that is appropriate to that order. What is to be a scout except to be a good youth, to swear to do service to your fellowmen, to live up to the height of our human nature, touching, it may be, not with irreverence, the sphere of the gods instead of descending as we often do, to the level of the brute? Tell me, what else is a scout? Can you deny to another human being the right to be a scout, the right to promise to be good and helpful and serviceable, the right to love your fellowmen, the right to realise the virtues of our character? And yet I have known such things happening. Why, in this very land, I well remember what you may not, how difficult it was to get the Government to recognise the right of Indians to form themselves into scout organizations. Now to be able to think that a good gathering of scouts from all parts of the Empire takes place in the centre of the Empire, that we send our scouts to that place, that they are there received on a footing of complete equality, that they are received well and hospitably, that they are entertained, encouraged and in some places even honoured, that is an experience, to get which it was worth the while of a person like me to have lived. (Hear, hear.)

PROGRESS OF NATIONAL EDUCATION.

Yes, the world is moving in spite of the backward people I erstwhile spoke of. But this consolation that I have is qualified by a certain consideration. My young friends, I speak at some length upon this subject because we of the Servants of India Society take the most lively and deep interest in the progress of the scout movement. (Hear, hear.) We believe that it is a very valuable part of that process of national education which is going to make one nation some day of the varied people of this wonderful country. As a matter of fact, you may not know it, but I take pride in mentioning the fact that in our society there is a member who is a first class scout-master, who has passed through all the training that England and the Continent and India can afford and now admitted to be one of the best scoutmasters of the country. In fact, there is hardly a day when his Services are not required in some part or other of this wonderful country. His name is Sree Ram Bajpai. You must have heard of his name if you know all about the scout movement. Now I will tell you one thing about this gentleman, Although he belongs to the Servants of India Society and therefore interested in political movements, he is all his time a scout and a scout only. He takes no part in the political movements of the day. He understands them, he reads

newspapers, he takes keen interest in them, but believe me he is a wise man and knows that he who spreads himself out among many occupations reaches excellence in none at all (laughter); that if you want to do good and noble work in your time, you must narrow down your activities as far as possible. We have allowed him, in other words, to specialise in scouting. It is that I think which counts for his pronounced success in the line and I wish to say to you to-day that, deeply immersed in politics as I am, I am not, however, such a confirmed and inveterate politician as to despise people who are no politicians. I think much good is possible, we may expect some good to dwell in bosoms which do not sway to the discords and disharmonies of the political sphere. And that is a point to which I am coming.

FUNDAMENTAL SCOUT LAW.

Politics, I am afraid, if pursued in the wrong spirit, in a spirit opposed to that spirit of forbearance and forgiveness and universal love which I, a moment ago, described as the fundamental scout law, politics pursued in a spirit opposed to this ideal makes you doubt all things except politics (laughter.) Quite recently I was among Indians who dwell in foreign lands and when arrangements were afoot in order to get a few Indian scout boys to proceed to England to join the great Jamboree, I heard, alas! from responsible quarters advice to the effect that no sensible patriot should subscribe an anna for the funds required, that no scouts should be sent at all, and that we should completely ignore and boycott this great scout gathering in Europe. And why? Because under the prejudice that politics engendered in a certain class of men—politics of the bad sort that I have described—under the prejudice engendered by politics of that sort, certain influential people taught the doctrine, which will surprise you to hear, that the scout movement is a subtle branch of the imperialistic movement, that scouts are nothing but disguised allies of those people in England who wish to spread the sway of the British Empire, annexing countries, domineering other people, subjecting these to the sway of a tyrannous power in the far away Atlantic. I wonder whether you think you answer to that description (laughter). Do you believe that scouts in Bangalore or elsewhere are sworn to help the spread of this unworthy aspect of imperialism? I hope not. We have encouraged the scout movement in this country, watched its growth and we hope too that in course of time, as I said, it will take its place among the powerful agencies for building up the future Indian nation. For we regard the scout movement as laying in the hearts and minds of the young the foundations of a wide and broad-based citizenship that shall recognise love of country and service to country as amongst the foremost virtues that adorn our character and that will enable the Hindu and Muslim, Brahmin and Panchama forget their differences, one from another, to realize that they are brothers in the service of Mother India and that together one day they could worship her, acknowledging themselves as her children with no difference as amongst them but with the friendly rivalry as to which should serve her in the most useful, in the most self-forgetting manner.

HELP YOUR COUNTRYMEN.

Rovers! Having tried to draw out the meaning of the vow that you have yourselves taken now, let me from this place seem, as it were, to ask you to go over the terms of that vow mentally, go over it word by word, phrase by phrase, dwell upon its meaning, during your sleep dream of the ideals to which you

have been called to-day and help in living for yourselves a life of honour and of usefulness and help to your countrymen, the distressed and unhappy people of this land who do not know their inner kinship but venture to attack each other as if they were aliens to one another; teach these people that if you are enrolled scouts, they are as unenrolled scouts, that between them and you in reality there ought to be no distinction except for the training through which you have gone, and that in ideal and spirit we are all children of one great God—we are all brethren members of one family and that it behoves us always to help and not to hinder one another in our progress God-ward and Heaven-ward.—*The Hindu*.

SHORT NOTICE.

OUTLINES OF CENTRAL GOVERNMENT. By

JOHN J. CLARKE. (PITMAN.) 1928. 20cm. 5/-.

PITMAN'S publications rarely fail to be thorough and business-like. Mr. Clarke's treatment of the Central Government is really an exhaustive treatment of the subject and is a valuable help to those students who take to government service in any of the administrative departments. It would also be an excellent companion to a text-book of English History especially to be recommend to teachers of that subject in this country. Its one fault lies in its style. It is dry and the author never attempts to pass judgments even when they are obviously required. It is no wonder, therefore, that the English system of party machinery has no space given to it. The moving spirit behind the machinery of government is thus withdrawn and the book, though useful, fails to be attractive.

R. H. KELKAR.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- PORTRAIT OF THE LABOUR PARTY. By EGON WERTHEMER. (Putnams.) 1929. 20cm. 215p. 5/-
 THE FUTURE OF THE NEGRO. By GORDON GUGGISBERG & A. G. FRASER. (Student Christian Movement.) 1929. 20cm. 152p. 4/6.
 A MODERN PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION. By GODFREY H. THOMSON. (Allen & Unwin.) 1929. 20cm. 283p. 8/6.
 LEAVES FROM THE NOTEBOOK OF A TAMED CYNIC. By REINHOLD NIEBUHR. (Willett Clark, New York.) 1929. 21cm. 198p. \$2.00.
 BRITISH HISTORY. By RAMSAY MUIR. (George Philip.) 1929. 20cm. 816p. 7/6.
 SELECTED ARTICLES ON NATIONAL DEFENCE. Comp. by JULIA E. JOHNSON. (H. W. Wilson Co., New York.) 1928. 20cm. 649p. \$2.40.

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